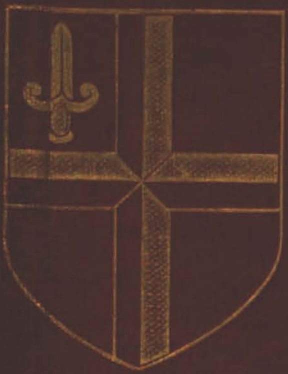

A HISTORY OF LONDON

W. J. LOFTIE

A
HISTORY OF LONDON.

VOL. I.

A

HISTORY OF LONDON.

BY

W. J. LOFTIE,

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AUTHOR OF 'ROUND ABOUT LONDON,' 'IN AND OUT OF LONDON,'
'MEMORIALS OF THE SAVOY,' ETC.

WITH MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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PREFACE.

IN the multiplicity of books on London it is strange that for more than forty years no history has appeared. Thomas Allen's five volumes reached a second edition in 1839, being continued, but unfortunately not corrected by Thomas Wright. Since that time no serious attempt has been made to tell the story of our great city's origin and growth, although the materials have gradually accumulated in abundance: and many chronicles, diaries, and collections of records have been printed. The 'Liber Albus' and the 'Liber Custumarum' have been edited by the lamented Henry Thomas Riley for the Rolls Series, and extracts from the Letter Books for the Corporation. He also issued a translation of a chronicle which he attributed to Fitz Thedmar, and the Camden Society published several later London chronicles. Finally, last year Canon Stubbs printed his 'Annales Londinienses' and 'Annales Paulini.' Not to mention everything of the kind, it will easily be seen that a complete change has come over the aspect of London history in a single generation. Allen had no better authority than Stow, but we have the very documents from which Stow worked, and many others besides. It is a matter for surprise that they have been so little used. An allusion to the existence of any authority higher than Stow's is of the rarest occurrence. One brilliant exception only proves the truth of this assertion. The papers contributed by Mr. Clark and Mr. Green to a volume entitled 'Old London,' published in 1867, show what might have been done by literally hundreds of writers who yet have preferred the beaten track.

I have endeavoured, therefore, in the first of these volumes to weave the history of the city of London as told by the chroniclers into a continuous narrative: prefacing it with a topographical account of the site, and by an attempt to describe the effects on London of the Roman and Saxon invasions. The medieval history includes that of the guilds, the wards, the churches, the monasteries, and the companies.

Of the later period, so well illustrated by Maitland, Malcolm, Lysons, and others, I have said comparatively little, as their works are well known and generally accessible. Such subjects as the great plague, the churches of Wren, the rise and progress of banking, and the modern commercial development of London would each require for adequate treatment a volume to itself, and, in fact, many such volumes exist. I have therefore endeavoured to state the mere outline in each case and to refer my readers to the authorities consulted.

The second volume contains a detailed account of each parish of the suburbs, prefaced by a sketch of the history of Middlesex. Here the continuous method has of necessity been abandoned: but I have directed my attention in each chapter chiefly to an attempt to show the origin and growth of the present condition of the suburbs, with special reference to the accumulations of land in the so-called "Great Estates." I have in almost all cases tried to omit mere local gossip, unless it happened to be of a kind likely to illustrate the history, or had not been already noticed by other writers. I have avoided as much as possible such things as processions, executions, duels, and the loves of Charles II.: but I have endeavoured to trace each manor from its earliest mention to the present day, and to explain local names and other circumstances by the history. I trust that the numerous maps and plans may prove interesting as showing in so many cases a state of things which has passed away for ever, and as accounting for what we see by what our forefathers saw when so much that is now densely populated lay in open fields.

I should be sorry to be understood as disparaging the delightful memoirs of Cunningham, Leigh Hunt, Jesse, and others. They are entertaining to read, and if they add very little to our real historical knowledge, they at least serve to keep alive an interest in scenes and places which might otherwise be passed by. The worst of them is that they set a bad example, and their imitators have produced by the dozen, nay, by the hundred, books in which truth has been a secondary object, books which bristle with errors, and which are so far from history that they are not even good fiction. There is not a mistake in Stow or Cunningham that they have not taken up and expanded, accepting guesses as certainty, and asserting boldly what their authorities cautiously conjectured. To take a single example: among the almost countless lists that exist of the mayors and sheriffs, there is not one which has not been directly founded on Stow's. From the imperfection of his materials, it was necessarily imperfect, and was only completed by a system of elaborate, but often erroneous guessing. Yet contemporary chronicles containing the correct names are in print in abundance, and overlap each other in such a way as to make the task of forming a new list a mere school-boy's exercise.

I ought to mention, in order that any critic who is kind enough to notice this book may be saved the trouble of arranging "parallel passages," that I have been in the habit for many years, as I pursued my investigations, of writing articles on old London and its environs in various periodicals, chiefly the *Quarterly* and *Saturday Reviews*, and the *Archæological Journal*. I have received much kind help from various quarters, and have to thank Mr. C. Trice Martin of the Record Office, Dr. Reginald Sharpe of the Guildhall, and Mr. W. M. Trollope of Westminster, for replies to questions which they must often have considered exceedingly troublesome if not impertinent. I have obtained much information from Mr. J. Henry Middleton, who kindly gave me the elaborate plan of Westminster Abbey which illustrates Chapter XVI. Mr. J. J. Stevenson kindly gave me leave to use one of the illustrations of his 'House Architecture,' for which I heartily thank him; as well as Mr. John Ward, F.S.A., for the gift of a view of Buckingham Gate.

I have also to acknowledge the sympathy and ever ready assistance I received from the deeply lamented John Richard Green, whose death in the maturity of his powers is announced even as I write. To his encouragement and advice I owe it that I ever commenced the studies which have resulted in the production of this book. His inexhaustible stores of knowledge and his unfailing historical judgment were my constant resource during the many years in which I have been engaged in gathering materials and placing them in order. If I could have had his help until my work was completed I might have solved difficulties which now seem insuperable.

I trust that some of the problems which I have stated may awaken an interest in the minds of investigators able to solve them. We know very little, for instance, about the history of guilds and companies, about the origin of the office of alderman, about the early division of parishes, and many other subjects at which I have been obliged only to hint. Hitherto the most competent antiquaries have avoided such questions. Yet they are of the highest interest, and I can only regret to have been able to do so little towards giving them a satisfactory answer. Let me conclude these "fore words" with a quotation from 'Twelfth Night,' and without further apology

> "I pray you let us satisfy our eyes
> With the memorials and things of fame
> That do renown this city."

March, 1883.

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HISTORY OF LONDON.

CHAPTER I.

THE SITE OF LONDON.

LONDON is the name of an ever-widening tract of country covered by the buildings of a city already so large that it is equalled by no other in the world. We may even doubt if any city of the past was so great. Its population is known to a unit; and as there is no such trustworthy information to be had about any ancient city, it is impossible to compare London with Rome, or Babylon, or Memphis. But as compared with Paris, the nearest competitor, London is almost twice as large; and as compared with New York, it is three times as large. As compared with cities in our own islands, London exceeds Glasgow or Liverpool by more than three million inhabitants.*

The growth of London has been very rapid in modern times. Those of us who can remember it for a dozen years are already unable to trace the older features of many places over which the resistless tide of building has crept. When the Crystal Palace was placed in Hyde Park a little more than thirty years ago, there were only a few isolated villas between it and Brompton. When it was removed to the top of Sydenham Hill there were not even villas between it and Dulwich. Now, in 1882, the statue of Prince Albert looks out over a sea of houses from Hyde Park to the top of Sydenham Hill, uninterrupted save by the Thames. For a time the suburbs of London were confined within the hundred of Ossulston, and a corner of Surrey; now the whole of the hundred has disappeared, and is no longer reckoned among the divisions of Middlesex; while on the other side of the river the hundred of Brixton has been similarly devoured, and Greenwich in Kent is as much a part of London as Wapping or Chelsea. The streets extend far into Essex, and there are suburbs even in Hertfordshire.

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* Paris, 2,225,910 (1881). New York, 1,206,590 (1880). Glasgow, 511,532 (1881). Liverpool, 552,425 (1881). London, 3,832,441 (1881). In 1801, it was 958,863.

6

As the houses advance, the natural features are obliterated. The shady lanes, the palings and orchards, the green meadows where we were wont to be thankful for a moment's respite from the din and bustle of the streets, are turned into villas first, then into rows of houses. The hollows are levelled up, the hills are levelled down. The brooks no longer run, the trees and the grass no longer grow. There is no more seed-time or harvest for the land the great city covers. The scanty vegetation which may still be found within its boundaries is artificial, for even the sky is invisible during a great part of the year. All seasons are alike to the thorough Londoner. The summer heat only drives him to the shady side; the winter wind does but make him call a cab. The railways, under the pretence of taking him farther and farther out of town, only bring the town farther into the country, and cover a larger district with villas and avenues which are merely mockeries of country villages and natural woods.

For my present purpose, therefore, which is to describe the London area as it was before the houses, it may be convenient not to go beyond the valley bounded by Hampstead on the north and Sydenham on the south; although we are constantly being reminded that the tide has long ago overflowed these limits, especially to the south, and has poured down the sunny slopes far into Kent and Surrey. I shall ignore Norwood, reckon Croydon a country town, and speak as if Anerley was really what its name is said to import—a place remarkable for its lonely situation.

The London district, thus restricted, lies between two lines of heights, and is traversed by a winding river of considerable width. The northern range is the highest, rising at Highgate to 424 feet, and at Hampstead to about twenty feet more. The southern range nowhere attains a greater elevation than 370 feet, but we may note that while Highgate and Hampstead stand comparatively alone, Sydenham Hill and Denmark Hill are flanked by several minor heights, such as Nunhead and Forest Hill. The northern range, too, differs from the southern in another particular: it does not fall to the level of the water at once; but between it and the lowest ground there is interposed a line of intermediate heights, some of them rising above 100 feet. It was on one of these minor hills that the original nucleus of London was placed. But in one important respect, its position was utterly different from what it now appears. When London was confined to the hill above the Wallbrook, the water of a broad lagoon was stretched in front of it to the south, filling the valley toward the Surrey hills, and washing almost to their feet. Though Camberwell and Peckham may even then have been dry ground, they were on the margin of a vast shallow lake, interspersed with marshes and dotted with islets. The river flowed from Lambeth to Deptford, or from Chelsea to Blackwall, at every high tide, and at low water left little land between. Now it is first deflected to the northward as it passes Westminster, it turns to the east at Charing Cross, at Rotherhithe it starts in a southerly direction and, when it has rounded the Isle of Dogs, runs northward again to Blackwall. The Isle of Dogs, before the docks covered all its interior surface, was for the most part seven feet below high water mark. The land on which Lambeth and Kennington and Newington stand was river or morass, the site of Southwark and Bermondsey was a string of little islands. Other places were left dry at every change. The river brought down quantities of soil, mud, sand, gravel; and one by one little settlements could be made and embankments could be thrown up to protect the marshes. That such is the history of many of the South London districts is evident from their names, and still more evident if we inquire into the level to which they have been artificially raised. Upper Kennington Lane is in places only from twelve to fourteen feet above the Thames. The Old Kent Road, a thoroughfare on which the made earth is everywhere deep, rises sometimes no more than seven feet; and Southwark Park, in spite of modern filling, is only six feet above high water. There are one or two spots in the Bermondsey district which, on an exact map, have a minus-sign before the number which denotes their level, and are, like Dutch "polders," actually below high water mark.

One by one the little eyots became islands dotting the lagoon, one by one the marshes were embanked and became meadows; so that, when the Romans ran their great southern road across a bridge to Southwark, and on piles and embankments to the higher levels inland, the whole peninsula gradually became habitable.

But there are other low-lying districts in London. The Isle of Dogs represents the delta of what was, at a not very remote period, a tidal estuary. The Lea river, flowing down from the wooded hills of Essex and Hertfordshire, was wide and full. To the west also, an estuary filled what is now St. James's Park, and an island, which is first known in history as the Thorn-ey, was at its mouth. In the ornamental water, we trace the last remnant of an inlet from whose surface Westminster gradually rose into the daylight of modern history. Thickets may have given it the older name. Centuries before the western monastery had been raised to afford its sanctuary to human fugitives, the wild deer swam over to hide from the savage hunter. A skeleton found under the foundation of the Victoria Tower in the new Palace of Parliament, tells of an age when antlered stags roamed through the forest, and when the men who slew them, slew them with weapons of stone.

Above that part of the Thames Lagoon which is represented by the flats of Pimlico, flats only reclaimed in our own day, rose and rises the westernmost and highest of the low range of hills which I mentioned above. Each hill is separated from the next by a valley, through which a brook ran ; and the whole range runs in an easterly direction in a line not quite parallel to the edge of the river, but so tending to the south that while Campden Hill is three-quarters of a mile inland, Tower Hill is on the bank. The westernmost rises to a height of 130 feet. We now call its northern slope Notting Hill, and the eastern Bayswater Hill : but these are all designations of the same eminence, which is divided from the next by a brook, the West Bourne. The West Bourne originally fed the Serpentine, but it now flows underground, if it flows at all, and is degraded to the rank of a sewer.

Going eastward, we next ascend to the sandy plateau known in history as Tyburn, although by right it should bear some other name. It falls short of the proportions of Campden Hill by more than forty feet, but seen from the lower lawns of Hyde Park it appears to rise somewhat abruptly, and no doubt before the levelling hand of modern man had been employed in rounding it, was steep, if not precipitous. Down to the last century it was covered by a barren heath, and its summit at the Edgware Road was almost flat. The southern edge approached very near the head of the little estuary of which I have spoken as being now St. James's Park. If we stand within Cumberland Gate and look due south over the only open ground we can now find on the whole hill, we can easily, if the day is clear, obtain an idea of the ancient geography of what is now the "West End." All the districts to the south, as far as the Thames, are on a much lower level. The nearest high ground we can descry is very far off. As the sun gleams on the roof of the Crystal Palace, we recognise Sydenham Hill. At our feet is the river, shallow and wide—so shallow indeed, at times, that it is no mere tradition which affirms the existence of a ford at Westminster. On the right is the valley through which the West Bourne took its course, and on the left, if we could strip off Brook Street and Grosvenor Street, and the adjacent quarter as far as South Street, we should be able to follow the windings of another stream. How entirely the face of nature has been altered may be seen in a moment if, when passing through Davies Street towards Berkeley Square, the curious traveller will turn to the left into Bourdon Street. Fifty yards off he will see the valley through which the Tyburn ran, and can judge how much the ground rises on either side.

The course of the Tyburn was carefully followed and mapped before it made its last appearance in daylight.[*] Its source was in Conduit Fields, not far from the "Swiss Cottage," on the first slopes of Hampstead. Thence it ran for a few hundred yards through the Regent's Park, across the road at Sussex Place, between Gloucester Place and Baker Street, across the Marylebone Road, and turning westward, under Madame Tussaud's, by South Street to the foot of the High Street of St. Marylebone.[†] Thence it is easily traced to Oxford Street, for Marylebone Lane once overhung the left bank of the stream, and marks its windings for us. The brook ran nearly along Mandeville Place, crossed Wigmore Street, and reached Oxford Street at Gee's Court. To trace its further course we must follow the lowest levels of the ground as best we can through a labyrinth of lanes behind the fine houses in Bond Street; and tending a little to the west, through South Molton Lane, across Brook Street, by Avery Row to Grosvenor Mews, just behind the Grosvenor Gallery. Little Bruton Street and some more mews take us to Berkeley Square, at the foot of Hay Hill. Thence we go through The Passage, whose hollow sounding pavement seems to betray the fact that the brook runs between the gardens of Lansdowne House on the right and those of Devonshire House on the left. We are now very near Piccadilly, but the brook again turns westward for a few yards, and only reaches the Park at Engine Street (now called Brick Street), whose name probably indicated the existence of a water-wheel at some not very remote period in history. Across the Green Park the windings of the Tyburn are occasionally revealed by a line of mist, which shows that it has not been wholly dried up in its underground course. Near Buckingham Palace it divides, and while part falls, or used to fall, into the Thames through the ornamental water in St. James's Park, part also ran into the ancient abbey buildings at Westminster, having been carefully piped by the monks for their own use; and a third branch, passing close to, if not actually under the Palace, flows nearly in a straight line through Pimlico to Milbank, where, under the name of the King's Scholars' Pond Sewer, it falls into the Thames not far from the mouth of the Ranelagh Sewer, in which we recognise all that is left of the West Bourne.

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[*] J. G. Waller, in the 'Journal of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society,' vol. v. I have to thank Mr. Waller for much assistance in writing this chapter.

[†] For the history of St. Marylebone, see chapter xxi.

The number of these small brooks across the site of modern London is very remarkable, but may be accounted for in part by the existence of the next hill after we have crossed the Tyburn and are proceeding eastward. This, the central hill of modern London, is not so high as those beyond the Tyburn and the West Bourne; but it is of far greater extent, and its southern slope is more gradual. Its highest point is at Regent's Circus North, and it extends back to Regent's Park, and south to Charing Cross and the line of the Strand, the lower slope being sometimes rather more steep, as at the Haymarket, or in Wellington Street. So thickly is it covered with streets that we cannot easily recognise the geographical features; and but for the friendly aid afforded by such an open space as Regent's Park, we might find it hard to understand that all the ground which Oxford Street traverses from Stratford Place to Holborn Hill is upon it; that it extends northward in a wide and nearly level plain to the foot of Hampstead Hill, and that its southern slopes are skirted by Pall Mall, the Strand, and Fleet Street along a distance of not less than two miles.

We shall be able to see more clearly when observing the geological structure of the London soil, that from the dense bed of clay which is, as it were, dammed up by this hill, most of the streams which cross the site of London take their rise; but its own surface, with the exception of two little rivulets which cross the Strand—at Ivy Bridge, Adelphi, and at Milford Lane, Temple Bar—is smooth and unfurrowed. It rises ninety feet at Regent's Circus and eighty-five at Tottenham Court Road. Regent's Park occupies a kind of ridge between two slight depressions, west and east; and is backed up immediately on the north by Primrose Hill and Barrow Hill, spurs of Hampstead.* The Tyburn rose on the western side of this ridge, and on the eastern another brook, or rather river, wound along through steep banks, turning more and more to the south, until, as we descend Holborn Hill, it stops for the time our further progress. We are on the edge of the Fleet, the eastern boundary of our great west-central hill.

The Fleet † has wholly disappeared now, but it was once a very prominent feature of London geography. Both it and the Tyburn took their rise in the dense clay of the region just below Hampstead, but while the Tyburn took its course towards the west, the Fleet ran towards the east. The Tyburn by its subdivision into several streams forms the delta of Westminster. In this respect, and indeed in its whole course, it differed in character from the Fleet; for the Fleet did not love to wander through open meadows or go miles out of its way to avoid a hill. On the contrary it seemed, wherever it came, to have made its mark as deep and indelible as it could; and its early name of Hole-bourne is easily explained when we find it running between banks so steep that in places they may be called cliffs.* The Hole-bourne was the early course of the Fleet. It is now buried under earth, pavement, arches, and the long sepulchral vaults of the main drainage system. This has been its fate from its source at Haverstock Hill to its outfall at Blackfriars. Nowhere can we trace its wanderings except by the contour of the land through which it flowed. For two miles from the so-called Vale of Health, past the Gospel Oak—where in the middle ages the parishioners came, with their priest reading his service-book, to trace and mark their boundaries—skirting the slope of Cantelowe's, now Kentish Town, leaving Camden Town on the right, it reached at last St. Pancras Church, which, far away among the fields, was noted even in the sixteenth century for its deserted air. The Hole-bourne now begins to show its character and deserve its name.

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* It is probable that Primrose Hill and its companion, now crowned by a reservoir of the Middlesex Water Company, were, in part at least, artificial mounds. Tumuli existed in many places in the same district.

† J. G. Waller, 'London and Middlesex Transactions,' iv. 97.

At Battle Bridge, now King's Cross, the brook begins to enter the long valley from which it only emerges when the journey is over. High clay hills are on either side. One is crowned now by the walls of Coldbath

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* Yet so completely have they been covered and disguised that Stow and others have been forced to invent an "Oldbourne," and to make it flow down Holborn Hill to account for a name which, even three centuries ago, had begun to lose its special appropriateness.

Fields Prison. On another are the equally cheerful institutions of Clerkenwell. All are now covered, and it would be difficult indeed to find the slightest trace of the camp which was said to have been the resting-place of Suetonius, before his defeat of Boadicea at Battle Bridge below. Modern science might have been able, did any remains exist, to say if it was not rather an English or Danish fortification, and so confirm or refute the tradition that here Alfred won a victory. It would be rash to say now, unless indeed we might imitate an antiquary of the last century, who thought he had found still more tangible proofs of the Roman occupation.* As elsewhere on the Thames valley, mammoth bones have been discovered along the course of the Fleet; and of one such skeleton, Bagford writes to Hearne that, though some will have it the elephant lay there since the universal deluge, he for his own part, is inclined to think it was brought over by the Romans and killed in the fight by a Briton.

Ingenious as it is, this hypothesis will not suffice to explain all the discoveries of elephants along the shores of the Thames and the Lea. There have been other discoveries also, to throw a light on the early condition of Middlesex; and the remains of a vast forest on this northern shore of the estuary, may occasionally be found at no great depth. The modern decline of the Fleet, from a river to a brook, and from a brook to a drain, may be in part accounted for, as well as the decline of the smaller streams already mentioned, by remembering how much trees do to increase and retain moisture in the air and soil. If Hockley means a field or lea abounding with oak trees, then we have, in the name of a place on this part of the Fleet, some evidence as to both the river and the land. Scragg Hollow, Hockley in the Hole, is memorable in history as the birthplace of Jonathan Wild. It was close to where the Clerkenwell Court is now.

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* We cannot afford to laugh at Bagford, or Conyers his informant. In a history of London remarkable for the number and excellence of its illustrative woodcuts, this charming theory is enunciated and defended. The volumes are undated, but bear internal evidence of being less than five years old.

When the bourne emerges from behind the hills and turns into its tidal course, it becomes the Fleet. This end of our great west-central hill is now variously designated according to the side from which we view it. There is Holborn Hill, Saffron Hill, Back Hill, Ely Place, Hatton Garden, Kirby Street, or Field Lane; but the brook preserves its characteristics to the end. The banks on the eastern side were, and are, so high that they have refused to submit to the greatest of modern obliterating agencies; and even the railway across Ludgate Hill has left at one or two points steep ascents like that long known as Break-neck Steps. Snow Hill has been abandoned for the Holborn Viaduct; and the whole district of Farringdon Street, which actually runs over the course of the old Fleet river, presents the inquiring geographer with a marvellous example of the power of modern engineers to disguise and change the natural appearance of a valley and a tidal estuary.

The first bridging of the Fleet must have been a serious matter. In Roman times the only direct road across it to our fourth hill, from High Holborn, that is, to Newgate, was by the Holborn Bridge. The street called Holborn Hill led to it: and Snow Hill was the way up the opposite acclivity. When another bridge was made many centuries later, it was lower down. This was the Fleet Bridge, and the road which led to it was Fleet Street : while the opposite hill was called after the Fleet, Flood or Lud, Ludgate.*

The Fleet formed the western bulwark of London for hundreds of years: its existence must have been one of the chief inducements which brought about the first settlement on the hill above. There was no such stream westward for many miles, no creek or harbour with such high protecting banks and a tide which flowed so far inland. The Fleet was still navigable in the reign of Edward I. Ship Court and Seacoal Lane remained till lately to tell of the time when there was a natural haven, situated in immediate proximity to the city. Such a waterway must have been a protection in war as well as a commercial port in peace, and London, seated thus on a lofty hill, with, as we shall see, a smaller harbour in its very midst, and protected on one side by such a tidal estuary as the Fleet, and on the other by the Lea, was a place of natural strength, yet admirably adapted for purposes of commerce.

Our fourth hill, then, looked westward over the Fleet, and eastward over the Wall-brook. Of its real height and its form we know little. It was included within the second Roman wall, and there are places in it where the original surface is forty feet below the present level. Its level summit extends from the west front of St. Paul's to nearly the eastern end of Cheapside: where a valley, deep and winding like part of the Upper Hole-bourne, descended to the level of the Wall-brook.†

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* Some have thought "Lud" a reference to the assembly of the leod or leet in St. Paul's Churchyard. Both derivations are doubtful. See chapter xvii.

† This name is sometimes spelt with one l, but the existence of the original Roman wall on its bank was not established till lately. "Walbrook," if *wal* or *gael* means a foreigner, could be taken as an early English reference to the port of Dowgate and the merchants who came to it; but

On the south, or river side, the hill was precipitous. There is a vague tale of some ancient remains in the corner over Dowgate, which were supposed to indicate the site of an ancient British village. Its existence is, however, very problematical. Sir Christopher Wren discovered what he considered British graves, " wherein were found ivory and wooden pins of a hard wood, seemingly box, in abundance, of about six inches long. It seems the bodies were only wrapped up and pinned in woollen shrouds, which being consumed, the pins remained entire."* But he goes on to say that " in the same row and deeper were Roman urns intermixed. This," he continues, " was eighteen feet deep or more, and belonged to the colony where Romans and Britons lived and died together."

