

The Golden Cross, Oxford

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PART I

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THE Golden Cross Hotel at Oxford is a remarkably good specimen of an inn which goes back to the late fifteenth century.¹ Well preserved buildings of this type, going back to the medieval period, are comparatively rare. During the middle ages and indeed down to the seventeenth century there was probably little difference in planning and furnishing between inns and the larger private town houses. Some inns were, no doubt, converted private houses, but even where an inn was deliberately built or rebuilt for the purpose (as with the Golden Cross), the resemblance to a private house still remained.² In much the same way we find a medieval guild hall like St. Mary's Hall, Coventry,³ based on the town house type of the period; and in Oxford the same building might serve as a private house or an academic hall. If we want to understand what a medieval inn was like we must therefore begin by seeing what the larger medieval town houses were like.

A medieval town, such as Oxford for instance, was divided by its streets into blocks or islands, often, perhaps normally, rectangular, and these in turn were divided into tenements, long narrow strips of various sizes.⁴ The larger tenements lay back from the street behind a fringe of shops or small houses; the principal house would be built round or along a courtyard, which would be entered through an archway or entry. A good example of such an arrangement on a large scale can be seen in the town houses that lay along the Strand in

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² A contract for building a large inn, built round a courtyard, at Andover in 1445, is printed in L. F. Salzman, *Building in England* (Oxford, 1952), 517-19.

³ *Archaeological Journal*, LXXXIII (1926), 298 and plans.

⁴ See H. E. Salter, *Map of Medieval Oxford* (Oxford, 1934).

THE GOLDEN CROSS, OXFORD

London, such as Arundel House,⁵ where a complete manor house was built round a courtyard. Another, smaller example is the Stranger's Hall at Norwich.⁶ Such a town house would consist of a hall as the principal room, with the usual complement of kitchen, buttery, etc., on the one hand, and solar and private chamber on the other hand.

Turning to actual examples of inns, we find a good specimen, dating from the fifteenth century, in the Cardinal's Hat at Lincoln, which has recently been restored by the St. John Ambulance Brigade.⁷ This is an L-shaped building; the short arm, facing on the street, is of three stories and contained parlours and chambers, the long arm which ran back between a side street and a courtyard, contained the hall, screens passage, buttery, kitchen, etc., with more chambers above. Here we can see the typical medieval house plan adapted for use as an inn. A slightly later example is the Clarendon Hotel, formerly the Star Inn, at Oxford, which was demolished in 1955. This looked like a late eighteenth-century building from the outside, but as with so many town houses in Oxford and elsewhere, on closer investigation one found that the core of it was a timber-framed structure of the sixteenth century, to which, of course, many additions and alterations had been made. The main range on the street was pierced by an entry which led into a small courtyard; this was flanked by two ranges running back at right angles to the street, and these were originally continued further back by two ranges of stables. The room on the ground floor of the range on the south side of the courtyard was probably the sixteenth-century hall, with the kitchen beyond to the west, while the range at the east end of the hall, on the street, would contain parlours and chambers—a plan resembling that of the Golden Cross and the Cardinal's Hat. At the end of the eighteenth century, when stage coaches became larger and more elaborate, the original entry was evidently abandoned except as a foot passage, and a new coach entrance to the stable yard was made on the south side.

In order to understand the history of the site of the Golden Cross, we have to consider three large tenements on the east side of Cornmarket: (1) the Cross Inn itself (No. 5 Cornmarket); (2) the Bull Inn, to the south (Nos. 3 and 4 Cornmarket); (3) Harding Hall, to the north (No. 7 Cornmarket).

(1) The Cross Inn was a strip measuring about 190 ft. from east to west, and about 42 ft. from north to south at its western or street end; in course of time, as we shall see, it expanded at the eastern end at the expense of its

⁵ *Archaeologia*, LXXII (1921-2), 243 ff.

⁶ *Archaeological Journal*, LXXX (1923), 331 and plans.

⁷ *The Story of the Cardinal's Hat*, 268 High Street, Lincoln, by T. A. Jackson, J. W. F. Hill and W. A. Pantin (Lincoln, 1953).

northern and southern neighbours. It is a typical example of one of the larger tenements of medieval Oxford. Our first knowledge of it is in 1182, when Robert son of Jungwin sold the land to Walerand of Cricklade, who gave it to Oseney Abbey about the year 1188.⁸ Oseney apparently rebuilt the property, and from henceforth it consisted, like so many medieval Oxford houses, of two parts: a fringe of shops on the street front, and the house proper lying at the back and approached by an entry. About 1193 Oseney granted the house at the back to Malger, or Mauger, the Vintner, from whom the house came to be known as Mauger's Hall; his trade suggests that as early as the late twelfth century the house had begun to be used as an inn or tavern. Oseney, however, retained the four shops in front, with the cellars beneath them, while it granted the rooms above the shops to Mauger to be held with the house behind. The curious result was that down to 1772 (when New College bought the shops), there was one landlord for the ground floor, 'below the lofts', namely Oseney and later Christ Church, and another landlord for the upper part, 'above the lofts', namely Mauger and his successors and later New College. At the beginning of the fifteenth century, the room above the shops was used as the 'great solar of the inn'.⁹ After passing through various hands the tenement came to William Gyngyver in 1362, then to John de Stodley before 1370, then to Sir Robert Tresilian. When Tresilian was executed in 1388 this property was forfeited to the Crown and in the next year was acquired by William of Wykeham for New College,¹⁰ who held it until they sold it in 1825. In the course of its history the tenement went by various names: Mauger's Hall, Gyngyver's Inn, the Cross Inn.

(2) The Bull Inn was a strip measuring about 120 ft. from east to west,

⁸ For the history of the Cross Inn, see *Cartulary of Oseney Abbey*, ed. H. E. Salter (O.H.S., XC, 1929), II, 4-13; H. E. Salter's unpublished manuscript *Survey of Oxford*, North-East Ward, p. 13 (Bodleian MS. Top. Oxon. c. 416); E. A. Greening Lamborn, *The Golden Cross and its guests* (Oxford, 1948).

⁹ On 24 June 1403, New College leased to William Shrouesbury, of Oxford, cordwainer, for 20 years, *totam illam shopam suam apud hospicium suum vocatum Gyngeversyn situatam in parte boreali introitus eiusdem hospicii supra quoddam celarium et subtus quoddam magnum solarium dicti hospicii*; the tenant among other things undertakes *tenentibus dicti hospicii in celario subtus et in solario supra non nocebit per nimiam pulsacionem in dicta shopa sua non necessariam dicto artificio suo cordewanar* (New College Muniments, Registrum 1 (White Book), fo. 64v). This proviso against excessive shaking implies, I think, that the front part of the inn was at this time a timber-framed structure.

¹⁰ On 2 March 1389, the King granted to William of Wykeham 30 messuages, 20 shops, 6 solars, 12 cellars and other property in Oxford that had formerly belonged to John de Stodley, burgess of Oxford, and had come into the King's hands by the forfeiture of Robert Tresilian; and on 1 April 1389, William of Wykeham granted these to New College (New College Muniments, Registrum 11, fo. 151, 151v). The inquisition into the lands of Robert Tresilian taken 18 April 1388 describes the tenements with which we are concerned as follows: *Et unum tenementum vocatum Patessynne cum shopis annexis in eadem parochia (St. Martin's) . . . Et unum tenementum Gyngersynne in eadem parochia cum garrettis et schopis anexis . . .* (Ibid., fo. 154).

THE GOLDEN CROSS, OXFORD

and about 44 ft. from north to south.¹¹ It went by various names : Pate's Inn, Somenour's Inn, the Bull Inn, and finally (in the seventeenth century) the Crown Tavern or simply the Tavern. In the fourteenth century it was held, like its neighbour on the north, by John de Stodley *c.* 1370 and by Sir Robert Tresilian down to 1388, and then passed to New College. A good deal of rebuilding was done *c.* 1496-1500,¹² and some time between 1500 and 1555 the tenement was divided into two. The northern part, No. 4 Cornmarket, became a house which henceforward seems to have gone with the Cross Inn ; the two tenements were often occupied or leased by the same persons. No. 4 was a comparatively small house, measuring about 15 ft. wide and about 48 ft. long ; it has been completely rebuilt in recent times (1923), but old views show it as a building of sixteenth-century type, of three stories, with a gable projecting northwards into the courtyard of the Cross Inn.¹³ The space behind No. 4 was thrown into the courtyard of the Cross Inn, and it was here that the late seventeenth-century south range of the Cross Inn was built.

The southern part of the Bull Inn became another house, No. 3 Cornmarket, known in the seventeenth century first as the Salutation Tavern and then as the Crown Tavern ; this was a large house, which was returned in 1665 as having twelve hearths and in 1696 as having twenty windows—the same number in each case as the Cross Inn.¹⁴ The front part, now masked by an eighteenth-century facade, is a timber-framed building of four stories, which probably substantially represents the rebuilding of the Bull Inn *c.* 1496-1500 :¹⁵ the top story was probably originally an attic or cockloft. There are now two rooms on each of the upper floors ; the northern room on the second floor contains very fine mid-sixteenth-century wall paintings.¹⁶ The whole of the back part of the house and a small wing projecting on the south side were demolished in 1934. The house ran back for about 120 ft. : so far as one can judge from Loggan's view¹⁷ and from surviving plans,¹⁸ it consisted of (1) at the

¹¹ See *Cartulary of Oseney Abbey*, II, 14-16; Salter, *Survey of Oxford*, North-East Ward, p. 8; E. T. Leeds, 'A Second Elizabethan Mural Painting at No. 3, Cornmarket,' in *Oxoniensia*, I (1936), 144-50; this article includes (p. 147) a table of lessees and occupiers of Nos. 3-5 Cornmarket between 1553 and 1605; A. Acheson, *Shakespeare's Sonnet Story* (London, 1933), pp. 585-610, Appendix I: 'The Crosse Inn and the Tavern at Oxford', by E. T. Leeds, and pp. 658-671, Appendix IV: 'John Davenant of Oxford and the Houghs' (with the wills of John Davenant, William Hough Senior and Junior, and Pearse Underhill).

¹² New College Muniments, Repairs Accounts 1492-1500.

¹³ Cf. PLS. III, A and IV, A and the photograph (plate I) in F. E. Howard and H. E. Salter, *Old Houses in Oxford* (Oxford, 1914). The front is shown in PL. V, B.

¹⁴ *Surveys and Tokens*, ed. H. E. Salter (O.H.S., LXXV, 1920), 187; *Oxford Council Acts 1665-1701*, ed. M. G. Hobson (O.H.S., New Ser., II, 1939), 342.

¹⁵ New College Muniments, Repairs Accounts, 1492-1500.

¹⁶ E. T. Leeds, *art. cit.*, *Oxoniensia*, I, 144-150.

¹⁷ *Oxonia Illustrata* (Oxford, 1675), plate II.

¹⁸ Cf. the plan of 1779, reproduced in Leeds, *art. cit.*, *Oxoniensia*, I, 145; Ordnance Survey plan of Oxford, scale 1/500 (1878), Sheet xxxiii, 15, 22.

western or street end, a large block two rooms thick, with a double roof, of which the westernmost half still exists ; (2) a lower connecting range, probably containing the ' gallery ' mentioned in the 1594 inventory ;¹⁹ and (3) at the east end, a large three-story block running east and west, with three gables, looking north on to a courtyard. It was in No. 3 that Shakespeare stayed, when it was occupied by John Davenant in the opening years of the seventeenth century.

(3) Harding Hall was a strip measuring about 150 ft. or more from east to west and about 23 ft. from north to south. Like Mauger's Hall this was divided into two unequal parts ; (i) at the west end, on the street, there was a building measuring 19 ft. from east to west and 23 ft. from north to south (43 on plan, FIG. 13 below) ; this contained on the ground floor four small shops, which were given in 1234 by Hugo Harding to the Hospital of St. John the Baptist, from which they passed to Magdalen College : the upper floor became the property of St. Frideswide's Priory and was acquired by Magdalen in 1496.²⁰ (ii) The eastern and much larger part of the tenement, measuring 129 ft. from east to west, was described as a ' garden called from of old Harding Hall ', when it was granted by Littlemore Priory to New College on 12 March 1467 ;²¹ it thus provided a northward extension to the Cross Inn. In 1500 the western part of this garden, measuring 58 ft. from east to west (= 44 on plan, FIG. 13), was granted by New College to Magdalen, on condition that the northern windows of the Cross Inn should not be obstructed.²² The eastern part of the garden was retained and used as the stableyard of the Cross Inn.

We can now turn to examine the structure of the Cross Inn and the developments and alterations which it has undergone. Nothing now remains of any building before the late fifteenth century, but so far as we can tell, the house from the earliest times consisted of a long L-shaped building : the short arm, on the street, containing a row of shops and an entry, with rooms above, and the long arm, stretching along the north side of a courtyard, containing the main part of the house. We know that in 1403 the ' great solar of the inn ' was over the shops, in the west range on the street²³ ; before the rebuilding in the late fifteenth century, the north range would probably have contained a hall with an open roof, with kitchen, offices and stables at the east end, as in later times.²⁴

¹⁹ Cf. p. 66 below.

²⁰ *Cartulary of the Hospital of St. John the Baptist*, ed. H. E. Salter (O.H.S., LXVIII, 1915), II, 78-89.

²¹ New College Muniments.

²² *Cart. of the Hosp. of St. John the Baptist*, II, 86-8.

²³ See note 9 above.

²⁴ In a lease of 30 September 1411, the inn is described as *hospicium suum . . . vocatum Gyngeversyn cum schopa magna supra celarium et cum una camera versus altam stratam quam nuper Ordeus tenuit* (probably the great solar mentioned in 1403); the tenants undertake not to convert the inn to any other use *nisi ad opus hospitalitatis prout nunc ordinatur* (New College Muniments, Registrum I (White Book), fo. 72).

THE GOLDEN CROSS, OXFORD

The whole of this L-shaped house seems to have been rebuilt in the late fifteenth century ; this was evidently done by the landlord, New College, to improve the property. The west or street range, as thus rebuilt, consisted of three stories with a cellar and attics or cocklofts (as we know from later inventories) ; but of this nothing now remains except the timber-framed gateway, which has moulded jambs and a four-centred arch with the arms of New College in one spandrel, and, about 8 ft. east of this, the remains of a moulded beam, with mouldings similar to those in the beams of the dining room in the north range. The gatehouse and presumably the whole of the west range must have been built at about the same time as the north range.

The north range is the most important and interesting part of the Cross Inn now surviving. It apparently belongs to the last third or last quarter of the fifteenth century. The screens passage probably had a back-door at the northern end, which would have opened into that part of the garden of Harding Hall which New College acquired in 1467 and granted to Magdalen in 1500 ; such a door then would only have been made between 1467 and 1500. Some repair accounts at New College show a good deal of building work going on at the Cross inn from 1492 to 1500.²⁵ In 1492 the roof was evidently being covered with stone slates, and in the same year and in 1496 there was work on the windows of the hall and the chambers ; in 1498 and 1500 there was work on the kitchen, the stables, the hayhouse and the strawhouse, which must have been at the east end of the courtyard.^{25a} In 1492 the Cross Inn and the 'garrets' (i.e. the rooms over the shops)²⁶ were vacant ; from 1496 to 1500 only the garrets and half the garden of the Cross were vacant. All this looks like the tail-end of a big rebuilding, which was probably begun in the late 1480's, but by 1496 was sufficiently near completion for the tenant to be back in occupation.

In its general plan the north wing is a good example of a late medieval house of the kitchen-hall-parlour type, lying along a courtyard, with the parlour end towards the street, and the kitchen end towards the further end of the courtyard. From west to east the rooms are as follows : the parlour, 17 ft. by 26 ft. (= 10 on plans, FIGS. 13, 15), and the hall, 17 ft. by 22 ft. (= 11 on plans), these two being now thrown into one dining room ; then the screens

²⁵ New College Muniments, Repairs Accounts, 1492-1500.

^{25a} There are references to a 'goter upon the hall' (1492) and 'new crestis for the hall' (1498) ; if these refer to the existing building, they must refer to the roof of the first floor room over the hall. If we must take them as referring to an earlier hall with an open roof, then it would seem that the north range was built after c. 1500.

²⁶ The repair account for 1500, under the heading of the 'gariatys' (garrets), refers to the 'gottes chamber' and the 'ij heyer chambers' and to the 'dore att the stayre fote next the Strete' (*ibid.*). Four chambers in the garrets were vacant in 1496 and 1498, and five chambers there in 1500 (*ibid.*) ; there were probably two or three chambers on each of the two upper floors (cf. 46-8 on plan).

passage (= 12), now partly blocked by the lower part of the stairs, which must formerly have been confined to the space immediately east of the screens passage ; then a small room which was presumably the buttery (= 14) ; then the kitchen (= 15) ; then the archway leading to the back yard (= 18) ; the part beyond the archway, which was formerly occupied by stables, has been rebuilt, probably in the early nineteenth century. The north wing is one room thick throughout. It will be noted that the hall is confined to the ground floor and does not go up to the roof, but has the great chamber above it.

As regards construction, the north wing is timber-framed, with brick chimney stacks, two of which are on the north side ; these two do not project outwards, but are apparently built within the framework of the range, and appear to be later insertions. The third ancient chimney stack, serving the kitchen, lies across the range, and is perhaps also a later insertion. As originally built, the first floor had an overhang or jetty all along the south side, projecting about 18 inches beyond the south wall of the ground floor ; but except at one point in the south-east corner of the parlour (PL. VI), this overhang is now obscured, because almost the whole of the south wall of the ground front has been rebuilt, with a series of bays and excrescences encroaching on to the courtyard. A plan of 1797²⁷ suggests that at that time the kitchen and buttery had already been enlarged in this way, but that the hall and parlour (then already united and called the ' great parlour ') still retained their original line of frontage. Although the south wall of the hall and parlour has been rebuilt, there are some interesting remains of the original timber framework, particularly some moulded window jambs (cf. PL. V, A), and these, together with the evidence of the 1594 inventory, enable us to reconstruct the original south wall, which must have consisted of a continuous range of mullioned windows of many lights. The hall had three such windows, all about 4 ft. high ; the centre window (about 11 ft. wide) must have had two rows of nine lights, and the two side windows (each about 4 ft. wide) must have had each two rows of four lights, making thirty-four lights in all. The parlour also had three windows, which filled the whole wall except for the south-west corner, where there was a door. The two side windows were, like those in the hall, each about 4 ft. square and each containing two rows of four lights ; the remains of the eastern one can still be traced (PL. V, A). The central window came down lower and was about 5 ft. high ; it must have had two rows of six lights, and may have been a bay window like the ones on the first floor. The hall and parlour, although on the ground floor overlooking a narrow courtyard, must have been very light and cheerful rooms.

²⁷ New College Muniments ; Oxford : St. Martin's Leases, No. 10 ; PL. VIII.

