

Three generations of 18th century London brewers

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My great grandfather, Gordon W Clark, was interested in the history of his family, and his son, my grandfather Harry Gordon Clark, built on his father's notes to create a family history which he had privately published in 1925. Harry was also interested in his mother's and his grandmother's families, and so added pedigrees for Welches, Thorntons, and Squibbs, but without revealing any occupations for these London families.

His father had been the son of Matthew Clark, founder of the firm of City of London wine and spirit importers which eventually gave employment to six generations of the family, and Gordon and then Harry followed him as senior partner. It is the odder that Harry omitted details of his maternal forebears' occupations, because although Gordon did not marry into the wine trade, his wife was the granddaughter of the third generation of an allied trade, brewing, in and on the edge of Harry's beloved City. It fell to a nephew of Harry's, John Gordon Clark, sometime Master of the Merchant Taylors' Company and an excellent genealogist, to find out the brewing connection and to discover the forgotten Huguenot strain in the family. With the resources available nowadays, especially

through the internet, I have been able to build up details of the brewing history in this family of wine and spirit importers.

The first brewer, René Cottiby, was the elder son of another René Cottiby, probably of Spitalfields, a Huguenot who had been a citizen and banker of Poitiers and came to England with one of his sisters, his widowed mother, and both a maternal and a paternal uncle a few years before the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. The maternal uncle, Balthazar Gardemau, who had studied at the liberal Protestant academy at Saumur, was ordained as a deacon and priest of the Church of England by the Bishop of London in 1682. He went to work as a pastor in Ipswich, where there had been an influx of Huguenot refugees, mostly poor artisans. Soon he was vicar of Coddendam in Suffolk and married the daughter of the Earl of Sandwich, Lady Catherine Montagu. He became a 'squarson' - squire as well as parson - and collected a renowned library. Balthazar and Catherine had no children, and so he left considerable sums to his sister's family.

René had his son the younger René baptised in St. Katherine by the Tower in

1701, although old Anne Cottiby, who lived in Westminster, worshipped at the French church at Leicester fields - now Leicester Square. René Cottiby the younger was apprenticed in 1719 to Cecil Wray, a linen draper of the West End parish of St. Martin in the Fields. He was 18, older than usual, and a large premium was paid: £136 10/-. But something went badly wrong. In November 1720 René disappeared and a month later Wray put a notice in the *Evening Post*, saying

If he will return in a Week's time, he shall be kindly received, otherwise he will be described at large, and a reward offered for whoever shall apprehend him; And whoever entertains him shall be prosecuted with the utmost Severity.

He didn't return, and in February Wray inserted another notice in the *Evening Post*, which is rather precious to his descendants as it contains one of the earliest descriptions of an ancestor:

Rene Cottiby, ag'd about 19 years or thereabouts, born of French parents, he is about 5 foot 10 inches high, fair Complexion, and generally wears a dark cloth Coat lin'd with Red, having imbezled goods and several Sums of Money of his Master Mr Cecil Wray, and now absconds. This is to give notice, that whoever apprehends the said Rene Cottiby, shall have 5 guineas reward paid them by the said Mr. Wray, at the 3 nuns at Charing-cross, and whoever entertains or conceals him be it at their peril.

How soon Wray contacted René's reasonably prosperous family it's not possible to say. Eventually he brought a case against René's grandmother in the Court of Common Pleas for the recovery of large sums of money. René's father was by then dead, and his grandmother had anyway paid the apprenticeship premium. She riposted with a suit to the Court of Chancery in which she made various claims: that the apprenticeship document had been wrongly drawn up, that Wray had retired without properly passing over her grandson as apprentice to his brother, thereby causing the young man to become 'Idle and extravagant', and that any acknowledgements he had made about misdemeanours had been forced out of him by improper means. She wanted money back from Wray. René, she acknowledged, had left the country, and was in 'ffrance or some other fforeigne parte.' Her plea was dated January 1724/5, four years after Wray's second advertisement, and clearly followed considerable negotiation between the pair. In fact by August 1723 the young man was 'Rene Thompson, alias Cottebee', living 'beyond the seas' in Flanders with his wife. What he was doing there we don't know, but it's impossible not to speculate that the marriage, the change of name, and the living abroad may all have been connected with the break away from Wray. How the dispute over the moneys and alleged 'imbezlements' ended we don't know. It seems reasonable to assume that Wray was an unsatisfactory master, and that linen drapery was not to René's taste.