This passage proves a few points which do not seem to have occurred to the majority of the historians of St. Paul's. If there were interments here we may be sure that this was not the site of a Roman city or fortress at the time those interments were made. Therefore this was not, as Milman and others have supposed, the hill on which the *Pretorium* stood. If it was a cemetery, it could not have been at the same period a fort. It may possibly have been a British burial-place, but Wren is careful to say that the Roman urns lay, in some cases, deeper than the British graves ; and there is nothing of any other interments earlier or deeper than those where Roman urns were intermixed. The passage, in short,

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the wall which overlooked it affords a better derivation. Geoffrey of Monmouth derives the name from Livius Gallus. In the Rot. Pat. Edward III. it is Walebrok.

* Wren's 'Parentalia,' p. 266, quoted in Murray's 'Handbook to St. Paul's,' p. 5, where this note comes after a general assertion that this was the site of the Roman pretorium. The interments dispose of this idea.

gives us little information; but we do gather distinctly that, whatever it may have been before the Romans came, after they came, it was for a time at least, outside the city wall.

Another discovery has been mentioned. Camden tells us of the finding of "an incredible" quantity of skulls and bones of cattle, stags' horns, boars' tusks, and implements and vessels thought to be sacrificial. Apart from the implements there would be nothing so very incredible about this discovery. Bones and skulls and tusks have been found at other places in the Thames valley. The implements are a puzzle. Were they of pottery, of metal, or of stone? Were they knives or arrow-heads? It is absurd to try to draw conclusions worth having from traditions like these. A kitchen-midden of any kind would answer sufficiently well to the description: and there is nothing positively conclusive against the bones being those of the elephants and bears of the glacial epoch. The Romans of a later time occupied the hill, as we shall see when we come to speak of Roman London. Meanwhile, we have only to note one other point relating to this hill, and then cross the Wallbrook to the next one. In Panyer Alley is a little monument familiar to every one, since Cruikshank sketched it for Hone, with an inscription as follows:—

"When you have searched the city round
Yet still this is the highest ground."

The height here is fifty-nine feet. But we find a slightly greater elevation on the neighbouring hill,—for the site of the "Standard" on Cornhill is sixty feet above sea-level—and where a free choice existed, we may suppose the higher of the two was the first inhabited. At the same time it is well to remember that our knowledge of the original level is extremely slight. In Paternoster Row and St. Martin's, remains have been found at a depth from twelve to sixteen feet: at St. Paul's, as we have seen, Wren found interments at eighteen. In the valley of the Wallbrook a villa floor was lately uncovered not less than forty feet below the present surface. So that it would be impossible to say that the western hill was higher or lower than the eastern; and we may safely assert that before they were built on, neither exceeded nor fell far short of forty-five feet above the river shore below.

The Wallbrook took its rise in the fens beyond Moorgate, and flowing through a depression, still well marked, near Lothbury, passed under the site of the Church of St. Mildred's, in the Poultry, which during the middle ages was built on an archway over the brook. Thence it passed a little to the westward of the Mansion House and through a kind of ravine to a creek at Dowgate. The present street called by its name runs very nearly parallel to the course of the stream.

On the eastern hill, if anywhere, there may have been an early British fort: that is, before the coming of the Romans. The situation, guarding a little port below, and guarded itself from danger on the west by the brook, is more suitable than that on the hill of St. Paul's, where the port formed by the mouth of the Fleet was more subject to inconvenient tides; and also, in all probability, to heavier winter floods. On the east was a wider valley, slightly sloping to the levels of the Lea, and without any high ground nearer than Barking.

Here, long before the coming of the Romans, the old Celtic chieftain of the district may have placed his fortified cattle pen. Behind him were densely wooded hills stretching beyond Hampstead and Highgate to

St. Albans, with only the marsh of Finsbury* between. To the west the Wallbrook brawled over its stones. To the east, with an intermediate fen,† was the wide valley, where the Tower was placed in later times. He thus saw himself almost surrounded by an inland sea, whose rolling waves ebbed and flowed far up among the forests, which were afterwards to be Essex woods, past Barking to Waltham on the north-east, with a smaller estuary winding among the hills to King's Cross and Hampstead on his western frontier; and before him an archipelago of little islets in a wide lagoon. The Celtic name clung to London when everything else was changed. The derivation of "Londinium" from "Llyn-din," the lake fort, seems to agree best with the situation and the history. The Roman could not frame to pronounce the British word "Llyn," a word which must have sounded to his ears very much like "Clun" or "Lun," and the fact, if it is a fact, that Llyn was turned into Lon, goes to increase the probability that this is the correct derivation of the name. The first founder called his fastness the "Fort of the Lake," and this is all that remains of him or it.‡

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* Finsbury may be the borough or bury of Fin, but cannot possibly be derived from "fen." It was early called Vynesbury.

† Marked by Fenchurch; here there can be no difficulty.

‡ In 1876 I received a letter from the late distinguished antiquary, T. G. Godfrey Faussett, of Canterbury, in which the following passage occurred:—

"Much as one hesitates about Celtic names, I have never doubted what it was that the Romans turned into Londinium—to wit Llyn-din—the lake fortress. No doubt you know both the words in Welsh, the latter now-a-days more usually 'dinas,' and common enough. Llyn you know is pronounced *Lun*, a sound which Roman lips could not make, and got over it how they could—sometimes with an o, sometimes with an i, sometimes with their u, pronounced oo. So you will find the Usk is Isca—Romney (Welsh, Rhymney) is Limenis, Ritupæ and Rutupiæ are used promiscuously, &c., &c. London was in those days emphatically a Llyndin, the river itself being more like a broad lake than a stream, and behind the

Here each morning he could assemble his herds and herdsmen, and send them out to graze on the green western hills, along Holborn, or the marshes of the Strand. From his "Dun" he could watch that they did not stray too far, and could sally forth to their rescue when the wild men of some other tribe were seen descending from the northern heights. Here, perhaps, in case of extremity, he could summon his clansmen to his help, and defend his borders at Old Ford, or attack a rival at Primrose Hill. In his creek at Dowgate, too, when summer days were calm and boats could thread their way among the islets and shoals, and could venture across the lagoon, he might receive the visits of distant cousins from Greenwich, or the still rustic Stockwell. And here too, no doubt, now and then in the long course of years, a foreign merchant, tempted by the natural harbours, may have sailed up the estuary, and circumnavigated the shallow bays, offering trinkets and weapons for gold and pearls—perhaps for pale captives and red-haired girls. The first commerce of London must have been carried on in such goods as these, and a necklace or a hatchet formed in all probability its earliest import.

The geological features of the London district have been the subject of anxious investigation. For my present purpose it will not be necessary to do more than describe the surface, merely premising that two deep borings, one made at Kentish Town, in the northern suburbs, and the other at the intersection of Oxford

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fortress lying the 'great northern lake,' as a writer so late as Fitz-stephen calls it, where is now Moorfields. I take it it was something very like an island, if not quite—a piece of high ground rising out of lake, and swamp, and estuary." No satisfactory explanation of "Thames" has ever been offered.

Street and Tottenham Court Road, gave results as follows:—The first stratum, after a bed of alluvium, consisted of clay, which in one place was sixty-four feet thick, and in the other 236. Under the clay were between seventy and ninety feet of "Lower London" Tertiary beds, consisting of pebbles, sand, and sometimes shells. Under these the Chalk, 645 to 655 feet in thickness.*

The surface is very different in different places. In the north-western suburbs, for instance, and especially at Finchley, there are beds of glacial drift, rich in fossils. In some places again, as at Woolwich, are deep layers of peat. On the top of Hampstead Hill, which consists mainly of heavy clay, there is a capping of "Lower Bagshot" sand. As a general rule, however, the whole of the London district, north of the Thames, is on a surface of clay, with here and there a superficial bed of alluvial gravel or of sand, of varying depth. The line of each of the brooks, which I have described above, is marked by a bed of surface clay. The summits of the hills are of more or less pure sand or gravel. Thus Campden Hill is sandy, while the lower part of Kensington and Holland Park are on clay; and in the whole district called South Kensington, down through Chelsea, almost to the river's bank, there are patches of clay, of gravel, and of sand, intermixed in such a manner as to make it impossible to distinguish them. The eastern end, for example, of Cromwell Road, is on sand, the western end is on clay, as is the greater part of Earl's Court Road; though immediately beyond the sands crop up again.

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* I must refer the reader who wishes for further information to a 'Guide to the Geology of London,' by William Whitaker, B.A., F.G.S., which has been published by the authorities of the Geological Survey Office.

These examples are taken from a single parish, but in others it is much the same. A deep bed of sand occurs to the west of Portman Square, and a heavy bed of clay to the east; so that while Upper Seymour Street is on sand, Lower Seymour Street is on clay. It will be seen in a moment, by reference to the map, that there is here a slope towards the Tyburn, the whole of whose course is through clay.

The great "West Central" hill of which I have already said so much, is covered with alluvial gravel, the clay being, however, very near the surface. In the boring mentioned above, 22 feet are allowed for "alluvium, drift, &c."; but the figures are doubtful,* and in most places a single 2 would represent better the depth of the gravel. By the shore of the Thames along the Strand, and in the line of the Fleet along Farringdon Street, where there is not made earth there is clay. The steep ascent of Ludgate Hill is formed of a clay bank originally rising like a cliff, 40 feet above the river. The whole soil of the city is now made earth, and in places there are layers of ashes many feet in thickness. The depth of the soil varies from two causes; one, of course, being the comparative antiquity of the site; the other, the situation having been originally a hollow, now filled up, as along Broad Street and Wallbrook. The ancient surface of Mincing Lane, Gracechurch Street, and Lombard Street is generally found at a depth of 17 feet; but in Mark Lane it is 28 feet, and in Fenchurch Street 22 feet. In Leadenhall Street, which stands high, the old level is found at 9 feet 6 inches. A pavement was found at Lothbury and another at Bucklersbury, both in the valley of the Wallbrook, now filled up, at a depth of 40 feet. On the western hill Wren found interments about 18 feet below the modern surface; and in Paternoster Row, Cheapside, Bow Lane, Queen Street, the depth of the Roman remains discovered varies from 12 feet to 15 feet, as we have already seen.

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* Mr. Whitaker puts a ? to them.

The East End is more uniformly on clay than the West, especially near the river; but great beds of alluvial drift are found in several places. I have spoken already twice of the occasional discoveries of fossils in this superficial formation, and may illustrate them further by referring to the largest find of all, that made by Sir Antonio Brady near Ilford, a place beyond my limits, but on the same soil as many parts of London. Here, in what is called brick earth,* a brown loam, much esteemed by market gardeners, which is found for the most part at low levels only and is often interbedded with gravel and sand, a large number of bones and teeth of various animals, extant or extinct, were collected. So various and remarkable are some of these remains that one might fancy the Zoo of the period was situated at Great Ilford. The list comprises the bison, musk sheep, Irish elk, beaver, lion, hyæna, bear, rhinoceros, and hippopotamus, besides wolves, horses, oxen, pigs, mice, and such small animals in abundance, and, above all, not fewer than three distinct kinds of elephants. In this one "incredible" discovery, as Camden might have called it, there were the teeth of as many as a hundred different mammoths of this last kind (*Elephas primigenius*).

North of London, as I have already pointed out, the clay of Regent's Park used to give birth to the watercourses traced above; and though it is partially drained by the canal, and in other ways, it remains a deep and dense mass of very impervious character. This, the

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* Whitaker, 'Geology of London,' p. 69.

London Clay of geological writers, extends eastward beyond Kentish Town, and westward beyond Paddington and the northern part of Bayswater, along St. John's Wood, Maida Vale, and Westbourne Grove: the higher ground along Hyde Park being more alluvial, although in places, especially in valleys as at Lancaster Gate, the clay comes to the surface. Near the Thames on both banks are wide beds of the so-called "brick earth," or loam, already mentioned, and the pure sand becomes less frequent.

On the south side the formation is very similar. Sydenham Hill, like Hampstead, is of clay, but without its capping of Bagshot sand. The valley, as we descend towards the Thames, is alluvial, the sand occurring rather more rarely than on the north bank. In many places there is peat, and signs of very recent watery action are abundant. At the extreme east, near Greenwich, the formation known as Thanet sands, and the Blackheath sands, and other lower tertiary beds appear; but they are beyond the limit of this book.

So far we have only observed the surface on which London has been built; but if we wish to know what lies below that surface, information is easily obtained. At the Museum of Practical Geology there is a large model, on a scale of 6 inches to a mile, showing the formation of the "London Basin" within an area of about 165 square miles; or from Turnham Green, on the west, to Barking, on the east; and from Hampstead on the north, to Penge, on the south. It shows the strata down to the "Gault," which at the time the model was made, had only been touched in two borings, one already referred to, at Kentish Town, and the other at Crossness. Since then some lower beds have been reached, but it is safe to say that the Gault underlies the whole of London, with the "Lower Greensand" underneath it, and at a depth of over a thousand feet the "Devonian" formation. Above the Gault is the "Upper Greensand," and so far none of these strata appear on the surface. Next above them is the Chalk, which does not crop out anywhere within the limits of London, but is to be seen at the surface as near as Chislehurst. This formation is about 800 feet thick. Above it are, at varying depths, the sandy beds named after Thanet, Woolwich, and Blackheath, where they have been observed. Above them is the great bed of "London Clay," some 450 feet thick, capped here and there, as on the summits of Hampstead and Highgate, or in the upper parts of Richmond Park, by "Bagshot sands." On the surface, as we have seen, are alluvial deposits of various periods, but all postpliocene, consisting of glacial and old river drifts.*

As an example of the variations of elevation in London, the following lists, giving the heights in feet as marked in the Survey maps, may be found useful. The first gives the levels along Oxford Street and the other streets in a line with it or nearly so from Shepherd's Bush in the west to Mile End in the east. The second gives the levels along a route from Regent's Park to the Crystal Palace:—

I.

Shepherd's Bush, 21.
Uxbridge Road Station, 26.
Holland Park, 33.
Clarendon Road, 39.
Lord Holland's Lane, 60.
Ladbroke Road, 64.
Plough Lane, 93
Palace Gardens, 90.
Orme Square, 95.
Broad Walk, 90.
Craven Lane, 81.
Ornamental Water, 61.
Victoria Gate, 82.
Hyde Park Gardens, 80.
Albion Street, 79.

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* Whitaker.

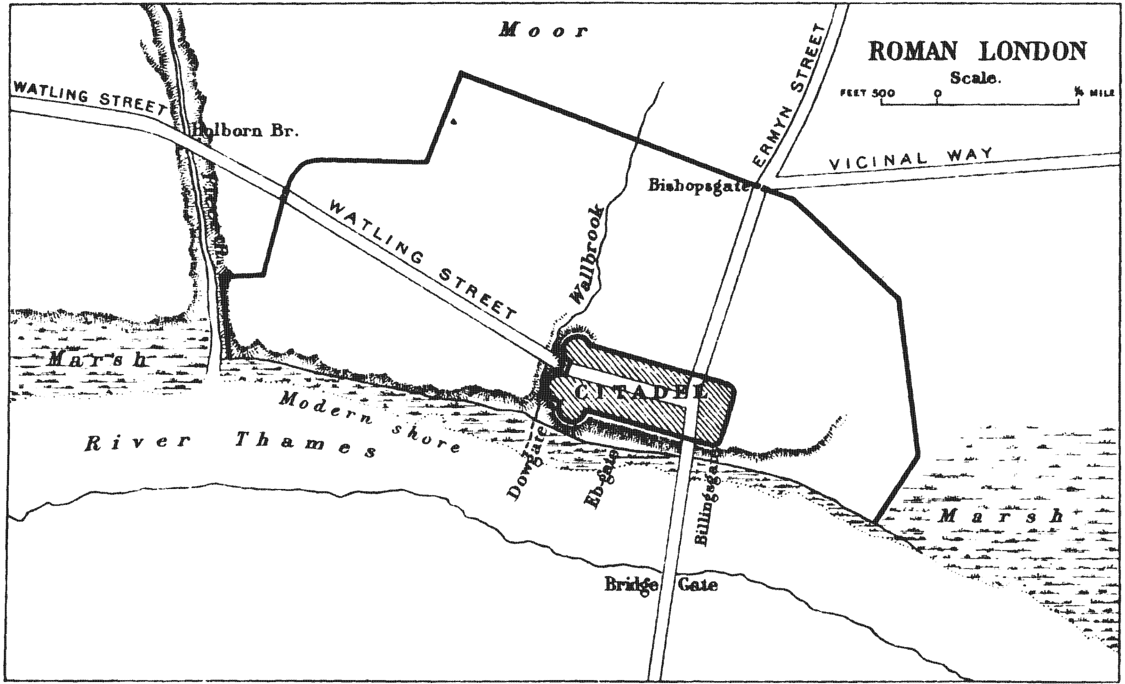
Fountain in Hyde Park, 77.
Marble Arch, 90.
Hereford Gardens, 92.
North Audley Street, 83.
South Moulton Lane, 68.
Vere Street, 82.
Regent's Circus, N., 90.
Berners Street, 87.
Tottenham Court Road, 85.
Gray's Inn Gate, 70.
Farringdon Street, 28.
Newgate Street, 59.
Cheapside, 59.
Poultry, 50.
Cornhill, 60.
Aldgate, 54.
Goulston Street, 50.
North Street, 40.
Cleveland Street, 36.
St. Peter's Road, 35.

II.

St. Katherine's, Regent's Park, 120.
Euston Road, 90.
Regent Circus N., 90.
Regent Circus S., 65.
Waterloo Place, 40.
Charing Cross, 24.
Whitehall, 15.
Bridge Street, Westminster, 15.
Christ Church, 12.
Elephant and Castle, 14.
Walworth Road, 13.
Boundary Lane, 10.
Camberwell Green, 19.
Denmark Hill, 100.
Dulwich, 91.
Crystal Palace, 365.

Such are the geological and geographical features of the site on which London has grown. To follow its growth we must look back to a period which may safely be placed near the beginning of the Christian era. The Roman general, Julius Cæsar, may or may not have visited the Llyndin on the lower Thames. He was in Britain in B.C. 54, and it is not until a hundred and six years later that we meet with the first historical notice of London.

To face p. 25.


ROMAN LONDON
Scale.
FEET 500
0
¼ MILE
Moor
WATLING STREET
Holborn Br.
Fleet
WATLING STREET
Wallbrook
ERMYN STREET
VICINAL WAY
Bishopsgate
CITADEL
Marsh
Modern shore
River Thames
Dowgate
Eb-Gate
Billingsgate
Bridge Gate
Marsh

Stanford's Geog¹ Estab¹

London: Edward Stanford, 55 Charing Cross.

CHAPTER II.

ROMAN LONDON.

"FULL fathom five" is it buried. Moderns, standing on the accumulated ruins of a succession of cities, can but peer down through the darkness of twenty centuries, and dimly discern a few broad facts. All else is wrapped in mystery, obscured by fable, overlaid by tradition, and confused by ingenious but unsupported guesswork. The accumulation of earth over the ancient level resembles nothing more than the accumulation of literature over a few historical facts. Just as the city of the present must be cleared away, so to speak, before we can find the city of the past, so the early history must be sought by sweeping out of sight at once all we find as to the origin of London in the pages of the mediæval chroniclers, and, it must be added, almost all that has been written since up to a very late period. We must construct for ourselves such a view of the subject as will square with what we know for certain. Lud and Belin must flee away with Troy-Novant, and Llyn Dinas. St. Helen and her wall, St. Lucius and his church, must disappear with the temple of Diana on the site of St. Paul's. It is rather in spite of what has been written about it, than with its help, that we must approach Roman London. Some theories and some traditions we may examine, but with caution, and come to our task with our minds wholly unfettered and untrammelled.* A very few documentary facts are beyond dispute. Something has been discovered by excavations unsystematically conducted. The sites covered by modern buildings cannot be thoroughly examined. Now and then, under an old foundation, an older one comes to light; and piecing them one by one together we obtain a few leading lines, and can reconstruct some of the ancient thoroughfares, and lay out anew some of the ancient streets.

A glance at the map suffices to bring out clearly one important point. A great many of the ancient roads—roads, that is, which may be older than the Roman occupation, or that may have been diverted or altered by the Romans on a systematic scheme—seem to converge towards a single spot on the northern or left bank of the Thames. Some of these roads, we may observe, for example, after traversing the country for perhaps hundreds of miles in a line which is nearly straight, are turned aside in order to reach that point. There must be a reason for such a course. A few moments' observation shows us what that reason was.

We have already seen that the narrowest place on the Thames, for many miles, namely, between Battersea and the mouth of the river, is at a little wharf adjoining Thames Street, or just opposite to St. Olave's church on the other bank. If the roads of which I have spoken were to cross the Thames by a bridge, it is obvious that the narrowest place was the most likely to be chosen. If, on the other hand, a road was to cross by a ford, it is likely that the place where the river was most shallow would be the best. The river was deep where it was narrow and shallow where it was broad.

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* Here are some examples of the way "history" has been employed upon London:—Richard Newcourt dates it in the year of the world 2855: Thomas De Laune says, in 1681, "This city was built 2789 years ago, that is 1108 years before the birth of Christ and (by the exactest computation) in the time of Samuel the prophet and 350 years before the building of Rome." Allen and Wright, in 1839, had not attained much further; after repeating the old story, they continue:—"Dismissing this fable, it will appear that the Britons had formed towns, and that to them must be attributed the foundation of London. Cæsar in his 'Commentaries' denominates it the chief city of the Trinobantes." Cæsar's mention of a "civitas Trinobantum" may very possibly be London. It may very possibly be St. Albans. In short it may very possibly be one of half-a-dozen places. By "very possibly" most imposing structures of this kind have been raised.

Now, we find that one of the widest places is between Westminster and the site of the new St. Thomas's Hospital. In ancient times it was not only wider there than it is now, but the river also spread over a large tract on both sides, which must have been marshy, and probably even foreshore, covered at every high tide. There is still a district called Lambeth Marsh, on the right bank; and St. James's Park* occupies the place of a similarly low-lying, and, not very long since, marshy place. If we look at the map, accordingly, we see that a very ancient way passed down what we call Edgware Road, and in a straight line, now slightly diverted, by Park Lane, towards Westminster, where it ran along a low ridge—now Tothill Fields—and so reached the Thames. Again, on the other side, we find a similar road seeking at once the Surrey Hills, and so crossing to the southern coast. This ancient way, which came from Chester and went towards Dover, was called by the English the Watling Street. Its course, as some have observed, follows that of the Milky Way in the starry heaven above; and the same name was applied to both. On the Surrey bank, close to St. Thomas's, is a place still called Stanegate, or "the paved way." The country road beyond was the

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* So lately as the time of Charles II. occasional high tides converted the Palace of Whitehall into an island.

"Stane Street." It is therefore more than probable, and very little less than certain, that the Watling Street crossed the Thames—perhaps by a ford—just here.

This must have been before a certain remarkable event to which we next turn. There is another local name which catches our eye, just across the Thames, near London Bridge. It is Stony Street. The word "Stony" connects it at once with the Stane Street mentioned above. But how comes it there? There can be but one answer, when we observe, first, that an ancient street in the City is called Watling Street. A very small portion of it lies in the old direction, which was from a point on the bank nearly opposite Stony Street, to the north-western corner of the outer city wall. But how can we connect Watling Street with the Edgware Road? The answer comes from an old Saxon charter, of which, unfortunately, only a copy has been preserved, a charter of King Edgar,* in which we read of a "broad military road" between St. Andrew's, Holborn, and Tyburn. This road connected the Watling Street in London with the Watling Street which came down Edgware Road: and so we find that the old road which went on to a ford, at Westminster, where the Thames was widest, was diverted to the east, and passed through London to the point on the north bank at which the Thames was narrowest. The reason for the alteration must have been the opening of a better road, by ferry or bridge, at London.

To the building of the bridge London owed its early prosperity. The exact period at which it was built has not been ascertained. Coins in a continuous series were found in the bed of the river when the old foundations were taken up, ranging from the republican period to that of Honorius, which seems to prove that the bridge was first made before republican coins had gone out of use; therefore early in the Roman occupation. It probably at first consisted of great beams, founded on piles, and the coins held ready to pay the toll slipped from careless fingers through the gaping boards into the stream below. Some may have been thrown in as a religious offering to the deity of the river. The piles remained and formed the foundations of the mediæval bridge. Similar piles protected Southwark, and they have been found all along the road into Kent until the marshes had been crossed and the higher ground reached.

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* Widmore's 'Enquiry,' p. 22; and Kemble, No. 569.