THE GOLDEN CROSS, OXFORD

The first floor of the north range is remarkably perfect, and has a row of six original bay windows (cf. PLS. III, VI). These project at window-sill level and are 5 ft. high; they seem originally to have had two rows of six lights each, but the middle lights have since been altered. The plan of this floor from west to east is as follows. The room over the parlour (called the 'Prince's Chamber' in the inventories) is now divided into two bedrooms (= 52A, 52B on plan); it has a single bay window and a fireplace on the north. It is this room that contains the remarkable wall-paintings described below. Over the hall and the screens passage is another room (called the 'Great Chamber'), also now divided into two bedrooms (= 53A, 53B) and a corridor; this has two bay windows and a fireplace on the north (now in the corridor). Next comes the stairhead. Next there are two bedrooms (= 56, 57), over the buttery and the kitchen respectively (called the 'Little Crown Chamber' and the 'Crown Chamber'); each has a single bay window. The Crown Chamber (= 57) has, on its east wall at least, the remains of some wall-paintings, now concealed under wallpaper. The lower part of the wall (to a height of 6 ft. 3 in.) has one pattern of painting, the upper part (3 ft. 4 in. high) has another pattern. As with the paintings in the Prince's Chamber, this probably means that the lower part was at some date covered by wainscoting, and the upper part repainted as a kind of frieze—what the inventories call a 'painted border'. In this case the upper part of the painting seems to be on canvas. These two bedrooms (= 56 and 57) are divided by an ancient partition from a corridor on the north, which seems therefore to be an original feature, evidently referred to as the 'gallery' in the inventories (= 55 on plan). Probably the gallery once had windows or even unglazed openings looking northward on to the back yard, but this side is now blocked by a modern annexe. The gallery would have provided independent access to the Great Chamber, to the Little Crown Chamber and the Crown Chamber, and to the next chamber on the east. Such galleries were a feature of inns from late medieval times onwards; in an inn, the inconvenience of passage-rooms would be more keenly felt than in a private house, and consequently the use of corridors developed more quickly. The next room to the east (= 58), called the 'New College Chamber' in the inventories, is over the archway, and has a single bay window; it is now divided from a corridor on the north, but it seems that the partition is modern and that the room originally occupied the full width of the range. The rest of the north range, further east, has been rebuilt in the nineteenth century, and there is a modern extension to the north east (= B on plan). Above the first floor of the north range is a series of attics or 'cocklofts', consisting of ten bays of varying sizes. The roof is of a queen-post type, with double purlins and windbraces; it looks as if it belonged to the early seven-

teenth century rather than to the late fifteenth century. It is possible that the original roof was open to the first floor rooms, as sometimes happened for instance with college chambers.

The south range was built in the seventeenth century, probably *c.* 1656-75 ; it does not seem accounted for in the 1656 inventory, but it seems to be shown in the Loggan view of 1675. It is a long narrow building, about 50 ft. long by about 15 ft. wide. It consists of two equal parts, each containing a staircase flanked by a room on right and left—rather like a college 'staircase' or like some of the Oxford 'passage' houses.²⁸ It is possible that the range was built as two dwelling houses, and it may in fact be part of that process by which courtyards and gardens were built up with subsidiary houses in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It is described as 'dwelling houses' in the plan of 1797 (PL. VIII), though on the other hand some of its rooms may be included among the Inn rooms in the inventory of 1697. The building is a timber-framed construction, though the exposing of the timbers on the front seems to be a modern feature ; older views show the walls covered with plaster. There are several fine bay windows, the central lights of which are arched (PLS. III, A, and IV) ; this is a feature which is rather characteristic of mid- or late seventeenth-century domestic architecture in Oxford. There are three stories, with a cellar and an attic in one part ; and there are four gables along the north side. The chimney stacks are at the back, on the south side ; two of them (in the western half) have angle fireplaces, a late seventeenth-century feature. The upper stories do not project, but on the other hand the north wall of the ground floor, for most of the way, has been pushed forward into the courtyard in a series of bays and excrescences, as in the north range ; this was probably done in the early nineteenth century.

The east range seems originally to have been occupied by stables ; it has been entirely rebuilt in the early or mid-nineteenth century.

We can get a good idea of the former position, use and furnishing of the various rooms of the inn from a study of its inventories. These give us what is in effect a conducted tour of the house, and by observing the order in which the rooms are described, we can to a large extent identify the position of the rooms (cf. FIGS. 13, 14). Two of the inventories were made for New College as landlord, one on the death of a lessee (William Hough Senior) in 1594,²⁹ the other on the making of a new lease (to John Smith)³⁰ in 1656 ; these describe the fixtures such as glass and wainscoting, which belonged to the College.

²⁸ *Antiquaries Journal*, xxvii (1947), 133 ff.

²⁹ New College Muniments; Oxford: Misc. 14; printed below, p. 65.

³⁰ New College Muniments; Oxford, St. Martin's leases, No. 2; printed below, p. 72. The same inventory is also attached to a later lease of 1727 (*ibid.*, Lease Book 18, p. 65); this seems to repeat the inventory of 1656 verbatim, without recording any alterations.

THE GOLDEN CROSS, OXFORD

Two other inventories are the familiar type of probate inventory, giving the deceased tenant's furniture. One, that of Thomas Breese (or Brise) in 1621, gives a full list of furniture, but unfortunately without allotting it to the various rooms;³¹ the other, that of Charles Wildgoose in 1697, goes through the various rooms, but only describes the furniture in the most summary way.³²

The 1594 inventory starts, very properly, on the ground floor with what was still by tradition the principal room, the hall (= 11 on plan). Here there was a comparatively small amount of wainscoting (a good deal less than in most of the rooms); there were some 'borders of painted clothes'; there were three (fixed) benches, and a 'portall' (probably an internal porch leading to the parlour); and there was a range of windows of 34 lights (77 square ft.), which must have filled the south wall, as has already been mentioned. The 1656 inventory gives a few more precise details: there was a long bench on the south side (under the windows); wainscoting and a bench on the west side, and the same on the north side between the chimney and the parlour door, with painted cloth above the wainscoting; a bench with a back by the chimney, no doubt projecting at right angles; at the east end, a 'partition', i.e. the screens. From the hall the inventory moves west to the parlour (= 10 on plan), called here the 'middle parlour' to distinguish it from the 'street parlour' and the 'shop parlour'. Most of the south wall was occupied, as already explained, by a range of windows containing 28 lights (70 square ft.). Apart from the windows and the fireplace, the rest of the wall space of the parlour was covered with wainscoting up to a height of about 6 ft., with about 3 ft. of painted borders above. There were two benches, one under the windows on the south side and the other by one of the portals, probably on the east side. The 1656 inventory tells us that there were two portals (internal porches) and four doors. Of these, one must have led into the hall, another still survives, blocked, in the south-west corner, and the two others probably led to the street parlour and the shop parlour on the west.

The next room was the 'street parlour' (= 4-6 on plan), one of the ground floor rooms looking on to the street. This was a big room, and must have occupied the space of two or three of the small medieval shops. On the west was a range of windows containing 34 lights (82 square ft. of glass)—rather larger than the hall windows; there were three benches; and the wainscoting and painted borders together seem to have run to a hundred square yards.

The next room was the 'shop parlour', no doubt occupying the rest of the ground floor of the street front, that is, the space of one or two of the

³¹ Oxford University Archives, Inventories; printed below, p. 70.

³² *Ibid.*; printed below, p. 74.

medieval shops (= 2-3 on plan) ; it must therefore have been a comparatively small and narrow room. It has a window of only ten lights (probably two rows of five lights) ; no wainscoting is mentioned, and it may still have been used as a shop ; it is probably the same as the room described as the shop in the 1656 inventory, when a street door is mentioned.

At this point the inventory evidently leaves the ground floor and goes up to the first floor, to visit a series of rooms beginning with the New College Chamber and ending with the Low Gate Chamber. As the latter was presumably over the gateway to the street at the west end of the building, the New College Chamber must have been at the other end, over the stables and the arch leading to the backyard (= 58 on plan). The New College Chamber (named after the landlords) was evidently one of the best rooms in the inn ; it must have been nearly the same size as the Great Chamber, to judge from the amount of wainscoting and painted borders mentioned. It has a surprisingly small amount of window-space for its size—only seventeen lights ; twelve of these are accounted for by the bay window on the south side (which still survives), and the other five probably formed a window on the north side. No doubt part of the south wall was blocked by the roof of the adjoining stable. Next, working westwards, comes the 'gallery', along the north side of the range, off which the next two rooms open. First there is the Crown Chamber (= 57 on plan), lit by twelve lights (one bay window) on the south side. As has been already mentioned, this room has some wall-paintings that still survive though they are covered up ; at the time of the 1594 inventory, they were partly hidden by wainscoting. The next room (= 56) is described in 1594 as the 'Chamber where he [the deceased inn-keeper] lay', and in later inventories as the Little Crown Chamber ; it was a small room with a single bay window of twelve lights and very little wainscoting. Next, still working westwards, comes the Great Chamber, over the hall (now divided into 53A and 53B) ; this was a large and important room, with two bay windows (containing twenty-four lights), wainscoting and painted borders. Beyond that comes the Princes Chamber, over the parlour (now divided into two bedrooms, 52A and 52B), with a single bay window of twelve lights. This is the room which contains the important wall-paintings which will be described below.

The inventory then passes to the western range on the street, which has now been entirely rebuilt. At the time of the inventory, it consisted of three stories and attics (or 'cocklofts'). The ground floor was occupied by the Street Parlour and the Shop Parlour, which we have already visited. The inventory describes three rooms, evidently occupying the first floor in a row, looking west on to the street. The Low Paradise Chamber was probably

THE GOLDEN CROSS, OXFORD

on the north (= 48) ; the Low Cross Chamber (= 47) was probably in the centre (perhaps the inn-sign of the Cross hung outside this room) ; while the Low Gate Chamber was presumably at the south end, partly over the gateway (= 46). All these rooms had wainscoting and painted borders. The Low Paradise Chamber and the Low Cross Chamber each had a window of twelve lights, probably a bay window like those surviving in the north range. The Low Gate Chamber had eighteen lights, which perhaps represent a bay window flanked by a small window of three lights high up on each side. In the 1656 inventory this room has thirty-four lights, which probably means that it now had a window looking east down the courtyard, as well as the western windows just described. The inventory next goes on to describe the corresponding rooms on the second floor : the High Paradise Chamber, the High Cross Chamber, the High Gate Chamber, which have windows of twelve, ten and ten lights respectively ; all three rooms were wainscoted, with no painted borders. The description of the wainscoting in the 1656 inventory suggests that there was a chimney stack between the High Cross Chamber and the High Gate Chamber, and the same arrangement must therefore have prevailed on the floors below. The chimney serving the High and Low Paradise Chambers was perhaps on the east. The inventory then goes up to the two cocklofts, one over the High Gate Chamber, the other over the other two chambers. The staircase serving the various floors of this western range must have been in the angle between the western and northern ranges (cf. the gabled projection shown to right of the archway in PLS. III, A and IV, A). It may be noted that all the chambers in the upper floors so far mentioned could have had separate access : these in the western range and the Prince's Chamber by means of the staircase just mentioned ; and the Great Chamber and the chambers opening off the gallery, in the eastern part of the north range, by means of the stair leading from the screens passage. There is no mention of any cocklofts over the northern range in 1594 ; possibly the first floor rooms there still had open roofs, as has been suggested ; or if there were cocklofts, they were probably used only for storage and had no glazing or other fittings to be listed.

The inventory next moves back to the ground floor, east of the screens passage, to describe the buttery (= 14), with a window of six lights, and the kitchen (= 15), with a window of ten lights. Then come the cellars. The 'street cellar' was apparently under the northern end of the western range (under the site of one or more of the medieval shops) ; it may have had a separate way down from the street, in the medieval manner.³³ It evidently served as a kind of bar or tap-room, for it was fitted with long tables, forms and benches. The 'middle cellar' and the two 'little cellars' are presumably to be identified

³³ Cf. the cellar entrances at Tackley's Inn (106-7 High Street), and at 126 High Street, Oxford.

with those still existing under the parlour, hall and buttery; these were furnished with 'settles' to support the beer casks, bins to hold bread and shelves to hang pots on. The 'chamber behind the kitchen' (= 16) and the 'ostler's chamber' (= 17), next mentioned in the inventory, were probably in a wing running north of the buttery; a wing in this position is shown in Loggan's view.

Several stables are mentioned in the 1594 inventory: a 'lower stable' two 'upper stables', and an 'osty stable'; these were probably partly in the eastern range of the courtyard (= 19, 20, 21 on plan) and partly in the north-east corner of the back-yard (= 22 on plan). All these stables except the ostry stable are mentioned as having 'lofts' and therefore cannot have had habitable first floor rooms built over them as yet. The 1656 inventory mentions 'two great stables' and a 'lean-to' stable; the part of these corresponding to 19 and 20 on the plan was probably built over on the first floor by this date. By the end of the eighteenth century the Cross Inn garden at the east end of the site was largely covered with additional stables (cf. pp. 79-80 below).

The 1594 inventory ends by describing over twenty rooms in the 'upper house of Mr. Tarlton's'; this must correspond to No. 3 Cornmarket, also known as 'The Tavern', which had recently been in the tenure of John Tatleton³⁴—a large house, as we have seen. The reconstruction and identification of these rooms must necessarily be a good deal conjectural, since nothing of the early structure survives except some of the rooms on the street (Cornmarket) front. The details of the panelling and windows in the inventory, and the evidence of early plans and views do, however, give us some clues. As has been said, this house consisted of a western block, two rooms thick, on the street; an eastern block, running east and west, along a courtyard; and a connecting passage or gallery. Of these, the western block probably represents the part of the Bull Inn rebuilt c. 1496-1500, while the eastern block was perhaps rebuilt later in the sixteenth century.³⁵ The 1594 inventory evidently starts on the ground floor of the western block with the parlour (= 30 on plan), with its spence (= 31), and the shop parlour (= 29); the Sheriff's chamber was probably the room adjoining on the east (= 32), for the 1656 inventory speaks of it as having an eastern window. The position of the chimney stack and staircase (= 33) on the ground floor of the western block can be inferred

³⁴ *Oxoniensia*, I (1936), 147.

³⁵ At the time when the western block was rebuilt c. 1496-1500, the site of the eastern block was perhaps still occupied by a medieval open roofed hall, with kitchen etc., beyond—there is mention of a louvre for the hall and a slater mending the hall in 1496 (New College Muniments, Repairs Accounts, 1492-1500). In other words, the medieval house here may have had much the same plan as the Cross Inn: shops, parlours and chambers on the street, a hall in the middle, and kitchen, offices and stables at the east end.

THE GOLDEN CROSS, OXFORD

from what survives in the upper stories. The entry passage (= 28) is shown in the 1779 plan, and indeed survived until the house was reconstructed in 1934. The next room described, the Dining Chamber, was clearly a large room, with 88 yards of wainscoting and 24 lights of glass (two bay windows ?) ; this probably occupied the whole of the first floor on the street side (= 67). This is now divided into two rooms, by a modern partition, but was originally one room, as a brace at the east end of the central beam indicates. The 'Chamber within the Dining Chamber' was probably the room adjoining on the east (= 68), with a closet attached (= 69). The next three rooms described probably occupied the second floor of the west wing : the 'Elme Chamber', the 'White Chamber' and the 'Chamber next unto the street adjoining to the said White Chamber'. The latter was probably the northern room on the street front, now known as the Painted Room, containing a remarkable series of mid-sixteenth-century wall-paintings,³⁶ which would have been covered by wainscoting by the time of the 1594 inventory. The next three rooms, the 'inner Chamber next to the court', 'the Great Chamber by the court', and the 'Little Chamber adjoining to the said Great Chamber', probably formed the first floor of the back wing running along the courtyard (= 73, 74, 75). These rooms probably had their chimneys on the south side and their windows looking north on to the courtyard. Between describing the Inner Chamber and the Great Chamber, the inventory mentions a cockloft and some stairs. The wording is rather obscure, as probably some words have been left out ; but the cockloft was probably in the roof space over the Great Chamber, etc., and the staircase was probably in the south-west corner (= 72), serving all three stories of the back wing. There was a staircase (of eighteenth-century date) in this position in 1779 ; a carved fragment of this is preserved in the Painted Room. The next room described, the 'Chamber over the pump', was perhaps in the small wing that projected south of the western wing (= 70) ; the room below this on the ground floor was described in 1779 as a wash-house, and the room above, on the second floor, contained some sixteenth century wall-paintings discovered when the building was reconstructed in 1934.³⁷ The 'gallery' next described was no doubt the first floor passage connecting the eastern and western blocks of the house (= 71) ; this may have had unglazed openings towards the courtyard, like some inn-galleries, since the inventory mentions no glazing here, except for five lights at the stair head (this may refer to either staircase 66 or staircase 72). The gallery had a cockloft above it. The inventory then apparently descends to the ground floor, where the 'little kitchen' (= 37), 'great kitchen' (= 38), and 'pastry' (= 39) probably

³⁶ *Journal of British Arch. Assocn.*, N.S. xxxvii (1932), 75 ff.

³⁷ *Oxoniensia*, 1 (1936), 144 ff.

occupied the ground floor of the back wing ; there was certainly a kitchen and pantry here in 1779. The larder in 1594 perhaps projected north across the east end of the courtyard ; there was a parlour in this position in 1779. The inventory mentions the courtyard as being furnished with a bench by the kitchen door and another under the larder window, together with a table—which suggests a pleasant, Vermeer-like picture of *al fresco* entertainment in an Oxford courtyard. There were two cellars in 1594, one next the street (under 30), the other behind it (under 32). The ‘upper house’ or Tavern possessed a small garden, 48 ft. by 24 ft., which lay detached, a little to the east ; it had to be approached through a piece of passage ground, which belonged to Christ Church, and it adjoined the Cross Inn garden. The ‘upper house’ was as richly furnished as the Cross Inn, but in contrast to the latter, most of the rooms were wainscoted ‘up to the top’, i.e. without painted borders.

The 1656 inventory adds a few rooms not mentioned in 1594. Two of these, ‘Worcester Chamber’ and the ‘Founder’s Chamber’, come immediately after New College Chamber ; they probably represent first-floor rooms recently built over the stables at the east end of the Cross Inn courtyard (= 59 and 60 on plan). Loggan’s view shows in this position a substantial range, at least two stories high, running north and south, with a row of three gables on the east side overlooking the Inn garden. The Founder’s Chamber must have been a very large, well-lit room ; it had no less than sixty-five lights, which probably represent about four large bay windows, perhaps with small flanking windows. This building would, I think, have been contemporary with and in the same style as the Old Palace (1622-8) or Kemp Hall (1637) or 35 Holywell (c. 1626) ; in the latter, the bay windows originally had small flanking windows of the type just mentioned. From the Founder’s Chamber the 1656 inventory passes direct to the Sheriff’s Chamber, described in 1594 as being in the ‘upper house’ (No. 3 Cornmarket). It looks as though one could pass direct from the south-east corner of the Cross Inn, perhaps by an outside staircase, and so across the two courtyards of the Inn and the ‘upper house’, into the western wing of the ‘upper house’. This would be all the easier if, as I think, the southern range of the Cross Inn was not yet built in 1656. The 1656 inventory does not appear to deal with the rooms of the ‘upper house’ (No. 3 Cornmarket), except for the Sheriff’s Chamber ; but it does on the other hand describe some of the rooms of ‘Mr Miles his Howse’ (No. 4 Cornmarket), which is also described in the contemporary lease as Bowne’s tenement. The ‘low room’ was probably the ground floor back room (= 25 on plan), and the ‘chamber towards the street’ the ground floor front room (= 23). I have conjecturally placed the chimney stack and staircase between the two, on the plan—a common arrangement in small Oxford houses. ‘Boone’s Chamber’ was probably the

THE GOLDEN CROSS, OXFORD

first floor front room (= 62 on plan), the principal room of the house ; the 1656 inventory describes this immediately after the Low Gate Chamber of the Cross Inn ; this probably means that at this time Boone's Chamber was attached to the Cross Inn, with a communicating door. The 1656 inventory also mentions the ' Chamber over Boone's Chamber ', as part of Mr. Miles's house.