By 1729 he was 'Rene Thompson, alias Cottiby of All Hallows the Great, London, brewer,' in two business documents. All Hallows, demolished in 1894, was in Upper Thames Street. So René experimented for a time with an English surname; perhaps because by then he was married to a woman of native London stock. But after she died and he remarried into another Huguenot family, all references to him are just to René Cottiby.

His first wife, Elizabeth Huckwell, was the youngest of the three granddaughters of 'Dinah Barry, widow.' Her eldest sister Dinah married first a 'silkmán,' John Stevens, and after his early death she then remarried (in Leyton, just over the Essex border) David Coombes. He was a sieve maker of Holy Trinity, Minories. Her sister Mary married Richard Pridgeon, a distiller of St Mary, Whitechapel ('but now, if living, in Jamaica'). Dinah Barry was the widow of Thomas Barry, a merchant of St. Thomas, Southwark, but had only married him in 1713. Her first husband's surname was Huckwell, and her son Benjamin, the father of the three sisters, probably her only child to reach maturity, died between 1713 and 1723. When she died in 1729 she owned, besides the annuity, which was a charge on rents from the manor of Oxted in Surrey, first established in 1577, various properties in the Spitalfields area.

René became a brewer, in London at least, after the period of living in Flanders. Maybe he began to practise that trade there. He did not serve an

apprenticeship in the trade body, the Brewers' Company, but was admitted to the freedom of the company (as Rene Cottiby, not Thompson) by 'Redemption' on 11 July 1729, that is on payment of five guineas, £5 5s. He took his responsibilities in the company seriously, paying 'quarterage,' quarterly dues, and on 29 October 1734 he was sworn as Steward of the Company, a somewhat onerous duty which required the payment for a feast on Lord Mayor's day. 12 years later, in 1746, he was elected to the Court of the Company.

He was back in the East End, in Shoreditch, but (by 1739 if not earlier) he did not live there, rather in the more fashionable City. René had a 'Brew-house in Hog-Lane, Norton Folgate' in 1745 and this may have passed to his son-in-law, John Thornton. In that year the second Jacobite rebellion tried and failed to put Bonnie Prince Charlie back on the throne of the Stuarts with French help, and the merchants of the City of London raised money for blankets, boots, and breeches for the British troops in Scotland. They also presented a 'humble Address' to 'the King's most Excellent Majesty.' René was among the hundreds who signed this document assuring George II 'That we heartily join in the general Joy which has been expressed on your Majesty's safe Arrival in your British Dominions' (George, king of Hanover as well of Britain, had been there when the invasion began). They were grateful for the king's 'unwearied endeavours to support the Liberties of

Europe, as well as the true Interests of all your Subjects,' and 'as your Majesty's Kingdoms are again disturbed in favour of a Popish Pretender to your Crown' they renewed their 'Loyalty and Zeal' and would 'at all Times be ready to hazard our Lives and Fortunes in Defence of your Majesty's person, your Royal Family and Government.' Fortunately René did not have to make good these extravagant promises!

When he remarried in March 1735 after his first wife's death, he was described in the *Gentlemen's Magazine* as 'a brewer near St Katharine's,' and his wife as 'the daughter of Mr. Thomas, a wine merchant.' By 1739, he owned what he described in 1745 when it was advertised in the *Daily Advertiser* 'To be lett, and enter'd upon immediately' as 'A very good House, and fine Shop, known by the Sign of the Queen's Head, over against Bow-church, in Cheapside, fit for any Business.' He settled this on his second wife at their marriage, and she owned it to her death 45 years later. Cheapside was still of course a residential street. His will describes him as of the parish of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, but this may refer to his place of work not his home.

By 1741 he also had a house at 'Low-Layton,' now just Leyton - perhaps there is a connection with his first wife's family. Sadly, he lost there in May 1743

a Liver colour and white mottled Bitch, of the Pointing Kind, with brown Ears, a small

round brown Spot on her Forehead, between her Eyes, and such another Spot on her Cheek.

Whether anyone came forward to answer his newspaper advertisement and 'receive Half a Guinea Reward, and no Questions ask'd' we shall never know. The only other personal details we know is are that in 1743 he bought a volume of newly published 'Sermons upon several practical subjects', and that in 1750 he subscribed to a sermon on the death of the Duke of Richmond. The latter was by the chaplain to the Hospital for the relief of Sick and Diseased persons, especially Manufacturers and Seamen; René was a former committee chairman for this charity.