I have spoken of the building of the bridge first because it is the first ascertained fact in the history of Roman London. The second fact is of a different kind. We arrive at the earliest distinct mention of London by name. Tacitus* tells us that in A.D. 61 it was full of merchants and their wares, but was undefended by ramparts. It was a place of comparatively large population, though of little military importance. From its abandonment by the Roman general, Suetonius, I am led to think that only a ferry (*trajectus*) existed as yet, and that the bridge had not been completed. It was a large open British town, full perhaps of Roman merchants and traders, but not a Roman colony; and it was not worth the risk of defending against Boadicea. That risk seems to have been great, or Suetonius would hardly have left the place in spite of the prayers and tears of the inhabitants. All, says Tacitus, who, on account of their unwarlike sex, or weak old age, or because of the attractions of the situation,† remained in London, were slain by the enemy.

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* Tac. Annal., lib. xiv. c. 33. "At Suetonius, mira constantia, medios inter hostes Londinium perrexit cognomento quidem colonia non insigne, sed copia negotiatorum et commeatuum maxime celebre."

† "Loci dulcedo."

As to the size of London at this time we know nothing. Verulam, and Camalodunum, and London, all taken together, contained 70,000 people—that is, the number massacred amounted to 70,000. Many, no doubt, escaped; and it has often been assumed that London must have contained 30,000 people. But we are not warranted in coming to any conclusion which would make it equal in size either to Verulam or Colchester which were colonies. All we can accept as certain is that London was the least considerable of the three.

Strange to say, we have no further mention of the place by any Roman author until after the lapse of more than two centuries. We have, therefore, to turn to the results of diggings, and other investigations of the kind, to find out something about it. The Romans do not seem at first to have perceived the advantages of the position. They had a small fortified town, perhaps only a barrack here; and, though it became wealthy and populous very speedily after its destruction by the Iceni, it was not defended. It consisted in fact of a fort commanding the bridge, and possibly connected with a similar fort at Southwark;* of a port, perhaps two ports, one at Billingsgate, and one at Dowgate; and of a vast ring of suburbs, surrounding the fort on the east, north, and west sides, and extending as far as Bishopsgate, Newgate, and even Westminster.†

Of the Roman buildings we can form an approximate idea. They were, no doubt, like Roman buildings elsewhere. Several castles or forts which answer very well to the remains discovered in London are still standing in various parts of the world. Such a place as Richborough gives us a distinct view of the kind of fortress the Romans would make in London. Let us take for granted that London Stone marked the site of a gate in the western rampart, for, though it is no longer in its original place, it is not very far from it, and let us enter and walk up from the valley of the Wallbrook to the level ground above. We are now in an oblong walled space, extending along the brow of a line of low bluffs from what is now Dowgate Hill on the west to the place where a bend occurs in the line of Little and Great Tower Street.* I do not know that the bend is caused by this having been the site of a Roman bastion, but it is not impossible. At the south-western corner, overhanging Dowgate, was a great semicircular bastion, built of stone and thin tile-like bricks in alternate courses. It was so large that its foundations extended from what is now Scot's Yard, beside Cannon Street Station, to Laurence-Pountney Lane. Here the level ground approaches nearer the river, and the lanes which now lead down to Thames Street are shorter and steeper, though after the Great Fire they were altered and levelled to a considerable extent. The east and north sides of the fortress were defended by ditches full of water. Traces of the northern ditch remained for a thousand years or more in the neighbourhood of Lombard Street,† and were looked upon as forming the bed of a stream which ran into the Wallbrook according to some, or by "divers rills or rillets to the river of Thames." Streams do not run up hill, and though the English called the ditch a bourne, and the ward through which it ran Langbourne, we can have little hesitation in thus identifying it, the more so, as the earliest form of the name is not Langbourne but Langford. The Langbourne ran from the north-eastern corner of the little city to the declivity of Wallbrook, all along the northern front, except where a thoroughfare parallel to that now called Gracechurch Street, but more eastward, and nearly on the site of Botolph Lane, crossed it, and went out north by what the English afterwards called the Eormen Way, towards Ancaster and Lincoln. The whole oblong space, therefore, was crossed by two great streets, the Watling Street from the west and north-west, and the Eormen or Ermyn Way from the north and north-east. The two met* at the bridge foot, and here, therefore, was the market place, still called East Cheap. There was possibly a small river postern at the spot now or lately marked by Ebbgate Lane, and probably a larger one opening on the bridge.

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* It is by no means impossible that the principal Roman station was on the southern side. This would account for Ptolemy's placing London in Cantium.

† The remains of a Roman building, perhaps a villa, with a hypocaust, have been recently found in the nave of Westminster Abbey. They may date from the time when the chief road to Dover crossed the Thames here.

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* Among projected improvements is one for the straightening of Tower Street.

† Stow says, "Langbourne Water, so called of the length thereof," rose in Fenchurch Street, crossed Gracechurch Street, and ran down "Lumbard Street." It does not seem to have occurred to him that the course indicated is up hill. It was covered before his time.

The walls which defended this Pretorium, as some have called it, were enormously strong, but have almost all gradually disappeared under the inexorable hand of modern improvement. Cannon Street Terminus destroyed the great south-western bastion. An immensely massive portion was laid open lately on the east side, in Mincing Lane, and not destroyed, only because destruction was too expensive. All kinds of Roman remains have been found within the walls. All, that is, except funeral relics. No interments were made within a Roman city, and we find none here. The moment we pass the limits marked above, the interments occur, some of them close under the wall, as at St. Dunstan's church, on the east, and in Lombard Street on the north.

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* A third road, the Vicinal Way, ran eastward from the northern gate towards Essex—but was hardly yet in existence.

Outside the fort on the west was the steep bank of the Wallbrook, and its mouth at Dowgate. The course of the stream was turned by the bastion mentioned above, and close to it, with probably some kind of bridge, was the chief gate opening on the Watling Street. Vestiges of rude buildings have been found on the opposite bank of the brook, which have led some writers to suppose that a native village, perhaps of Dowgate fishermen, stood on the height. Remains, too, have been found which would indicate the existence then or later of something like a place for boat-building.

Within the fort, close to the western wall, and therefore overlooking Dowgate, was a large hall or basilica with a tesselated pavement, perhaps the residence of the governor, or the court where justice was administered.* But with this exception we know of no great building within the walls, and though a bath has been found near the river-side, we may conclude, from the absence of an amphitheatre or any great temple, that up to the middle of the third century at least, the military force in London was not large, and probably was kept apart from the suburban population and within the fortifications. In the later wall fragments of buildings with architectural and artistic pretensions are sometimes found, such as capitals, broken friezes and portions of sculptural decorations. But the buildings to which they belonged were more probably outside the wall of the Roman castle.

The Roman part of the place was very small, but, up to the time when the great wall was built, London was a city of suburbs as it is to-day. The long peace of Roman rule rendered it unnecessary for the ordinary townsman to live within fortifications. In this respect London differs and, as it appears, differed fifteen hundred years ago, from the cities of the Continent. The whole of the ground round the Roman fort was covered with houses, some great, magnificent, artificially warmed, frescoed and painted, and some also, no doubt, mere hovels. There were gardens, trees and orchards, and among them what was not to be seen in any other Roman town of the size, the tombs and monuments of the dead. The population was singularly careless in this respect, and the hand of the modern excavator sometimes* comes upon the mosaic floor of a Roman villa, with a portion of the later wall built across it, and a grave underneath it.

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* Harrison, p. 7.

The banks of the Wallbrook were especially popular as sites for villas. All along its winding course, at a varying depth, we come upon evidences of the wealth and luxury of these old dwellers in the pleasant ravine beside Threadneedle Street, or the rounded summit of Cornhill by the great northern highway. It is here that the finest remains have been found, many of them covered with layers of black ashes which betray at once the fragile character of the wooden houses, and the constant occurrence of destructive fires.

The merchants came into the port from many foreign shores. The oysters of Britain, the iron, the tin and lead, and perhaps also the corn, were embarked at Billingsgate and Dowgate. The merchants built their one-storeyed houses round the castle, and have left us a few evidences of their wealth and taste.† We may picture them to ourselves, as they assemble in the narrow lanes, aping Roman manners and wrapping themselves in Roman togas to hide the "braccæ" which the climate rendered necessary. We see the British maidens tripping down the steps by the Wallbrook, to fill great red jars of Kentish pottery, where now clerks hurry down from Threadneedle Street to Broad Street and never think why stairs are necessary between the two parallel rows of houses. We may visit the market-place, and where now the Sailor King's statue looks down on the crowd of omnibuses and drays, may see some foreign slave merchant, with cunning, swarthy face, as he haggles over the wretched gang of fair-skinned children from beyond the northern forests. We may perhaps stand by and see the Roman base coin counted out by the money-changers, and hear the frequent ring to test the genuineness of some plated "penny."* Or we may witness a dispute between a Gaulish merchant and a Frankish mercenary, and a riot may ensue, the guard be called out, and the ringleaders taken before the proprætor or the centurion. Perhaps he sends them on to York for trial, and writes with them such a letter as Claudius Lysias wrote to Felix.†

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* As at Camomile Street a few years ago.

† See Mr. Roach Smith's Catalogue of his London Museum, and Sir William Tite's 'Antiquities exhibited at the Royal Exchange.' To the latter work, and other books and papers by the same author, I am chiefly indebted for this view of Roman London.

Such must have been Roman London during two-thirds, at least, of its existence. It is not the picture usually drawn;‡ for we are accustomed to talk as if Roman London was always the same, and to forget that it underwent many changes, and only acquired the walls which still, in a sense, survive, towards the end of the

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* By far the larger portion of the denarii found in the Thames consist of lead and brass, plated with silver. (Roach Smith, p. 89.)

† Acts xxiii. 26.

‡ This, which is the only chronological and therefore reasonable view, was first described by Mr. Arthur Taylor in the 'Archæologia,' xxxiii. 101.

Roman occupation of Britain. It was still an unwalled town when the next event of which we have documentary evidence occurred.

The story is a curious one, but it may be noted as characteristic of our city that the mention of a great fog is the means of removing the mist which, for nearly two centuries and a half, had enshrouded its history.

It was now near the close of the third century of the Christian era, and Diocletian, the Emperor of the Roman world, had just (A.D. 286) associated Maximian with him in the government. The two emperors were universally acknowledged except in Britain and Gaul, where Carausius had long been chief commander of a fleet for the suppression of German piracies in the Channel. He now declared himself, or was elected by his soldiers "Emperor." His insular residence was at Clausentum, now Bitterne, on Southampton Water, where a Roman stone pier still exists; but he was probably more often at his Gallic capital, Boulogne. He was very wealthy, as he had retained the booty taken from the pirates, and was popular with his soldiers in consequence. For seven years he maintained his power, and, feeling no doubt pretty sure the emperors would not acknowledge him, he took the matter into his own hands, and pretending to recognise Maximian as his colleague, struck a gold medal at London—perhaps the earliest coin minted there—on which the name of his rival appears, with an inscription which implies the simultaneous existence of three emperors.* We should know little indeed of his reign were it not for the large amount of money he issued, much of it at London. This is the only thing to connect him with the place, which it is, however, evident that he held and used as a treasury.

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* Obv.—MAXIMIANUS P. F. AUG. Laureated head of Maximianus to the right; rev. SALUS AUGGG. Personification of the goddess Salus standing, and feeding a serpent from a patera. In the exergue M.L., for MONETA LONDINENSIS. (Roach Smith, Catalogue, p. 86.)

At length the Cæsar, Constantius, sent by the two emperors, marched upon Boulogne and laid siege to it. Carausius fled away to Britain, where he might have remained long in comparative security; but his prestige was gone when his cowardice became apparent, and he was murdered by Allectus, one of his officers, who assumed the purple, and for three years held sway in Britain while Constantius was occupied in reducing the rebellious Franks to obedience. The capital of Allectus was probably Clausentum. It was certainly not London, though he coined some money there.*

Allectus stationed his fleet off the Isle of Wight, and swept the Channel. He largely recruited his army from the Franks whom Constantius had driven out of Gaul, and a descent upon Britain in the teeth of such an armament was a work not to be lightly undertaken. But Constantius, though he went slowly about the business, went surely. He gradually assembled a fleet at Havre, and selected a trustworthy officer to command it. This was Asclepiodotus, of whom it is strange that we hear so little in subsequent history. News of the intended invasion reached Allectus, who probably thinking Clausentum sufficiently protected by his fleet, marched eastward, lest the troops of Asclepiodotus should land in Kent. London, or more probably Southwark, was evidently his base of operations: and his army, too large for the citadel, was encamped on some of the hills* on the south side of the Thames. The bridge, open behind him, and, in case of defeat, the possibility of retreating northward beyond the Thames, made his position very strong.

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* 'The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon,' by T. Wright, p. 113, &c., a summary of almost all that is known of these emperors. In the following pages I have given my own version of the events so far as they relate to London.

Asclepiodotus was ready in A.D. 296, and having assembled his galleys at Havre, and taken his troops on board, found his progress impeded by a fog and an east wind. But the conqueror of Britain must not be afraid of either the one or the other. Asclepiodotus set sail in the fog, thereby eluding the fleet of Allectus; and using the side wind in a way few Romans had attempted before, he landed in the west, thereby eluding also the army of Allectus. The place of his landing is unknown, but the story reminds us of the landing of William of Orange in 1688, the more so as the result was similar. The Romans in Britain, whether colonists or Romanised natives, were probably very tired of the ten years' tyranny, first of Carausius and afterwards of Allectus; for the island was of necessity cut off from the Continent by a blockade like that established by Buonaparte at a later date; and the "citizens of Rome," living in Britain, missed the commerce and all the other benefits of their august position, and found themselves reduced to their pristine condition of mere islanders. We cannot doubt that Asclepiodotus, long expected, was warmly welcomed and his expedition forwarded towards London by the colonists of the west. But before he commenced his march, he burnt his galleys, and having thus both relieved a large number of men from guarding the fleet, and also cut off all chances of flight in case of defeat, he turned eastward, and was soon heard of in London as being on his way along the left or north bank of the Thames.

* There are traditions and reports of camps at Clapham and Vauxhall.

Allectus, thus taken in flank, or perhaps in rear,* hastily summoning his soldiers, some of whom may have been encamped as far out as Wimbledon, commenced to cross the Thames by the bridge at London. But it was a work of time and skill to march a large army through a narrow outwork, over a narrower bridge, through the very circumscribed walls of the fort of London, and out into the crowded suburbs by the only gate which opened upon the Watling Street. Whether from want of experience or panic, Allectus failed to accomplish the task.† He was met by Asclepiodotus with a superior force, defeated and slain. His mercenary Franks, who practically held the city already, some of them in all probability having not yet passed the bridge, commenced plundering and burning, with an idea of escaping across the sea with their booty; but Asclepiodotus gave them no time, for he immediately marched into the intricate network of villas, orchards, and cemeteries which surrounded London, and killed the greater number of the marauders.

The citizens warmly welcomed Constantius when he came over, for the mercantile class in London desired peace, a strong government, and open communication with the Continent, all of them gifts which he brought with him. But he did not stay. The Picts and Scots were troublesome on the northern frontier; he made his headquarters at York,‡ and we hear no more of London for half a century. When Constantine, his son, became emperor in 306, he was in Britain; but his connection with London is only marked by the issue of coins bearing his name, and a London mint mark. There are also coins bearing the name of his mother, Helena, which have the syllable "Lon" in the mint mark.* They seem to point to the presence of the divorced wife of the late emperor in Britain, or may have been coined by her son merely in her honour. There is no proof that Helena ever set foot in our island. Coins of the emperor's wife, and of his two sons, Crispus and Constantine, are also found with the presumed London mint marks; therefore it seems probable that, during the ascendancy of this family, London began to be looked upon with increasing favour. It is certain that, either under Constantine himself, or under one of his immediate successors, the outer wall was built.

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* The facts on which this narrative is based are very meagre; a long and careful consideration of the geographical as well as the documentary exigencies of the case has induced me to piece together what may be considered a reasonably connected account.

† Some of us may remember the duke of Wellington's opinion as to the difficulty of marching 20,000 men out of Hyde Park.

‡ It may be worth while to note that, though the wife, or concubine, of Constantine was possibly a British slave girl who attracted and retained

Though the building of the Roman wall, which still in a sense defines the city boundaries, is an event in the history of London not second in importance even to its foundation, since it made a mere village and fort with a "tête du pont" into a great city and the capital of provincial Britain, yet we have no records by which an exact date can be assigned to it. All we know is that in 350 London had no wall: and in 369 the wall existed.†

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his fancy during this expedition, the whole London legend of St. Helena and her father, "old king Cole" of Colchester, has about as much contemporary authority as the nursery rhyme about the "fiddlers three." Yet I saw it not long ago fully and gravely detailed in the history of a church in the city dedicated to the saint. Wright (p. 371) calls Helena the daughter-in-law of Constantine; a very gratuitous assumption, but one which, so far as London evidence is concerned, may be correct. Gibbon makes her the daughter of a Nicomedian innkeeper and allows the marriage.

* Roach Smith, p. 97.

† These dates are arrived at by Sir William Tite (Archæol., xxxvi. 203) by a comparison of two passages in Ammianus. It will be well

The new wall must have taken in an immense tract of what was until then open country, especially along the Watling Street, towards Cheap and Newgate. It transformed London into Augusta; and though the new name hardly appears on the page of history, and never without a reference to the older one, its existence proves the increase in estimation which was then accorded to the place. The object of this extensive circumvallation is not very clear. The population to be protected might very well have been crowded into a much smaller space. But at that time Roman houses were seldom more than one storey in height, and spread over a large space, especially as most of them were rather villas than town houses, and were, of course, surrounded by extensive gardens and pleasure grounds. Among the trees and flowers rose frequent terminal figures and occasional shrines of rude but costly workmanship, in which the successful merchant burnt incense before a precious bronze Mercury brought in his last cargo from Rome itself, or the idle man of pleasure set up an ill-sculptured effigy of Diana, in the hopes of obtaining by her favour good sport in the wooded hills of Middlesex.

The wall enclosed a space of 380 acres, being 5485 yards in length, or 3 miles and 205 yards.* The portion along the river extended from Blackfriars to the Tower—the Thames bank being strengthened with piles—and was finished by bastions and additional defences at the angles. Near the chief gates, and, per-

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here to caution the reader against supposing that any remains of the Roman wall are now to be identified with certainty. The wall was rebuilt more than once in the middle ages, and the use of ancient material, such as brick, has led to the ascription of much mediæval work to the Romans.

* These figures are Harrison's. It is not now any longer possible to trace exactly the course of the Roman wall.

haps, at the Barbican on the long north face, there were similar bastions. The wall was built in the usual Roman manner, with alternate courses of thin bricks and stone.* There were two land gates and three water gates, as well as the gate to the bridge. Of the form and appearance of the wall and its towers we can only judge by the remains of similar buildings elsewhere. There have been so many renewals of the city defences that little of the original work, except the materials, is ever now to be seen. In one respect, however, the wall remains almost intact, namely, as the boundary between the city of London and the county of Middlesex. There have been only three serious alterations of this boundary. The ward of Farringdon Without, comprising Smithfield, Fleet Street, and the valley of the Fleet, then a marsh, was abstracted from Westminster and added to London in 1346. The ward of Bishopsgate Without was also added at a period not as yet fixed with certainty, but probably a hundred years earlier.† These changes are at the western and northern sides, and naturally followed from the growth of suburbs without the gates. The erection of a gate on the eastern side led similarly to the addition of Portsoken as a ward,‡ which took place early in the twelfth century. We must also notice another alteration. The south-eastern corner of the wall was removed, and the Tower of London was built on the site, between 1077 and 1199, a small portion of the city precincts being invaded.

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* Unfortunately few of the antiquaries who had an opportunity of examining the wall while any considerable part of it was intact were capable of distinguishing Roman from mediæval masonry. None of the fragments I have had the good fortune to see appeared to me older than the time of Edward IV., though full of Roman bricks.

† A ditch to enclose and defend this extramural ward was made in 1212.

‡ The history of Aldgate and the Portsoken will be found in a subsequent chapter.

The course of the wall may be briefly detailed. Beginning at Blackfriars, we may follow it in a northerly direction along the crest of the hill above the Fleet. A watergate, opening on the little river, was at Ludgate. The chief exit on this side was at Newgate, almost on the site of the mediæval gate. Here the Watling Street emerged from the city. The wall then took a north-easterly course, between St. Bartholomew's Hospital and Christ's Hospital, and, forming a kind of angle where Aldersgate was afterwards made, turned north for a short distance, and then east again to Bishopsgate, the second great land gate of the city. It stood a little to the east of the mediæval gate, and gave admission to travellers arriving from the north by the Ermyn Street, and from the east by the Vicinal Way, which united at this point. Thence sloping in a south-easterly direction, past the point at which Aldgate was opened in the later time, it reached the Thames exactly on the spot on which the White Tower now stands.* A little to the westward was Billingsgate, a port of superior importance to that on the Fleet, and still further west, above the bridge, the smaller port of Dowgate at the mouth of the Wallbrook.

The road from the bridge, dividing at Eastcheap, ran northward to Bishopsgate, and north-westward to Newgate. The northward street passed, in a line parallel with Gracechurch Street, but lying further east, over Cornhill, whose name possibly denotes its open condition when the Saxons came, and, dividing outside the gate, the left-hand branch ran on towards Lincoln and York, the right branch over the Old Ford of the Lea into Essex. When a new bridge was made at Stratford, a little lower down the stream, or a little earlier, when the roadway to Stratford was paved, another entrance was made to the city at Aldgate; but this would be after the Roman time.*

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* This must be the explanation of the common ascription of the Tower to the Romans.

The new city, which was still smaller than Uriconium, and probably York and Verulam, does not appear to have contained a single public building of importance. There was no forum, unless the supposed basilica within the citadel be considered part of one; there was no amphitheatre, no temple worthy of so great a city. Some remains were found under Bow church in Cheap by Sir Christopher Wren, and were decided to be those of a temple, on what grounds we have no means now of finding out. Sir Christopher discredited the idea of a temple of Diana on the site of St. Paul's:—"I must assert that, having changed all the foundations of old St. Paul's, and upon that occasion rummaged all the ground thereabouts, and being very desirous to find some footsteps of such a temple, I could not discover any." Had Sir Christopher Wren known that at the time this hill was first included within the walls of London, a Christian family was on the imperial throne, and that, although idolatry had not yet been expressly abolished, it was unlikely that any great heathen edifice would adorn the new city, he might have saved himself some trouble.† The absence of ornamental pavements so far west, or of the other signs of occupation so frequent about the Wallbrook, shows that, in all probability, the suburb here, if indeed there was a suburb, was inconsiderable ; for it is possible enough that, in order to take in the geographical features described in the last chapter, the ground surrounded by this new wall may at the time have been in many places absolutely open, while in others the sites of villas which extended beyond it were traversed by it. It is also just possible that such changes in the direction of its course as that by Aldersgate were caused by the desire to enclose a building or avoid a swamp ; but it is more likely that this angle contained a postern protected by a barbican.

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* See chap. vi.

† Yet it is reasserted without a particle of proof by the author of Murray's 'Handbook to St. Paul's' (p. 6), chiefly on the grounds of the altar of a hunting goddess, or god, having been discovered in Foster Lane. A piece of sculpture is found near Goldsmiths' Hall: the figure on it held a bow; therefore there was a temple of Diana on the site of St. Paul's.—Q.E.D. Too much London history is of this sort.

The question is often asked as to whether any vestiges of Christian worship have been found within this area. There can be but one reply. Nothing to indicate the existence of a church, and only some doubtful indications of Christian burial, have yet rewarded the most careful search. A pin or two, ornamented with crosses, and a seal or stamp, dredged out of the Thames, are all that can possibly be classed as of the Roman period. The absurd claim lately put forward, with encouragement from very high quarters, on the part of St. Peter's-upon-Cornhill to represent a church founded in Roman or British times, would be too ridiculous to deserve notice here, were it not that a few years ago the parish, or some of its representatives, celebrated the 1700th anniversary of the foundation by a religious service. Such a celebration, though turned to a charitable object, looks like playing at religion, and is not calculated to further a love of truth and honesty among those for whom the Church is supposed especially to labour. There is certainly a very ancient tradition, and perhaps something more than a tradition, as to a Bishop of London ; and it is supported by the recorded presence of a British bishop named Restitutus, sometimes said to have been Bishop of London, at the Council of Arles in 314.* It is remarkable that of the fourteen bishops mentioned by Jocelyn, a monkish chronicler of the twelfth century, as having succeeded each other in this see, not one is afterwards to be found as the patron saint of a London church.