In the 1697 inventory a good many new rooms are mentioned, with picturesque names : the Temple, the Star, the Wiltshire, the Maiden Head, the Angel, the King's Head, Lowse Hall (!), the London, Gloucester Hall, the Dovehouse. These were probably in the south range. This practice of giving fancy names, like inn signs, to the various rooms of an inn or a tavern is borne out by other inventories of the seventeenth century, and it is familiar to us from certain passages in Shakespeare : ' Anon, anon, sir ! Score a pint of bastard in the Half-moon.' ' Anon, anon, sir ! Look down into the Pomgarnet, Ralph.' (Henry IV, Part I, Act II, Sc. IV) ; ' Thou didst swear to me upon a parcel-gilt goblet, sitting in my Dolphin-chamber, at the round table, by a sea-coal fire . . .' (Henry IV, Part II, Act II, Sc. I)—Mistress Quickly seems to be speaking the language of the inventories. It seems probable from the 1697 inventory that by that time the hall and parlour had already been thrown into one and called the ' Great Parlour '.³⁸

The inventories of 1594 and 1656 record fixtures belonging to the landlords, but unfortunately not movable furniture belonging to the tenants. It is probable however that all the rooms in the inn, except the hall, the ground floor parlours, the kitchen and buttery, had beds in them ; each room would have one or more ' standing beds ' and one truckle bed (for a child or servant), and most of the rooms would be furnished with tables, chairs and forms, serving as what we should call bed-sitting rooms, in which meals would probably be served.

The inventory of Thomas Breese, tenant of the Cross Inn (1623)³⁹ gives his furniture ; this probably represents the contents of the Cross Inn and perhaps also of the adjoining tenement, No. 4 Cornmarket, but unfortunately the furniture is not allotted among the different rooms. Thirty-one tables are listed ; of these the ten " long tables " would be distributed among the ground floor rooms (hall and parlours) and probably also in some of the bigger upstairs rooms such as the Great Chamber and New College Chamber, while the sixteen

³⁸ The inventory attached to the 1727 lease describes the Hall and parlour as separate rooms, but this seems to be a verbatim copy of the 1656 inventory.

³⁹ Below, p. 70. A good idea of the distribution of furniture in a contemporary inn can be seen from an inventory of the Cardinal's Hat at Lincoln, in 1616, printed in *The Story of the Cardinal's Hat*, p. 20.

side tables and five 'drawing tables' (i.e. extending tables) would be distributed throughout the chambers. There were twenty-four chairs of various types, forty stools and twelve forms. There were forty-seven beds; of these twenty were truckle beds, and the remainder were more or less of the 'standing bed' type—nine 'half-bedsteads', nine 'field-bedsteads', and nine 'slope-bedsteads' (?). The Cross Inn itself contained about fifteen bedchambers (including servants' rooms in the cocklofts and behind the kitchen): if the beds were distributed among these, there would be about three beds to a room on an average. If however we include five or six rooms in the adjoining tenement, No. 4 Cornmarket, the average would be rather more like two beds to a room.

The inventory of 1697 gives a very summary list of furniture, room by room. The Great Parlour, the Little Parlour, the King's Head, Lowse Hall, and the Dovehouse were furnished with tables and chairs, and were evidently used as sitting-rooms only. All the other rooms, now numbering twenty-six, have each a bed—even the great Founder's Chamber with its sixty-five light windows! All the beds have a valence and curtains except those in the Tapster's room and the 'Horseler's' (ostler's) room. New College Chamber had four 'scutcheons', probably sconces for lights.

The inventories of the inn give a rich impression of comfort, prosperity and good craftsmanship. A good deal of capital must have been sunk in the fittings and furniture of such a house; in 1594 the Cross Inn and the upper house between them contained 1131 [square] yards of wainscoting and 426 [square] ft. of glass. One of these big Oxford houses would perhaps bear comparison with a contemporary burgher's house at Augsburg or Lubeck. The wealth of Oxford was not all concentrated in the Colleges, nor must we imagine the Oxford tradesmen as a depressed class.

I will conclude this part of the paper with a more detailed description of the 'painted room' which contains the wall paintings which are described below by Mr. Clive Rouse. This is the room which I have identified with the 'Prince's Chamber' of the 1594 inventory (= 52 on plan). It is at the west end of the north range, on the first floor, over what was the parlour. Like the rest of the north range, the room is a timber-framed structure of the late fifteenth century, with a bay window on the south side and another window (now blocked) on the north-west corner (cf. FIG. 12). The room originally extended several feet further westwards than it now does, as is shown by the way in which the present west wall cuts into the blocked north-west window; in its original form, the room must have been about 26 ft. long from east to west by about 19 ft. wide from north to south. Somewhere about the year 1550 two changes were made. (i) The present west wall (a timber-framed partition)

W. A. PANTIN AND E. CLIVE ROUSE

was inserted, which had the effect of cutting off a narrow lobby to the west ; this lobby seems to have been connected with a staircase at its southern end and provided access both to this painted chamber and to the rooms in the western range looking on to the street. The new western partition wall now has two blocked doors in it, one at each end. The door at the southern end (= *a* on plan) may be comparatively modern. The other door at the northern end (= *b* on plan), which is smaller, seems to be the original door of *c.* 1550, made to give access to the lobby beyond. The upper part of the western partition wall forms a kind of cove sloping forward to meet a large beam which crosses the room at this point. (ii) At the same time the present chimney stack was inserted on the north side. That this is an insertion is clear from the fact that the original timber framing and plaster surface continue behind the chimney stack ; and Mr. Martyn Jope tells me that he thinks the bricks used are of the mid-sixteenth century. It seems rather unlikely that important rooms like this and the parlour below it had no chimney at all when built at the end of the fifteenth century ; possibly the original chimney was at the western end, and then the present chimney on the north side had to be inserted when the western end of the room was cut off.

After these structural alterations were made, *c.* 1550, the decoration of the room went through three stages. (i) The first series of wall-paintings, in black and white, in an Italianate style, were probably made at the time of the alterations, *c.* 1550 ; they covered the whole of the west wall, up to the ceiling, and similarly the whole of the north wall above and around the fireplace. Presumably the wall-paintings continued all round the room, but they have now entirely disappeared on the south and east sides except for a fragment on the south side. (ii) At some date not later than 1594 these paintings came to be regarded as old-fashioned ; at any rate, they were covered up with wainscoting up to a height of just over 6 ft. This left a strip of the old wall-painting remaining above the top of the wainscoting, which was probably either white-washed over, or covered by a painted border on linen or canvas cloth.⁴⁰ (iii) At some date between 1594 and 1604 the space above the wainscoting was repainted with a coloured floral design which included a cartouche over the fireplace, enclosing the initials PVA ; these almost certainly stand for Pearse Underhill and Anne his wife. Pearse Underhill was the brother-in-law of William Hough Senior, the tenant of the Cross Inn on whose death the 1594 inventory was made. Underhill was already tenant of No. 4 Cornmarket in 1583,⁴¹ and he probably became the occupant of the Cross Inn soon after

⁴⁰ But note that there is no mention of a 'painted border' in this room in the 1594 inventory.

⁴¹ *Oxonienisia*, 1 (1936), 147; New College Muniments, Lease Book 5, fo. 223 (I owe this reference to Mr. E. T. Leeds).

THE GOLDEN CROSS, OXFORD

William Hough's death in 1594; he obtained from the University a licence to sell wine or keep an inn on 6 January 1596,⁴² and he died early in 1604.⁴³

APPENDIX I

INVENTORIES OF THE GOLDEN CROSS

(1) *Inventory made on the death of William Hough, 11 June 1594.*

New College, Oxford, Muniments : Oxford, Misc. 14.

[p 3.]

June 11th Anno R. R. Eliz. 36

An Inventory of certaine goods of New Coll : in the Crosse-Inne in ye Cittie of Oxford uppon ye decease of Wm : Hough inholder of ye sd Inne.

In the Hall. [= 11]⁴⁴

Imprimis the wainscott there being x yards at ij s. ye yard.

Item 3 benches and a portall there.

Item the borders of painted clothes there being xxij yards at vj d. the yard.

Item xxxiiij lights of glasse being lxxvij foote at iiij d. the foot and 3 casements at iiij s.

In ye middle parlour. [= 10]

Item the wainscott there and portalls of wainscott being xxxiiij yards at ij s the yard.

Item the benches there.

Item the painted borders there being xvj yards at vj d. the yard.

Item xxvij lights of glasse being lxx foot at iiij d. the foot and 3 casements at iiij s.

In ye street parlour. [= 4-6 ?]

Item the wainscott there being lxxxiiij yards at ij s. the yard.

Item 3 benches there.

Item the painted borders there being xvij yards at vj d. the yard.

Item xxxiiij lights of glasse being lxxxij foot at 4 d. the foot and iiij casements at iiij s.

In ye shopp parlour. [= 2-3 ?]

Item one little table bord a bench and a forme.

Item x lights of glasse there being xx foot at iiij d. a foot and one casement at xij d.

In New Coll : chamber. [= 58]

Item the wainscott round about the same with a portall of wainscott being all lxix yards at iiij s. the yard.

Item the benches there.

Item the painted borders there being xxiiij yards at vj d. the yard.

Item xvij lights of glasse being xliij⁴⁵ foot and a halfe at iiij d. the foot and iiij casements at iiij s.

⁴² A. Clark, *Register of the University of Oxford*, II, part 1 (Oxford Hist. Soc., x, 1887), 323.

⁴³ His will is dated 28 January 1604, and was proved 7 February 1604 (P. C. C. Harte 23; I owe this reference to Mr. E. T. Leeds); the will is printed in A. Acheson, *Shakespeare's Sonnet Story*, pp. 669-71.

⁴⁴ In editing this and the following inventories, I have added these numerals in square brackets; they refer to the 1650 plans, Figs. 13 and 14.

⁴⁵ A correction from xlix?

W. A. PANTIN AND E. CLIVE ROUSE

Item in the gallory there [= 55] xviii foot of glasse at iiij d. the foot and ij casements at ij s.

In ye crowne chamber. [= 57]

Item the wainscott round about the same chamber with a portall of wainscott all being lvj yards at ij s. the yard.

Item the painted borders there being xiiij yards at vj d. the yard.

Item xij lights of glasse being xxxij foot at iiij d. the foot and iij casements at iij s.

In ye chamber where he lay. [= 56]

Item a little wainscott there being at ij s. a yard iiij yards.

Item the painted cloth there being iiij yards at vj d. the yard.

Item the xij lights of glasse being xxxij foot at 4 d. ye foot and iij casements at iij s.

In the great chamber. [= 53]

Item the wainscott about the same with the portall of wainscott all being lxxviii yards at ij s. the yard.

Item the painted borders being xx yards at vj d. the yard.

Item xxiiij lights of glasse being <liiij>⁴⁶ foot at iiij d. ye foot and vj casements at vj s.

<1 li. 7 s. j d.>⁴⁶

[p. 4]

In ye Princes chamber. [= 52]

Item the wainscott about the same being xlviii yards at ij s. the yard.

Items xij lights of glasse being xxxij foot at iiij d. the foot and ij casements at ij s.

In ye low paradise chamber. [= 48]

Item the wainscott about the same and a portall of wainscott being all xxxiiij yards at ij s. the yard.

Item ye painted borders there being x yards at vj d. ye yard.

Item one bench there. <o . . 5 s. . . o>⁴⁷

Item one downe bed and boulder and a wool boulder and one feather bed and one other boulder of feathers and a wool boulder ij paire of blanketts and ij coverings.

Item xij lights of glasse there being xxxij foot at iiij d. the foot and iij casements iij s.

In ye low crosse chamber. [= 47]

Item the wainscott about the same being xli yards at ij s. the yard.

Item ye painted borders there being xiiij yards at vj d. the yard.

Item one bench there. <o . . 4 s. . . o>⁴⁸

Item xij lights of glasse there being xxxij foot at iiij d. the foot and iij casements at iij s.

In low <gate>⁴⁹ chamber. [= 46]

Item the wainscott about the same with the portall of wainscott being all xxxv yards at ij s. the yard.

Item the painted borders there xvj yards at vj d. the yard.

Item xviii lights of glasse there being xxxviii foot at iiij d. the foot and iiij casements iiij s.

⁴⁶ Perhaps added in another hand?

⁴⁷ Added in right margin.

⁴⁸ Added in right margin.

⁴⁹ Interlined.

THE GOLDEN CROSS, OXFORD

- In ye high paradise chamber. [above 48]
 Item the wainscott about the same with ye portall of wainscott being all xliij yards at ij s. ye yard.
 Item xij lights of glasse there being xxxij foot at iiij d. the foot and iij casements at iij s.
 In ye high crosse chamber. [above 47]
 Item the wainscott about the same being xlij yards at ij s. a yard.
 Item x lights of glasse there being xxx foot at iiij d. a foot and iij casements at iij s.
 <In ye high gate chamber. [above 46]
 Item the wainscott about the same with the portall of wainscott all being xliij yards at ij s. the yard.>⁵⁰
 <Item x lights of glasse being xxx foot at iiij d. a foot and iij casements at iij s.>⁵¹
 In ye cockloft over ye same High gate chamber. [above 46]
 Item iiij lights of glasse being vij foot at iiij d. a foot and j casement j s.
 Item ix lights of glasse going doune the staires there [= 50 ?] being xxiiij foot at iiij d. a foote.
 Item a wainscott presse.
 In ye other cockloft of ye Inne being in a range togeather. [above 47-8 ?]
 Item xvj lights of glasse there being xxvij foot at iiij d. a foot and v casements at 5 s.
 Item j little wainscott box and one deske.
 [p. 5 :]
 In ye Buttery. [= 14]
 Item v little shelves in the spence.
 Item vj lights of glasse being xxvij foot at iiij d. a foot and ij casements at ij s.
 <In ye middle sellar. [under 10-11 ?]
 Item ij settles to lay beere on, a bin to put bread in and a shelve with things to hang pots on.>⁵²
 <In ye 2 little sellars. [?]
 Item 3 settles to lay beere on, a binne to put bread in, a shelve to set things on and hang pots on. 1 . . o . . o.>⁵³
 In ye kitchen. [= 15]
 Item x lights of glasse being xx foot at 4 d. a foot.
 <In ye middle seller of the crosse Inne.>⁵⁴
 <Add these 3 to the other Inventarie.>⁵⁵
 <2. Item ij settles to lay beere on, a binne to putt bread in, a forme to sitt on and a shelf with thinges to hang potts on.>⁵⁶
 <In ye 2 little sellers of the crosse Inne.>⁵⁷
 <3. Item iij settles to laye beere on, a binne to put bread in, a shelf to sett things on and to hang potts on.>⁵⁸
 In ye chamber behind ye Kitchin. [= 16 ?]
 Item iij lights of glasse being vij foot & dim. at 4 d. a foot.

⁵⁰ Inserted in another hand.

⁵¹ Added in another hand.

⁵² Added in left margin.

⁵³ Added in left margin.

⁵⁴ Added.

⁵⁵ Added in another hand.

⁵⁶ Added.

⁵⁷ Added.

⁵⁸ Added.

W. A. PANTIN AND E. CLIVE ROUSE

<In the streete seller of ye Crosse Inne. [under 4-6 ?] to comme in there supra.
1. Item ij long tables with ioyned formes and the benches there, iij formes, and the wicker lettice over the benches there.>⁵⁹

In ye Ostlers chamber. [= 17 ?]

Item iij lights of glasse being ix foot at iij d. a foot.

In ye lower stable. [cf. 19-22]

Item the planckes, rackes and mangers.

Item a binne to put in horse provender, a wheelbarrow and some peeces of timber there.

Item in the loft of the same stable of loose boards and plankes with laths and some peeces of timber there.

In ye ij upper stables. [cf. 19-22]

Item the planckes, rackes and mangers there.

Item the boards of the lofts of the same stables and the joysts there.

In ye Ostry stable. [cf. 19-22]

Item the racke, manger and planckes.

In ye parlour of ye same upper howse of Mr Tarltons. [= 30 ?]

Item the wainscott round about to ye toppe and portall of wainscott all being liij yards at ij s. 4 d. a yard.

Item two benches there.

Item xvj lights of glasse being xlj foot at iij d. a foot and ij casements at ij s.

Item ij little shelves in a little spence there. [= 31 ?]

In ye shoppe parlour of the same upper howse. [= 29 ?]

Item ye boards of firre and elme on both ye sides there.

Item xij lights there being xxiiij foot at iij d. a foot and ⁶⁰ casements at ij s.

In ye sheriffes chamber of the upper howse. [= 32 ?]

Item the wainscott up to the top round about and a portall of wainscott being all lvij yards at ij s. a yard.

Item the benches there.

Item xij lights of glasse there being xxxij foot at iij d. a foot and ij casements at ij s.

[p. 6 :]

In ye dining chamber of the upper house. [= 67 ?]

Item the wainscott up to the topp round about and a portall of wainscott and benches there being lxxxvij yards at ij s. a yard.

Item xxiiij lights of glasse being lvj foot at iij d. a foot and vj casements at vj s.

In ye chamber within ye dining chamber of the upper howse. [68 ?]

Item the wainscott up to the topp round about the same with a portall of wainscott being all lvj yards at ij s. the yard.

Item j great presse of elme standing in a closett in that chamber. [= 69 ?]

Item viij lights of glasse in the same chamber and ij in the closett being all xxj foot at iij d. a foot and iij casements at iij s.

In ye Elme chamber of the said upper howse. [above 68 ?]

Item the wainscott up to the toppe round about with a portall of wainscott being all lxij yards at ij s. a yard.

⁵⁹ Added.

⁶⁰ At MS.

THE GOLDEN CROSS, OXFORD

Item xiiij lights of glasse being xxxij foot at iiij d. a foot and iij casements at iij s.

In ye white chamber of the said upper howse. [above 67 ?]

Item the portall of wainscott there.

Item x lights of glasse being xxviiij foot at iiij d. a foot and iij casements at iij s.

In the chamber next unto ye street adjoyning to ye said white chamber [above 67 ?]

Item the wainscott up to the topp with a little portall of wainscott there being all lj yards and a halfe at ij s. the yard.

Item x lights of glasse being xxviiij foot at iiij d. a foot and iij casements at iij s.

In ye inner chamber next to ye court of ye upper howse. [= 73 ?]

Item the wainscott up to the toppe round about with a portall of wainscott being all lj yards at ij s. a yard.

Item viij lights of glasse in the same chamber being xvj foot at iiij d. a foot and ij casements at ij s. and viij lights of glasse in the said cockloft⁶¹ being xxe foot at iiij d. a foot and iij casements at iij s.

Item xiiij lights of glasse going downe the staires [= 66 or 72 ?] of the said upper howse being xxxv foot at iiij d. a foot and iiij casements at iij s.

In ye great chamber by the court of ye upper howse. [= 74 ?]

Item the wainscott up to the toppe round about with a portall of wainscott being all lxvij yards at ij s. a yard.

Item i bench there.

Item xxvij lights of glasse there being lxvij foot at iiij d. a foot and vj casements at vj s.

In ye little chamber adjoyning to ye said great chamber. [= 75 ?]

Item the wainscott up to the top round about being xxxiiij yards at ij s. a yard.

Item ix lights of glasse being xij foot at iiij d. a foot and iij casements at iij s.

[p. 7 :]

In ye chamber over ye pumpe. [= 70 ?]

Item j portall wainscott and halfe the chamber wainscotted with benches.

Item vij lights of glasse being xij foot at iiij d. a foot and iij casements at iij s.

In ye gallory of ye said upper howse. [= 71]

Item a backe of wainscott.

Item v lights of glasse at the staire head there being vij foot at iiij d. a foot.

In ye cockloft over the gallory. [above 71]

Item ix lights of glasse being xvij foot at iiij d. a foot and iij casements at iij s.

In ye little Kitchin of ye said upper howse. [= 37 ?]

Item i table board, ij benches with a backe of wainscott.

In ye great Kitchin larder⁶² of ye said upper howse [= 38 and 40 ?]