Unfortunately records of brewing in London in the early 18th century, apart from those of the Brewers' Company, are rather scanty. René is not in the *Complete Guide to London* of 1744, which claimed to have 'All persons who have any TRADE, or CONCERN within the City of London and parts adjacent.' However, René had a partner in 1737, whose name is not known, but may have been Thomas Rayner who was his partner when Rayner died in 1747, shortly before René himself died in the same year, still under 50.

René's will was made in his own handwriting, so could only be proved if someone came along and swore on the Gospels - 'made oathe upon the Holy Evangelists' - that he recognised the

handwriting. James Young, distiller, duly appeared and swore that for about two years he had lived as Clerk or Book-keeper with René and so was 'well acquainted with his manner and character of handwriting and subscription.' It is the earliest will I have found where the notice of probate at the end of will is in English. The will shows that he was well enough off to own jewels and plate. He begged his wife after her death to divide the inheritance between his son and daughter by his first wife 'if it is her pleasure and my children behave dutifully to her.' He left a married daughter of 20 and a son of 16; they were to inherit when they came of age at 21. A second daughter, Mary, had died young.

René had a brother, Elias or Élie, who seems to have been a bit careless with money. Their grandmother had lent him a total of £2,000 besides 'the expenses I have been at for him.' He was left these advances in her will. His brother René similarly left him £20 a year,

provided he signs the account already settled by us twenty four hours after it is demanded of him and that he gives neither my dear Wife nor my good Friend Mr Peter Thomas no Trouble in any Shape whatever concerning any Affair whatever I likewise forgive him any debt that may appear due to me by him in any Shape whatever with the above provisoe and if it should happen that he should give them any trouble or either of them I revoke the above gift of 20£ per annum and of all other

debts and will have the Law put in force against him for the payment of the same ...

Even so, blood was an obligation, and if René's wife and children died before him Elias was to inherit his brother's plate before the 'ffrench hospital,' the ultimate beneficiary.

René's second wife survived till 1784, living in Cornhill. She left to her 'daughter in law' Catherine Thornton, stepdaughter as we would say, all her 'Plate, Jewels, Watch, ffurniture, Linen, China and Household Goods also my best wearing Apparell.' Any clothes not good enough for Catherine's own use were to go to whatever living in servant Elizabeth had when she died, as was 'ffive Pounds of Lawfull Money of Great Britain.' Catherine was also desired 'to accept of my Parrott and Cage!' Elizabeth had a Psalm Book 'in the London Church in Threadneedle Street' which was to go to a Mrs Roussy. Otherwise her estate was divided between Catherine and Elizabeth's own nephews and nieces - and Catherine's husband was not to 'intermeddle' or otherwise have anything to do with Catherine's inheritance, in which she was to have a life interest.

René and Elizabeth Cottiby's son was named Balthazar Gardemau after his father's great uncle, still alive when he was born, and prevailed upon to be godfather yet again (as rich old relations have sometimes been). He was apprenticed at 16 (for a much smaller premium: £21) to a cooper, a trade which brewers

of course relied on extensively. His great great-uncle did the honourable thing and left him £500 in 1739 and Lady Catherine (despite having grandchildren from her first marriage) left him a further £200 when she died in 1756 or 7. Balthazar didn't enjoy his legacies into old or even middle age. He died in 1770 at 38 and was buried like many Huguenots in the crypt of Christ Church Spitalfields. Because the church was extensively rebuilt in the 1980s, after many years of dereliction, this crypt was the first post-medieval burial vault to have been comprehensively investigated by archaeological methods. Some 68,000 people were buried there in 123 years. About a thousand skeletons, including Balthazar's, were excavated; his was among nearly 400 with coffin plate information giving name, age and date of death - the only way we know his dates. The coffin plate had attractive stylised flowers and lovely swirly copper-plate writing. The majority who could be named were like Balthazar of Huguenot descent, and a large proportion were involved in the silk industry. The corpses identified were largely of what were called the 'middling sort' in the eighteenth century. The human remains, which were extensively studied, were deposited, rather gruesomely, with the Natural History Museum. Balthazar's show him to have been gracile, about 5 foot 6 inches (so shorter than his father, if Wray was correct in estimating René's height). There were no signs of pathologies or traumas on the skeleton, but the enamel on the teeth was quite heavily worn, probably due to

his diet. There was no evidence to give a cause of death or anything that would indicate his state of health. He had been married to Jeanne Rondeaux or Rondeau, presumably also a Huguenot.