I hoped at one time, by means of a classified list of the city church dedications, to have been enabled to arrive at some positive conclusions on the subject. In the result I only found that the presumably oldest churches, such as St. Peter's, St. Paul's, St. Mary-le-bow, St. Stephen's, St. Andrew's, and others, were dedicated to the apostles and members of the primitive Church, and that there was not a single case in which any reminiscence, however faint, could be traced to a British saint. There are some churches, such as St. Helen's and St. Alban's, of which the history and origin are well known as comparatively recent, which are dedicated to saints supposed at the time of the dedication to belong to the ancient British Church. Moreover, among the dedications to the Blessed Virgin and the Apostles, there are many churches of which the origin is on record.† Yet, as the wall was built after the conversion of the West, Roman London—that is "Augusta,"—was always a Christian city, a fact which may be taken to account in some measure for absence of remains of temples.

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* Mr. Stubbs ('Episcopal Succession in England,' p. 152) also mentions a British bishop, Fastidius, as living in 431. He gives the apocryphal list of British bishops of London, beginning with Theonus or Theanus, who was said to have built the church of St. Peter in the time of Lucius, but adds a caution as to the "uncritical" state of the list, which, by the way, does not include Restitutus.

† I shall have occasion to return to this subject when speaking of the Saxon and Danish dedications.

That no very magnificent city ever filled the space thus walled-in is abundantly evident from the remains found. A more poverty-stricken exhibition cannot be imagined than the Roman museum at the Guildhall, yet it contains by far the finest collection in existence. From the mosaic pavements here and at the British Museum, we learn that in such arts as those of house decoration the Londoners were fairly advanced, but that the rooms they occupied were miserably small. There are few other works of art—gold there is none, and the statues and statuettes are for the most part fragments, of foreign make, but never remarkable for excellence of design or beauty of material. In the British Museum a small silver statue of Harpocrates is preserved, which was dredged out of the Thames in 1825. A bronze figure, said to represent Diana, was found near the Deanery, between St. Paul's and the river bank, and forms, with the altar mentioned above, the chief or only argument for the existence of a temple on the site now occupied by the church. A few bronzes of an ordinary kind have also been found. London Stone, a cubic foot of oolite, protected in 1869 by an iron grating, is probably a Roman relic, and is typical of the mutilated and unshapely condition of almost all that has been discovered. The early condition of London, a fort surrounded by unprotected villas, is sufficient to account for this apparent poverty, while its later condition, fitting loosely within a wall too large for it, in a period of disaster and decay, renders absurd any very sanguine expectations of the future disclosure of more important remains.

I now resume the enumeration of the historical notices of Roman London. In 360, Lupicinus, the lieutenant of Julian, being despatched to Britain to repel an invasion of the northern barbarians, set sail from Boulogne, landed at Richborough,* and marched to London, but of his further proceedings we know nothing. It is probable that even for the time his efforts were unsuccessful. The Picts and Scots were making daily progress, and in 368 were already in sight of the walls. They plundered the surrounding country, the forests affording them cover, and nothing but the new wall would have been able to resist them, but Valentinian sent an able general, named Theodosius, who, landing like Lupicinus, at Richborough, was able, finding the barbarians scattered about, to defeat them in detail, and relieve London. He restored the plunder to its owners, and was joyfully received by the citizens at their gates. This Theodosius was father of the emperor of the same name, who, dying in 395, was succeeded by the feeble Honorius, under whom the Roman occupation of Britain came to an end.

Of London at this crisis we hear nothing. That it enjoyed some years of comparative security and peace after the Romans withdrew is very likely, but the history of the time has yet to be written. Though it is pretty certain that to the end of the occupation a strong imperial force was constantly within its fortifications, we cannot even tell by which of the legions the troops of the proprætor were supplied.

I have thus endeavoured to piece together the few fragments, topographical or documentary, which relate to Roman London. The result is more shadowy than I wish. The historian cannot but shrink from seeing his pages abundantly sprinkled with such words as "possibly," "perhaps," "in all probability," and yet, when I come to look at the passages in which I have been minded to express myself with a fair measure of certainty, I regret to observe that in each case an alternative story may be, or has been put forward. If I have succeeded at all, it is only in showing how very little we know about the early history of the city. That it was ever the capital of Britain, as so many have asserted, can only be doubtfully proved regarding the short time which elapsed between the building of the wall and the withdrawal of the imperial troops. It was only named Augusta during the brief period which succeeded the re-organisation of the empire under Constantine and his family. The remains discovered tell us little in comparison with what we know of several other British towns. But we do know that far beneath the feet of the busy throng which presses every day the pavements of modern London, there lie buried the traces of an ancient city—a city which has well kept up the character accorded to it by Tacitus, and through whose streets there has been no cessation of that concourse of merchants, that crowd of foreign peoples, that activity and bustle which have made it, during nearly 2000 years, a thriving commercial city. A foreign poet spoke of it in the 17th century in words far more true now than they were then, when he said of London that it was,—

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* **Or Rutupiæ, near Sandwich in Kent.**

"Cunctas celebrata per oras
Cor mundi, mundique oculus, mundique theatrum,
Annulus Europes, præsignis adorea terræ."*

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* From 'Venceslai Clementis à Lybeo-Monte Trinobantiados Augusta, sive Londoni: libri vi.' The date is elaborately concealed in a chronogram, but appears to be 1636, and the poem is dedicated to Charles I. by "Autor, Christi exsul."

CHAPTER III.

SAXON LONDON.

IT was necessary to conclude the last chapter by a reference to the insuperable difficulties presented by much of the history of Roman London. These difficulties are doubled when we approach the subject of Saxon London. We have to attempt the construction of a continued narrative from the most meagre facts. The Romans left Britain in 410.* The East Saxons are in London in 609. Of the intervening years, eventful as they were to the country at large, we have no records relating to London, except that after the fatal battle of Crayford, in 457, the fugitives of Kent took refuge within her walls.

All that can be done, therefore, by the historian is to place in chronological order the notices found in the most nearly contemporary documents—for of really contemporary documents there are none—and to mention such topographical facts as may seem to bear on the question of the first conquest of London by the Saxons.

From the year 369, then, when Ammianus Marcellinus tells us of the expedition of Theodosius, to the year 457, we have no mention of London. In the interval the Saxons were pouring over the land. We know that the great and terrible events which were to make Britain

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* Green, 'Making of England,' p. 24.

into England, were happening all through the island. The half-Romanised cities were everywhere yielding to the heathen invader, and being destroyed deliberately and slowly, or else were resisting him, and being destroyed with fire and massacre. The great storm rages: the clouds hide all the landscape: the thunder roars: the lightning dazzles our sight: then a corner of the obscurity clears for a moment, and we see London standing alone in the midst of the tempest. "This year," says the Chronicle, grimly, "Hengest, and Æsc his son, fought against the Britons at the place which is called Creganford, and there slew four thousand men; and the Britons then forsook Kent, and in great terror fled to London." We see the city surrounded by the invaders, and the hapless fugitives from the slaughter in the valley of the Cray crowding the gates. Then the cloud settles down again, and we see no more. Augusta has made her very last appearance on the stage of history. What went on within the Roman walls after that fatal year, 457, we know not. There is silence everywhere, and it lasts for a century and a half. In the passage from the Chronicle we are admitted to one glimpse of the awful drama: but the rest of the tale is untold. The dénoûment must be guessed. The third volume is lost.

It is easy to talk lightly, but this is one of the most awful episodes in our history. What the hapless Britons must have suffered from their conquerors cannot be realised or described. That a great nation should have been so completely effaced, and in so short a time, is in itself a marvel. But that the conquest of Essex and Middlesex, and above all, of the great walled city of London, should have taken place without any historical notice whatever, is even more extraordinary. "No territory," remarks a great foreign historian, "ever passed so obscurely into the possession of an enemy as the north bank of the Thames."*

When we next meet with London, she is the chief town of a Saxon kingdom. The invaders of Britain, as enumerated by the chronicler, were Old Saxons, Angles and Jutes. From the Old Saxons came, he says, the men of Essex and Sussex and Wessex. This is the first time we hear of Essex, namely in 449. Under the year 491, we have an account of the conquest of the Channel coast by the tribe afterwards known as the South Saxons. Under 495 we have the beginnings of Wessex. But of the East Saxons, the conquerors of London, we have no history. How their progress was crowned by the possession of the most important position in England, we do not know. We find them in full possession.† It is in 604. "This year," says the Chronicle, "Augustine hallowed two bishops, Mellitus and Justus. He sent Mellitus to preach baptism to the East Saxons, whose king was called Seberht, son of Ricula, the sister of Ethelbert, whom Ethelbert had there set as king. And Ethelbert gave to Mellitus a bishop's see at London, and to Justus he gave Rochester."

From this short passage we learn that in spite of the strength of London, the men of Kent were stronger than the East Saxons. The king of Kent appointed Seberht. Had the wall been broken down? This is very probable. It was no defence a few years later against the Danes, and had to be rebuilt by Alfred. The Essex men made no attempt to resist Egbert in London in 827. In fact, there is negative evidence enough to make it a very strong presumption that London, while it was occupied by the East Saxons, was not a place of military importance. It was perhaps too large to defend. Its walls were perhaps unsuited to the Saxon system of warfare. Whatever be the cause, it is certain that the occupation of London was no source of strength to the Essex kings, who were alternately subdued by Kent and Mercia and Wessex, and finally subsided into mere local nobles.* London, in short, was rather a source of weakness than of strength ; and it is worth while to inquire why. The answer which occurs to me is twofold. First, the walls had to be kept up. They were always getting out of repair. A single breach in so great a length ruined the value of all. Had the old Roman fort remained, their tenure of London might have had great results for the East Saxons. The costs and charges summed up under the old formula, "burh-bote and bryc-geweorc," must have fallen very heavily on the inhabitants. At a slightly later period we shall find that there were very valiant men among the citizens, and the exceptional discipline required for keeping their defences in working order may have contributed to increase their martial spirit. But at first, when they were few in number, these charges were a burden too great for them. And a second source of weakness to the East Saxons in the possession of London lay in the fact that other people were interested in it. There was the bridge which led into another kingdom. There was the port occupied by foreign merchants. The East Saxons would seem never to have had complete power, and if the king of Kent could appoint a bishop, and could station his own officer, like a modern consul in an oriental port, to look after the commercial dealings of his subjects, it will be easily understood that the Essex kings had the trouble, the expense, the military duty to perform in London, and yet were themselves little the better.

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* Lappenberg, i. 111.

† Turner says the settlement occurred about 530, basing the date evidently on Matthew of Westminster, who names 527.

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* A "Sigred Dux," who witnessed a charter in 810 is supposed to be identical with Sigered, king of Essex, who was present at a Witan "in the royal city of London," in 811. A Sired is recorded to have built a church at Aldgate before 1100.

We may incidentally gather a few other inferences from the Essex occupation. The Britons left in London must have been very few. With the single and doubtful exception of Dow-gate—the first syllable of which may be Celtic, none of the local names survived. The Saxons re-named everything. The great streets became, whatever they may have been before, Watling Street and Cornhill, and the Ermyn Street. The market-places became East and West Cheap. The western and eastern ports became Lud-gate and Billings-gate. In England many rivers retain Celtic names, like the Thames itself. But in London we have the Hole-bourne, the Fleet, the Wall-brook, the Lea.* When we examine the direction of the Roman remains, the facing, for example, of a villa, as shown by its pavement, we do not find it coincide with the direction of the modern streets. The great northern road entered the Roman wall considerably to the east of the mediæval Bishopsgate. The Watling Street led to a gate which was by no means on the exact site of Newgate. In short, there are evidences, rather negative, it is true, than positive, to show that the East Saxons found London desolate, with broken walls,† and a scanty population, if any; that they entered on possession with no great feeling of exultation, after no great military feat deserving mention in their Chronicle; and that they retained it only just so long as the more powerful neighbouring kings allowed them. This view is the only one which seems to me to account for the few facts we have. That there was no great or violent conquest seems clear from the continued existence of the bridge, and from the continued concourse of foreign merchants; and it is very possible that these foreign merchants occupied a small habitable area in a vast wilderness of abandoned villas and open fields. I have already endeavoured to show that, until the last few years of the Roman occupation, London cannot have been very populous. The wall included many large empty spaces. When the city became Augusta, and was dignified with the presence of great Roman officials and a Roman army, it became populous enough. But if we subtract the army and the officials, and also the "concourse of foreign merchants," who in time of war would retire to their own lands, there may not have been much left; and the Britons, defeated at Crayford, and so closely pressed that they did not even destroy the bridge after them, very possibly stayed but a short time in London, which the successors of Hengest left peaceably to their East Saxon neighbours—a possession of no value to people who did not fight from behind walls. In Anderida and Richborough and Canterbury, we see the same low value placed on Roman defences. Anderida and Richborough were not even occupied as forts. The Britons had lost the art of using walled cities, the Saxons had not acquired it. London was equally useless to both.

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* The Lea may bear a Celtic name analogous to the modern French *eau*.

† "Good reasons may be given for the belief that even London itself for a while lay desolate and uninhabited."—Guest, 'Arch. Journ.,' xix. 217.

The written history of London at this period is the history of the Church. It is to be feared that the Londoners did not take kindly to the change of religion. To their independent minds it must have seemed a sign of servitude. Ethelbert had seen Gospel light in a woman's eyes, and were they to give up their gods, and undergo a rite which made every British slave on their farms their equal in the sight of religion? Were not their princes, the family of Erkenwine, Offa's son descended from Woden, the great god of the north? Yet, Ethelbert not only ordered them to abandon the worship of the divinities who had brought them safely from over the sea, and given the Welsh of London into their hands, but imposed on them a bishop, and built for him a cathedral. Beda, who fully ranks with the Chronicle as an early and trustworthy authority, tells us that Ethelbert had command over all nations of the English as far as the Humber, and that he built the church of St. Paul in London, where Mellitus and his successors should have the Episcopal See.

Of London itself, at this time, Beda tells us something. It was, he says, the "metropolis" of the East Saxons, who were divided from Kent by the river Thames. The word "metropolis" has of late years been so often applied to London that it is interesting to note its first use. Beda, no doubt, in this instance, refers to the ecclesiastical position of the place, with its bishop and its church; but in this connection his words have a larger meaning, and leave no doubt on the mind that Seberht, in his official capacity as king of Essex, had his head-quarters in London; just as Mellitus, in his official capacity as bishop of London, had the regions peopled by the East Saxons for his diocese.

Seberht reigned more than twelve years after his conversion before he "departed to the heavenly kingdom," as Beda quaintly says. After his death the mission of Mellitus failed. Without his support, and that of Ethelbert, for both were now dead, the bishop found his teaching vain. The son of Ethelbert had outraged the laws of the church of Canterbury. His cousins, the three sons of Seberht, went further; they openly relapsed, and, worse than all, in the eyes of the chroniclers, they gave the people leave to believe what they chose. The bishop and his church had no sanctity in their eyes. They saw in the sacrifice of the mass a kind of fetish—a ceremony which impressed their imagination and worked on their superstitious fears; and they tried to force Mellitus to communicate with them, though they were unbaptised. On his refusal they turned him out of London.

Beda is not slow to add the appropriate moral, and in so doing gives us a valuable little historical note. The kings, he says, did not long continue unpunished in their heathenish worship; for, marching to battle against the men of Wessex, they were all slain with their army.

Unfortunately, it is impossible not to suspect that here Beda has constructed history on the principle of "after, therefore, because," since the Chronicle, which says nothing about the sons of Seberht, tells us only that, in 616, Ethelbert, king of Kent, and Laurence, archbishop of Canterbury, died, and that Mellitus, "who formerly had been bishop of London, succeeded to the archbishopric. Then," it continues, "the men of London, where Mellitus had formerly been, became heathens again." This ambiguous passage, taken literally, says, therefore, that Mellitus had ceased to be bishop in London before he became archbishop; but that the relapse of the East Saxons did not take place till after he became archbishop. Though this is the literal meaning of the words, I think it would be straining them not to allow for a certain awkwardness of construction which would leave it possible that Beda's account, and that of the Chronicle, are mainly in accordance.

This battle with the men of Wessex is, after all, the important part of the story. The West Saxons apparently did not possess themselves of London.* Eventually —but not for two hundred years—Wessex was to be paramount in London ; but here we only find the succession of Essex kings unbroken, and the notices of their chief city more and more unfrequent. We have seen them subject to Kent and subdued by Wessex, and when we next hear of London, it is fifty years later, and they are then subject to Northumbria. Oswy, king of Northumbria, converted—we know not by what means,— Sigebert, king of Essex. It does not appear quite clearly that this Sigebert had possession of London, for when Cedd, the brother of St. Chad, came at his request to preach to the heathen of Essex, he took up his headquarters several miles further down the river—at Tilbury. Here, in any case, he soon gathered a congregation, and eventually succeeded in converting the whole population. In 654 Cedd was consecrated at Lindisfarne, by Finan and two other bishops, as bishop of London.† Of the ten years of his episcopate, we only know that when they closed London was no longer in the power of Northumbria, but in that of Mercia, since Beda tells us of Wina, a West Saxon bishop, that, being expelled from Winchester, he took refuge in Mercia, and, on the death of Cedd, purchased with money from king Wulfhere the bishopric of London.

Under such unfavourable circumstances was London Christianised. It is not surprising to find, a little later, that one of the kings of Essex—for there were usually two, reigning as colleagues,—and all his people seceded, during a terrible plague, from the church of Wina, and returned a second time to Woden and Thor. Once more Mercia interferes; and though we have good ground for concluding that it was not the Londoners who had turned apostate, we cannot separate them from Essex, and have other grounds for believing that Mercia was at this time still in possession of the city,[*] though it yielded to Wessex in or before 693. Jarumnan, bishop of Lichfield, the bishop, that is, of the Mercians, converted them a second time; and, if we may believe the saintly legends of later time, Osyth, the daughter of the king of Surrey, and wife of the recalcitrant Sighere, took an active part in furthering these missionary efforts.[†]

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* What they did with their victory may be found in Mr. Green's 'Making of England.'

† Stubbs, 'Episcopal Succession,' p. 2.

The other king of Essex at this time was Sebbi, who was neither brother nor uncle, but probably cousin, of Sighere. Sebbi's name is interesting to the Londoner. A charter,[‡] witnessed by him, by his cousin the second king, and by the saintly Erkenwald, bishop of London, is still extant [§] in the British Museum. It relates to the grant of some land by one of the royal family, Othilred namely, to Barking Abbey. Sebbi signs himself "Ego Sebbi, Rex East Sax." Under his cross is that of his colleague Sighere, who is simply described as "Rex." This is the earliest East Saxon document of the kind now extant.

We thus see Christianity finally established in London. The scandal which Wina may have caused by an irregular or simoniacal election was speedily forgotten under the great Erkenwald. The Church took root; and already, in searching into the beginnings of London history, we catch sight here and there of the name of a Saxon saint, or have something better than tradition on which to found a local name. The northern entrance of the city had fallen into decay. The walls, as I have ventured to suppose, were ruinous. Bishop Erkenwald,* who seems to have been a kind of civil authority as well as a bishop, endeavoured to commence their reparation. To this end, he built the gate ever since called, after him, Bishopsgate.† Nothing can better show the decay of Roman roads and Roman gates than the fact that, though Bishopsgate Street leads from the bridge to the great northern road, the old line was not preserved. The Saxon gate was placed considerably to the west of the older one; and the roadway itself wound more or less, and deviated from the straightness which its original constructors had loved.

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[*] Green, 'Making of England,' p. 386.

[†] See Life of St. Osyth, in Mr. Baring Gould's 'Lives of the Saints.' I am sorry to say it will not square with any possible arrangement of known facts.

[‡] 'Codex Dipl.,' vol. i., No. 35.

[§] Cott. MSS. Aug. 2, 29.

There is no church of St. Erkenwald; ‡ but two saints, of whom one may have been his contemporary, as the other certainly was, are among the earliest dedications in London. I pass by the St. Matthews, St. Peters, and St. Michaels, of which there are so many, and the St. Maries, of which in the city alone there are a round dozen at least, because, except in a few cases, it is impossible to fasten any date to the name. But if we look down a list of London parishes, the names of St. Ethelburga and St. Osyth will catch the eye. Both, according to saintly legend, were daughters of kings, and both, we may suppose, were concerned in the conversion of the benighted East Saxons. Ethelburga, the niece of Ricula, whose husband, King Seberht, was the first Christian king of Essex, was herself the daughter of Ethelbert of Kent and his French wife, Bertha. Her church in London stands close to the bishop's new gate. The connection may be accidental, but there is nothing improbable in the idea that the lady Ethelburga lived through the troubles brought upon the see by the weakness of bishop Mellitus and the wickedness of her cousins, the sons of Seberht; nor can it be wrong to suggest as probable that her memory, after the night of trouble was overpast, would be cherished when the religion she had loved became once more the faith of the people. Be this as it may, the church of St. Ethelburga, whose fabric is probably the oldest of all now remaining in London, was built hard by the gate of the bishop.

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* Erkenwald is spoken of by Ine, king of the West Saxons, as "my bishop." London had therefore passed from Mercia to Wessex before 693.

† This is tradition, but tradition of a kind which it would be absurd to reject, yet it may be called after St. Botolph.

‡ It was not till our own day that another Erkenwald or Archibald held the see of London.

Among the open spaces within the wall when the Saxons came was the West Cheap, a market-place of which I shall have more to say. In a network of narrow lanes on the south side of this place, and on the west bank of the Wallbrook, formerly stood the church of St. Osyth. In later times, the saint was only remembered by the name of the street; for, the church having been "restored" by Benedict Shorne, a fishmonger, of the reign of Edward II., it became known by his name. Later still, by a grotesque corruption, St. Benedict's was called St. Bennet Sherehog in "Size Lane." It was burnt in the Great Fire, and never rebuilt.

To this period, also, belongs another great name. St. Botolph is commemorated by four churches, which call for notice. He was the special saint of East Anglia. To him in particular every wayfarer going north from London Bridge would commend himself. He died in the highest reputation for sanctity, at "Botolphston," or Boston, during the time Erkenwald was bishop of London; and we find among the most ancient dedications one church at the foot of the hill leading to old London Bridge, and another without the Bishopsgate, at the very first step upon the Ermyn Street. When Aldersgate was built to relieve the traffic through what until then was the only northern gate, a third church of St. Botolph was built; so that the traveller should lose no blessing on his journey by patronising the alternative route. When Aldgate was opened, probably late in the eleventh century, a fourth St. Botolph's Church was erected on the new road into Essex. Botolph's Lane still marks the line of the first road from the bridge, and Botolph's Wharf is on the site of the bridge foot.

St. Osyth,* if we may believe the legend, was mother of Offa, a royal youth of "most lovely age and beauty," of whose history Beda has left us some particulars. He deserted "wife, lands, kindred and country," and going to Rome in the company of his overlord, Coinred, king of Mercia, he became a monk. That he had actually reigned as king, a point omitted by Beda, is proved by the existence of charters granted or signed by him,† but so little was he remembered even a few years after his time, that early copies of these documents describe him as king of Mercia. He evidently left no children, as Beda does not mention them, and as he was succeeded in the empty royalty of Essex by a cousin, Selred, of whom we only know that he was killed in 746.

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* Her festival is 7th October, and she is described as "Queen and Martyr." Stow passes the church over in a single line, in which he confounds this saint with her namesake "the virgin."

† In the introduction to the 'Codex Diplomaticus,' p. xxv., Mr. Kemble detailed the arguments which enabled him to replace Offa in the list of East Saxon kings. He prints a copy of a charter in which Offa is confounded with his great namesake of Mercia. In it some land is given to the church at Worcester. Offa of Essex was probably little more than a superior kind of nobleman at the Mercian court.

After this time there is no further connection to be traced between London and the kings of Essex. By insensible degrees, the kings of Mercia, who perceived the importance of the place, held it and kept it; and in a charter of Ethelbald, whose reign was prolonged from 718 to 757, we have special mention of the port and shipping, being, in fact, the first notice of London in any contemporary document now extant. It is in the British Museum.[*] Ethelbald grants to the bishop of Rochester leave for a ship, whether of his own or of another, to pass without tax into the port of London—(*in portu Lundoniæ*)—and speaks of the tax on shipping as his royal right, and that of his predecessors. This grant was made in 734. A little later the same king, in a charter written in Anglo-Saxon, makes mention of "Lundentune's hythe," another allusion to the importance of the port.[†] The great Offa of Mercia may have recovered it in 775,[‡] but among the multitude of his charters he has left no mention of London,[§] though later tradition says he had a palace there. When we come to Coenulf, his successor, however, we have one phrase of the highest value. Coenulf speaks of a Witan, or national council, held in

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[*] Cott. MSS. Chart. xvii. i. 'Cod. Dipl.,' No. 78. This manuscript should be exhibited in a table case with the others of public interest. There is in Kemble a charter of Erkenwald (No. 38) which is a copy or a forgery: in it there is a mention of land "supra vico Lundoniæ." The copy is very ancient.

[†] Kemble, No. 95. Mr. Kemble printed several other charters, all more or less doubtful, in which London is mentioned before the close of the eighth century, e. g. Nos. 97, 98, 106, and 159.