Item iiij dresser boards.

Item iiij boards in ye larder, v shelves, i cupboard.

Item v lights of glasse in the larder being xj foot at iiij d. a foot and j casement at xij d. and xij lights of glasse in the great Kitchin being l foot at iiij d. a foot.

In the Pastry in ye said upper howse. [= 39 ?]

Item ij moulding tables and one shelve, one bench and one dresser board.

⁶¹ Sic MS.; some words are probably omitted.

⁶² Sic MS.; probably for Kitchin and larder.

W. A. PANTIN AND E. CLIVE ROUSE

In ye backside of the said upper howse.
Item in the garden adjoyning to the same backside the pales.

⟨In the court of the said upper howse.⟩ [= 41]

Item i bench at ye kitchin door with a back of boards, i bench under the larder window and a back of boards, and some elme boards under the table there.]⁶³

In ye Seller next to the street there. [under 29 and 30]

Item ij settles to set beere on.

In ye inner Seller. [under 32]

Item i settle to lay beere on.

Item i shelve to set things and hang pots on.

Exhibitum hoc (inter cetera) pro vero pleno et perfecto inventario omnium bonorum in hospitio vocato le Crosse Inne existentium 16^o Julii Anno Dom : 1594 Thomae Flexney Regist' commissarii Oxon' dioces'.

Copia inde extract' per Iacobum Taylour servientem predicti Thomae.

Captum erat hoc inventarium 16^o ⟨Junii⟩⁶⁴ 26^o Eliz :

per Richardum Browne

Henry Dodwell

Richard Good

Thomas Harris

et Robert Mallett.

[endorsed on p. 1 :]

THE CROSSE INN

See in the 5th page and adde those 3 inserted there, to that other Inventory which I sent you.

(2) *Inventory made on the death of Thomas Breese, 30 Nov. 1623.*

Oxford University Archives : Inventories.

A trewe and perfect Inventory of all the goods and chattels which were the goods and chattels of Thomas Breese late of Oxon', deceased, in his life time and att the time of his death, taken and prised by William Dewy of the Universitie of Oxon' Master of Arts and Thomas Cooper of the same ⟨sadler⟩⁶⁵ the last day of November 1623 Anno Regni Regis Iacobi 21^o.

Imprimis all the pewter of all sorts weying 300 li. weyght prised att

13 li.—0—0

Item all the Brasse of all sorts weying 208 li. or thereabouts

12 li.—0—0

Item all the yron stuffe of all sorts weying 492 li. or thereabouts

6 li.—3s.—0

Item all the hay and strawe in and about the house

40 li.—0—0

Item all the Oats and provender

7 li.—10—0

Item all the wood, coales and other fewell

20 li.—0—0

Item three horse beastes⁶⁶ and their furniture

12 li.—10—0

Item ladders, sawes, wedges, shoules, spades, pronges, pickaxe, tressells and all other lumber in and about the stables, out-houses and cocklofts

2 li.—10—0

In the kitchen ⟨and larders⟩⁶⁷ a payre of Racks, an yron barre, a a cubbord, a jacke and chaines, all the shelves and dressers, tubbs, bowels, chayres, stooles, and all other utensels and lumber therein

⁶³ Added.

⁶⁴ Insertion over Julii struck through.

⁶⁶ bease MS.

⁶⁵ Over a word struck through.

⁶⁷ Added.

THE GOLDEN CROSS, OXFORD

not before prised	7 li.—0—0
In and about the backside foure bushells, a pecke, settells, pigeons and pigeonholes, a choach house of bords and all other lumbar in and about the same	4 li.—0—0
Item five drawing tables	10 li.—0—0
Item sixteene syde tables	5 li.—6s.—8d.
Item tenne longe tables	7 li.—10s.—0
Item fower courtcubbards	3 li.—10 s.—0
Item twelve formes	1 li.—10 s.—0
Item Turkyewoorke chayres tenn	6 li.—13 s.—4 d.
Item Yrish stich chayers fower	1 li.—6 s.—8 d.
Item Russhie chayers fower	1 li.—13 s.—4 d.
Item fower other leather chayers	1 li.—3 s.—4 d.
Item two carved wooden chayers	0—16 s.—0
Item feild bedsteeds nine <with there furniture> ⁶⁸	31 li.—0—0
Item slope ⁶⁹ bedsteeds nine <with there furniture> ⁶⁸	22 li.—10s.—0
Item halfe bedsteeds nine	3 li.—10 s.—0
Item trucklebedsteeds twenty	3 li. 16 s.—0
Item twelve payre of billowes	0—18 s.—0
Item three downbeeds and there boulders	26 li.—13 s.—4 d.
Item forty two fetherbeeds and there boulders	160 li.—0—0
Item three flockbeeds and there boulders	1 li.—13 s.—4 d.
Item thirty seven Ruggs	37 li.—0—0
Item five other coverings	2 li.—16 s.—0
Item thirtye two downe pillowes	11 li.—10 s.—0
Item blankets 51	17 li.—0—0
Item joyned stooles 30	1 li.—10 s.—0
Item lowe stooles sixe	1 li.—6 s.—8 d.
Item fower old stooles	0—4 s.—0
Item 3 greene velvet pillowes	1 li.—10 s.—0
Item 4 greene silke cushions	1 li.—6 s.—8 d.
Item two greene cubbord clothes	1 li.—2 s.—0
Item twenty fower cushions	4 li.—0—0
Item one Turkie woorke carpett	2 li.—0—0
Item other carpeting <of divers sorts about 66 yards> ⁷⁰	6 li.—12 s.—0
Item three cheestes of linnen	120 li.—0—0
Item two yellowe say curtaines	0—16 s.—0
Item close stooles, 2 payre of tables	2 li.—10 s.—0
Item all the silver plate weying	69 li.—16 s.—0
Item in the sellars, tresselles stilling benches shelves a binn and other lumbar	1 li.—10 s.—0
Item 8 leather bucketts	2 li.—0—0
Item in debts good and badd by bound, bill and booke	154 li.—9 s.—0
Item the lease of the Crosse Inne with the appurtenances	100 li.—0—0
Item all his wearing apparrell	10 li.—0—0

⁶⁸ Added.

⁷⁰ Added.

⁶⁹ sic MS.

W. A. PANTIN AND E. CLIVE ROUSE

Item a still, a muskett furnished and a holberte	3 li.—10 s.—0
Item (three linnen wheelles), ⁷¹ all the benches, shelves, (old chests) ⁷¹	
and all other loose utenseells and lumber not before particularly	
inventoried	3 li.—0—0
Summa totalis	1087 li.—17 s.—4 d.

prised by us Will : Dewy
William Cooper

Vicesimo octavo die mensis Iunii anno Domini 1627 per Aliciam Brise relictam et executricem testamenti Thomae Brise dum vixit mariti sui defuncti exhibitum fuit hoc presens inventarium pro vero et perfecto omnium et singulorum bonorum iurium creditorum et catallorum dicti defuncti cum protestatione de addendo eidem si plura ad eius notitiam et possessionem pervenerint

Ita testor Rogerus Iones notarius publicus registrarius cancellarii universitatis Oxon⁷.

[*endorsed :*]

Inventarium bonorum Thomae Brise Signi Hospitii Crucis.

(3) *Inventory attached to a lease of the Cross Inn, 15 March 1656.*

New College, Oxford, Muniments : Oxford, St. Martin's Leases, No. 2.

[p. 2 :]

The inventory or Schedule indented of all such Wainscott, Glasse, Casements and other moveables being ye proper goods of ye Warden and Scholars of St. Mary Colledge of Winchester in Oxford Commonly called New Colledge in Oxford as are dimised by Lease to John Smith of Weston upon ye Greene in ye County of Oxon⁷ within named Gent. together with ye said Crosse Inne and there to remaine and abide until they ye said Warden and Scholars and their Successors shall otherwise dispose off them upon ye Determinacion of ye present Lease or of any other hereafter granted by them.

In the Hall. [= 11]

34 Lights of Glasse with 3 Iron Casements. 1 partition at ye East end with a doore and an Iron Bolt. 1 long bench on ye South Side. Wainscott at ye West end with a short bench. Wainscott with a bench between ye Chimney and ye Parlour Doore. Painted Clothes at ye West end and on ye north side above ye Wainscott. 1 Bench with a Backe by ye Chimney.

In the Parlour. [= 10]

28 Lights of Glasse and two Iron Casements. Wainscott round ye roome with a Bench on ye southside and by ye Portall. 2 Portalls. 4 Doores with Locks and Keyes.

In the Paradice Chamber. [= 48]

24 Lights of Glasse with 5 Iron Casements. Wainscott round ye roome with 2 Benches, one on ye West side and ye other on ye North side. The Doore hath an Iron Latch and Bolt.

In the Princes Chamber. [= 52]

18 Lights of Glasse and 3 Casements. Wainscott round ye roome and 2 benches one on ye South side and ye other on ye West side. Two Doores. 1 Locke and Key and an Iron bolt to ye Outer Doore.

⁷¹ *Added.*

THE GOLDEN CROSS, OXFORD

In the Great Chamber. [= 53]

Wainscott round ye roome a Portall. 2 doores. 2 Latches. 2 bolts. A short bench on ye South side. 24 Lights of Glasse and 6 Iron Casements.

In the Crowne Chamber. [= 57]

Wainscott round ye roome with a Portall. 2 doores. 2 bolts. one Locke and one Latch. 1 Doore more with a bolt. 18 Lights of Glasse. 3 Casements.

In the Little Crowne Chamber. [= 56]

12 Lights of Glasse and 3 Casements.

In the Gallerie. [= 55] 5 Lights of Glasse and 1 Casement.

In New Colledge Chamber. [= 58]

Wainscott round with a Portall. 3 doores. 1 Locke and Key with a Latch and painted Clothes. 21 Lights of Glasse, and 3 Iron Casements.

In Worcester Chamber. [= 59]

Wainscott and Boards Coloured in ye Manner of Wainscott round ye roome (2 bed places excepted) 1 Doore with a Spring Locke and Key. 2 Benches and Painted Cloathes.

In the Founders Chamber. [= 60]

Wainscott round ye roome. 2 doores. 2 Locks. 2 bolts. 65 lights of Glasse with 14 Casements.

In the Sheriffes Chamber. [32]

12 Lights of Glasse. 4 Casements. 1 Doore with Locke and Latch. Wainscott by ye Chimney and under ye East Window. Boards on ye South side.

In the Folks Chamber. [?]

Wainscott on ye East side. Boards Coloured on ye one halfe of ye South side. Wainscott and Coloured Boards on ye West side and on ye north part. 1 Doore and Locke and Key. 3 lights of Glasse and 2 Casements.

In the Kitching. [= 15] 8 Lights of Glasse. 2 doores Locke and Key and 2 Bolts.

In the Larder. [= 14 ?] 5 lights of Glasse. 2 Casements. 2 Doores. 2 Locks and Keyes. 1 Latch.

In the Streete Seller of the Crosse Inne. [under 4-6]

2 long tables with Ioyned fformes and ye benches there. 3 fformes and ye Wicker Lettice over ye benches there.

In the Middle Seller of the Crosse Inne. [under 10-11 ?]

2 Settles to lay beare on. a Binn to put Bread. A forme to sitt on, and a shelve with things to hang Potts on.

In the <2>⁷² Little Seller of the Crosse Inne. [?]

3 Settles to lay beare on. a Binn to putt bread in, a shelve to sett things on and to hang potts on.

In the 2 Great Stables. [cf. 19-22.] Racks, Mangers and Planks on Both sides.

In the Stable called the Leane-toe. [cf. 19-22.] Racks Mangers and Planks with Particions on ye West side.

⁷² Added.

W. A. PANTIN AND E. CLIVE ROUSE

In the Chamber called the Low Gate. [= 46]
Wainscott round ye roome. 3 Doores. 2 Locks. 2 short benches. 34 lights of Glasse with 8 Casements.

In Boones Chamber. [= 62 ?]
Wainscott round ye roome ye Bed place excepted. a Portall. 2 doores. 1 Locke and Key and a haspe to ye Outer doore. 1 Short Bench. 16 Lights of Glasse and 3 Casements.

In High Gate Chamber. [above 46]
Wainscott Round ye roome. 2 doores. 1 Locke and Key and a haspe. Benches on ye south end and on ye greatest part of ye West side. 24 lights of Glasse with 8 Casements.

In the High Crosse. [above 47]
10 lights of Glasse and 3 Casements. Wainscott under ye Window and on ye north side, and on ye East end with a Portall and on halfe of ye South side. 1 Doore. 1 Latche. 2 Bolts. 1 little bench by ye fire side.

At the Staire Head. [= 50 ?] 3 Lights of Glasse.

In the low roome towards the Streete. [= 4-6 ?]
21 lights of glasse with 3 Casements. Wainscott round. a bench. 1 doore (with a latch).⁷³

In the Shoppe. [= 2-3 ?]
2 lights of Glasse. a Wainscott Particion. a Locke and Key to ye streete Doore.

In the cock Loft. [above 46 ?] 5 lights of Glasse with 1 Casement.

In Mr Miles his Howse [No. 4 Cornmarket].

In the low roome. [= 25 ?] 4 lights of Glasse. 1 Casement. Wainscott under ye Window and soe to ye Chimney and a Bench under ye Window, one Portall with turned Bannisters.

In the Chamber towards the Streete. [= 23 ?] 10 lights of Glasse. 3 Casements.

In the Chamber over Boones Chamber. [above 62 ?] 12 lights of Glasse. 2 Casements. 1 Doore Locke and Key.

In the side of the howse. 1 light of Glasse.

(4) *Inventory made on the death of Charles Wildgoose*,⁷⁴ 10 March 1697.
Oxford University Archives : Inventories.

An inventory of y^e Goods and Chattells of Charles Wildgoose deceas'd prais'd by us whose names are subscrib'd.
Imprimis in y^e Temple.

A Bedstead, Valens and Curtains etc'	12 : 00 : 00 :
Item in High Cross. [above 47]	
A Bedstead, Valens and Curtains etc'	05 : 08 : 01 :
Item in High Gate. [above 46]	
A Bedstead, Valens and Curtains etc'	18 : 12 : 04 :

⁷³ Added.

⁷⁴ Innholder and Manciple of St. John's College, Oxford; his will is dated 11 December 1696.

THE GOLDEN CROSS, OXFORD

Item in Low Gate. [= 46]	
A Bedstead, Valens and Curtains etc'	28 : 11 : 08 :
Item in y ^e Gallery. [= 49 ? or 51 ?]	
A Table and Chairs	01 : 00 : 00 :
Item in y ^e Prince's. [= 52]	
A Bedstead, Valens and Curtains etc'	26 : 03 : 08 :
Item at y ^e Stair Head. [cf. 50]	
A Bedstead, Valens and Curtains etc'	01 : 18 : 06 :
Item in y ^e Great Chamber. [= 53]	
A Bedstead, Valens and Curtains etc'	28 : 19 : 08 :
Item in y ^e Little Crowne. [= 56]	
A Bedstead, Valens and Curtains etc'	11 : 02 : 10 :
Item in Great Cross. ⁷⁵ [= 57 ?]	
A Bedstead, Valens and Curtains etc'	14 : 11 : 01 :
Item in y ^e Maid's Chamber.	
A Bedstead, Valens and Curtain etc'	06 : 18 : 00 :
Item in y ^e Tapster's Room.	
A Bedstead, bed and bolsters etc'	03 : 11 : 07 :
Item in Garery.	
A Bedstead, Valens and Curtains etc'	17 : 18 : 08 :
Item in y ^e Star.	
A Bedstead, Valens and Curtains etc'	09 : 04 : 10 :
Item in y ^e Wiltshire.	
A Bedstead, Valens and Curtains etc'	13 : 07 : 10 :
Item in y ^e Maiden Head.	
A Bedstead, Valens and Curtains etc'	08 : 08 : 00 :
Item in y ^e Angell.	
A Bedstead, Valens and Curtains etc'	09 : 03 : 00 :
Item in y ^e Kings Head.	
Tables and Chairs etc'	01 : 08 : 00 :
Item in Lowse Hall.	
Tables and Chairs etc'	01 : 07 : 00 :
[left margin :] 219 ^{ll} : s 14 : 09 ^d .	
Item in y ^e New College. [= 58]	
A Bedstead, Valens and Curtains etc'	20 : 11 : 09 : d.
4 Scutcheons	00 : 02 : 00 :
Item in y ^e Wooster. [= 59]	
A Bedstead, Valens and Curtains etc'	12 : 06 : 00 :
Item in y ^e London.	
A Bedstead, Valens and Curtains etc'	13 : 09 : 04 :
Item in y ^e Founder's Roome. [= 60]	
A Bedstead, Valens and Curtains etc'	16 : 11 : 07 : d.
Item in y ^e Sheriffs. [= 32 ?]	
A Bedstead, Valens and Curtains etc'	16 : 15 : 06 :
Item in Glocest ^r : Hall.	
A Bedstead, Valens and Curtains etc'	06 : 13 : 06 : d.

⁷⁵ sic MS., for Crowne ?

W. A. PANTIN AND E. CLIVE ROUSE

Item in y ^e Horseler's bed Room. [= 17]	
A Bedstead, bedding etc'	02 : 15 : 10 :
Item in y ^e Great Parlour. [10 and 11 ?]	
Tables, Chairs etc'	12 : 01 : 00 :
Item in y ^e Dove house.	
Tables, Chairs etc'	01 : 12 : 00 :
Item in M ^r Wildgoose's Chamber.	
A Bedstead, Valens and Curtains etc'	07 : 16 : 11 :
Item in y ^e Maids Roome.	
A Bedstead, Valens and Curtains etc'	03 : 02 : 01 :
Item in y ^e little Parlour.	
A Table, Chairs etc'	01 : 10 : 00 :
Item at y ^e Kitchen Door.	
A Table, Chairs, etc'	00 : 06 : 08 :
Item in y ^e Garretts.	
A Bedstead, Valens and Curtains etc'	01 : 03 : 00 :
[left margin, struck through :] 133 ^{ll} : 05 ^s : 03 ^d : d.	
fo. 2	
Things taken away by M ^{rs} : Wildgoose.	
1 Feather bed, 1 bolster, 2 pillows, 2 blankets, a Rug, a	
Cradle Rug, a flock Quilt, 3 pictures, 4 small pictures, a	
Looking Glass, a Large bible, a Lesser Bible, 10 other	
Books, a large Common prayer book, a dressing box, a	
Chest of Drawers, a p ^r : of bellows, 5 pictures, a Horse to	
dry Cloaths, a beater, a spinningwheel, 15 p ^r : of Sheets,	
16 Table Cloths, 10 Towells, 3 doz : and 4 Napkins, 9	
pillowbers, 8 old coarse Towells, a brass bucket, a	
Chaffin dish, a Gridiron, a p ^r : of Scales, 3 Candlesticks,	
2 Skillets, 4 pewter dishes, 1 massareen, 2 doz : of Plates,	
2 saucers, a pestle and Mortar and other Lumber	16 : 08 : 00 :
[left margin :] 133 ^{ll} : 05 ^s : 03 ^d : d.	
Item for brass and pewter etc'	57 : 16 : 09 :
Item for y ^e Pictures	14 : 00 : 00 :
Item for Tubbs and Chivers	02 : 12 : 06 :
Item for an Iron Grate, spits etc'	07 : 10 : 00 :
Item for a Hovell and other wooden things	04 : 19 : 06 :
Item for Sea coal, Hay and Dung	11 : 05 : 06 :
Item for Hay in y ^e Field	170 : 00 : 00 :
Item for Dung in y ^e field	05 : 15 : 00 :
Item for Sider and Billet etc'	10 : 18 : 02 :
Item for Sheets, Table cloths, Napkins etc'	80 : 16 : 07 :
Item for Damask linen etc'	09 : 19 : 06 :
Item for Beer and Ale etc'	04 : 05 : 05 :
Item for Damaged Hay	00 : 14 : 00 :
Item for a Horse	05 : 00 : 00 :
Item for Dresser boards and shelves etc'	09 : 00 : 00 :
Item for y ^e Plate weighing 386 ounces at 5 ^s : 8 ^d : per ounce	109 : 07 : 04 :
Item for sconces in y ^e stables and other Lumber	01 : 05 : 06 :

THE GOLDEN CROSS, OXFORD

Item rec'd in mony at St : John's Coll : for the Manciple's place	12 : 12 : 08 :
Item of Mr Gadney for latter feed	10 : 10 : 00 :
Item for Gold Rings etc'	06 : 06 : 06 :
Item of Mr Moor for 2 Leases	50 : 00 : 00 :
Item for Pickles	00 : 15 : 02 :
Item of Mr Thompson for his Horse	05 : 00 : 00 :
Item of Mr Vilett for his Horse	06 : 00 : 00 :
Item for a Gun, a Quilt and 6 Chairs	04 : 17 : 00 :
Item for his apparell and ready mony	11 : 15 : 09 :
Item in Good Debts	244 : 04 : 00 :
Item in bad Debts not yet rec'd	104 : 08 : 03 :
	<hr/>
	1314 : 15 : 01 : d.