René's daughter Catherine married in 1746, the year before her father died, John Thornton, another brewer. Their wedding was at St Antolin, Budge Row, another church which has been pulled down. However, some of its lovely woodwork was placed in the church of King Charles the Martyr in Tunbridge Wells, where I was vicar for twelve years, when that church was remodelled in 1882. John's brewery, which may have been René's, was in White Lion Street in the 'liberty of Norton Folgate,' a small area outside parish boundaries ('liberated' from parish control) just north of the City and just west of Spitalfields. He does not appear in the few guides or directories to London in the 1740s and 1750s, but he was free of the Brewers Company in 1750. In that year he was renting a house in Bishopsgate street, 'call'd the Queen's Head.' He had a partner William Smith in Norton Folgate in 1756 when they and some Spitalfields brewers leased a house in Elder Street from Isaac Mather, apothecary. And

about this time presentments were made of the brewery owners in the manorial court of Norton Folgate for obstructing Elder Street and Blossom Street with their drays[!]

A problem still with us. John is in the London trade directories from 1763,

when he was also brewing 'porter' in Hog Lane, off Bishopsgate nearby, probably his father-in-law's former brewery.

In 1769 John appears with a large number of other tradesmen on a mysterious Black List published in the *Middlesex Journal or Chronicle of Liberty*. What he had done to deserve this, and who were behind his blacklisting I am not sure. But the newspaper was a radical publication, price twopence halfpenny, with a masthead showing Britannia holding a cap of liberty and sitting besides a copy of Magna Carta. It supported the continued re-election of John Wilkes as MP for Middlesex, so perhaps John was a government supporter, rather than a tradesman who sold bad goods. He was still to be found in 'White Lion Yard, Spitalfields,' in 1774, and in 1780 he and Samuel Moody insured the premises with the Sun company for £7,600. John was eventually Master of the Brewers Company. About that time, 1782-3, John retired to Kingston (he had the property there insured first for £1,000, then for £1,900), and his firm amalgamated. He owned property in Kent and at Brentford in rural Middlesex as well, and must have done pretty well with the brewery as he left Catherine £240 a year - £50,000 today.

John Thornton's son Thomas married, at 41, Ann Davis, the daughter of a City of London hop merchant. (John had a brother Thomas who was a hop merchant too). Thomas Davis, of Thames Street, had been twice married, first in 1735 to a Miss Hudson 'a young lady of 5000 l.

Fortune' said the *Gentleman's Magazine*, which called Davis an 'eminent' hop merchant. Ann was the daughter of his second marriage. Thomas Davis also retired up river, to Weston Green near Thames Ditton; he also owned a property at Shamley Green near Guildford which he leased out. One of Ann's sisters, Martha, also married a hop merchant, possibly in the same City firm in Upper Thames street. It must have been more difficult for young people to meet and marry outside their fathers' trades than it has been for many years now. It was Thomas and Ann Thornton's daughter Adelaide who was the mother of Anna Maria Welch, later wife of Gordon Wyatt Clark.

Thomas took over his father's brewery firm and joined it to a larger and older concern. By January 1782 he had become the junior partner of Henry Goodwyn, James Bracy, and Perry Erasmus Madox. In his will, Thomas describes himself as 'late of the Red Lion Brewhouse Lower East Smithfield.' This was a venerable brewery which had been founded in 1492. Alderman Henry Parsons, Lord Mayor in 1730 and 1740, had been the innovator of maturing porter in vats there in 1736, and the first Boulton and Watt steam engine was installed there in the 1780s for Henry Goodwyn. As brewers of Lower East Smithfield they leased from Sir John Hynde Cotton of Madingley, baronet, the Lord of the Manor of East Smithfield, the Clothworkers Arms on the corner of Gracechurch Street and Eastcheap.

We have a glimpse of Thomas early in 1783 at 31 giving evidence at the Old Bailey (like eight or nine other of our London ancestors) at three trials on the same day of men accused of stealing bags of hops - Goodwyn's had missed eleven bags. First George Hayland was accused for stealing and John Cotton for receiving 'one hempen bag, value 2 s. and 280 lb. weight of hops, value 9 l. 7 s. 6 d. the goods of Henry Goodwin [sic] and Co.' Thomas gave evidence that

I am in partnership in the brewing way, I lost some hops on the 10th of January, I first heard of it from Justice Wilmot's men, I saw one bag at the justices, it was mine and my partners; I knew it by the marks, the bag was marked Y 61, I have no doubt but it was mine.