[‡] Green, 418. As to Offa's palace, said to have been in Wood Street on the site of St. Alban's Church, see Maitland, ii. 1051.

[§] Except in No. 159, which is of more than doubtful authenticity.

London in 811. He calls it "the illustrious place and royal city" (*loco preclaro oppidoque regali*), a description which, if "oppidum" is used in its strict sense, would imply that the Mercians set store by the fortifications. Among the signatures is that of a king of Essex.

London may be said after this time to be no longer the capital of one Saxon kingdom, but to be the special property of whichever king of whichever kingdom was then paramount in all England. When the supremacy of Mercia declined, and that of Wessex arose, London went to the conqueror. In 823, Egbert receives the submission of Essex, and in 827 he is in London, and in 833 a Witan is held there, at which he presides.

Such are the scanty notes from which the history of London during the so-called Heptarchy, must be compiled. The Witan of 833 met to deliberate on a question which, in its further developments, became one of the highest importance to the city.

Already, while the newly acquired power of Wessex was still in its infancy, a cloud of terrible disaster hung over the land. Nothing, as the event proved, could have been more fortunate for the dynasty of Egbert than the necessity which now arose that England should be under the rule of one strong hand. The Saxon's hour of retribution had come. What his heathen forefathers had inflicted on the Britons, the Danes were about to inflict on him; but the English were made of sterner stuff than the Welsh, and in time the struggle, having united England and welded her into a single kingdom with identical interests and aims, came to an end.

London had to bear the brunt of the attack at first. Her walls wholly failed to protect her. Time after time the freebooters broke in. If the Saxons had spared anything of Roman London, it must have disappeared now.

Massacre, slavery, and fire became familiar in her streets. At last the Danes seemed to have looked on her as their headquarters, and when, in 872, Alfred was forced to make truce with them, they actually retired to London as to their own city, to recruit.*

To Alfred, with his military experience and political sagacity, the possession of London was a necessity; but he had to wait long before he obtained it. His preparations were complete in 884. The story of the conflict is the story of his life. His first great success was the capture of London after a short siege: to hold it was the task of all his later years. He probably found the Roman defences useless. The repairs effected by the Danes must have been of a very temporary character, and did not include any systematic restoration of the wall. Alfred knew the value of fortifications against savages, and his first care was to renew what was left of the Roman work. To his age we may probably attribute the building of two new gates, if not three. Cripplegate was never anything but a kind of enlarged postern, and did not open on any important road, though it was nearest to an outwork known as the Barbican. Aldersgate was of more importance, as being nearer the Watling Street, while communicating eastward with the Ermyn Street at Bishopsgate. Moorgate† does not appear to have yet existed, although a small entrance close to the Wallbrook may have survived from Roman times. But we really know very little of the extent and details of Alfred's work. What we do know is that he was successful. The Danes never again took the city by siege.

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* They first took London in 839, and next in 851 or 852. In 852 the battle of Aclea (probably Oakley, on the Stone Street in Surrey) was fought, after which the Danes were quieted for a time.

† It is not mentioned in the list of gates as late as 1356. (Riley, 'Memorials,' p. 291.)

Alfred appointed to the government of his new stronghold, Ethelred, the Alderman, his son-in-law. Whether "the Lady of the Mercians" was with her husband in London, we know not. But he signalised his government by a brilliant feat of arms, one worthy of Alfred himself. The Danes, within a few years of their retirement from London, had assembled again in great strength at the mouth of the Thames. Ascending as far as "Beamfleote," now South Benfleet, in Essex, where a considerable tidal estuary or lagoon existed, stretching far up among the woods to the foot of the Laindon hills,* they formed a kind of fortified harbour from which they were able to plunder the country and to stop the traffic of the river. The Londoners under Ethelred sallied out, defeated them, and drove them back on their stronghold, which was besieged and taken, together with the wife and sons of Hastings, the Danish leader. But the Danes were only spurred to greater exertions; and assembling at once with fresh reinforcements after their defeat at Benfleet, they determined to attack London itself. Taking a large flotilla of galleys up the Lea to a stronghold in the forest about Ware, or possibly Hertford, they prepared to spend the winter in recruiting, with a view to the final capture of the city in the spring. But Alfred came himself upon the scene at this precarious moment, and by one of those combinations of strategy and daring so characteristic of him, he contrived to divert the waters of the Lea into three channels;† so that the Danish ships were left high and dry inland, and the Danes themselves were pent in where their only chance of escape consisted in a disastrous flight across an enemy's territory.

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* It is impossible not to connect the almost certainly Celtic name Laindon, with the similar name of a very similarly situated hill, London.

† This story rests on very insecure foundations.

This story is perhaps too circumstantial to bear the stamp of truth, yet it is old enough to show that operations of considerable magnitude in the war were carried on near London, when the Londoners performed "prodigies of valour," according to the boasts of their descendants. They certainly figure in the warlike annals of the time. There were Londoners with Athelstan at Brunanburgh; and when all England was overrun and wasted with fire and sword, they, at least, kept their own city intact. The surrounding counties, Middlesex, Essex, Kent, Sussex, even Hampshire and its royal city, were entirely in the hands of the enemy, while London held out. At the same time she increased in wealth. Security such as she could offer naturally attracted property, and we find Athelstan, when he established his mints, assigning eight coiners to London and seven to Canterbury;* from which we may infer that these were the two centres of commercial life. At a later date, there are many references to this good time of old; and the number of foreigners in London when the Conqueror came shows that the concourse of merchants still existed in spite of the Danes. During the century and a half which elapsed between the death of Alfred and the peaceful time of King Edward, London Wick, and London Hithe, and London Street were crowded whenever London Bridge was open. Mercantile transactions were carried on under difficulties, no doubt, when merchant adventurers had to run the gauntlet of the Danish pirates if they travelled by river, and of Danish brigands if they travelled by land. Yet the merchants prospered, and as early as the reign of Athelstan we find a "frith-gild" in existence. Guilds, as we shall see further on, had a powerful influence on London history; but as yet the association, though recognised by the higher powers, was merely a friendly society which met once a month for "butt-filling," drank their beer, subscribed fourpence to a kind of insurance, ordered masses for the souls of brethren deceased since the last meeting, and paid for the detection and prosecution of thieves who had robbed any member of the guild. Finally, the remains of the feast were distributed in alms. Notwithstanding the butt-filling and feasting, this appears to have been a purely religious and social guild; and though it may have subsequently become a power in the city, so far it is only of importance as the first evidence of combination among the inhabitants of London for anything like corporate action.*

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* At Canterbury the seven comprised two for the "bishop" and one for the abbot. We have no particulars as to London.

The weak Ethelred, of whose kingdom London and Canterbury seem at one time to have been the only remnants, did nothing for London but take refuge within her walls; and it is rather to the credit of the citizens than of the king that we must put the victorious expedition of 992. The treason and desertion of Aelfric, the bravery of Thorod, the presence of two bishops on board the ships, and many other circumstantial particulars, are narrated by the chroniclers; all that is certain being, that the river traffic was opened for the merchants, and that a flank attack on the returning Londoners was signally defeated. The paltry spirit of the king, who on the one hand taxed his people for the disgraceful payment of Danegeld, and on the other encouraged them to the cowardly massacre of 1001, greatly increased the difficulties of the city, which had, as usual, to bear the brunt of Danish vengeance. Sweyn burned to exact punishment for the murder of his sister. Twice he essayed to subdue London, within whose walls Ethelred had, as usual, sought safety; and whether he might have succeeded the first time or not we cannot tell, for Ethelred bought him off with an enormous ransom*—bought him off, that is, only for a time, while his forces were being renewed for a supreme effort. In 1012 he took Canterbury, and carrying Alphage, the archbishop, to Greenwich, he killed him there almost in sight of the terrified citizens. The following year he returned, and having been resisted by London alone, he prepared to besiege the city; but Ethelred did not await his onset, and having no longer a king to defend, the citizens opened the gates and admitted the Danes.

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* See 'English Gilds,' by Toulmin Smith, and the 'History and Development of Gilds,' by Lujo Brentano; also Stubbs's 'Constitutional History,' vol. i. *passim*. For the whole text containing the rules of the frith-gild, see appendix to Kemble's 'Saxons in England,' ii. 521.

London luxuries, however, or London fogs did not agree with Sweyn, who died suddenly at Gainsborough, after one winter in his new capital, and then the weary contest began again. The miserable Ethelred returned and reigned till 1016, when he died in peace at a good old age, and was buried in St. Paul's. His grave must have been among ruins or within newly rising walls, for the old church, the church of Cedd and Sebbi, if not of Mellitus and Seberht, had been burnt a few years before. The most tangible relic of the Danish occupation was found, not long ago, close to the site.† It bears the only Runic inscription yet identified in London: "Kina caused this stone to be laid over

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* Said to have been 48,000*l.*

† In digging the foundation of Mr. Cook's great warehouse on the south side of St. Paul's Churchyard. I am inclined to mention the inscription here, as it evidently belongs to an early stage of the Danish conquest—perhaps to the earliest in the reign of Alfred.

Tuki." When Kina gave Tuki, his brother in arms, Christian burial in St. Paul's Churchyard, the war between the Saxons and Danes had entered a new phase. We hear of no massacre under Sweyn, of no burning or plundering. London was too rich to be injured, too precious to the king to be abandoned to the soldiers. She had many foreigners within her walls, perhaps many Northmen, Danish or otherwise. The contest was henceforth between two royal families for the crown of England, and the royal road ran through London.

The election and coronation of Edmund Ironside took place in London, and soon afterwards commenced the most memorable, because the last, regular siege of London. Canute disputed Edmund's right, and the king, notwithstanding his tried bravery, showed a want of military caution in leaving the protection of the city walls. Alfred had set store by them; they had been a kingdom to Ethelred; and when Edmund went into Wessex his cause was lost. Canute's siege affords one incident of remarkable interest. His canal* round London Bridge has been vaunted as the crowning feat of Danish strategy, while its failure has covered the Londoners with glory. In truth, however, neither was the canal a very wonderful work, nor was its success very likely. In my opening chapter I endeavoured to describe the original aspect of the country south of Southwark. Since the time of the Romans, no doubt, the muddy archipelago had become less moist, and was now only submerged at very high tides; while banks and drains everywhere conducted the surplus water back into the Thames. A considerable stream, winding among the green aits of Bermondsey, ran out in Rotherhithe, where now St. Saviour's Dock is marked upon the maps. Another bore a high-sounding name in the local tradition of the last century, and flowed, as the Tigris, into the Thames above Southwark. In short, the difficulty of identifying Canute's canal is caused by the multitude of competitors for the honour. But at that day, the question of transporting a fleet of flat-bottomed galleys from Redriff to Lambeth depended on the force of men available, the depth of the channels, the height of the tide, and the distance from the threatening walls of Southwark. Here and there a roadway or an embankment had to be cut through. Here and there the black peat had to be strengthened in a watercourse. Some of the chroniclers speak clearly of the dragging of the ships. The work was soon done, but London did not surrender, and Canute, threatened from the west by Edmund, made a feint of retreating. His sudden return and attack did not surprise the citizens, and to the treason of Edric of Mercia, as much as to any result attained by fighting, must be attributed the position of Canute in his final treaty of partition.[*]

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* Many writers have been at the pains of tracing Canute's canal. The whole subject is discussed by Maitland, Allen, Harrison, and others. I have gone carefully over the ground, and I have also endeavoured to read the various theories impartially. The result only, without further references, will be found in the text.

At last London was his, but peaceably,[†] and he held it and treated it peaceably. We may as safely reject the story that London presented her new king with 11,000*l.*,[‡] as that 83,000*l.* was raised in all England; but we need not refuse to believe that the citizens paid heavily for their privileges, and secured freedom from molestation at the highest price Canute could exact.

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[*] Canute seems, for some reason, to have also made a ditch round the north side of the city.—Florence of Worcester, ed. Thorpe, vol. i. p. 173.

[†] A.D. 1017.

[‡] Equal to about a quarter of a million in modern money.

We find many traces of the Danes of this period in London. Olaf came over as Thor and Woden had come before. We disguise his name in Tooley Street, at the southern end of London Bridge; but there are or were churches of St. Olave in Hart Street, and in the Old Jewry, in the city, while St. Magnus, in Thames Street, looks across the river at his compatriot. Of St. Clement Danes and St. Bride's it is not so easy to judge. The first, when it was founded, stood far out in the green fields of the Strand, on a hillock almost surrounded by water; and the legend of a special Danish settlement may or may not be true. The objection to it that it was unlikely such a formidable colony should be placed halfway between London and Westminster is easily disposed of when we remember that there was no road through it, either east or west, at the time, and that access to the church must have been from the north. The road from London to Westminster ran through Holborn. St. Bride's cannot be attributed to the time of Canute. The ground on which it stands was then under water.*

Under the orderly government of Canute some beginnings of municipal organisation show themselves. Money lies at the root of civic institutions. When Danegeld had to be assessed, when, under a sudden demand, resistance was to be offered, when walls had to be built and ships fitted out, it is clear some power existed which could conduct or control the citizens. That it had a purely mercantile origin, and may, therefore, have included many foreigners, may be inferred from the first mention of a body representative of the wishes of Londoners. When Canute died the magnates of the realm assembled in "parliament" at Oxford, and there came up among them the "lithsmen" of London.* These were the traders who, going abroad or coming from abroad with their merchandise, were travellers by pre-eminence, and not only the owners, but, during the long peace of Canute's reign, the creators of the city wealth.

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* Both St. Bride's and St. Clement's, as well as St. Dunstan's, were at first only chapels or district churches to Westminster. See chapter xvii.

This witan chose Harold, who died three years later; and a similar assembly invited Queen Emma and her son Harthacnut, or Hardecnut as he is called in his charters, to come over from Bruges. Hardecnut, who stood in the unusual position of having two half-brothers —one on the father's and one on the mother's side,—and who succeeded one of them, and was succeeded by the other, chiefly signalised his reign by digging up the body of Harold, and throwing it into the river. It was found by fishermen—so runs the story,—and, being handed over to the Danish colony, was re-buried in St. Clement's. Hardecnut speedily drank himself to death, and Edward, called the Confessor, stepped into his place.

Edward's history connects him rather with Westminster than with London. In 1047, however, a council sat in London, at which, while nine ships were sent out to protect the Channel, no fewer than five were retained for the defence of the port of London. In the rebellion, or "pronunciamento" of Godwin, London figures to some extent, since the earl held Southwark for a time, and passing the bridge with his ships overawed the king in the abbey-palace at Westminster.

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* A. S. Chron., 1036. Lithan is *to navigate*. Norton (pp. 23, 24) goes into some elaborate arguments on this passage, to show that the merchants were thanes rather than mere burgesses. There is really no proof either way. The word may mean sailors and may mean merchants, or rather "commercial travellers." In the East to this day, a foreign traveller is called Khawaga, that is, literally, bagman. That any one should travel for pleasure was till lately incredible, and we still pray for travellers as for those afflicted.

We have some further notices of the beginnings of municipal institutions in this reign. Edward directs his writ * to London, to William, the bishop, and to Swetman, the portreeve, and another time to Leofstan and Ælsi, the portreeves. A little later Esgar † the "staller," or marshal, and Ulph, are the chief officers of the city. At a much later date, in the reign, namely, of Henry I., we hear of Leofstan again. He is mentioned as head of the old Knighten Guild, which was turned into the priory of Holy Trinity. Two sons of his also figured in connection with guilds. One, Robert, pays, in 1130, 16*l.* into the exchequer for the guild of weavers; and in the reign of Henry II. the other, Witso, gives half a mark of gold for his father's office. Unfortunately we do not know what office is intended.‡ One thing is certain, London was not included in any earldom.

Esgar, or Ansgar, the Staller, was at Hastings, and was wounded, but was able to retreat with his men upon London. "His wound was so severe that he could neither walk nor ride, but was carried about the city in a litter."§ Edgar Atheling was chosen as king, but was never crowned. Esgar must soon have seen the hopelessness of the struggle. William came to the bank and burnt Southwark, then marched away to the west, crossed the Thames at Wallingford, and marched north-east to Berkhampstead. He betrayed no symptoms of hurry. The city was gradually but surely being surrounded. A story has been told of a secret embassy from Esgar to

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* 'Cod. Diplo.,' Nos. 856, 857, 861.

† There is little or no difficulty in the identification of Esgar and Ansgar.

‡ See Stubbs, 'Const. Hist.,' i. 406.

§ Freeman, 'Norman Conquest,' iii. 545.

Berkhampstead, and of private negotiations between the conqueror and a party in the city. There is no necessity for such a legend. The submission of London was open and straightforward. The young Edgar Atheling was among the messengers. He had never been crowned, and was only a titular king. William received him well, and saluted the chief men of London, as he says himself, "friendly." After some delay, caused by a real or feigned hesitation, he accepted the proffered crown, and appointed Christmas for his coronation at Westminster. He was not the last king the Londoners elected; but his election by them is an event not to be lightly passed over.* Under the long succession of English kings, during the long Danish wars, the side of the city had been the side of the conqueror. London had become more and more important; and in the embassy to Berkhampstead we see the last act in the story of the Saxon domination—a period of struggle, of gradual growth, of the slow development of great constitutional principles, of increasing wealth, in which, while we can find no trace of Roman influence on municipal institutions or religion, we must attribute its existence itself to the Roman wall. Morally, the Romans did nothing, materially they did everything for Saxon London; and Edward in one of his charters made no vain boast when he spoke picturesquely of the city as *fundata olim et edificata ad instar magna Troje.*

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* The Londoners' special place in the constitution of England is described more or less clearly by all historians, but perhaps the most comprehensive summary is that of Mr. Freeman ('Norm. Conq.,' v. 411):—"Edward the Fourth and Richard the Third were called to the crown no less than Stephen, by the voice of the citizens of London. And in the assembly which called on William of Orange to take on himself the provisional government of the kingdom, along with the Lords and the members of the former parliaments, the citizens of London had their place as of old."

CHAPTER IV.

LONDON AFTER THE CONQUEST.

WITH the removal of Edward the Confessor to Westminster, the position of London as the capital of England had begun to change. At the Conquest it was completely altered. True, the kings, and sometimes the queens, had henceforth occasionally a residence in the city, but it was no longer a permanent residence. The palace, or a relic of it, of Athelstan and his successors, used to be pointed out before the Great Fire. But when Norman William and his successors had business in London, they lived at Westminster or in the Tower.* If London thus in one sense declined, in another she rose. She became more independent. She began to look to her commerce more and more as her true source of greatness. Her real supremacy was always unquestionable. Westminster, great as it is, and the ring of boroughs which now surround the city, are, in truth, only suburbs. London is the mother of them all. From the time of William she acquired new life. Her liberties and privileges were assured to her, and the history of mediæval London is the history of a long, but eventually victorious, struggle against despotism, encroachment and robbery. The charter which William, king, granted to William, bishop, and Gosfrith, portreeve, is the first of a long list of similar documents, in which the city, bit by bit, recovered from the Crown the true ancient liberty which has been the Teutonic ideal for so many thousand years.

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* I am not concerned here to find out the capital of England, nor yet to define the word metropolis. London is neither, except it be in the blundering nomenclature of an Act of Parliament. If the capital of a state is here, as in America, the seat of the Law Courts, then Westminster is our capital; but the new Law Courts are partly within the City boundary.

London desiring nothing so much as peace, and having already both had a taste of William's harsh manner, in his burning Southwark on his march westward from Canterbury, and having learned that she fared best under a strong king, received the Conqueror, after a little hesitation, as her just and lawful sovereign. It may be considered certain that there was a strong Norman party in the city. The bishop was a Norman, and if the name of the portreeve be read Geoffrey, as it sometimes is, he may have been a Norman too; one at least of the old portreeves was unquestionably a Norman, for the name of Gilbert Becket, of Rouen, is among the few that remain to us of the list.* William's charter, too, is peculiarly worded. He greets, besides the two great officers, "all the burgesses in London, Frenchmen and Englishmen." The charter is one of conciliation. The English might fear the new dynasty. But William assures them of his friendly feeling, and though we may conjecture that the Norman bishop and the Norman party in general had a voice in obtaining for their fellow-citizens this declaration of the Conqueror's favour, we may also believe that the freedom they already enjoyed in their place of residence had endeared itself to them, and that they were in no way reluctant to share its continuance. The text then, of the First Charter is as follows*:—"William king, greets William, bishop, and Gosfrith,† portreeve, and all the burghers within London, French and English, friendly; and I do you to wit that I will that ye be all law-worthy that were in King Edward's day. And I will that every child be his father's heir, after his father's day: and I will not endure that any man offer any wrong to you. God keep you."

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* Green's "London and her election of Stephen," in 'Old London,' p. 296. I shall have occasion frequently in the next few pages to make use of Mr. Green's views, in this brilliant foretaste of his powers, and here acknowledge them gratefully once for all. For a fragmentary list of portreeves see further on in this chapter.

Brief, curiously jealous and scanty, as this document is, it contains a sufficient statement of the condition of the citizens. We learn from it, for example, that the bishop, equally with, or perhaps it would be more correct to say more than, the portreeve, was a great authority. His exact position in the corporation was afterwards defined, but at this time we only know that he lived in his palace on the north side of St. Paul's, and was proprietor of a great estate in Cornhill, at the other side of the Wallbrook, and of two country villas, one at Fulham and one at Stepney. We learn little of the portreeve, except that there was a portreeve, but there can be no difficulty in forming an idea of his position and duties. He was in the port, that is the walled city, what a shire-reeve was in a county. Much ingenuity may be, and has been, spent in trying to make him out to be more than this. The result has only been to show that the reeve of London stood towards the Crown in no exceptional position. As to the mode of his appointment at this period we know nothing, but there is a presumption, as we shall see further on, that he was elected by his fellow-burgesses.

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* The original of this charter, or a very ancient copy, is preserved at the Guildhall. It is a little strip of parchment written in a rather more crabbed hand than was usual at that period. Mr. Stubbs gives a careful copy in his 'Select Charters,' p. 79, which differs little from the copy in Riley's 'Liber Custumarum,' ii. 504, except that it is printed in ordinary type. Riley, in addition, prints an old copy in the 'Liber Custumarum,' (i. 246), and an old and very interesting translation into the English of 1314. These are followed by a Latin version. Another English translation is at p. 25. In fact the compilers of the city records seem to have determined that if the original should be lost, a sufficient number of copies would remain to establish its existence. The name of the portreeve is variously spelt, Goffrey (p. 25), Gofregth (p. 246), Gofregd and Gofridum (p. 247). Mr. Stubbs and Mr. Freeman (iv. 29) print it Gosfregth, and Mr. Stubbs translates it by Gosfrith.

† Gosfrith, Stubbs, i. 404. The translation is that of 'Select Charters,' p. 79. Mr. Stubbs points out that the word *port* in *port-reeve* is the Latin *porta* not *portus* and implies a market-place. "From the position assigned to the port-reeve in this writ, which answers to that given to the sheriff in ordinary writs, it may be inferred that he was a royal officer who stood to the merchants of the city in the relation in which the bishop stood to the clergy."

The first thing granted in the charter is that the citizens should be law-worthy, and we have the historical statement that they had been so under King Edward. By "law-worthy" the king meant that the citizens should have the privileges of freemen in the courts of justice:* that they should not be judged, that is, by a superior, but should have an appeal to the verdict of their equals, as "compurgators," a kind of jury of neighbours and friends who were willing, when a man was on trial, to swear they believed his oath.† There were other forms of trial, and the Normans introduced the wager or ordeal of battle; but it was never popular in the city. The law-worthy man, then, could give evidence in a court of justice, in his own favour or that of another, and could call upon his neighbours and his friends to justify him. It was a rude kind of law, but from it grew our much-vaunted jury system, a system which seems, somehow, unfitted for any race but our own, where it has grown up from small beginnings and become a second nature. The law-worthy citizens had, no doubt, unlaw-worthy serfs under them, and there were besides in the city a few people who, though free, had no rights as citizens, from crime or poverty, or because they had not complied with the forms of admission, whatever they may have been.

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* Norton, p. 264.

† According to this view, to be law-worthy meant to be not *in dominio*, demesne, as were many other English cities at the time. I have avoided the technicalities of law as much as possible.

Further, William allows the citizens to inherit the property of their fathers, a right which had always been one of the privileges of freedom among English and Saxons, but which was inconsistent with the spirit of feudalism.* The estate of the father was divided among his children, and primogeniture had not yet been introduced.

Such is the tenure of William's charter. It will be observed that he introduces nothing new. The citizens were to continue in the freedom they had enjoyed under Edward. We may therefore infer that the English, French, German, Gascon, Flemish, and above all Norman, merchants who frequented the market-places of London, had already, in spite of their mixed origin, combined and organised themselves into a body, more or less corporate, and that to be a citizen of London was to be a freeman with certain definite privileges.