Hen'. Wise
John Wilkins
Tho : Thurston
Tobias Paine
William Clarkson

Exhibitum fuit huiusmodi Inventarium 10 die Martii 1696/7 apud Oxon' ex parte Bridg : Wildgoose vid : et Jac' Wildgoose fil : Executorum etc' per Gul : Langford pro vero et perfecto Inventario omnium bonorum Car : Wildgoose defuncti quae hactenus etc' sub protestatione de addendo si etc' coram me

Jos : Woodward Registrario.

APPENDIX II

SURVEY OF THE CROSS INN AND ADJOINING TENEMENTS, 21 JULY 1628.

New College, Oxford, Muniments : New College Terriers, p. 194.

The Taverne, Ye Crosse Inne and Another tenement lying together in St Martines Civitatis Oxon'.

A Boundarie of three tenements lying together in ye parish of St Martins in ye Citty of Oxon', whereof the one of them named the Crosse Inne is in ye tenure of [blank] Breese widdowe the assignee of Richard Tomlins. Another of the said tenements is in ye tenure of Richard Astell, alias Myles, the assignee of Richard Tomlins. The third tenement is knowne by the name of the Taverne being in the tenure of Tho : Hallam, Taverner, the assignee of Daniell Hough ; which said three tenements doe belong to ye Warden and Scholars of St Mary College of Winton' in Oxon' commonly called Newe College in Oxon'. Taken 21^o July 1628 in presentia Magistri Tho : Man Vicecustodis et Magistri Tho : Miller unius sociorum eiusdem collegii.

1. *The Crosse Inne*

The west end thereof abutteth on the high streete where the Corne markett is kept and also it abutteth on ye tenement of Tho. Penn.

W. A. PANTIN AND E. CLIVE ROUSE

The east end abutteth partly on ye plot of ground belonging to the Taverne aforesaid and partly on Mr. Tymothie Carters land.

The north side adjoyneth partly to a tenement of Tho. Pen abovesaid and partly to the Inn called the Roe buck being Mr. Abraham Arsdales land.

The south side thereof adjoyneth partly to Richard Astells tenement and partly to the Taverne backside, partly to Christ Church land and partly to ye garden ground of the Taverne and partly to a tenement of Stephen Townsend.

[p. 195 :]

1. *A tenement in ye tenure of Richard Astell alias Myles*

The west end of this tenement abutteth on ye streete where the Corne markett is kept.

The east end on the Crosse Inne Backside.

The south side adjoyneth to the Taverne.

The north side adjoyneth to the Crosse Inne.

3. *The Taverne*

The west end abutteth on ye high streete where the Corne markett is kept.

The east end abutteth partly on Christ Church land and partly on ye Crosse Inn stable.

The north side thereof is bounded partly by the tenement in ye tenure of Richard Astell and partly by the Crosse Inn yard.

The south side of ye Taverne is bounded by divers mens land viz. from ye west end eastward by Mr Abraham Arsdales land, by Mr William Martens land, by Christ Church in ye tenure of William Woodward, and by a tenement in ye tenure of Samuell Cockram.

A garden ground belonging to the said Taverne is bounded partly by ye Crosse Inne and partly by Mr Stephen Townsends tenement on ye east side.

The west side adjoyneth to ye Crosse Inn.

The south end thereof abutteth on a tenement of [blank] Lumbe alias Chillingworth widowe.

The north end abutteth on ye Crosse Inn.

[The plan follows ; it is reproduced as PL. VII.]

APPENDIX III

EXTRACTS FROM LEASES OF THE GOLDEN CROSS

New College Muniments : Oxford, St. Martin's Leases :

No. (1) : 15 March 1656 : lease of the Cross Inn to John Smith of Weston ; the inn was lately in the tenure or occupation of John Walkins, since that of William Hough of the city of Oxford, furrier, and Joan his wife, afterwards of Andrew Leigh of London, gent, and Anne his wife, and of late of John Underhill of London, gent, afterwards knight, and late of Thomas Davis.

No. (2) : a duplicate of No. (1), with an inventory (printed above p. 72).

No. (3) : 15 March 1656 : lease to John Smith of two properties :

(i) Four shops, bounded by the High Street on the West and by the Cross Inn on the East, measuring 24 feet 11½ inches from North to South and 15 feet 2½

THE GOLDEN CROSS, OXFORD

inches from East to West ; Christ Church are lords of the shops and cellarge, and New College of the part above [cf. PL. IX, c];

(ii) A tenement [this is No. 4 Cornmarket, Bowne's tenement] described as follows : ' . . . All that their tenement wherein William Bowne Gent did inhabit and dwell heretofore by ye said Warden and Scholars [of New College] dimised unto Isaac Bartlemew of ye Citty of Oxford in ye County of Oxon, Alderman, deceased, sett . . . between a tenement of ye said Warden (etc) called ye Crosse Inne on ye north side and another tenement of ye said Warden (etc) sometime heretofore in ye tenure or occupacion of Elizabeth Tattleton, deceased, and now of late of Mr Daniel Hough of Lincolne College, batchelor of Divinitie, son of William Hough . . . furrier deceased, on the south. . . . '

No. (4) : 1713 : lease of the Cross Inn, with inventory.

No. (5) : 1713 : lease of four shops and Bowne's tenement.

No. (6) : 1727 : lease of the Cross Inn, with inventory.

No. (7) : 1727 : lease of four shops and Bowne's tenement.

No. (8) : 1741 : lease of four shops and Bowne's tenement.

No. (10) : 9 November 1797 : lease to Daniel Basley of the main premises of the Cross Inn, described as follows : ' . . . All the buildings on the North side of the Cross Inn Yard in the parish of St Martin in the City of Oxford, comprizing the Kitchen and Scullery, Barr and Bed Room, with the Long Room adjoining and all the Apartments over the same, the Buildings on the right hand of the Yard consisting of two Rooms lately used as the Tap, and the Apartments over the same, and a corner of the Yard adjoining, bounded on the east by Mr Lock's new wall and the last described buildings on the west ; the said corner contains from East to West by admeasurement five feet and is bounded by Mr Purbeck's house on the south side thereof. And also the two three-stall-stables and the open stable and the three rooms, granary and loft over the same, together with the back gateway and part of the back yard and an open stable on the eastern extremity of the premises adjoining the Roebuck Stables . . . ' ; the lease is illustrated with a plan, reproduced as PL. VIII.

Nos. (11) and (12) : 9 November 1797 : lease to James Colcutt of a house [No. 4 Cornmarket] described as follows : ' . . . All those two rooms called parlours on the ground floor and the office behind the same, the dining room as far as the outward frame of the third window from the south side extends and two passage rooms and one bedroom adjoining thereto on the first floor, and two passage rooms, two bedrooms and such part of the third bedroom as will form a line downwards with the third window of the said dining room from the centre of the gateway on the second floor, All which rooms and premises do contain in front from north to south to the centre of the said gateway fifteen feet and six inches and in depth from east to west forty-eight feet, and are part and parcel of the messuage or tenement and buildings thereto belonging called the Cross Inn . . . ' ; the lease is illustrated with a plan, reproduced as PL. IX, B.

No. (13) : 9 November 1797 : lease to Richard Cox of stables at the east end of the Cross Inn yard, described as follows : ' . . . All that part of the building belonging to the Inn called the Cross Inn consisting of a stable commonly called or known by the name of the post-horse-stable, two stables adjoining thereto on the west side thereof and a stable adjoining to the said stable called the post-horse-stable at the north end thereof. And also all that part of the backyard adjoining to the

W. A. PANTIN AND E. CLIVE ROUSE

said stables which hath been divided from the other part thereof by gates and brick piers lately erected by the said Richard Cox . . . ; the lease is illustrated with a plan.

No. (14) : 9 November 1797 : lease to Joseph Lock of stables in the south-east corner of the Cross Inn, described as follows : ' . . . All that part of the Inn called the Golden Cross . . . formerly demised to John Shrubbs as consists of a three-stall stable, and all that south part of the stable adjoining thereto as it is now divided or is intended to be divided from the other part thereof by a wall, which said three-stall stable and the said part of the stable adjoining thereto measure in clear from north to south thirty one feet and six inches or thereabouts, And also the rooms and parts of rooms and buildings over the said three stall stable and the said part of the stable adjoining thereto containing by admeasurement from north to south thirty one feet six inches or thereabouts. And also the piece of ground used as an Ash-hole and the Rooms and Buildings over the same, and also all that piece of ground adjoining thereto in a line from a certain room lately used as a larder to the corner of the pin of the said stable adjoining the said three stall stable (except five feet of the last mentioned piece of ground from the corner of the said larder) . . . ' ; the lease is illustrated with a plan.

No. (18) : 16 October 1811 : lease to James Sirman of the western range of the Cross Inn (Nos. 6 and 7 Cornmarket), described as follows : ' . . . All those two rooms called parlours on the ground floor fronting the Cornmarket in the parish of Saint Martin in the City of Oxford lately part of the Cross Inn, and the landing place and staircase at the east end of the parlour next the gateway now converted into a little room, and also four rooms over the said rooms on the first floor and four rooms over the same on the second floor up two pairs of stairs, all which rooms and premises do contain in front to the centre of the gateway on the west side thirty five, on the north twenty six feet and on the south side thirty one feet, and have been lately divided from the other part of the said Inn and are now converted into a messuage or tenement, together with the use of the front yard pump and gateway in common with the owners and occupiers of the other part of the premises lately belonging to the said Inn . . . '

Key to the Ground Plan of the Golden Cross, Oxford, and adjoining houses, c. 1650 (FIG. 13).

The Cross Inn

- 1 Gateway.
- 2-5 Four medieval shops, belonging to Oseney, then to Christ Church.
- 2-3 Shop Parlour ? (1594) ; Shop ? (1656).
- 4-6 Street Parlour ? (1594) ; Low Room towards the street ? (1656).
- 7 Stairs.
- 8 Later projection shown in Buckler's view (1824).
- 9 Chimney stack originally serving the Parlour ?
- 10 Middle Parlour (1594) ; Parlour (1656).
- 11 Hall (1594, 1656).
- 12 Screens passage.
- 13 Stairs.
- 14 Buttery (1594) ; Larder ? (1656).
- 15 Kitchen (1594, 1656).

THE GOLDEN CROSS, OXFORD

- 16 Chamber behind the Kitchen ? (1594).
- 17 Ostler's Chamber ? (1594) ; Horseler's Bedroom ? (1656).
- 18 Gateway leading to Stableyard.
- 19-22 Stables.

No. 4 Cornmarket

- 23 Chamber towards the street ? (1656) ; Front Parlour (1797).
- 24 Stairs ?
- 25 Low Room ? (1656) ; Back Parlour (1797).
- 26 Not named in 1656 ; Office (1797).
- 27 Cross Inn Backside (1628) ; site of late seventeenth-century range.

No. 3 Cornmarket (the Upper House, 1594)

- 28 Entry (cf. 1779 plan).
- 29 Shop Parlour ? (1594).
- 30 Parlour ? (1594).
- 31 Spence ? (1594).
- 32 Sheriff's Chamber ? (1594, 1656).
- 33 Stairs.
- 34 Pump ? (1594) ; Mr. C's. Wash house (1779).
- 35 Passage under Gallery.
- 36 Stairs (cf. 1779 plan).
- 37 Little Kitchen ? (1594).
- 38 Great Kitchen ? (1594) ; cf. Mr. C's. Kitchen (1779).
- 39 Pastry ? (1594) ; cf. Mr. C's. Pantry (1779).
- 40 Larder ? (1594) ; cf. Mr. C's. Parlour (1779).
- 41 Courtyard.
- 42 Passage to the Tavern Garden (Christ Church land).

Harding Hall

- 43 Harding Hall.
- 44 Western part of Garden, granted to Magdalen in 1500.
- 45 Eastern part of Garden, retained as Cross Inn Stableyard.

Key to the First Floor Plan of the Golden Cross, Oxford, and adjoining houses,
c. 1650 (FIG. 14).

The Cross Inn

- 46 Low Gate Chamber ? (1594, 1656) ; High Gate Chamber above.
- 47 Low Cross Chamber ? (1594, 1656) ; High Cross Chamber above.
- 48 Low Paradise Chamber ? (1594, 1656) ; High Paradise Chamber above;
High Cross Chamber and High Paradise Chamber perhaps combined in 1656.
- 49 Later extension shown in Buckler's view (1824) ; perhaps the gallery in 1697 ?
- 50 Stairs.
- 51 Lobby, with chimneystack originally serving Prince's Chamber ?
- 52 Prince's Chamber (1594, 1656).
- 53 Great Chamber (1594, 1656).

W. A. PANTIN AND E. CLIVE ROUSE

- 54 Stairs.
- 55 Gallery ? (1594).
- 56 Chamber where he lay (1594) ; Little Crown Chamber (1656).
- 57 Crown Chamber (1594, 1656).
- 58 New College Chamber (1594, 1656).
- 59 Worcester Chamber (1656).
- 60 Founder's Chamber (1656).
- 61 Space over southern Stables ; later converted into rooms (by 1797).

No. 4 Cornmarket

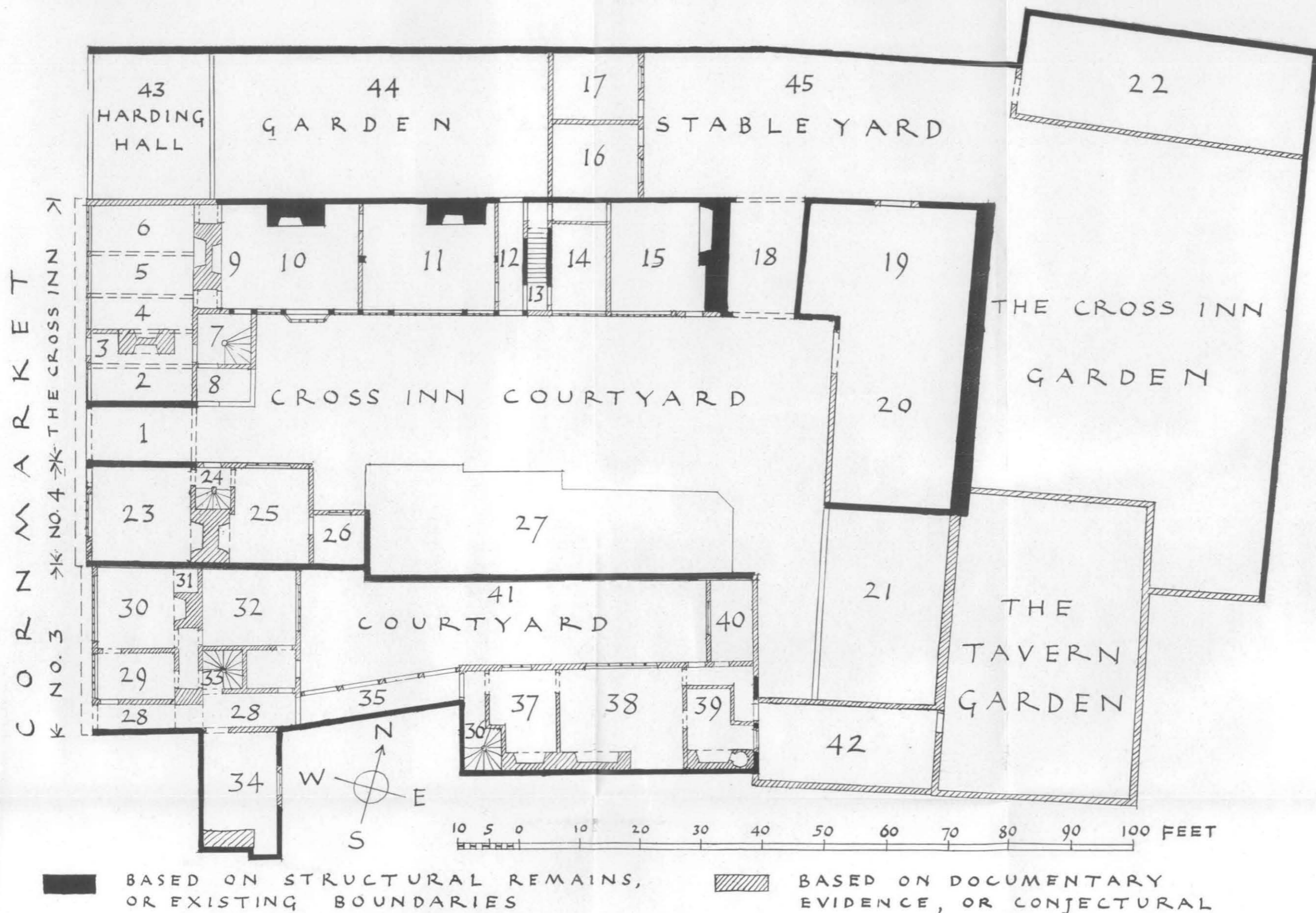
- 62 Boone's Chamber ? (1656).
- 63 Stairs.
- 64, 65 unidentified.