Hayland and Cotton had good barristers and were both acquitted, but later in the day a different judge and jury tried first Thomas Milton and then George Hayland again for stealing other bags, and they were both found guilty and sentenced to be transported. We learn some incidental details of the brewing trade. They were not into reusing but possibly into recycling!

How many bags have you and your partners belonging to you? - Seven or 800 ... When the people bring you the malt, do you send the bags backwards and forwards, what do you do with the empty bags? - We cut them up.

(And perhaps send them to the paper manufacturers). We learn the name of the brewery clerk, Bryan Valentine Robinson, and that 'Mr. Thornton's brew-

ery deals with ... Yates and Brown, Hopmerchants' (a Mrs Yates, apparently).

Goodwyn's business seems to have grown in that decade: in 1780 they insured their premises with the Sun Insurance company for £1,600, in 1785 they had four separate policies for £700, £300, £400, and £7,500, and in 1786 one policy for £25,400.

In the early 1790s Thomas had an address - business or residential? - at Cooper's Row, Crutched Friars. This is near Tower Hill and close to where Matthew Clark started his business 20 years later, and very close to Trinity Square where Matthew Clark & Sons moved to in 1925.

By 1791 the partnership running the business consisted of Henry Goodwyn, William Skinner and Thomas Thornton. The fragmentary records of the Sun Fire Insurance in the Guildhall Library in their names over the next 18 years show that as well as their premises, they also owned at various times several public houses: the Cock and Lion Taphouse near Lady Parsons Stairs, Lower East Smithfield (the 'victualler' was George Payne, then Oliver), the Crown in Swallow Street (victualler, George Robinson), the Fountain, Minories, the Magpie and Stump, Back Lane, Ratcliffe, the Northumberland Head, corner of Fort Street and Gun Street, Old Artillery Ground; and other miscellaneous properties in the area: south end of Nightingale Lane, Watts's Cooperage, adjoining

to Burr Street Gardens, possibly the same as Watts's Yard, Hermitage; Elder Street, Spital Fields; 10 south side of Burr Street; 12, 13, 14 Lower East Smithfield; 4 to 12 Flushing Yard (Taylor ship chandler, Mascol sail maker); Shirleys Triangular; Whites Yard, Upper East Smithfield.

In 1813 Thomas Thornton was the senior partner; his colleagues were George Matthew Hoare, David Walters, Thomas Wildman Goodwyn, his own son Thomas Thornton, junior, and William Everett. George Hoare, a younger son of Henry Hoare of Hoare's Bank, had joined the firm in 1802, and the Red Lion Brewhouse later became Hoare & Co. and did not close till 1934.

A notice in the *London Gazette* in 1820 announced that

The Copartnership heretofore carried on at the Red Lion Brewery, in Lower East Smithfield, between us the undersigned, Thomas Thornton, George Matthew Hoare, David Walters, Thomas Wildman Goodwyn, Thomas Thornton the younger, and William Everest, under the firm of Goodwyn and Co., was dissolved by mutual consent, so far as relates to the said Thomas Thornton, David Walters, and Thomas Thornton the younger, as on and from the 24th day of June 1816.

Great changes came about east of the City as the docks were constructed and the East India Docks Road created. Thomas took the opportunity for some private speculation in 1817 by buying from Thomas Griggess a coach-house and other build-

ings on the northern side of White Hart Place, together with Nos 1-11 White Hart Place and a plot of empty ground there. The site was later developed for more houses, but I'm not sure whether in Thomas Thornton's time. He also owned properties in Fore Street, Spital Square, and those that had been his father's at Brentford

St Katharine's Dock was built alongside Lower East Smithfield in the late 1820s, just before Thomas died, but the water came up to the street earlier, and the brewery had a convenient wharf at the river side. There is a splendid engraving of about 1850 showing an earlier Lord Mayor, Sir John Parsons, father of Henry, outside the Red Lion Brewhouse in 1703, leaving the dock on a barge for Westminster to be sworn in. (This river procession lasted until the mid 19th century, when the City lost jurisdiction over the river Thames to a new Thames Conservancy Board. The beautiful barge was sold for only £105.) In the engraving, the fine modern brewery, chimneys smoking, joins on to the handsome late medieval building, part of which seems to have had an archway driven through into the brewery yard.

Thomas Thornton retired, presumably in 1820, to a large mansion on the outskirts of Horsham (built in a dour spirit, says *The Buildings of England*), which he may have leased from the father of Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, the poet. His will shows he was pretty well off! After Thomas Thornton's death his widow went to live at Brunswick Square, Hove, with her bachelor son Thomas.