There was an influx of Normans after the Conquest, as might be expected. Many of the citizens of Rouen and Caen, says a nearly contemporary writer,† passed over thither, "preferring to be dwellers in that city, inasmuch as it was fitter for their trading, and better stored with the merchandise in which they were wont to traffic." The Normans had already a colony there, as had the

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* And was not accorded to tenants in demesne, except as a special favour.

† One of Becket's biographers, in a MS. at Lambeth, quoted by Mr. Green *ut supra*.

Germans, the "Rouen men" and the "Emperor's men," as they are called in a law of Ethelred; and it was not until the occurrence of a war with some one of the nations represented among the citizens, that any disabilities in the way of trading, and eventually of citizenship, were imposed on foreign-born settlers.*

William granted privileges to the great walled "port," and her mixed multitude of merchants; but he determined at the same time that, though they might remain as strongly fortified as they could against foes from without in general, they should have no defences against himself. For this purpose he determined on the erection of a fort where, without weakening the city, he might yet hold the key to it. The Tower of London is to the wall like a padlock on a chain. A piece of foreshore existed just without the ditch, to the south-east, beyond Billingsgate. In the line of the wall close by there was a strong bastion, either of Roman work, or else built of Roman materials taken from older fortifications. William determined to break the city cincture at this point, and to replace with his own castle the ancient turret. At the time he formed the plan he was encamped at Barking, the nearest rising ground east of the city, and had evidently surveyed the situation with care. The small portion of the wall removed—according to some authorities two bastions—was more than compensated by the strength of the ditch and palisade with which William surrounded his works. When they were completed, they were calculated not only to protect, but to overawe the citizens and to control all the traffic of the river.† Rather less than half the new enclosure was within the old city boundary. The whole Tower Liberty consists of about twenty-six acres, twelve of them within the ditch, of which the western portion is in the parish of All Hallows Barking, in the city of London, and the eastern and larger portion in the county of Middlesex, and the original parish of Stepney.

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* See Riley, 'Memorials,' p. 151.

† "Military Architecture of the Tower," 'Old London,' p. 13, &c., by George T. Clark. I shall have occasion to quote several times from this valuable paper.

William did not begin the building of the White Tower till eleven years after Hastings, when, having had some experience of the advantages of the site, he entrusted the work to Gundulf, a monk from the Abbey of Bec in Normandy. Gundulf, who had just been consecrated bishop of Rochester when he received William's commission,* appears to have given his first attention to the repairs of his own cathedral, but arriving in London in 1078, and lodging at the house of his friend, a citizen named Ædmer Anhænde, he commenced the gigantic building on such a scale that though he lived to be eighty-four, that is, for thirty years longer, he did not see the completion of the whole design. The immense mass of the walls disposes of the story that it was injured by the great gale of 1090, though the scaffoldings may have suffered. Mainly, the White Tower is still as Gundulf left it, though the windows were altered in 1663, when the "restorer" Wren, who may have believed the building to have been originally erected by Julius Cæsar, put in classical keystones.† It consists literally of four walls, prolonged into turrets at the corners, and divided into three storeys by timber flooring, and a basement of masonry. It measures ‡ 107 ft. north and south, 118 east and west, and is 90 ft. high to the crest of the battlement. It contains a chapel, long used for the storing of records, and afterwards ruthlessly scraped and renewed, so as to have lost every feature of interest except its outline. There is an apsidal curve, apparent from the exterior, where it is worked into the great south-eastern turret. The chapel is 31 ft. wide, and 55½ long, including the apse. There are side aisles, which go round behind the site of the altar, and above them an upper aisle occupies the place of a clear storey, and as it could be entered from the state apartments on the upper floor, served for the use of the monarch himself, who could attend mass, yet be invisible from below. The chapel was dedicated to St. John.

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* Stubbs, 'Episcopal Succession,' p. 22, 1077, Mar. 19, Canterbury.

† An example followed by Salvin and other Tower architects in our own day, only that for classical features others, in various Gothic styles, equally foreign to the building, have been employed. Salvin's work is easily recognised by a square-headed doorway or window which he borrowed from a Northumbrian castle, and employed here and at Windsor with disastrous effect.

‡ Clark, *ut sup.*

Here, in 1503, the body of Elizabeth of York, who died in the Tower, lay in state before its removal to Westminster Abbey; and it is probable that the burial of the bones of her two brothers in the staircase wall below, was due to the consecration of the chapel, which would extend to the ground underneath. The crypt, long known as Queen Elizabeth's Armoury, and entered by visitors through a window, and a lower crypt below ground, were nevertheless used as prisons, but perhaps not till after the year 1550, when the chapel was dismantled by order of the Council. It remained a store for state papers for centuries, owing to which circumstance the Tower has been the residence of more than one eminent antiquary as keeper of records, including Lambard and Selden, and the republican Prynne, whose celebrity is of a different kind. When the records were removed, it was intended to make it a tailor's shop for the soldiers; but the interference of lord de Ros, at that time Lieutenant, was successful in preventing this desecration.

The chapel and its appendages are the only walled chambers in the Tower. All the rest are made of wood. It is remarkable that this, the keep of the royal castle intended as the refuge and residence of the sovereign, should contain but one fire-place, and hardly any of the domestic conveniences common to Norman towers of far inferior pretensions and very slightly later date. The main entrance was 12 ft. above the ground, so that the door could be easily defended, and led into a narrow winding staircase. "Supposing a score of resolute men to garrison the keep, they could hold the main door and postern against an army."* As a residence, however, the immense altitude of the state rooms, chiefly 21 ft. high, the excessive coldness, the difficulty of access, the inconvenience of the frequent posts supporting the roof, must have been serious drawbacks, to say nothing of the absence of privacy, although no doubt some of the chambers were screened off by panelled partitions, like the dormitories of old-fashioned schools.

The surrounding buildings and the outer wall are of later date, but are probably on the Norman site. "The circumscribing ditch," as Mr. Clark observes, "though unusually broad and deep, was by no means too secure a defence against a turbulent and notoriously brave body of citizens." The entrance, at the south-western corner, faced towards no street then existing, and Tower Street, Great and Little, must have been made by degrees and through already existing buildings, as is plain from its unusual irregularity of direction.†

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* Clark, 'Old London,' pp. 39, 40.

† An irregularity, as I have endeavoured to point out above, partly owing, no doubt, to its traversing whatever traces remained of the eastern wall of the inner Roman fort. Portions of the wall have been found in Mincing Lane and other places adjacent.

One of the last great events of the reign of William I. was the completion of Domesday Book. London was exempted from it. The reason of this is not very clear. It has been used as a proof that London was not in demesne—was not held by any overlord whatever; but from what we know of the disposition of William, a claim to such a condition of independence would certainly have been disregarded. As a fact, the king's interest in London and its suburbs was very small. A few years later, William Rufus had accumulated as much foreshore at Westminster as served for his additions to Edward's palace;* but in 1087 the king had only a few acres in Middlesex. They lay in Ossulston, and are described quaintly as no man's land, and as having belonged to King Edward. A piece of ground of three and a half acres, which bore this name, was bought by bishop Stratford in 1339, and formed into a burial-place for people who died of the plague. It was afterwards joined to the possessions of the Charterhouse, or Carthusian Priory of the Salutation, and it has been identified, not without reason, as part of the plot of twelve and a half acres, "de nane maneslande," which King Edward and King William had owned, and which was valued at five shillings.

The king had also thirty cotters—we are not told where, but within the boundaries of Ossulston. They were probably owners in fee of small villas without the walls; their united rent only amounted to fourteen shillings and tenpence-halfpenny. He had also two other small holdings.

"At Holeburne," says the record, "the king has two cottagers who render yearly twenty pence to the king's sheriff." A distinction may here be intended between the sheriffs, for in the next line we are told "the sheriff of Middlesex always had charge of these cottages in the time of King Edward."

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* See below, chapter xvi.

The other piece of land has often, on slender grounds, been identified with the celebrated garden of Ely Place. It was also in Holborn, and is thus described: "William the chamberlain renders yearly to the king's sheriff six shillings for the land where his vineyard is situated." Attempts have been made to identify this chamberlain as the official who eventually blossomed into "mayor," but the grounds are insufficient.* William the chamberlain was also a holder of lands in Kingsbury, Eia, and Stepney. The first named was a farm belonging to the Abbey of Westminster, and cannot have been long in William's occupation; it had belonged in the time of the Confessor to a certain Aylwin Horne, who had taken it in pledge from a vassal of the abbey. The Stepney holding was under the bishop of London, and consisted of land worth thirty shillings. The holding in Eia, or Eybury, had a little history attached to it. Though William is returned as the tenant, it appears he had lost it four years before, and the king's dues amounting to twelve pounds were unpaid. The manor itself was then part of the estate of Geoffrey Mandeville. Why William the chamberlain had lost his holding we do not know, but the expression of the record, *amisit*, is clear, and we cannot suppose he voluntarily resigned possession.

Another citizen who is frequently named in the record is Deorman.† Among the most ancient records in the archives of the city is a little piece of parchment, in many respects similar to the charter granted to London itself by William I. In it "William, king, greets William, bishop," as before; but the third name is that of Sweyn or "Swegen, the sheriff," and "all the king's thanes in Essex," stand where the burghers of London stood in the other charter. The grant is one of a hide of land at Gaddesden to a man named Deorman. The same man is called in Domesday Deorman of London. He had an estate at Hertfordshire which had belonged to Aylwin Horne, and evidently he was in favour with the Conqueror, and was one of the few Englishmen who held directly from the king without the intervention of an overlord. One of his sons was named Algar, and as it appears that his holding in Islington had belonged before him to a thane of King Edward's, called Algar, it is more than likely that we have here father, son, and grandson. Algar the second was a prebendary of St. Paul's, but his brother Thierry carried on the succession of the family. The Norman name shows the tendency of the times, and Bertram, Thierry's son, goes further and takes a territorial surname, appearing in some charters as Bertram of Barrow. Barrow has been identified with Highbury, a manor in Islington; and it would seem that the family of Algar continued on the same land till their male line became extinct in the reign of Henry III.

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* Mr. Riley in a brief note, 'Memorials,' p. 3, says positively "at this period (1272), the offices of mayor, chamberlain, and coroner, in the city were held by the same person."

† H. C. Coote, 'Transac. Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc.,' iii. 153. If the reader wishes to see an amusingly erroneous interpretation of an ancient document, he may look at Allen, i. 51, where Deorman is

William Rufus carried on his father's works at the Tower, and, as we shall see when we look into the history of Westminster, almost equally great works there. These and other burdens fell on city and county

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translated "the people," or at Norton, p. 257, where we are told that the king "merely states that he has granted to his dear man or men (friends) a certain piece of land." One of his sons is named on p. 163, n.

alike; and the chronicler of the day, in noticing the arrival of Henry I. in London, after his brother's death, mentions that before Maurice, the bishop, crowned him, he made him swear to annul all the unrighteous acts of the late king. How far the city was concerned in the selection of Henry, which took place at Winchester, we know not; but we do know that though Rufus was only killed on Thursday and buried on Friday, Henry was in London on Saturday and was crowned at Westminster on Sunday. From subsequent events it is clear that to London he owed a debt of some kind, perhaps of gratitude for his welcome on this occasion. His charter, enlarging the liberties of the citizens, already so large, was not granted, we may be sure, for nothing. Unfortunately, although the original document still exists in the city archives, it is undated; but from the names appended to it, or some other evidence, Rymer ('Fœdera') dates it in 1101, the first year of the new reign, and says it was signed at Westminster. The London names may include that of Hubert Roger the chamberlain, but he may have been the chamberlain of Winchester, or an official of the palace. William of Montfitchet, the bishop of Winchester, and Robert FitzRichard, bear London names. Montfitchet's Tower was on the Thames bank, within the city boundary and not far from Baynard's Castle. How Gilbert de Montfitchet, or Montfiquet, who "came in with the Conqueror" obtained his tower we do not know. It may have been an ancient bastion, and have been committed to his charge by the king or by the city authorities. The gates were so leased at a later time, and Baynard's Castle was long held by the Fitzwalters, as standard-bearers of London.* Montfitchet's

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* In 1347, the Lord Fitzwalter of the day claimed certain rights and privileges in Castle Baynard Ward, but his claim was refused by the

Tower was demolished and its materials appropriated to the fabric of the Blackfriars' House early in the thirteenth century.

The charter of Henry I. is even more important in the history of the city liberties than that of his father. His grants are of two kinds. They may be classed as remissions, and as gifts. Thus, he absolves the citizens from the payment of any kind of feudal service, such as occasional levies and rates, summed up under the word *Scot*; from *Danegeld*, a tax which, originally imposed for the purpose of expelling or buying off the Danes, had now become a regular source of royal revenue; from *Murder*, a tax payable to the king by a district in which an assassination—especially of a Norman—had been committed: from *Wager of Battle*, a form of trial very repugnant to civic ideas; from having to provide lodgings for the king's household; from tolls such as *Passage*, or payments at ferries, and *Lestage*, or a tax on leather, which were remitted throughout England to the citizens of London; and from *Miskennings*, the use by lawyers of an unknown tongue, or, as we should say, special pleading, in its worst sense, in the courts.

The second form of grants was of the nature of gifts. Thus Henry handed over to the city the revenues of Middlesex; he gave the county to them "to farm," on a payment of 300*l.* a year, which has been made ever since; and he allowed them to appoint from among themselves a sheriff to receive the demesne dues. In addition they were to have leave to hunt as their

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mayor, aldermen, and commonalty, on the ground that it was repugnant to the liberties of the city. Mr. Riley, in noticing this decision, adds that the Fitzwalters had parted with their castle in the reign of Edward I. —'Memorials,' p. 236.

ancestors had hunted in the forests of Middlesex and Surrey and on the Chiltern Hills. A hunting licence of this kind was indeed a great concession from a king of the line of William the Norman.

He also gave them leave to appoint their own justiciar and relieved them from having to resort to any court outside the city. It has been supposed that the justiciar here mentioned means a mayor or chief magistrate, and that the grant includes that of the election of the supreme executive officer of the city. It may be so, but all probability is against this view. For by this time the citizens already appear to have elected their own portreeve, by whatever name he was called; and it is absurd to suppose that the king gave them power to appoint a sheriff of Middlesex, if they were not already allowed to appoint their own. The omission of any reference to the portreeve in the charter cannot, in fact, be otherwise accounted for.

It is very desirable to place this question of sheriffs and mayors in a clear light, and it may be well to endeavour to do so here once for all. The grant of Middlesex to farm, by Henry I., enables us to form a very distinct opinion. From that day to this every citizen of London is a potential sheriff of Middlesex. For every citizen has a voice in the appointment of the officer whose business it will be to collect for him as joint tenant of the king, the king's revenue in Middlesex. The sheriff of Middlesex, therefore, represents the whole body of citizens acting in their corporate capacity. He is not a high sheriff appointed by the king, but rather a sub-sheriff appointed by the corporate body in which the sheriffship is vested. The exact period at which two sheriffs were appointed must have been when the city sheriff, or portreeve, became mayor. The first mayor on record is Henry FitzAylwin, in 1189,* and though there may have been bailiffs of equal, or almost equal rank and power before him, it is certain that in a charter of Henry II. which, though undated, cannot safely be placed earlier than 1173, two sheriffs are mentioned. It is probable therefore that the sheriff of Middlesex and the sheriff of London finding their duties clash, made themselves an arrangement by which one of them was to hold the county shrievalty on alternate days with the other; or else that by the appointment of one of them to superiority over the other, a sub-sheriff became necessary. It is very probable that the sheriff of London, a "high" sheriff, that is, if there be any meaning in the term, became mayor; while the sheriff of Middlesex, a sub-sheriff in the modern sense, had a colleague appointed to do the sub-sheriff's work with him in London. For centuries one sheriff was nominated by the mayor, and the other elected by the people, as in many parishes the vicar chooses one churchwarden and the people the other; and we find to this day that the mayor performs the duties assigned in a county to the high sheriff. He is still allowed to nominate one or more of the citizens as sheriff on approval, but, as happened lately (1879), the commonalty may refuse his candidate. In civic ceremonials the aldermen, as follows from what I have stated, go before the sheriffs, and so does the recorder on some occasions, if not on all. The sheriffs, in short, are the mayor's deputies.* John Carpenter, who, in the time of the famous Richard Whittington, compiled the so-called 'White Book' of the city records, sums up their position when he describes them as the executors of the mayor's judgments and precepts, as the eyes of the mayor, ever on the watch, and as taking upon themselves a share of that anxiety which the mayor could not bear alone; "for the sheriffs and all their officers both ought to be, and of usage have been, subject to the mayor for the time being as the limbs are subject to the head."

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* This is the date assigned to FitzAylwin's first mayoralty in the 'Liber de Antiquis Legibus.' But "it is improbable," observes Mr. Stubbs ('Chronicles,' p. xxxi.), "that London had a recognised mayor before 1191, in which year the communa was established, at the time of Longchamp's removal from office; and there is, I believe, no mention of such an official in a record until some three years later." In the first of the two chronicles in this volume the beginning of the mayoralty is placed in 1209. In the 'Chronicle of London,' printed in 1827 (from Harl. MS. 565, and Cott. MS. Julius B. 1), under the tenth year of King John, is this distinct assertion:—"In this yere was the first maire of London." See below, p. 122.

Of the exercise of the other privileges granted to the citizens, we have many curious anecdotes in the old city records.† Two or three which, though belonging to a slightly later period, are in point here, may be taken as examples.

On Sunday, September 14th, 1276, Ponce de More, who was probably a French wine merchant, living by the Thames bank, in the parish of St. James Garlickhythe, sent to inform the authorities that Adam Schot, his servant, was lying dead in his house. The chamberlain and sheriffs immediately repaired to the spot. They called together the men of the ward, which was then called after Henry de Coventre, its alderman, but was afterwards known as Vintry ward; and diligent inquisition was made as to the causes of the unfortunate Adam's death. From the evidence they soon collected, it appeared that the previous Wednesday afternoon he had gone to the garden of one Laurence in the adjoining parish of St. Michael Paternoster,* and had climbed a tree to gather some pears. But the branch on which he was standing broke, and Adam fell heavily to the ground. "By reason of which fall," says the narrator, "his whole body was almost burst asunder." In this miserable condition the poor lad lingered through Thursday and Friday and died on Saturday.

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* In a letter to the *Times*, lately, a member of the Herald's College gravely asserted the precedence of the sheriffs of London as equal to that of high sheriffs of counties. But it will be seen from the following remarks that their position is in reality very different.

† The insertion of these examples in this place is an anachronism; but the letter books, from which they were selected by Mr. Riley, only go back to 1276.

The jurors viewed the body, but no wound appeared on it, and they found that no one was suspected of having caused Adam's death. The pear-tree was valued for deodand † at five shillings, and John Horn the sheriff was held answerable for it. At the same time, as a precaution, the two nearest neighbours were called upon to find sureties who would be able to answer for them in case fresh evidence arose, or it appeared that the story told by Ponce should prove untrue. Ponce de More himself and all his household were similarly bound, and the matter dropped.

It so happened that among the sureties there was a man named Laurence Duket, whose subsequent history is very illustrative of the city usages. Eight years after the accident to Adam Schot, he was one day in the market-place, near the great church of St. Mary-le-Bow, and unfortunately fell in with an acquaintance, a clerk named Ralph Crepyn.‡ They quarrelled about a lady with whom Crepyn had very tender relations. Alice atte Bowe, to judge from her name, lived near the church;

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* This was a church in the same ward, and not in Paternoster Row, as I have seen it described. I note the point because in my 'In and Out of London,' I mistakenly alluded to this inquest as evidence that a garden adjoined the north side of St. Paul's. That fruit-trees did grow there, however, is proved by a story which will be found in chap. viii.

† Deodand was a kind of fine paid for the redemption from forfeiture of an animal or, as in this case, of a tree by which a death had been caused.

‡ See 'French Chron.,' p. 240. Crepyn was M.P. for the city.

and when her dear Ralph was brought home to her on a stretcher, badly wounded, she vowed vengeance on Laurence Duket, who had assaulted him. Laurence, knowing he was in greater danger from the anger of the woman than if the sheriffs themselves were in search of him, fled to the church, and concealed himself in the steeple. But Alice, living close by, had either seen him or heard that he had been seen to hide himself; and she determined, notwithstanding the sacred character of the building, to have him murdered in it. To this end she assembled a number of ruffians in the dead of night, and arranged with them to do the deed in such a way that detection seemed impossible. Acting on her instructions they stealthily entered the church, found the unhappy Laurence, strangled him, tied the cord to the mullion of one of the windows, and retired as stealthily as they had come.

Next morning, of course, information of a shocking discovery in St. Mary's was brought to the sheriffs, who held a hurried inquest on the body. One of the sheriffs was, apparently, among the friends of Alice atte Bow; and, no doubt, he hastened the verdict of *felo-de-se*, which was presently returned. The body of the murdered man was therefore dragged by the heels through the streets, and thrown into the ditch outside the city wall.

But the fact was that when Laurence Duket took refuge in the church he was not alone. A little boy—perhaps a street beggar, perhaps one of his own family, an apprentice or servant, for he was a man of substance—had accompanied him into the sanctuary, and remained with him in the dark church. We can picture to ourselves the poor little fellow shivering behind the tall tomb of some civic dignitary, while he listened to the tread of muffled feet on the marble pavement, and the whispered council of the murderers, and can realise his horror when, with the dawn of day, he saw the stark stiff corpse hanging to the window-sill between him and the light. No wonder he fled in terror, and was not forthcoming at the inquest.

But his story soon became known down by the river in Duket's old home. All London was stirred; numerous arrests were made. The whole truth gradually came out. The boy's evidence was fully confirmed, and no fewer than sixteen persons were condemned either as principals or accessories, while the sheriff, Jordan, whose place of residence or business is sufficiently indicated by his surname, Godcheap or Goodcheap, was removed from office. The body of Laurence Duket was found and brought back, and honourably interred in the churchyard; but the church itself was closed for a time under interdict, and the doors and windows filled up with thorns. The lady who was at the bottom of all this mischief underwent the terrible penalty annexed to murder by a female, and was burnt to death in the market-place, while seven of her accomplices were hanged in the cruel fashion then in vogue. They appear, for the most part, by their names to have belonged to respectable city families. Ralph Crepyn himself, with two other clerks and the sheriff, remained long in prison, but were at length released on payment of fines, or, as the chronicler describes the transaction, were "hanged by the purse." *

The way in which the chamberlain, coroner, or sheriff, as the case might be, dealt with accidents and offences is thus illustrated, and, in addition, a few other examples will be sufficient.

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* The full authorities for this tragic tale are cited in Aungier's edition of the 'French Chronicle.' (Camden Soc., p. 19.)

On Monday, in March, 1276, information was brought to Gregory de Rokesley, the mayor, coroner or chamberlain,* and to the sheriffs, that Henry de Flegge was lying dead in the dock of the ward of Castle Baynard. They proceeded to the spot, and called together the men both of this and the adjoining ward of Queenhithe, who made diligent inquisition as to the cause of death. Henry de Flegge it appears, not being a Sabbatarian according to modern notions, took his horse to water in the dock on the preceding Sunday morning. The horse, however, fulfilled the warning of the proverb, and refused to drink. Henry spurred him, and the horse, filled, we are told, with exceeding viciousness and strength, carried him out into deep water, where he was drowned. The result of the inquiry must be given in full. "And because it was presented by the jurors that the said Henry de Flegge was first found, after the misadventure, near the quay of Baldwyn le Buscher (Woodmonger), and was removed therefrom, and taken by Henry Lapewater and Roger le Folur (Fuller) to the quay aforesaid, without leave of the chamberlain, the same Henry was attached by John Wyther, carpenter, and Adam Absolon, girdler, and the said Roger by Henry Smith and Robert de Everesham, dyer. And the four nearest neighbours were attached, the two neighbours nearest to the spot where the body was first found, and the two neighbours nearest to the spot where the body was viewed by the coroner. And the said horse was appraised at one mark," for deodand.†

As examples of the right of "infangthief," or the criminal jurisdiction of the mayor and sheriffs over thieves taken within their boundaries, we might select several illustrative cases. One will suffice. Certain Welshmen, thieves, were taken up in 1311 for robbing a lady named Dionisia le Bokbyndere, who had to find sureties that she would prosecute them at the next sessions as having committed burglary in her house "in Fletestrete, in the suburbs of London."* The accused were committed to Newgate, but the king's marshal, Peter de Bernardestone, came and claimed them as belonging to the king's establishment and household, adding that if any one wished to prosecute them he could do so before the seneschal.† To this demand the mayor replied by calling together the "good men of the commonalty," who agreed with him in utterly repudiating the right of the king's marshal to receive custody of the Welshmen, as, "according to the custom and franchise of the city, persons attached within the liberties thereof for such felonies and trespasses as this, ought not to be delivered elsewhere than within the same city, before the justiciars of our lord the king, or the officials of the city." ‡

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* These offices were till then united. (Riley, p. 3, note, and Lansdowne MSS. 558, fo. 206.)