No. 3 Cornmarket (the Upper House, 1594)

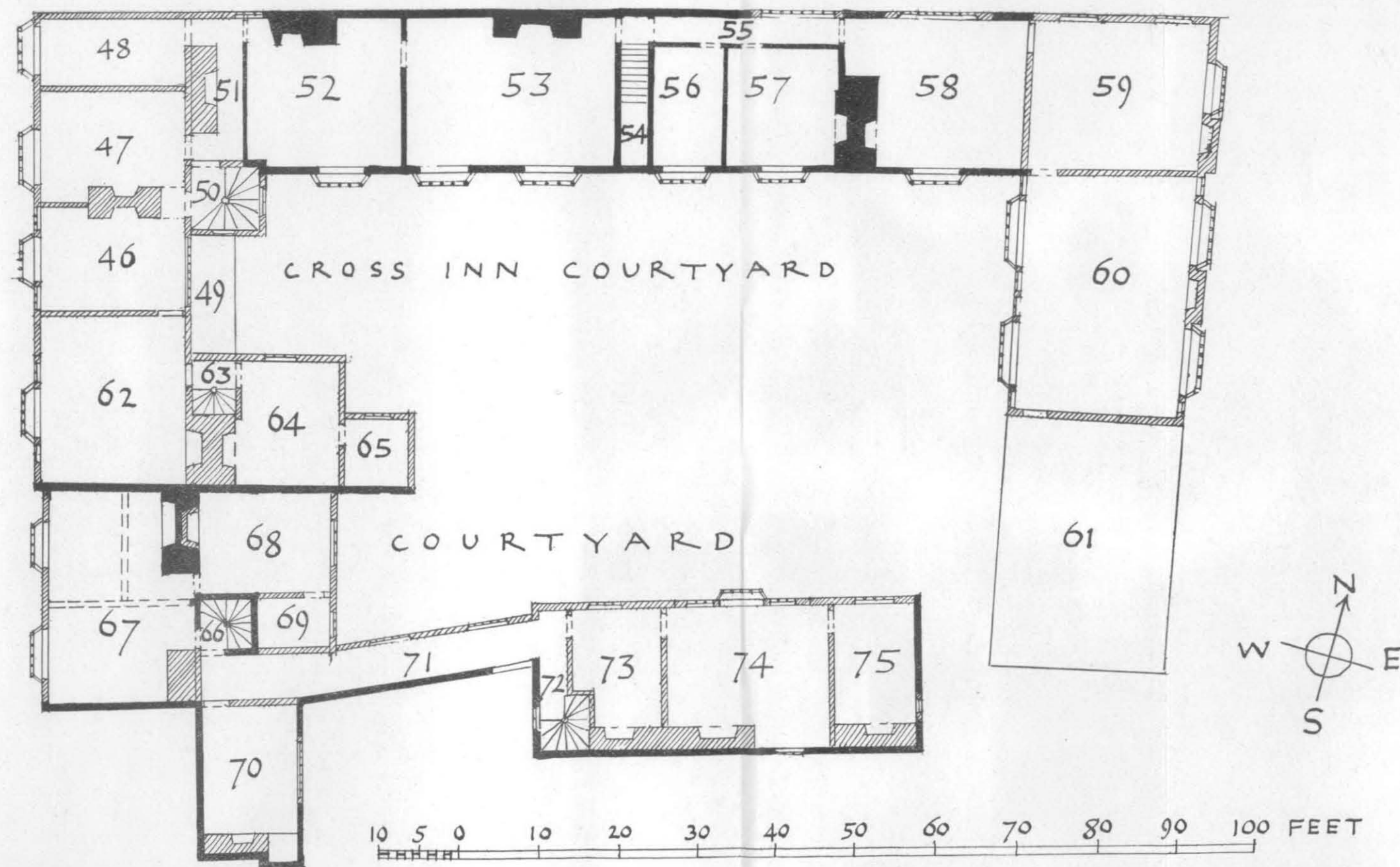
- 66 Stairs.
- 67 Dining Chamber ? (1594) ; White Chamber and Chamber next to the street, above ? (1594).
- 68 Chamber within the Dining Chamber ? (1594) ; Elm Chamber above ? (1594).
- 69 Closet ? (1594).
- 70 Chamber over the Pump ? (1594) ; painted Chamber above.
- 71 Gallery ? (1594) ; cockloft above.
- 72 Stairs ?
- 73 Inner Chamber next to the Court ? (1594).
- 74 Great Chamber by the Court ? (1594).
- 75 Little Chamber adjoining to the Great Chamber ? (1594).

Key to the Ground Plan of the Golden Cross, Oxford, as now existing in 1955 (FIG. 15). The numbers used in this plan correspond, where applicable, to the numbers used in the 1650 plan.

- 1 Gateway.
- 2-8 Modern shops, Nos. 6-7 Cornmarket (Messrs. Boots Cash Chemists) ; rebuilt c. 1910.
- 10-11 Dining room.
- 12 Pantry.
- 13 Stairs, rebuilt.
- 14 Office.
- 15 Kitchen.
- 16-17 Modern outbuildings.
- 18 Gateway.
- 19-20 Bar.
- 22-22A Modern outbuildings.
- 23-6 Modern shop, No. 4 Cornmarket (Messrs. Weeks) ; rebuilt 1923.
- 27A-27D South range, 17th century.
- 30-40 Modern shop, No. 3 Cornmarket (Messrs. Lyons) ; rebuilt 1934.



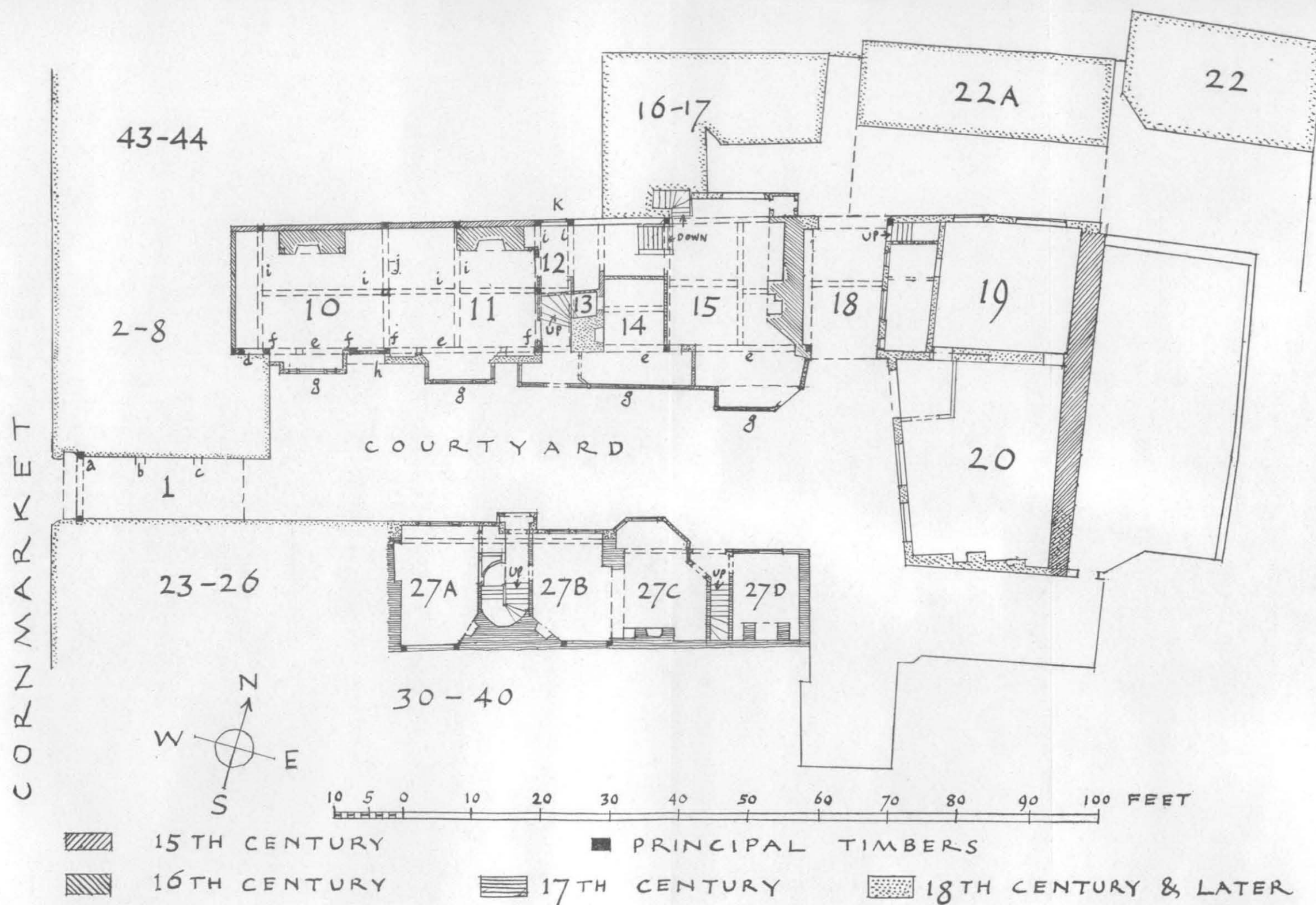
GROUND PLAN OF THE GOLDEN CROSS, OXFORD, AND ADJOINING HOUSES, C.1650.



■ BASED ON STRUCTURAL REMAINS,
OR EXISTING BOUNDARIES.

▨ BASED ON DOCUMENTARY
EVIDENCE, OR CONJECTURAL.

FIRST FLOOR PLAN OF THE GOLDEN CROSS, OXFORD, AND ADJOINING HOUSES, c. 1050.



GROUND PLAN OF THE GOLDEN CROSS, OXFORD, AS EXISTING, 1955.

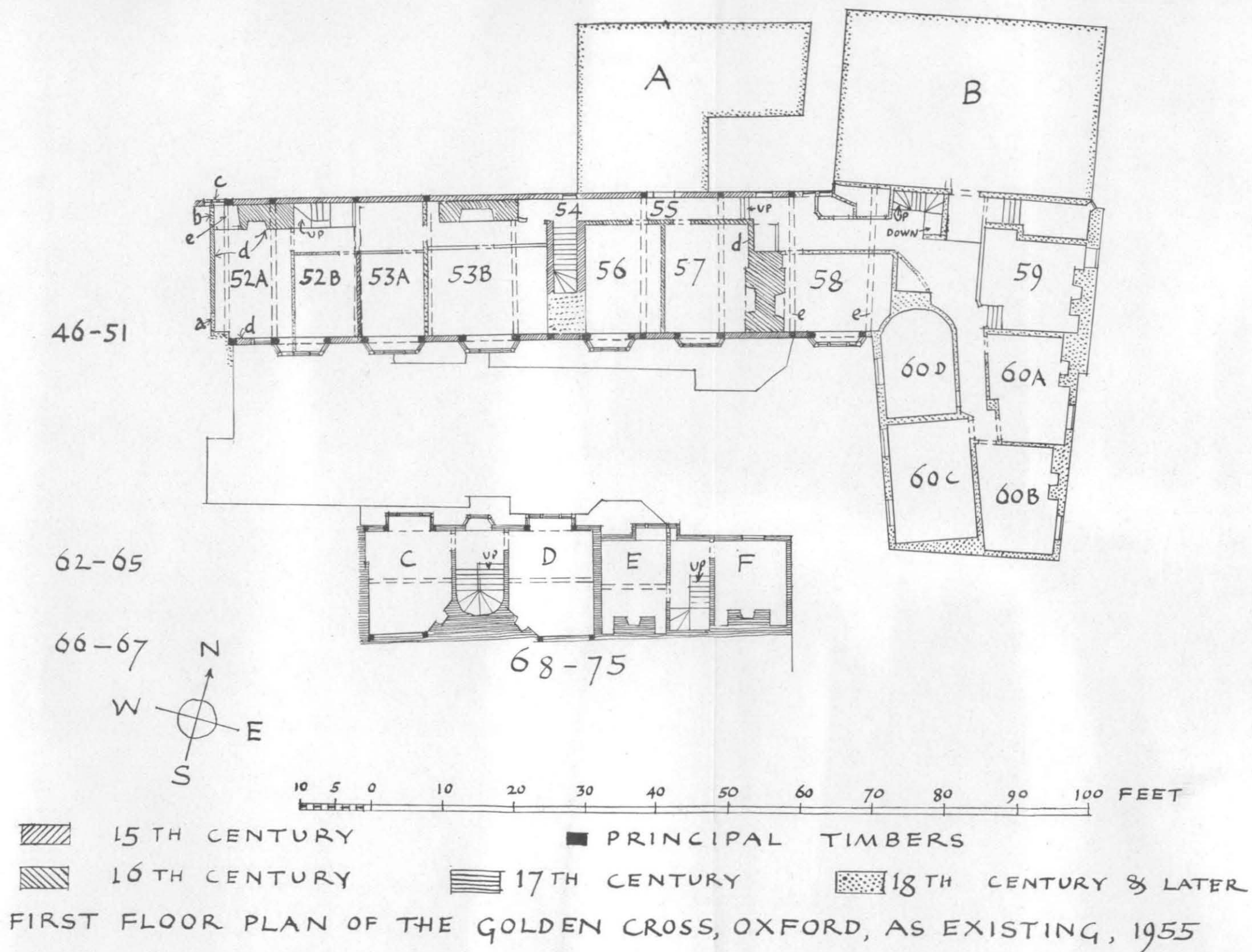


FIG. 16

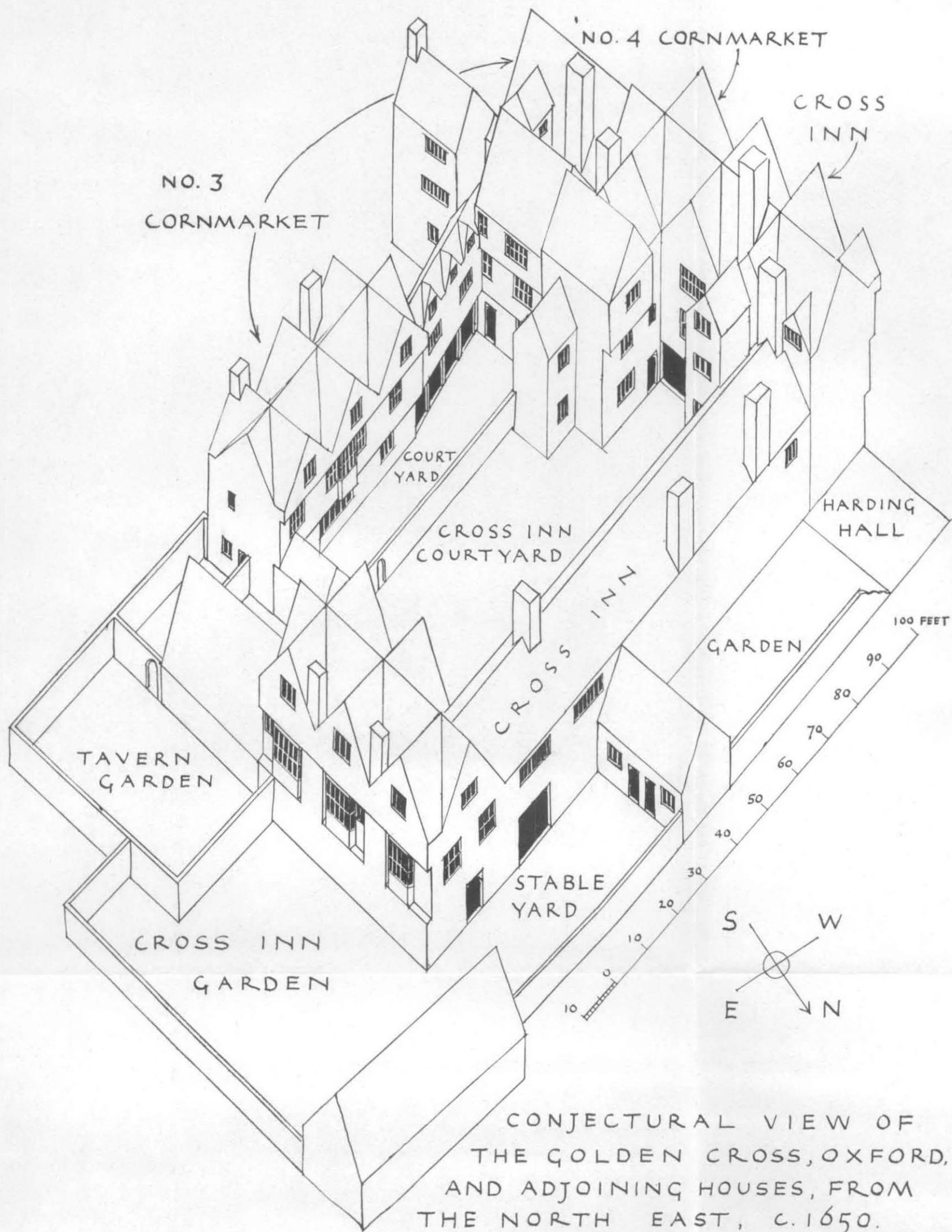


FIG. 17

THE GOLDEN CROSS, OXFORD

- 43-44 Modern shop, part of Nos. 6-7 Cornmarket (Messrs. Boots Cash Chemists) ; rebuilt *c.* 1910.
- (a) Timber-framed gateway, with moulded and shafted jambs and four centred arch ; the north spandrel has a shield of the arms of New College (late 15th century).
 - (b) Fragment of moulded beam (late 15th century), similar to (i).
 - (c) Fragment of beam.
 - (d) Blocked door, with stop-moulding on outer (south) side of jambs and lintel ; arched door-head missing (late 15th or early 16th century).
 - (e) Original line of south wall (late 15th century).
 - (f) Moulded jambs of original windows (late 15th century).
 - (g) Later extensions of south wall (18th and 19th centuries).
 - (h) Fragment of original overhang and moulded bressumer or fascia (late 15th century).
 - (i) Moulded beams (late 15th century).
 - (j) Site of partition between hall and parlour.
 - (k) Possible site of back door of screens passage ?

Key to the First Floor Plan of the Golden Cross, Oxford, as now existing (FIG. 16). The numbers used in this plan correspond, where applicable, to the numbers used in the 1650 plan.

- 46-51 Upper part of modern shops, No. 6-7 Cornmarket ; rebuilt *c.* 1910.
- 52A-53B Bedrooms Nos. 13, 12, 11, 10.
- 54 Stairs.
- 55 Passage.
- 56-59 Bedrooms Nos. 9, 8, 6, 24.
- 60A-60D Bedrooms Nos. 25-28.
- 62-65 Upper part of No. 4 Cornmarket ; rebuilt 1923.
- 66-67 Upper part of No. 3 Cornmarket, *c.* 1496-1500.
- 68-75 Upper part of Messrs. Lyons shop ; rebuilt 1934.
- A-B Modern Wings containing bedrooms.
- C-F South range, containing bedrooms.
- (a) Blocked door (18th or 19th century).
- (b) Blocked door (16th century).
- (c) Blocked three light window (late 15th century).
- (d) Wall paintings (mid- and late 16th century).
- (e) Braces (late 15th century).

PART II. THE WALL PAINTINGS

By E. Clive Rouse

FOLLOWING Mr. Pantin's account of the Golden Cross and adjoining property, something must be said about the painted decoration which came to light in one of the rooms in November 1948, and which I cleaned and restored during the winter of 1948-9. His work on the architectural and documentary aspect of the house has lent an added value and interest to the paintings. Let me say at the outset that the decoration is not especially remarkable, though it is an admirable example of its kind. Its chief interest lies in three points, and they are important : first, its extent and good condition ; second, it is of two periods separated by roughly fifty years and shows in a most valuable way the change of style and taste during that interval ; and third, it can be fairly closely dated by documentary and structural evidence as well as stylistically.

The paintings occur in an upper room at the end of the present long passage on the north side, nearest to Cornmarket, a room now subdivided, but which Mr. Pantin has identified (p. 56) with reasonable certainty from the Inventory of the goods of William Hough taken in 1594, as the Prince's Chamber. The paintings came to light during the re-decoration and modernization of two small bedrooms. In the course of this work some dilapidated wall paper mounted on canvas and battens was first removed. Behind this, the walls were found to be panelled in oak to a height of just over 6 ft., with a painted frieze on the plaster between the top of the panelling and the ceiling. On the removal, in turn, of the panelling, the whole plaster wall surface behind it was found to be covered with painting of a different and earlier character than the frieze. It was thus clear that when a new tenant got rid of the old-fashioned black and white decoration, and decided to bring his room up to date with oak panelling, he was left with a meaningless strip of the old work above the top of the panels. This was apparently at first whitewashed or filled by painted borders on linen or canvas cloth. These were afterwards removed, and a later tenant then painted the actual wall in the form of a frieze in the latest manner ; and over the fireplace, included his and his wife's initials within a wreath and strapwork cartouche flanked by sprays of fruit and flowers.