Thomas Thornton's will of 1828 is a typical example of the inordinate length wills swelled to in the 19th century when lawyers began to pride themselves on foreseeing every eventuality and using all verbiage possible. He tied up his money so satisfactorily that his great grandson, my grandfather, was still annotating a trust fund document in 1905, money having been paid out to various family members over the years. But the most striking thing is how Thomas wanted his loved ones to behave. He left money to his wife

for the term of her natural life or until she shall marry again which I trust she will not do except it be some gentleman of high respectability and good property[!]

Incidentally, he described himself in his will as 'esquire', while his father in law the hop merchant was content with 'gentleman' and his father more bluntly with 'brewer.' This striving for social status had also been seen in April 1817 when he and one of his partners were among the large number of London citizens summoned as potential jurors in the trial of James Watson following the Spa Fields Riots; 'Thomas Thornton se. of Lower Eastsmith-field, gent.' was among them - and so was 'Thomas Wildman Goodwyn, of the same, brewer.'

Thomas Davis, the father in law, left his daughters £3,000 apiece, reduced to £1,000 if they married without their mother's consent. Thomas Thornton himself went to remarkable lengths:

if my said daughter Mary Ann Thornton shall so contrary to my wishes and against my paternal advice marry Mr. George Mount now or late a clerk in a Merchant's Counting House in or near Austin friars

the bequests to her 'become void' and she only gets £200 a year! Well, George Mount may have been after her money - we shall never know. He didn't marry her, at any rate.

Two of his sons and his four daughters were all to inherit at 24 (rather than the usual 21) but the daughters would need the executors to appoint their inheritances by deed. Thomas Thornton further said that Mary Ann's inheritance was

separate personal and inalienable ... and may not be subject to the debts disposition or engagements of any husband she may happen to marry.

This reminds us of the extraordinary fact that before 1882, when the Married Women's Property Act came into force, any money a woman inherited became the property of her husband. It explains an earlier passage in Thomas Thornton's will, where he graciously gives and bequeaths to his wife

all that reversion expectant on the decease of Mary Clowes to which I am entitled in behalf of my said wife under the will of her late aunt.

Brewing was certainly a profitable occupation for these 18th century Londoners, as were most of the other businesses

connected with strong liquor which I have found among my forebears - mainly whisky distillers in Scotland and Ireland. Only the wine and spirit merchant in Birmingham who went bankrupt when the war with Revolutionary France interrupted supplies bucked the trend.

Sources

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Fitch, J.A. (1968) 'Balthazar Gardemau' *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society*. Vol.21, No.3.

René's flight from his first master in *Evening Post*, 1720-1 from 17th and 18th century Burney Collection of newspapers, on line; National Archives, C 11/847/41, Cottiby v Wray.

'Lost bitch,' *Daily Advertiser*, 1743, 1745 Humble Address, 1745 shop let advertisement, John Thornton's blacklisting in Middlesex Journal or Chronicle of Liberty, other details of his brewing activities, all from Burney Collection.

Dinah Barry's will (from Tower Hamlets records P/MIS/13 1723;1728), tells of the Flanders residence and explains relationships; and the business documents of 1729 following her death which mention 'Rene Thompson, alias Cottiby of All Hallows the Great, London, brewer,' are in Surrey archives, Clayton family of Marden, Godstone: deeds and papers, 1559-1806, G3/3/27-30, and Uvedale Lambert papers & documents 3924/3/25; and Essex

Archives, D/DAC 143.

René's second marriage in *Gentleman's Magazine*, 5.164.

His purchase of sermons was in an online list of subscriptions to publications which has disappeared; the hospital sermon is on line at Google Books.

Brewers' Company records for Cottiby and Thornton kindly looked up for me by Prue MacGibbon, archivist. London directories from 1763.

The Christ Church, Spitalfields, archaeological research is on line from Archaeology Data Service <http://ads.ahds.ac.uk>. Details of Balthazar's coffin plate from London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre, Museum of London, and of his remains from Human Remains Unit, Department of Palaeontology, Natural History Museum.

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www.oldbaileyonline.org for Thomas Thornton's appearances as witness.

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Engraving of Red Lion Brewhouse in 1703 on line at mediastorehouse.com

Anne, René and Catherine Cottiby's, John and Thomas Thornton's, and Thomas Davis's wills on line from National Archives. Lady Catherine Gardemau's will in Suffolk Record Office.