† Riley, 'Memorials,' p. 5.

As an example of the freedom from the billet, or obligation to receive the king or his servants into lodgings, an obligation very strictly and arbitrarily enforced elsewhere, we have the record of the reception in 1317 of the clerk of the Marshalsea, with a request that such lodgings might be assigned by the choice of the city authorities in the suburbs, and of the appointment of two delegates to go with him for the purpose.

It would be easy to multiply examples of this kind.

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* Fleet Street was included in the ward of Farringdon Without, when that ward was defined in 1346.

† A court official, or controller.

‡ The sequel is unrecorded, Riley, p. 90.

Very possibly, the city was slow to put its privileges to the test. At first the king's authority was paramount everywhere, but little by little each article of the charter was asserted, and the arbitrary interruptions of the city liberties which at first took place on the occasion of each assertion, especially under weak kings like Henry III. and Edward II., only served to show eventually how strongly they were founded.[*]

Besides the charter to the citizens, Henry I. granted one to the church of the Holy Trinity at Aldgate, by which he gave it the rights of the old knighten guild, mentioned in the last chapter. This act dissolved the guild, but whether in displeasure or in favour we know not.[†] The prior of the fraternity attached to the church, whom Stow calls the first canon regular in England, became alderman of the ward of Portsoken, which lies without the wall. Presumably, therefore, the head of the old guild was alderman of the same ward. The dissolution of the guild may have been connected with the other charter. The grants of liberties, as detailed in it, which I have endeavoured to illustrate by anticipating the chronological course of events, may have been in some way conditional on the suppression of the guild. We saw, in speaking of London under Edward the Confessor, that at one time the head of the knighten guild was portreeve. Whether he was always the portreeve—whether, that is, Portsoken was a kind of manor assigned for the maintenance of the chief magistrate for the time being,—is one of those questions we shall never now, in all probability, be able to answer. It has been suggested * that the office of portreeve was now abolished, and that of sheriff substituted for it, the citizens being recompensed for the loss of their ancient officer by obtaining leave to elect the newer one. If Henry discouraged or disliked guilds, it is remarkable that we first hear of the weavers in 1130, when Robert, Leofstan's son, paid 16*l.* into the exchequer for them. In many cities, here, and on the continent, the weavers are the most ancient and most persistent of the commercial guilds.

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[*] Stow (p. 108, Thoms's ed.) gives a list of portreeves, among whom he includes Godfrey, whom he names "de Magun, or Magnavile," in the reign of William I. and William Rufus, and Hugh de Buch, in the reign of Henry I., Auberie de Vere, earl of Oxford; after him, "Gilbert Becket, in the reign of King Stephen; after that, Godfrey de Magnavile, the son of William, the son of Godfrey de Magnavile, earls of Essex." These, he says, were portgraves or sheriffs of London and Middlesex. He goes on to name Peter Fitzwalter and John Fitznigel, as ruling in the reign of Henry II. It is apparent that he mixes up two families by connecting the "Godfrey, Portreeve" of the Conqueror's charter, with the Mandeviles; one of whom, as we shall see (p. 101), was arbitrarily made governor of the city and county by the Empress Maud, during her brief tenure of London. The list of genuine portreeves stands therefore as follows:—Godfrey, Hugh de Buch, Gilbert Becket, Peter Fitzwalter, and John Fitznigel. To these may be added William Chamberlain, at the time of the compilation of Domesday Book (see above p. 86), and the Saxon portreeves, Swetman, Leofstan, Ælsi, Esgar and Ulf (see above p. 74).

[†] See further on this subject in chapter v.

The London election of Stephen shows plainly the increasing influence of the citizens in public affairs. Henry I. died early in December, 1135 ;† and Stephen showed more wisdom than he ever again appeared to possess, when by a forced march he threw himself upon the goodwill of London. The nobles had held aloof from his party, the burghers supported him, and as the result proved with success. In the four-and-twenty days which had elapsed since Henry's stern rule had been relaxed by death, disorder had broken out. "The traders could see the pillage of their wains as they wound along the banks of the Thames ;" London wanted a leader, a defender, and the far-off empress was forgotten in the presence of a ready soldier. So the aldermen gathered the folkmote "and these providing at their own will for the good of the realm, unanimously agreed to choose a king."* If we may trust the report of the chronicler on this occasion, the citizens reverting to ancient precedents, and remembering what had been done by their fathers in the old Saxon time, asserted that it was the special right and privilege of London to choose the successor of a deceased monarch; and the doctrine once clearly laid down, no one was found so bold as to dispute it. The meeting was held, no doubt, on the old meeting-ground where the churchyard of the cathedral touched the corner of the great market-place. Hastening from their booths and sheds, the citizens followed their "aldermen and wiser folk," as they defiled in procession across Cheap from their Guildhall; the speeches at St. Paul's Cross were soon over; the handsome, graceful figure of the Count of Blois was seen above the crowd, surrounded by the city magnates, who, assuring the people that the new king would confirm their privileges and respect their rights, led the way into the church, where the clergy looked on sullenly. They had no bishop to guide them, and they were moreover already pledged to Maud. But, however inspired, Stephen had a bishop ready. He never showed such promptness and forethought again; had he conducted the rest of his life after this beginning, the course of English history had been altered. The bishop of London, Gilbert "the Universal," was dead, and no successor had been appointed; but William of Corboil, the Primate, had been already fetched from Lambeth,† and no time was lost in crowning the new king. "Oath was exchanged against oath. The citizens swore to defend Stephen with money and blood, Stephen swore to apply himself with his whole strength to the pacification of the kingdom."

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* Stubbs, 'Const. Hist.,' i. 406.

† Mr. Green's paper in 'Old London,' mentioned above.

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* 'Gesta Stephani,' p. 3, quoted by Mr. Green.

† The archbishops already rented Lambeth. See below, chapter xxii.

London kept her promise to the king of her choice. He broke his to her. The annals of his reign are a miserable record of wars and fires and robberies. Scarce four years had elapsed from that winter day in the enclosure of St. Paul's, before Stephen took away from the citizens the right to elect their sheriffs, and only restored it on the payment of a fine, which, though it was but a hundred marks of silver, was exacted at a time when the city was still tottering under the heaviest blow it had received since the days of the Danes. In 1136 occurred what was known for generations afterwards as the Great Fire of London. It commenced near London Stone, in the centre of the city, and spread westward along Watling Street to the newly built cathedral, where it consumed the shrine of St. Erkenwald, and eastward to the gate on the Essex road which had only been opened a few years, and flinging itself with especial fury upon the bridge, burnt even the old woodwork which connected the Roman piers. In short, whatever was left of Roman London or Saxon London, if there can have been anything, was consumed in this the first of the "Great Fires."

In spite of Stephen's perfidy the citizens remained staunch. They had a choice of evils, perhaps, and chose the least; for Maud, when she got the chance, not only rescinded the grants of her father and grandfather, but went so far as to give the earl of Essex * Middlesex to farm, the Tower of London as his castle, the sheriffship

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* Geoffrey. It is impossible, at this point, not to recall an earlier period when London was subject to Essex (chap. iii.).

of Middlesex and even the sheriffship of London, and the office of justiciar, so that no person could hold pleas in either city or county without his permission. In short, she did at a stroke what the Londoners had always so much dreaded, and by putting them "in demesne," reduced them at once to the position of any petty town in the country where the overlord plundered as he pleased from his castle on the hill.

This monstrous act roused the inmost feelings of the Londoners. Stephen had been made a prisoner at Lincoln. Essex was busy fortifying the Tower afresh. It was evident he intended to assert his extraordinary rights to the utmost. No citizen was safe in his house or in his shop. His goods and his family were alike at the mercy of the new overlord. Stephen's worst tyrannies were not so terrible as the mere thought of what might now befall them. There was, of course, a weak-hearted party in the city. Its headquarters were at St. Paul's. There had been a disputed election to the bishopric, which Maud eventually terminated by the appointment of Robert Seal (de Sigillo) a monk of Reading, and the dean was a leader of the empress's party. But the opposite side was stronger. A deputation of the principal citizens attended at Winchester when the estates of the realm were assembled there ostensibly to recognise Maud as queen. They clamoured for the release of Stephen, remembering perhaps that to recognise Maud would be to stultify themselves, and they complained openly and loudly of oppression.

But the queen's party in the city meanwhile had everything their own way; and a deputation was actually sent to her at St. Albans, where she awaited the decision of the council at Winchester. She was invited to London, and on her entry was received respectfully, if not enthusiastically. As a return for their surrender the citizens naturally expected a renewal of their ancient privileges and petitioned accordingly, but Maud did not know how to use prosperity, and instead of taking the opportunity thus presented of attaching permanently the most powerful city in her dominion, she behaved with such arrogance, and refused the petition so disdainfully, that waverers and even the more devoted "empress's men" were disgusted and returned or deserted to Stephen. The empress fled. Stephen's adherents, though they could not take the Tower, and probably did not try, were bold enough to march after Maud to Winchester, and were rewarded by the capture of earl Robert, her best councillor and general. This put them on a safer footing, and when Stephen had been released in exchange for Robert, and the Tower had been surrendered to him, London once more breathed freely.

With the accession of Henry II. a period of comparative prosperity set in, and London obtained a confirmation of all the liberties granted by his grandfather, together with some definitions of smaller points in dispute. Henry was the first of the Angevin or so-called Plantagenet kings. With him begins a new era, and a new dynasty. This will be the place therefore in which to pause, and endeavour to reconstruct, if we can, a picture of London as it was towards the end of the twelfth century.

Fortunately for such an inquiry an enthusiastic citizen of London, engaging to write a life of St. Thomas of Canterbury, whom he claimed as a "fellow citizen,"* thought it would not be complete without some account of his hero's birthplace, and adducing the example of Sallust, who, in narrating the history of a Roman expedition against the Moors described the situation of Africa, presents his readers with "a view of the site and constitution of the city of London." His view, meagre to a degree, is yet most valuable at the present day as the earliest account extant. We may have some things to add to it—some few things to correct; but the account written by Fitzstephen tells of what without him we could never have known. He loved the city as his own birthplace and that of the saint of whose friendship he was so proud. He sums up its merits in a few words. London, according to him, was accounted in the reign of Henry II. to be happy in the wholesomeness of its climate, in the profession of the Christian religion, the strength of its fortresses, the nature of its situation, the honour of its citizens, the chastity of its matrons, and the number of illustrious persons that inhabit it.

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* "Ejusdem domini mei concivis." (Fitzstephen : Prologue.)

It is evident from this exordium that Fitzstephen is determined to say nothing but what is good about London. His description has in it a foretaste of the great movements of the thirteenth century. There is a youth and joyousness about it which in itself tells of prosperity. The city, in truth, within its ancient walls, was indeed young. It had been rebuilt almost completely. Its new churches, and the great cathedral church in particular, were sending their shingled spires towards heaven, and new modes of construction in stone were producing results in magnificence and stability unthought of before. The curate of Colechurch was preparing his plans for the bridge which was to immortalise him. Bishop Richard FitzNeal was writing on law and reforming the procedure of the king's courts. Ralph of Diss was engaged in his deanery on the epitome of the chronicles. There was a general wakening to new life. The citizens were now sure of their position. They had withstood the oppressor and had come victorious out of the struggle. Troubles and contests were indeed before them and they knew it, but they also now knew the way to attain success. Within a few years, before the last decade of the twelfth century had been entered, the municipal constitution received its capstone; and Fitzstephen's ink was hardly dry before Henry FitzAylwin assumed office as the first of the long line of London mayors.*

In spite of the air of happiness and contentment which imparts such a rosy colour to the pages of Fitzstephen, there are sentences here and there which both betray a memory of very different times and an apprehension of their recurrence. This city, he repeats in one place, on the whole, is doubtless most charming; but he adds significantly, "at least when it has the happiness to be well-governed." He wrote when Henry had reconciled himself to the Church, and when a momentary gleam of popularity was still reflected on his reign. He mentions as a native of the city Henry III., meaning, of course, the ill-fated prince whom his father had caused to be crowned in his own lifetime, but who died of fever at Limoges in 1184, while engaged in rebellion. In the body of the book, too, he expresses himself as apprehensive of tyranny on King Henry's part: and alludes in this chapter to the frequent fires, while he censures the drinking habits of the inhabitants. On the whole, however, he sees few drawbacks in a city life; though, monk as he was, he takes evidently a keen interest in all manly sports—horse-racing, hunting, skating, even cock-fighting, which last he tells us was practised on

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* In 1130 a chamberlain is mentioned as rendering part of the account. Pipe Roll, 31 Hen. I., quoted by Stubbs, 'Const. Hist.,' i. 406. The mayor is often called "chamberlain" at a far later date.

Shrove Tuesdays by the boys in school-rooms, with the approval of their masters.

One cannot but wish he had devoted a little less space to the amusements of London, and a little more to the topography—that he had omitted the account of a great eating-house at Billingsgate, and told us something of other public buildings. There remains, however, a picture of manners we could ill spare; and, short as is the account of the city, it is all we have. He mentions the wall, with its seven double gates, and tells us that it only extended round the three landward sides, having been undermined by the river on the south. He says there were a hundred and twenty-six parochial churches, with thirteen which belonged to the various conventual establishments. This number must include those in the suburbs. He also mentions three schools, and describes the mode of study. He has much to say of Smithfield, and a little of the shops of tradesmen, though he does not name Cheap.

On the government of the city there are only a few lines. He compares it with the government of ancient Rome, in that, like Rome, London is distributed into regions, and has its annual sheriffs instead of consuls.* He alludes also to the aldermen as senators, and speaks of inferior magistrates, and of meetings on statutable days, which may be a reference to the borough-mote. His heart is evidently in the forest with its hounds and hawks. He dwells with pleasure on the gardens without the walls, and almost the only local names given are those of Clerkenwell, Holy Well, and St. Clement's Well.

Nevertheless, it is possible to attain a little clearer knowledge than what is afforded to us by the actual words of Fitzstephen. The few notes he gives us as to the wall are valuable. The seven double gates must be those which were not mere posterns, which were single gates for foot-passengers. Such a postern existed facing the Tower near the church of All Hallows; but the easternmost "double gate" must have been Aldgate. This was not one of the Roman entrances, for the simple reason that the Lea was not in the Roman time fordable in this direction. Perhaps the alteration in the course of this river, commonly ascribed to Alfred, may have rendered it possible to make some kind of passage; and it is evident that several miles would be saved to persons travelling into Essex if they could cross the Lea at Stratford, instead of Old Ford, or by leaving the city at Aldgate instead of Bishopsgate. A fortunate accident hastened the building of a bridge. The queen of Henry I., Matilda or Maude, is said to have run some risk at Old Ford on a journey into Essex, about the year 1110, and in consequence to have commanded the building of a bridge, or system of bridges, over the arms of the Lea, lower down. The road from Aldgate was probably in existence already, and the principal crossing was known as the Stratford—a term which shows that the roadway was paved, and perhaps in part a causeway. The stone arch or arches gave the new bridge the name of Bow.* The exact date of the opening of Aldgate it is now impossible to determine.† The name seems to show us that it was older than some other gate—perhaps Newgate, which was certainly rebuilt more than once. But in the earliest records it is always written Ale-gate or Algate, not Ealdgate, which would be the proper form if Oldgate was meant.*

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* In 1130 there were four sheriffs, or vice-comites, who jointly account for the ferm of London. Stubbs, 'Const. Hist.,' i. 406.

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* As St. Mary-le-Bow is similarly called from its arched crypt, which, in turn, gives its name to the Court of Arches.

† The traditional story given by Stow and others about King Edgar and the thirteen knights is obviously an anachronism to say the least.

From Aldgate the wall passed without interruption to Bishopsgate,† and thence westward to Cripplegate. If Moorgate existed it was only as a postern,‡ and Cripplegate was probably little more. Aldersgate came next, and thence the wall led to Newgate, which at one time was called Chamberlain's Gate, either because the sheriff, coroner, or chamberlain, had there his prison, or because it was rebuilt by some one of the name.§

From Newgate the wall followed the crest of the deep clay bluff under which the tidal Fleet gave a mooring-place to shipping. Cargoes were discharged at the foot of Ludgate Hill, and it was perhaps about this time that a bridge was thrown across the river, with the effect of restricting the ship traffic, and eventually of impeding the water-course. It is most likely, however, that very few houses were to be seen along the modern Fleet Street, and that the "populous suburb," which, as Fitzstephen says, united London and Westminster, was rather along the line of Holborn than the Strand.

From Ludgate, by Blackfriars, to the Thames bank, there was no other gate, and the wall along the bank had disappeared. The Thames, says our author, which abounds with fish, and in which the tides ebb and flow, runs past the city on this side, but has in a long tract of time, washed down, undermined, and subverted the walls in that part. He is so much more circumstantial than usual in this passage that he must be alluding to some occurrence of note at the time; and if we remember first that the river wall must have been perfect when Canute failed to take the city by compassing the bridge, and secondly, that the building of the Tower made the river-side walls worthless, we may date their fall a very few years before Fitzstephen wrote.

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* Pepys spells it Allgate (iii. 265), but we cannot lay much stress on his spelling.

† See above, chapter iii.

‡ There appear, at a later period, to have been two of these posterns. Newcourt (i. 256) speaks of a place called "the Little Postern," which almost implies the existence of a greater one.

§ The Compter, a sheriff's prison in Giltspur Street, stood more nearly on the site of the old Roman gate, and may have been the original prison of the portreeve.

His seventh gate, we find, was on this south side and defended the bridge. Of the bridge itself he says nothing here; but he probably wrote while it was still in course of reconstruction after the disastrous fire of 1136. In another passage he mentions a bridge on which spectators stood to watch aquatic sports, but he must allude to Holborn bridge, or some minor work of the kind, as it would have been impossible to fix the trunk of a tree in the middle of the Thames to hang a target on. The point, however, has little bearing on the subject in hand; for there must have been a bridge of some kind over the Thames, and a gate to defend it.

Of the comparative importance and size of the city gates we may form some idea from an entry relating, it is true, to a much later period, but sufficiently near for our purpose. In 1356 there were many complaints made of the state of the roads leading to the city, and the authorities determined to impose tolls on carts passing the gates. For this purpose collectors were appointed, and we can judge, by the number of collectors at each gate, on which road the traffic was greatest. One collector was sufficient for Ludgate, but the rest had two, and Bishopsgate four.

Fitzstephen tells us little of the interior of the city. The churches in his day had already attained the number of 126, so that the parishes, as defined at present, were already in existence. To judge by the size of the parishes then, we find that the population was but scanty about Newgate, and not much greater at the East-end about Aldgate; that the river's bank, and the line of the two ancient thoroughfares, the Watling Street and Bishopsgate Street, were the best inhabited; and that already the wide open space about the Cheap was being contracted, and lines of booths were being turned into streets. From his mentioning that the shopkeepers did not live at their place of business, it is clear that to some extent at least the old *selds* or sheds existed in the market-place, and could be removed in case of need, for a tournament or a procession. These rows of selds resembled eastern bazaars. They were so arranged that wares of each kind were exhibited separately, and the modern streets which occupy their place still recall by their names the trade of the ancient occupants.

Thus the Poultry was the poultry market. Adjoining it was the Stocksmarket, so called from a pair of stocks for disorderly persons, on a site now covered by the Mansion House. In Friday Street, leading to Old Fish Street, were to be found provisions suitable for fast days; the bakers had their sheds in Bread Street; there was a Honey Lane, a Milk Street, a Wood Street, a Soaper's Lane,* and so on. Each and all of these were eventually taken for permanent buildings, but at this time and long afterwards Cheap must have been a vast permanent market, or fair. So late as the thirteenth century an open field existed in the middle. The Cheap consisted of two branches. One lay north of the main thoroughfare; its most southern part was the Poultry.

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* Riley, xviii. Now Queen Street. See Appendix G.

The other portion was to the southward and westward and terminated with the changers' stalls close to Watling Street. This corner must have been the Threadneedle Street of the time.* The headquarters of the mercers and haberdashers and other shops for clothing are sufficiently indicated by such names as Hosier Lane, now Bow Lane, and Cordwainer's Street, which gave a name to the ward in which half the market-place was situated. The roadway as far as Bow Church ran along the north side, and thence passed through the Poultry to a bridge over the Wallbrook, close to a church dedicated to St. Mildred. This roadway skirting the market-place was Cheapside. There was no Cheapside at Eastcheap, where the market of produce brought over London Bridge, or into the city by Bishopsgate, was held in the open place formed by the junction of the principal roads.

Other open spaces were the Romeland† at Billingsgate, the Romeland at Dowgate, the churchyard of St. Paul's, which adjoined the western end of Cheap, and was the place for popular meetings, and where a tower stood with a bell to summon the citizens, and the site north of Paternoster Row, to which, in 1225, the Grey Friars removed from Cornhill.‡ London still fitted very loosely within its walls, and many houses, even then, were surrounded by extensive gardens, especially those which were situated close to the wall, "well furnished with trees, spacious and beautiful." Of the street architecture we can form but a very vague idea. The pointed arch had not yet come in. There were few buildings of stone.

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* Stow says he has read of no housing otherwise on that side (the high Street of Cheap to the Standard), but of divers sheds from Soper's Lane. Thoms's Stow, p. 97. It was afterwards called Goldsmith's Row.

† In modern pronunciation, Roomy land.

‡ Now Christ's Hospital. It was occupied by shambles.

There was little window glass. Some of the houses of wealthy Jews* may have resembled those at Lincoln, and presented the round-arched and zigzag moulded features of the later Norman style. A few churches, like St. Bartholomew's outside the wall and St. Paul's within, had long aisles of stout columns ; but vaulted roofs were still rare.

Among the thirteen conventual churches mentioned by Fitzstephen, there were, besides the Confessor's church at Westminster, the church of the hospital of St. Katherine beyond the Tower, built by Stephen's queen, St. Mary Overey's priory, at the southern end of London Bridge, founded in 1106, the priory at Aldgate, of which the first prior, Norman, is said to have been "the first canon regular in all England,"† the new Temple church, and the rising buildings of the prior of St. John at Clerkenwell, almost all without the walls,‡ together with two or three which must be noticed separately.

When Fitzstephen tells us of the thirteen conventual churches in London, we cannot but wish he had enumerated them. Our difficulty is to know where he drew the line between city and suburbs. Did he reckon in Barking as well as Westminster? Did he count Merton and Bermondsey? All are within the modern suburbs. Of those actually within the walls the number was but small in his day. A great increase had taken place, both in the number of convents and also in the different orders of monks, friars, and nuns. Stricter rules attracted ascetic minds, which had but scant respect for the old Benedictines. The security from Danish invasion, and the reparation of old foundations, acted also as incentives, and the neighbourhood of London was soon full of religious houses. It is possible that the sacred character of the inmates enabled them to dispense with the protection of the walls where laymen would still have feared to build, and the history of a religious house contains almost always some reference to the loneliness, or bleakness, or dampness of the site chosen. Within the city a few monasteries sprang up, but the greatest were about the gates, as at Aldgate, Newgate, and Bishopsgate. The houses then most newly founded were of canons regular, as at Holy Trinity, Aldgate, and at St. Bartholomew's, outside Newgate. Even as Fitzstephen wrote, the first Dominicans may have been making their voices heard in the city, and the first Franciscans have been seen begging in the streets; but his reference cannot be to them, as their "miserable barrack-like houses" * were still unbuilt.

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* In 1215 the army of the barons repaired the city gates and walls with stones taken from the ruins of the Jews' houses. Stow, p. 12.

† Thoms's Stow, p. 53.

‡ There were in existence or lately founded about the end of the twelfth century, besides St. Paul's and the churches mentioned above, the hospitals of St. Giles and St. Mary (Spital), the nunnery of Clerkenwell and that of St. Helen's, Bishopsgate.

The family of St. Thomas of Canterbury were slow to appreciate their distinguished position; but about twenty years after his martyrdom, Agnes, his sister, who had inherited the old mansion of the Beckets in Cheap, determined to dedicate it to religious uses. Her husband, a Norman knight engaged in Henry's Irish expedition, consented to the establishment of the hospital of St. Thomas, called "of Acon." The name has proved an insoluble puzzle. It may have referred to an oak tree which grew near the house, as a church close by was known as St. Martin Pomary, "of apples growing there." † It may have been from the oaken

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* Pauli, 'Old England,' p. 60.