The initials are P^VA intertwined with a knotted cord. Mr. Pantin has shown that this can be none other than Pearse Underhill and his wife Anne. Underhill died early in 1604 so the paintings cannot be later than that. And

THE GOLDEN CROSS, OXFORD

the Inventory of Hough's goods (or actually as we should say, fixtures and fittings) of 1594 shows that the room was already wainscoted (or panelled) at that date. ('Item, the wainscott about the same being xlvij yards at 2s. the yard'). Since the second painting above the top of the panelling bears Underhill's initials, it must be subsequent to the 1594 Inventory, though probably close to it. And it seems likely that Underhill, succeeding Hough as the Innholder, re-decorated the room at just about that time. There is thus a bracket of less than 10 years for the date of the second painting, which one could reasonably put as *c.* 1595.

What, one may ask, was the appearance of this and other rooms which had been panelled over earlier paintings, leaving a gap between panelling and ceiling, before Underhill's re-decoration? I think the answer is to be found in several otherwise rather puzzling entries in the Inventory. In several rooms—including one, the Crown Chamber, where other paintings not yet uncovered are known to exist behind wallpaper, canvas and panelling—there are references to painted cloths, painted borders, and even more specifically in the Hall 'the borders of painted clothes there'. It seems, therefore, that these moveable and probably dilapidated fittings filled the awkward spaces between panel tops and ceilings, and were removed by Underhill and replaced with the more permanent feature of a painted frieze on the plaster over the earlier painting which had been obliterated with whitewash to form a ground for the new work at the top. It is perfectly true that in the case of this particular room—the Prince's Chamber—borders or cloths are not specifically listed in the Inventory. But one may assume that such perhaps existed and had already become dilapidated; or else that the top of the old painting had been obliterated by whitewash above the panelling (which did exist in 1594), before Underhill painted his new frieze.

We may now consider the work itself in more detail. The west wall measures 11 ft. by 8 ft., the frieze occupying about 2 ft. 3 in., of this at the top; the north wall including the fireplace is 8 ft. long, the frieze here being 3 ft. 6 in. deep and its base 6 ft. 6 in. from the floor; and there is a fragment on the south wall. The early painting covers most of the west wall, with a few breaks. Incidentally the cross-battening or laths for the plaster are an interesting feature. The design is a fine one, vigorous and spirited, of full-blooded classical Renaissance type in black and white. Its main elements centre round alternating large and smaller fantastic pilasters surrounded or flanked by arabesques, masks, putti and grotesques. The design is repeated (PL. X).

There are many examples of this type of Italianate decoration in Tudor wall paintings in this country, deriving ultimately from Italy, and it is interest-

ing to study the anglicized version of the Italian motifs. The inlaid ebony and ivory cabinets come immediately to mind. And the sources most readily available to craftsmen over here would of course be the engraved title pages of books. A glance at A. F. Johnson's *100 Engraved Title Pages 1500-1800* (1929)⁷⁶ and the same author's *Catalogue of Engraved and Etched English Title Pages* (down to 1691) (Bibliographical Soc., 1934) will bear this out at once. Compare especially in the latter book the title page of Samuel Daniel, *The Civil Wars between the Houses of Lancaster and York*, London, 1609. Mr. John Summerson has suggested that there is a close resemblance between the Golden Cross painting and John Shute's title page of 1563, which is probably Venetian in origin.⁷⁷

Of comparable wall paintings, the late Mr. Francis W. Reader, who might be called the Keyser of Tudor and Jacobean domestic wall paintings and should have high praise for his pioneer work in recording and classifying them, has collected many examples. Most of these are to be found in his papers in the *Archaeological Journal*, vols. xcii and xciii (1936, 1937). The closest parallel which comes to mind is that formerly in the Red House at Sproughton, Suffolk, and now in the Christchurch Museum, Ipswich (PL. XI, A).⁷⁸ In this case the background is red and not black. Mr. Reader dated it in the third quarter of the sixteenth century, and thought the exceptionally debased Italianate forms had arrived via the low countries. Another is from Elmstead Hall, Essex, more formal and finished in style and dating about the middle of the sixteenth century.⁷⁹ A painting of similar date from Royston, Herts. is on the same lines.⁸⁰ The decoration at Shire Hall, Wilmington, Kent⁸¹ (PL. XI, B), also shows much the same thing, though I cannot agree with Mr. Yates's suggested date of 1591 for it. It cannot be so late, but may be in the second half of the century. I have said enough I think to indicate that this kind of work is familiar, and that our earlier example may well date from c. 1550.

The second painting—the frieze throughout and the centre-piece over the fireplace—shows the development of decoration after about 50 years (PL. XII). The style had been known here long before that; for something like it was done at Nonsuch Palace (1538-47), deriving probably from the Fontainebleau School of Il Rosso etc. The main elements are now birds, fruit and

⁷⁶ Particularly relevant comparisons for both the earlier and later schemes of painting are nos. 5 (Daniel Hopfer, 1523, German, Italian inspired); 15 (Froben, 1512, Venice); 23 (Calvo, 1539, Milan (with Sphinxes)); 37 (Paris, 1537); 44 (style of Fontainebleau, 1548, for the later painting, with fruit and flowers and strapwork). Also, 46 (1551); and 76 (copy of Holbein border for Froben of Basle, 1534, London).

⁷⁷ *The First and Chief Groundes of Architecture, used in all the auncient and famous Monuments*, London, by Thomas Marshe.

⁷⁸ *Arch. Journ.*, xciii (1937), 236-7 and pl. xii.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 233 and pl. viii.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 269 and fig. 3.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 261 and fig. 2.

THE GOLDEN CROSS, OXFORD

flowers with an occasional grotesque in the shape of a Harpy (right of fireplace), an urn-like form, and the arabesques still retaining their classical character but turning more into scrollwork and foliage (PLS. X and XIII, A). This time a low colour range is used, consisting mostly of brown and green with touches of an orange-red and a pinky-red, all with black outline. This painting was continued on to the slope of the lower part of the ceiling on the west side, and here some putti were introduced as well (PL. XIII, B). This portion was very insecure and damaged by water. Part was recorded before it fell; and another part was carefully removed on canvas and ply and sent to the Ashmolean for cleaning and re-mounting. There are so many examples of this type of painting, and it is so closely dated by the initials, that there is no need to dwell on it further. The cartouche over the fireplace is of interest. The use of the wreath to enclose medallions or initials is not unusual (it occurs in some Winchester panels as early as c. 1540)⁸² and strapwork was in use over a long period. This particular example is late and not very distinguished. A great deal of strapwork was being done in Oxford about the turn of the century. The whole roof of Duke Humphrey's Library and Arts End as refurnished by Bodley has the University arms in an immense variety of strapwork cartouches. The ceiling of the top floor of the Schools Quadrangle was similarly treated and one panel is dated 1618. The bunches of fruit and flowers are very similar to those on two panels from the Five Orders Tower. Another complete painted ceiling, modelled on the Duke Humphrey one as the accounts show, has lately come to light at Christchurch in the roof of the Old Library, c. 1610. Strapwork panels are used to display a series of some 50 Royal Badges, Crests and Arms from Lancaster to Stuart, repeated in over 200 panels. Initials linked by cords are in use over a long period, occurring in the Audley Chantry at Salisbury, 1524, and on the Schools Quadrangle at Oxford about 1620. It is often asked whether the curious assortment of grotesque beings, animals, monsters and fantastic scenes portrayed both in the Renaissance black and white type of decoration and in the later work of the early seventeenth century, have any special meaning or allusion. Apart from any obviously recognizable figures or characters of classical mythology, the answer is, probably not. The journeyman painter was most likely primarily a copyist from the sources already referred to. But a clue to the nature of the extravagances of this style is found in the works of Henry Peacham, as I have pointed out in discussing the grotesques accompanying strapwork on the Bodleian Library ceiling panels.⁸³

⁸² *Arch. Journ.*, xcii (1936), 276-7, and pl. xiv. The initials I.W. refer to John White, appointed Headmaster of the College in 1535 and Warden in 1541, afterwards successively Bishop of Lincoln and Winchester.

⁸³ *Bodleian Library Record*, v, no. 5, pp. 303 et seqq.

W. A. PANTIN AND E. CLIVE ROUSE

Both in his *Art of Drawing*, 1606, and in a later amplified version, *The Gentleman's Exercise, or an Exquisite practice as well for drawing all manner of beasts etc.*, London, 1612, the methods of portraying Virtues, Vices, Nymphs, Muses, Fauns, Satyrs, etc. are set out. He defines the drawing of grotesques in the Antique style, 'so called from the Italian L'antica' referring to Greek and classical forms:

'The forme of it is a generall, and (as I may say) vnaturall or vnorderly composition for delight sake, of men, beasts, fishes, flowers etc., without (as wee say) Rime or Reason, . . . after your own inuention . . . so that herein you cannot bee too fantasticall.'

Another fragment of painting in the room is of interest. It was found that the splays, jambs and oak mullions of the splendid late fifteenth century windows had all been painted and grained to represent some other wood—a refinement that it is somewhat difficult to appreciate. This painting presumably dates from the later of the two periods of painting. It was a quite common practice, this graining and marbling of surfaces. The late Miss Margaret Jourdain has written on the subject.⁸⁴ At Cothay the Jacobean wainscot is grained to imitate walnut. At Bramshill there are accounts for ' . . . paynting two Chambres with walnutt culler, grayning of them and varnishing . . . ' in the seventeenth century. At Haddon Hall the Long Gallery panelling is painted to represent walnut graining, c. 1603. The plaster sides of a window-splay at No. 2 Church Street, Grantham, Lincs., are similarly painted to represent a wood panel.⁸⁵ And the Kederminster Pew and Library at Langley Marish, Bucks., c. 1625 are heavily marbled.

At No. 47 Broad Street, Oxford, a good deal of painting representing wooden panelling and inlaid wooden panels was found during demolition for the New Bodleian Library Building early in 1937. These were somewhat later than the period we are here concerned with, but it serves to show the persistence of the idea. They were recorded by Mr. Pantin in *Oxoniensia*.⁸⁶

I cannot leave the subject of the Golden Cross paintings without a reference to the paintings in the adjoining property No. 3 Cornmarket, now popularly referred to as the Painted Room, though the Golden Cross apartment might now with equal justification claim a similar title. They are in an entirely different style, consisting in the main (including other examples found and destroyed in a re-building but recorded by Mr. E. T. Leeds in *Oxoniensia*)⁸⁷ of a trellis pattern interlacing in geometrical forms and enclosing sprays of

⁸⁴ *Country Life*, 10 February, 1950.

⁸⁵ E. Clive Rouse in Ann. Report of Grantham Public Library and Museum, 1936-7, pp. 14-16, and pl. II.

⁸⁶ *Oxoniensia*, vol. II, 1937, pp. 171-200, and pls. xviii, A and D.

⁸⁷ *Oxoniensia*, I (1936), 144-150, and pls. xx, A and B, and xxi, A and B.

THE GOLDEN CROSS, OXFORD

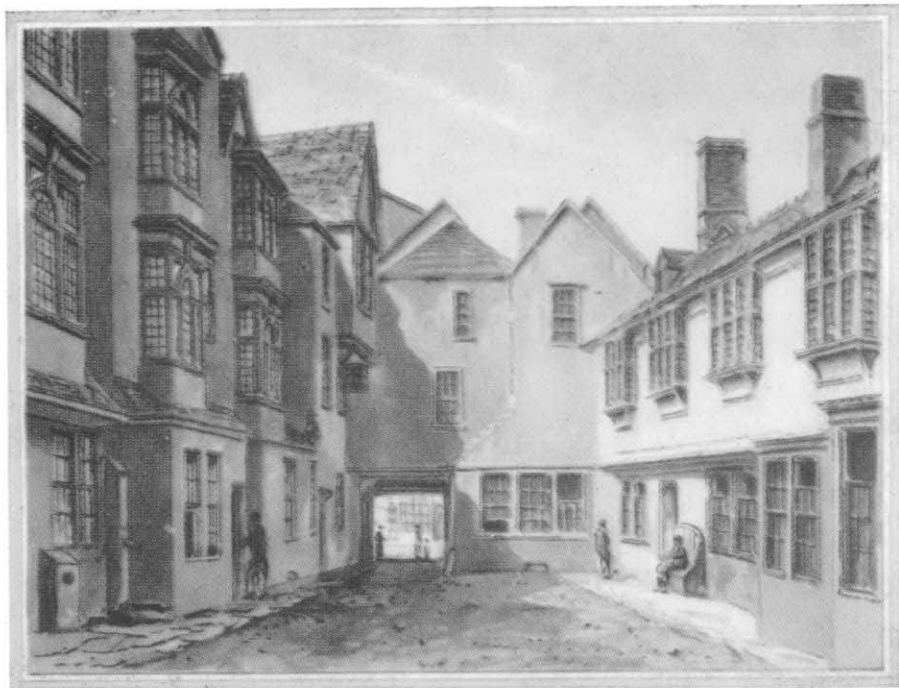
fruit and flowers. There is a dado at the base and a frieze with texts at the top (PL. XIV, A). These paintings again are most fortunately dated by initials occurring in the decoration. The letters J. T. refer to John Tattleton who occupied the house from some time after 1560 until his death in 1581. They will thus be seen to be intermediate between the two periods of design at the Golden Cross, and so we have in these two houses in Oxford a most valuable series of three fairly closely dated styles of ornament. The fine painting at Great Pednor Manor, Bucks., might well be by the same hand as the Painted Room example (PL. XIV, B).⁸⁸

A final word should perhaps be said about the treatment of these paintings. The work was sponsored partly by the Trust owning the Inn, and partly by the Oxford Preservation Trust. I was involved in some controversy over the matter, and in the end I failed to agree with the amount of restoration which was insisted on, but which was eventually carried through with my co-operation by the late Mr. George Nutt. All was finally amicably settled: and while still disagreeing with the general principle I have to admit that since the room is a hotel bedroom, one could not have large blank spaces and untidy areas. After cleaning, repair and re-plastering, the missing or weak portions were therefore re-painted. Moreover, since the design is a repeat, one could not go far wrong, and it was a matter of accurate reproduction and not speculation. The whole was finally enclosed in shallow cupboards with glass fronts and sliding doors.

In conclusion I should like to express my thanks to Mr. Pantin himself for his co-operation, and to Mr. P. S. Spokes and other members of the Oxford Preservation Trust for much valuable help, as well as those concerned with the Hotel itself, to whom my protracted work must have been a serious embarrassment.

⁸⁸ E. Clive Rouse in *Records of Bucks.*, xv (1948), 91-3, and pl. 9.

PLATE III



A



B

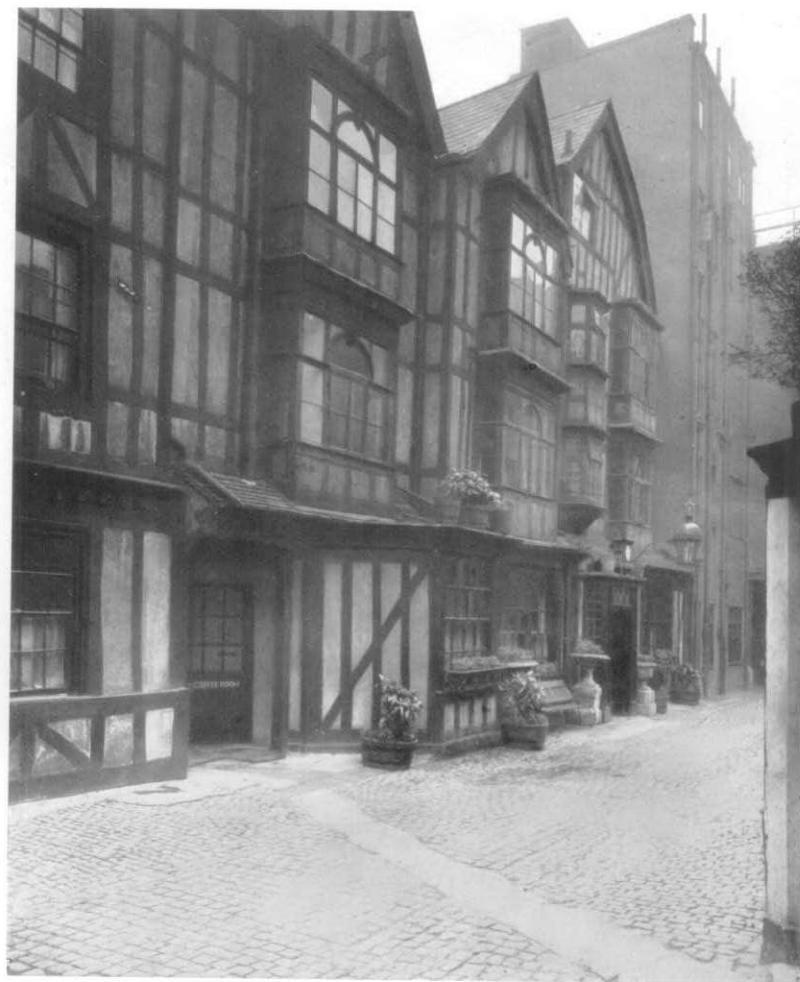
THE GOLDEN CROSS, OXFORD

- A. Courtyard, looking west. Drawing by J. C. Buckler, 1824. (Bodleian MS. Don. a. 2 (26))
 B. Courtyard, looking west, showing fifteenth-century north range on right (p. 53).

Ph. : B, P. S. Spokes



A



B

THE GOLDEN CROSS, OXFORD

A. Courtyard, looking west, in 1904, showing the backs of Nos. 4, 6 and 7 Cornmarket before rebuilding (p. 49).

B. South side of courtyard, showing late seventeenth-century range.



A



B

THE GOLDEN CROSS, OXFORD

- A. Interior of dining-room (formerly parlour and hall), looking east, showing remains of fifteenth-century windows on right (p. 52).
- B. Cornmarket front in 1907, before rebuilding, showing, from right to left, No. 4 (with circular headed window on first floor), and Nos. 6 and 7, with the Roebuck beyond (pp. 79, 80).

*Phh.: A, P. S. Spokes
B, H. Minn*

PLATE VI



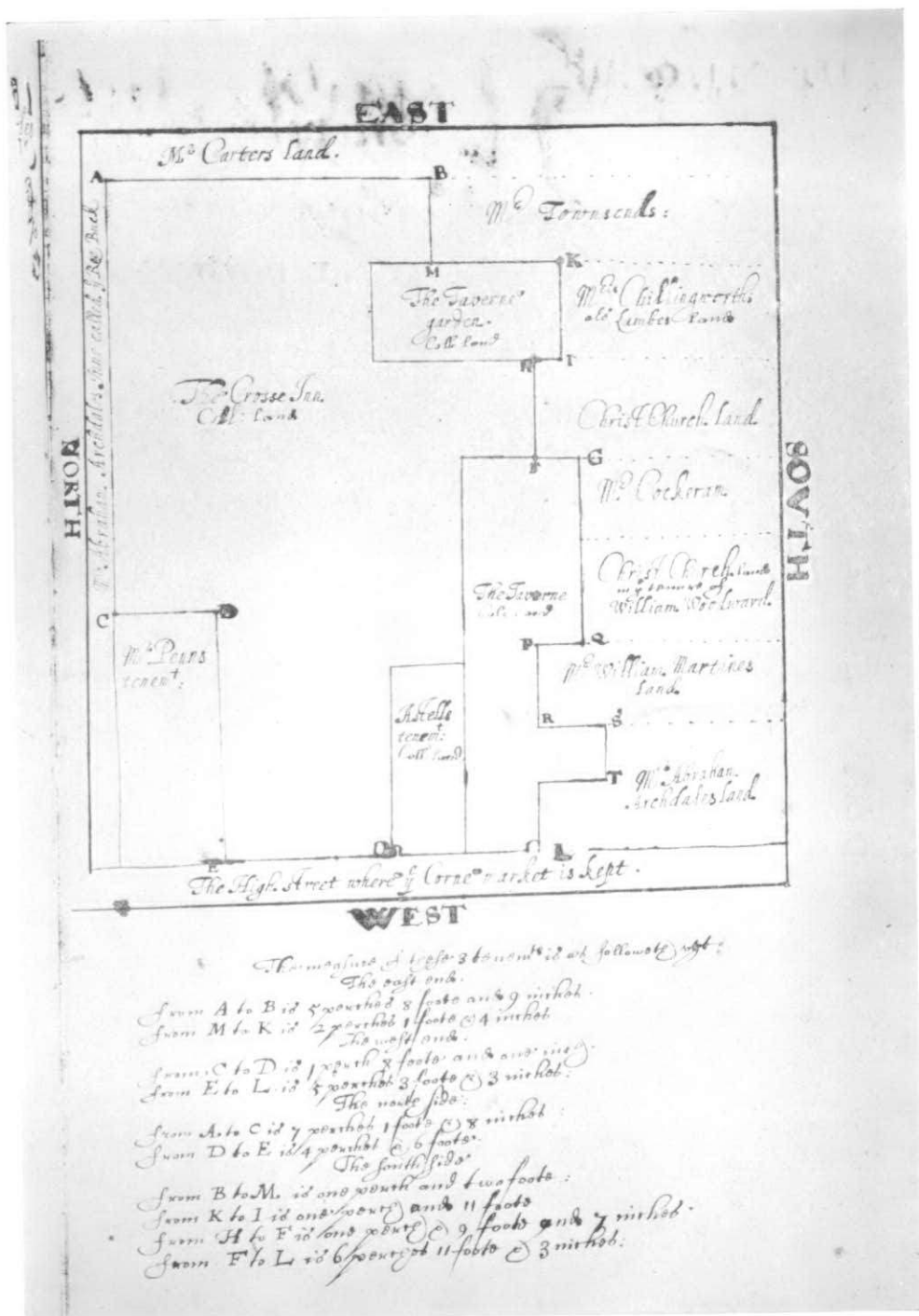
THE GOLDEN CROSS, OXFORD

Detail of north side of courtyard, showing fifteenth-century bay window and over-hang (pp. 52, 53)

OXONIENSIA, VOL. XX (1955)

Ph.: P. S. Spokes

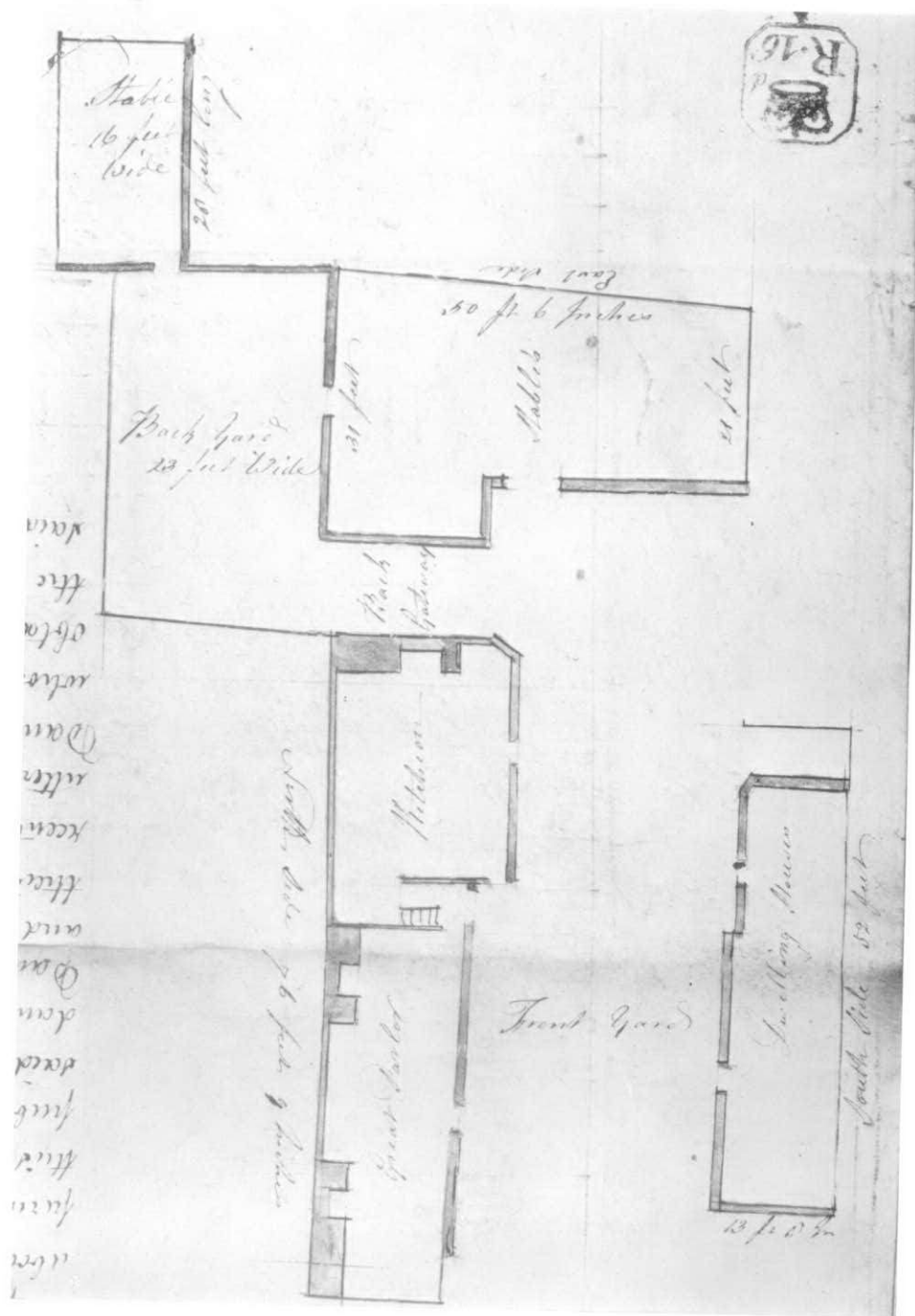
THE GOLDEN CROSS, OXFORD



THE GOLDEN CROSS, OXFORD

Map of the Cross Inn and adjoining tenements, 1628 (p. 78).

New College, Oxford, Muniments : New College Terriers, p. 194.



THE GOLDEN CROSS, OXFORD

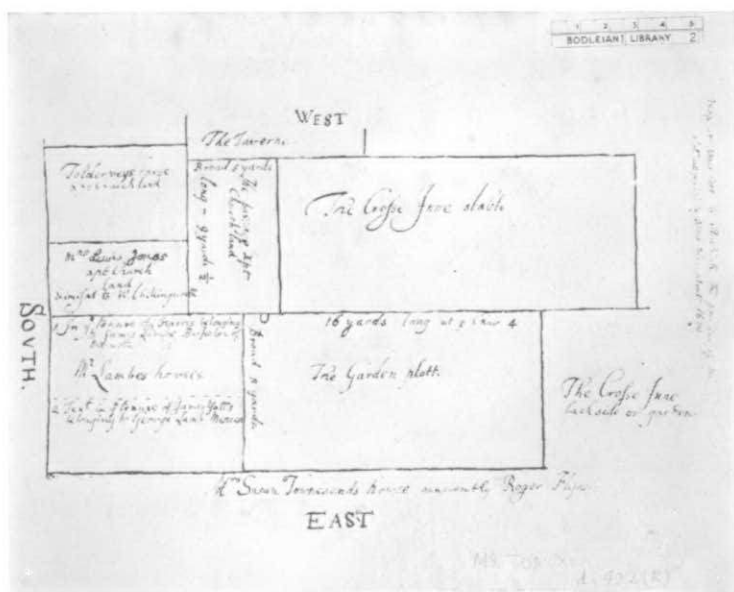
Plan of the Cross Inn, from a lease of 1797 (p. 79).

New College, Oxford, Muniments : Oxford, St. Martin's Leases, No. 10.

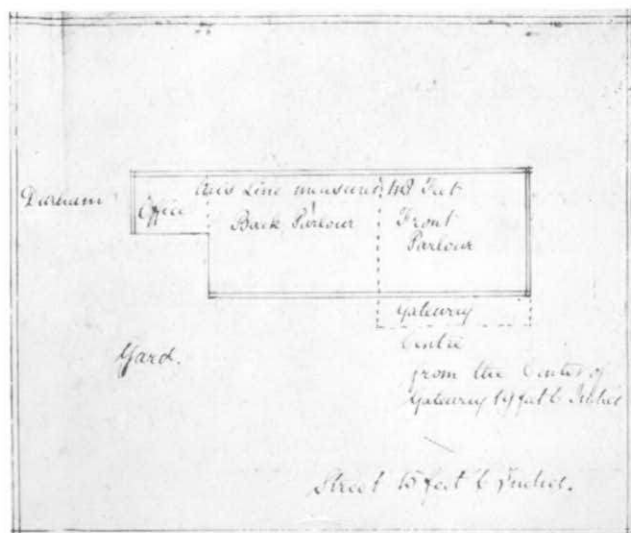
OXONIENSIA, VOL. XX (1955)

THE GOLDEN CROSS, OXFORD

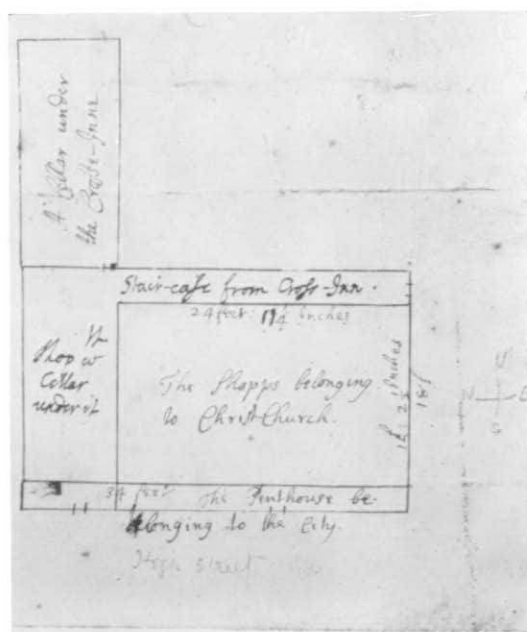
PLATE IX



A



B



C

THE GOLDEN CROSS, OXFORD

- A. Map showing the Tavern garden, c. 1627 (p. 60). Bodleian MS. Top. Oxon. d. 422 (R) : tracing by Dr. H. E. Salter from an original at New College.
- B. Plan of No. 4 Cornmarket, from a lease of 1797 (p. 79). New College, Oxford, Muniments : Oxford, St. Martin's Leases, No. 12.
- C. Plan of the western range of the Cross Inn (Nos. 6 and 7 Cornmarket). New College, Oxford, Muniments. (The points of the compass, added in pencil, are incorrect.)

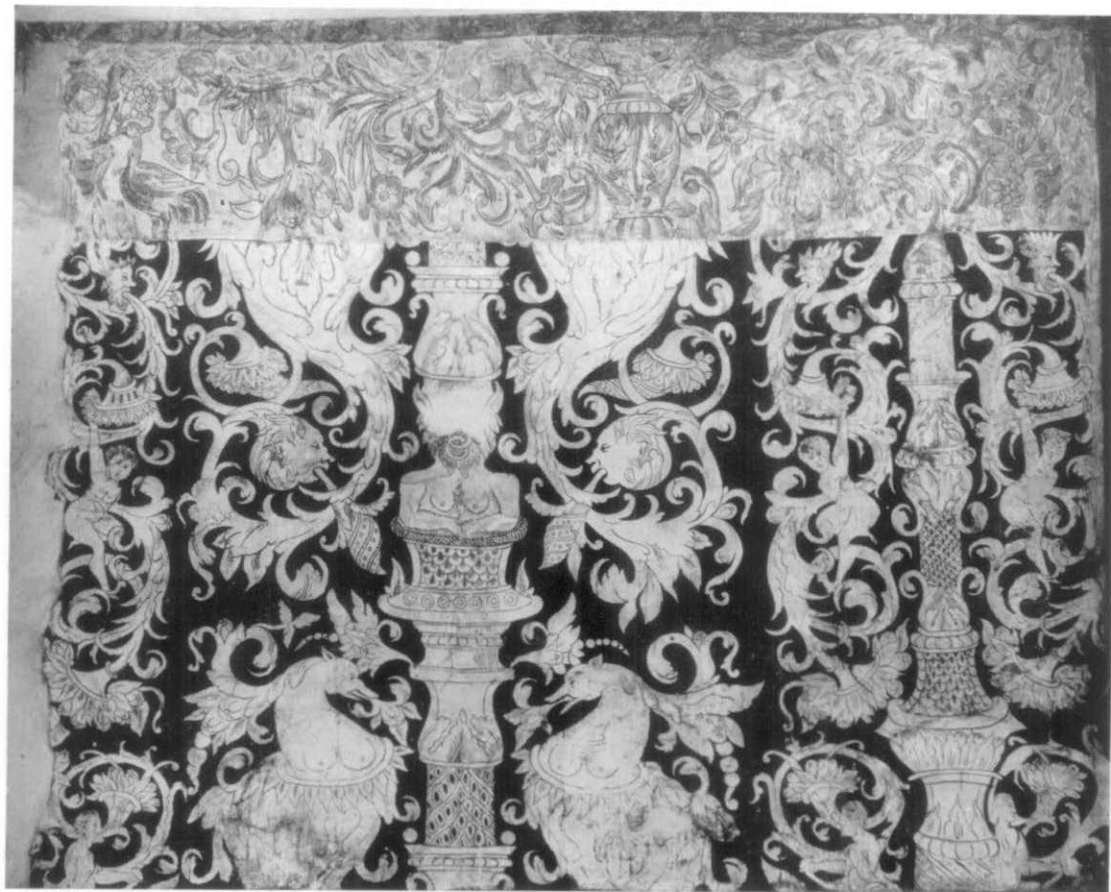


PLATE X

THE GOLDEN CROSS, OXFORD

Painting on the west wall (p. 85).

OXONIENSIA, VOL. XX (1955)

THE GOLDEN CROSS, OXFORD



A

A. Painting formerly in the Red House, Sproughton, Suffolk (p. 86).



B

B. Painting from Shire Hall, Wilmington, Kent (p. 86). Drawing by F. W. Reader.

PLATE XI

PLATE XII



THE GOLDEN CROSS, OXFORD
Painting on north wall (p. 86).

OXONIENSIA, VOL. XX (1955)

THE GOLDEN CROSS, OXFORD



A



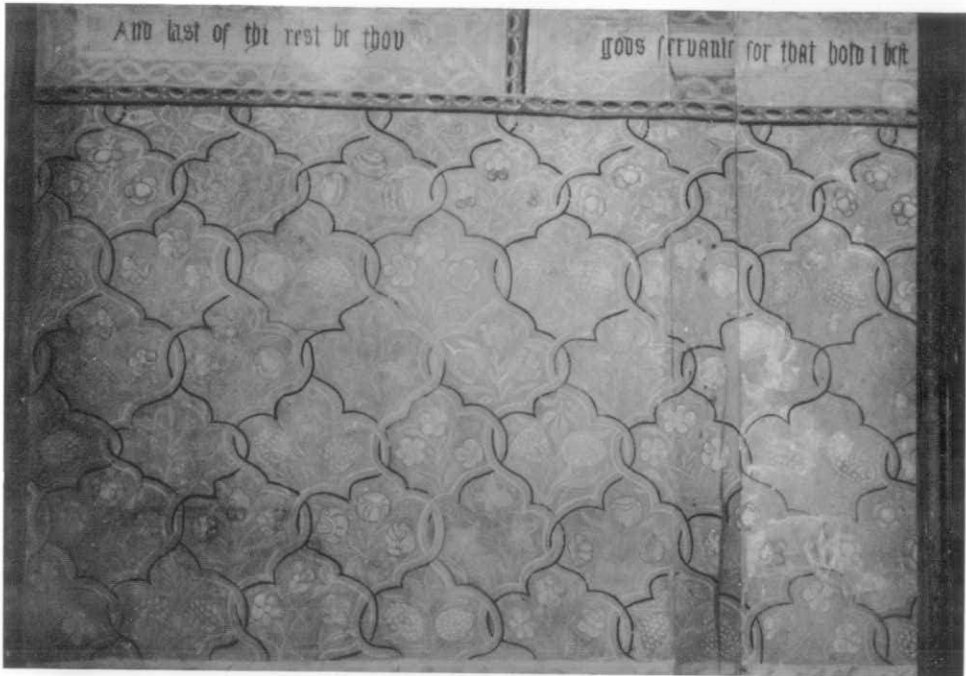
B

THE GOLDEN CROSS, OXFORD

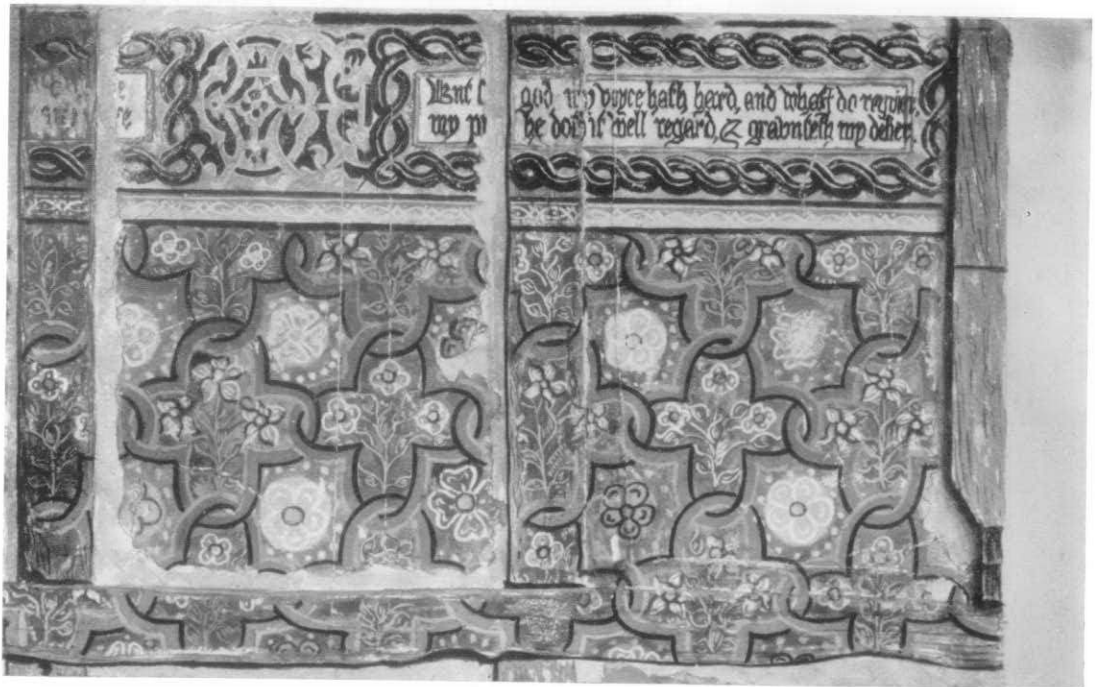
A. Fragment of painting on timber and plaster on south wall (p. 87). Drawing by E. Clive Rouse.

B. Portion of frieze on ceiling cove, west wall.

PLATE XIV



A



B

- A. Detail of the decoration of the north wall, No. 3 Cornmarket, Oxford.
 B. Section of wall-painting at Great Pednor Manor, Bucks. Drawing by E. Clive Rouse.