† Newcourt, i. 410.

panelling or framing of the principal apartments. At a later period it was looked upon as a reference to Acre, which was taken about the year of the foundation by the Crusaders, and in which a hospital of St. Thomas was also dedicated. Agnes Becket's husband, Thomas FitzTheobald, was baron of Helles, in Tipperary, and the progenitor, whether by Agnes or another wife is unknown, of the Butlers, earls of Ormond, who at a later period connected themselves closely with the house which she dedicated as her sainted brother's birthplace, "in free, pure, and perpetual alms for evermore." A colony of monks of the rule of St. Augustine was placed in it; and soon a fair chapel arose, and the monastic buildings spread until they fronted the market place all the way from Ironmonger Lane to Old Jewry. The parish church, St. Mary Colechurch, was squeezed into a corner, and perched on lofty arches. Two Jews whose land abutted on that of the canons were compelled to give it up. One of them bore a name which was plainly unfortunate for him. It was probably thought little less than blasphemy that a miserable unbeliever like Moses of Canterbury should be settled so near the holy precincts where his namesake was born. We cannot help suspecting Sir Peter of Colechurch, the curate or vicar of the parish, of inciting the monks to this extravagance in architecture. He was a noted builder, and was engaged on the colossal work of making a new bridge over the Thames. In one of its piers he placed a small chapel of St. Thomas of Canterbury, and was buried in it himself. The monks impoverished their house, however, and in the year 1444 their master, John Neel, petitioned parliament to relieve them of their burdens, by altering the constitution of the hospital, so that it might receive the gifts of the faithful.

Among other reforms Neel projected the opening of a school—one of four which he and some other enlightened clergymen succeeded in giving to their fellow-citizens, who, notwithstanding the boasts of Fitzstephen, had but few educational advantages before the middle of the fifteenth century. This period of trouble brought the brethren help from without. The earl of Ormond's claim to be of founder's kin, although supported by a doubtful pedigree, was too good to be rejected, backed up as it was by the gift of a manor and advowson in Buckinghamshire.* The earl came to an untimely end in the Wars of the Roses, but his two successors were buried in the church, which was patronised also in the next generation by the earl of Wiltshire and Ormond, of the Boleyn family, whose terrible son-in-law, Henry VIII., dissolved the monastery.† The Mercers obtained the site, and their chapel and school perpetuated the older foundations.

The great priory of St. Bartholomew, Smithfield, was also in existence in Fitzstephen's time. It is difficult to say when the parish church was first built, but it probably existed long before Henry I. founded the priory in the beginning of the twelfth century. He brought in Augustinian or Black Canons, who opened close by a hospital for the poor. The first prior, Rahere, had seen a vision of the apostle, such was the tale invented by the monkish legend-makers to account for the dedication ; but it is unnecessary. St. Bartholomew's church was rebuilt and annexed to the new foundation.

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* Herbert, 'Companies,' i. 262. The date, 1472, quoted by Herbert from Strype must be incorrect, as the earl was beheaded after the battle of Towton, in 1461. There is further confusion in Herbert as to the next two earls, John and Thomas.

† Another hospital of St. Thomas still survives. It has migrated westward from its original situation near Bermondsey Abbey.

The history of Rahere is overlaid with fable, but would be interesting if we could recover it. He is said to have been a courtier of Henry I., and renowned for his wit. He repented while still in the prime of life of his idle and vicious life at court, and made a pilgrimage to Rome, where, during a dangerous illness, he vowed to build the hospital. He obtained the whole parish from the king, it is said, though we are not told how the king became possessed of it. Other particulars, equally difficult to reconcile, are added. Rahere feigned madness to attract a crowd, and compelled the people when they assembled to help him with his building. They carried great stones and other materials. They drained the marshy soil. Gradually the hospital rose in all its magnificence, and was soon followed by the priory and the church. We only, however, know for certain, that Rahere became the first prior, and completed the buildings in 1123, after having laboured at them for more than twenty years. He obtained from the king a charter conferring great privileges on the priory and hospital,* which were to be exempt from all servitude except "episcopal customs." He further, as an addition to the endowment, obtained leave to hold a fair in the "smooth field" or Smithfield, adjoining, and for many centuries, down to our own day, "St. Bartholomew's" has been another name for the assembling together of the lowest class of mountebanks and players, and for a period of saturnalian license too frequently ending in tumult.† It was not abolished until 1855.

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* There is a possibility that the hospital existed long before, and that the priory was founded to receive a fraternity formed for the charitable purpose of carrying it on. The estates of the two institutions were always separate.

† I do not know why, but Bartholomew Fair has been a very favourite subject with one class of London historians. Most books on old London

The church of St. Paul's must have been hardly distinguishable in those days from that of a monastery. Its canons were in many respects similar to those of the great neighbouring foundation of St. Martin's, which claimed an antiquity very nearly coeval with that of the cathedral. The conventual buildings of St. Paul's were on the north and north-western side, and were very extensive, encroaching towards the north-east on the open market place of Cheap. In later years the precinct was, as we shall see, strictly defined: but in the time of Fitzstephen, when there was probably much open or waste land between the Cheap and Newgate, the church of St. Paul's would have very little to divide it from the church of St. Martin.

The house of St. Martin le Grand had been in existence within the walls from time immemorial. It was in fact one of the oldest monasteries in the kingdom. The dedication seems to connect it with the days of Mellitus and Seberht and Bertha. A later tradition connected it with Wihtred, who was king of Kent in the beginning of the eighth century. But, like many others, this house, however ancient its origin, was wholly renewed in the settled times which followed the last Danish wars, and may be reckoned to date from the reign of Edward the Confessor. After William the Conqueror had been two years on the throne a charter was obtained from him by two brothers, Ingelric and Girard,* in which

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are full of unsavoury details of the celebration. Perhaps the most interesting is the passage in Smith's 'Book for a Rainy Day,' p. 171, where he describes the great Belzoni acting as a mountebank. Mr. Morley has devoted a whole volume to Bartholomew Fair.

* Or Edward. Ingelric is called by Kempe ('History of St. Martin le Grand') and others, earl of Essex. I do not know on what grounds. In fact, the charter is open to considerable question, being very unlike contemporary documents of the kind. The privileges of Sanctuary are un-

St. Martin's is specially excepted not only from ecclesiastical but civil jurisdiction, and it naturally became the city sanctuary of every malefactor who could hide within its precincts. That such a public nuisance should have been left unmolested all through the middle ages is strange enough, but that its privileges, and those of other similar places, should have survived until the close of the reign of James I., and long after the church and monastic buildings had perished, is characteristic of the permanence of English institutions, good or bad. Criminals on their way to Newgate passed St. Martin's, and sometimes succeeded in reaching its refuge, from which they could not be retaken. In the reign of Henry VIII. these privileges were curtailed but not abolished: only the greater crimes, such as treason and murder, being excepted. The church of St. Martin was early connected with the guild of saddlers,* and seemed to have been used by them as the scene of their religious meetings. The canons of St. Martin's concluded a convention with the guild, in which they formed a close temporal alliance

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questionable, and must have been of great antiquity. For some account of Ingelric or Engelric, see Mr. Freeman's 'Norman Conquest,' vol. iv. 723, &c. Mr. Freeman doubts the authenticity of the charter of 1068, which indeed is only known by a copy no older than the reign of Henry VI. (Dugdale, 'Monasticon,' vi. 1323). Kempe perpetuates the story that Engelric was the father of a certain Engelrica, mother, by William, of Peverel of the Peak and other children. Mr. Freeman shows the slender ground on which this scandal rests. Tanner ('Notitia') rejects the history of the foundation of St. Martin's by Cadwallein, an ancient British king; but accepts that which makes Victred or Wythred, king of Kent, the founder. It is not necessary to examine such legends critically. "Wihtred, rex Cantwariorum, filius Ecgberhti," died in 725. See Florence of Worcester, i. 42, 50.

* See below, chapter vi. Kempe dates this connection "about the time of Richard the First." Herbert ('Livery Companies,' i. 16) makes it still older. The convention refers to an ancient custom made by Ernaldus, the alderman of the guild, at a yet earlier period.

and also promised masses and other religious benefits. It would not be safe to suppose that the modern Saddler's Company is in any way descended from this ancient fraternity, which was evidently of the same character as the other Saxon Frithguilds of which any account has survived. The church of the college was parochial until 1236, when St. Leonard's Church, at the corner of Foster Lane, was built for the laity. After the fire, the parish of St. Leonard was united to that of Christ Church, Newgate Street, and the little church was not rebuilt.

Besides these great monasteries within the city there were others which will be more conveniently noticed in their local sequence when we come to our survey of the suburbs. At the time of Fitzstephen, however, we have seen that already a great many religious houses existed, and we can identify a sufficient number of them, whether in London or in its neighbourhood, to enable us to feel certain that in speaking of "thirteen conventual churches" he has made no exaggeration.

The domestic life of the citizens he hardly touches upon, though there is much about their out-door games, in the course of which mention is made of skating on a "vast lake," northward of London, the remnant, probably, of the marsh which protected the wall on that side.* In the numerous biographies of Becket which were written after his martyrdom there are many quaint sketches of life and manners at this time, and they give us glimpses, the more precious on account of their rarity, of the London home of a wealthy merchant. "We see the very aspect of the house (the Mercers' chapel, in Cheapside, still preserves its site for us), the tiny bedroom, the larger hall," opening directly on the bustle of the Cheap.

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* See chapter i. p. 16.

Rohese flings over her child's cradle a coverlet of purple sumptuously wrought.* As he grows older, she weighs him annually, and gives his weight in garments to the poor. Wealthy nobles, and gentlemen "well known at court," visit the portreeve in his city home. The young Thomas hears of the learning and polish of the archbishop's household at Canterbury. He is initiated into the mysteries of hunting and hawking, and takes his pastime as a boy in the great forest of Middlesex.

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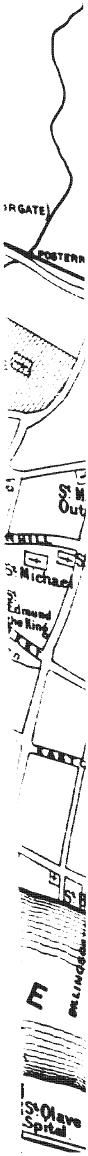
* 'Old London,' p. 269, in Mr. Green's paper already quoted.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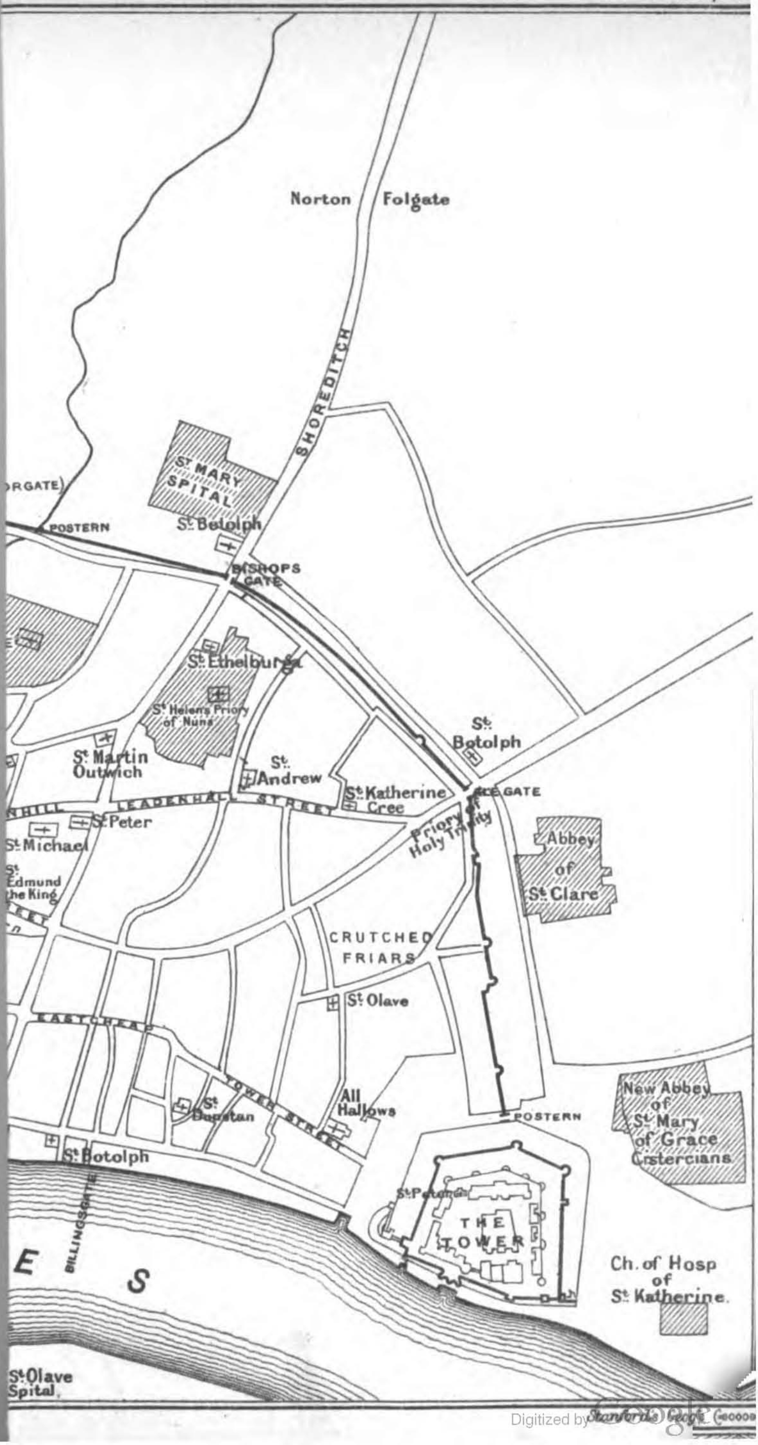
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ST MARY SPITAL
POSTERN
St Botolph
BISHOPS GATE
St Ethelburga
St Helen's Priory of Nuns
St Martin Outwich
St Andrew
St Katherine Cree
St Botolph
...GATE
Priory of Holy Trinity
...NHILL
LEADENHALL STREET
St Peter
St Michael
St Edmund the King
Abbey of St Clare
CRUTCHED FRIARS
St Olave
EASTCHEAP
TOWER STREET
St Dunstan
All Hallows
POSTERN
New Abbey of St Mary of Grace Cistercians
St Botolph
BILLINGSGATE
St Peter
THE TOWER
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S
Ch. of Hosp of St Katherine.
St Olave Spital

Stanford's Geog

CHAPTER V.

THE STRUGGLE FOR LIBERTY.

WE now arrive at one of the most interesting epochs in the history of our city, and yet we have to acknowledge that the authorities are so contradictory, so vague, or so prejudiced that it is difficult if not impossible to obtain an adequate view of the events which characterised it. London in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was a city in which the old Teutonic spirit of freedom had never been subdued. In outward seeming at least, it preserved that freedom by obtaining charters to define what before required no definition. The burghers only asked for a recognition of already existing rights. That recognition they obtained easily enough by paying for it; and we have now to see how far they were able to make their freedom a reality as well as a name. The struggle was of a twofold character. Among the whole body of citizens there were always some to whom the oppressions of the Court were not so irksome as the rising of the people. They were often the most influential from wealth or position, or both. They preferred the king's favour to that of the commons. In their eyes the assertors of popular freedom were rebels and demagogues; yet it is through those eyes that we have to look if we would watch the struggle and note the result. The popular party had no chronicler; and the chief record* which has come down to us is the work of a fierce partisan, one who hated and feared the populace, as he contemptuously terms them, and who does not scruple to accuse his opponents of conspiracy, sedition, and cowardice, though by doing so he discredits the whole city. If Arnald FitzThedmar had been more impartial we should lose much which now we know; as it is, his very violence occasionally throws a light on the opposite side, which otherwise we should miss.

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* 'Chronicle of the Mayors and Sheriffs of London,' attributed to Arnald FitzThedmar, translated by H. T. Riley.

The accession of Richard was the signal for a change in the title of the chief magistrate of London. Henry FitzAylwin or FitzEylwin became the first mayor, and so continued during five-and-twenty eventful years. The first was marked by a massacre of the Jews, but as it took place at the time of the king's coronation, and in consequence of a supposed evil intent on the part of the Jews, who crowded to Westminster to witness the festivities, it is probable that FitzAylwin had not yet assumed the reins of the civic government.* For the king was crowned on Sunday, 3rd September, 1189, the massacre took place on the 4th, the new sheriffs, Henry of Cornhill and Richard FitzReyner, were admitted to office on Michaelmas Day, the 29th, and unless, as is possible, the new mayor first acted on behalf of his fellow-citizens, as chief butler at the coronation feast, he did not actually come into office till the 9th November.†

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* Mr. Stubbs ('Chronicles of Edward I. and Edward II.,' Rolls Series, p. xxxi.) observes—"It is improbable that London had a recognised mayor before 1191." He is first mentioned in a formal record in 1194, when he was one of the treasurers for Richard's ransom. In the text I have followed the received accounts, which have sufficient probability in the absence of evidence to the contrary. See above, p. 91, *note*.

† There is much confusion about the dates of the early part of Richard's reign, and the City records place these events in 1188, as they make the year begin at Michaelmas. See 'Chronology of History,' by Sir H. Nicolas, p. 300, &c.

"When history drops her drums and trumpets and learns to tell the story of Englishmen, it will find the significance of Richard, not in his crusades or in his weary wars along the Norman border, but in his lavish recognition of municipal life."* With regard to London, however, his only known recognition at this period is a precept addressed to Henry of Cornhill, one of the sheriffs, demanding various articles for the accoutrement of his army and himself. He probably sold lands, houses, and privileges to individual citizens; but although he declared his readiness to sell the city itself could he but find a purchaser, we do not find any record of charters or other similar grants, till after his return from captivity. The armour was provided, no doubt, and Richard set forth for Palestine, while his chancellor, Longchamp, bishop of Ely, took up his residence at the Tower. He immediately began to give offence to the citizens by an active prosecution of the works of defence,† for which purpose he encroached on the city boundaries to the westward to form the approaches, and took in a piece of ground to the north, which belonged of right to the newly founded Priory of Aldgate and its Alderman-Prior. At the south-eastern corner of the precinct stood a mill which belonged to the hospital of St. Katherine, and near it a garden, which, as it closely adjoined the royal apartments, had been let to the king at six marks a year. Longchamp required and took the land to round his corner according to the design which no doubt he and Richard, a master of fortification, had arranged. The so-called Iron Gate stands on the site. These acts, trifling in themselves, but cumulative, caused great annoyance, which was not allayed when Longchamp seized his rival in the regency, Bishop Pudsey, and imprisoned him; nor when he insulted Geoffrey, archbishop of York, a popular favourite, the son of Fair Rosamond, and half brother to Richard himself. John, supported by public opinion and a large army, summoned Longchamp to Loddon, near Reading, to justify his behaviour. The bishop avoided the trap laid for him and retired, through London, and in spite of the obstruction of the citizens, to the Tower.

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* Green's 'Stray Studies,' p. 216.

† Clark, in 'Old London,' p. 105.

John's conduct of affairs at this crisis must have given the citizens that false idea of his character, for which they were destined afterwards to pay so dearly. Attended by a crowd of nobles and prelates, he came to the Chapter House of St. Paul's and held a council there, and then, having caused the great burghmote bell to be rung in the churchyard, assembled the people on their old meeting ground—a proceeding in itself calculated to bespeak their favour. A letter from the king, dated at Messina, where Richard was already feasting and fighting and love-making, according to his wont, was then read amid the rapturous applause of the assembly. It defined the limited powers of the justiciar, and the citizens by acclamation declared Longchamp's condemnation and deposition. A deputation of the highest rank was sent to the Tower to apprise him of the popular decree, and on hearing it he fell insensible on the floor. In the morning John, attended by citizens and barons and bishops, led the people out to East Smithfield near the Tower, and thence summoned Longchamp to surrender. He immediately came to terms, and was allowed to cross the river to Bermondsey, whence he escaped over the sea.

We find Longchamp back in London in 1194. Among the popular leaders of the day was one of whom the modern historian would gladly know more. William Fitz-Osbert, a man "poor in degree, evil favoured in shape," and remarkable equally for the long beard which gave him his nickname, and for his eloquence in persuading the people to resist unjust assessments, was summoned by his brother for having said he would be avenged on king and chancellor for an unjust demand made upon him. "I would lay out," he avowed, "forty marks to buy a chain on which I might hang them both, in recompense for the money the chancellor took from me in the Tower."

It is evident that Longbeard had been specially oppressed, but the result of this trial is unknown, and probably the return of the king in that year put a stop to the prosecution. Richard was warmly welcomed by the citizens, who almost immediately took out and no doubt paid handsomely for a renewal of the charter of Henry II.* Longbeard and his friends had to pay for privileges which only benefited the wealthier classes. The city's share of the sum required for the king's ransom had to be raised, and there were great expenses connected with his second coronation and with the prosecution of the mayor's claim to act as chief butler at the feast in opposition to the city of Winchester. For the chief butlership Longbeard cared nothing, but he did care, and roused those about him to care, for an unjust system, which threw the burden of payment on the people. Once more we hear the great bell sounded and see the folkmote assembling with anxious faces and clouded brows. But Longbeard was powerless against wealthy aldermen, and officials fresh from basking in the royal smiles. A riot broke out, and several citizens were slain. Longbeard was summoned before the new justiciar, Hubert FitzWalter, archbishop of Canterbury, who, however, seeing the number and apparent determination of his supporters, dismissed him with a mild admonition.

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* This, the first charter of Richard I., is dated in the fifth year of his reign.

FitzOsbert's prosecutors were not satisfied with this, and took measures to have him arrested. He broke from his guards, and took refuge in Bow Church, in the middle of the market-place, and there, having, it was said, laid up a store of provisions, and fortified the steeple "with munition and victual," he prepared to stand siege and refused to come forth.

Passion Sunday was at hand, and the archbishop, who was present in person, was anxious to conclude the matter. On the refusal of Longbeard and his companions to surrender, faggots were laid to the door and fired, and after enduring the heat and smoke as long as they could, they were obliged to sally forth, half-suffocated and blinded. Even so, some bloodshed occurred before they were secured and lodged in the Tower, and Longbeard was badly wounded by a burgher's son, whose father he had killed. On Wednesday in Passion Week, notwithstanding the sacredness of the season, FitzOsbert and his friends were cruelly dragged by the heels through the city and hanged with every sign of disgrace at the Elms beside Smithfield.

We have these facts for the most part from witnesses bitterly hostile to the popular cause, yet it is impossible to mistake their significance. The people laboured under a double disadvantage. The great men of the city, like the great men of one of the Italian republics of the same period, desired freedom for themselves and nominally for their city; but they were not unwilling to appropriate to themselves alone the privileges purchased with the people's money. When the king's hand was heavy on the citizens all suffered; when it was light the great men only were relieved. The civic rebellion of the next century is a struggle, not against the king only, but against an oligarchy. The martyrdom of William of the Longbeard was lamented, if we may believe the chroniclers, by no fewer than 52,000 adherents, miracles were wrought at the place of execution, the gibbet itself was carried away piecemeal, and the sacredness of the season when he was put to death only added to the fervency of the devotees, who "pared away the earth that was be-bled with his blood, and kept the same as holy reliques to heal sick men."

The second charter of Richard is dated a year before his death at Chalons. It relates to the "conservancy of the Thames"; and though the city had from time immemorial claimed the privilege and duty of keeping open the navigable part of the stream, a definition of its rights in the matter was made the subject of a special grant, and, no doubt, charged for accordingly. The grievance chiefly to be remedied was the multiplication of wears or weirs, by which the course of the stream was obstructed; and the city had leave to remove and prohibit such impediments in the way of open traffic both on the Thames and the Medway. The New Wear, near Rochester, has probably given its name to "The Nore," which is still the eastern boundary of the city jurisdiction.

John was hardly seated on the throne before we find a significant entry in the meagre annals of the day. Five and twenty of the more discreet men, we read, were sworn, together with the mayor, to take counsel on behalf of the city. The events indicated by such a sentence, or by another, under the year 1209, are sufficiently well known. "In this year there were Pleas of the Crown at the Tower of London." Meanwhile no fewer than five charters were granted; and it is evident, from the wholly unimportant character of some of them, that they were merely excuses for the receipt of heavy payments. The interdict did not affect London in so severe a manner as other parts of England. There were, no doubt, many private chapels, many conventual churches, to which citizens desirous of hearing mass, and willing to pay for the privilege, could resort.

During all these years the rivalry between the wealthier burghers and the ordinary craftsmen of the city continued to rage. The "prudhommes" were arrayed at every election, at every hustings, against the lesser folk. The wards, as we shall have occasion to notice more distinctly a little further on, were in the hands originally of the landowners, and the alderman was still very much in the position of a "lord of the manor." His office was at first always, and still usually, hereditary. These "barons" of the city, as they were often called, formed among themselves an oligarchy,* and ruled the merchant guild, an association which had control of the civic government, the revenues, and the trade regulations. Against this tyranny the commons struggled in vain. When craft guilds were formed to protect certain trades, they were bitterly opposed, and in some cases actually suppressed. The tradesmen's difficulty lay in the fact that, unless all of the same handicraft joined, their labour was but vain. To insure this co-operation, recourse was had to the crown, and charters of incorporation were obtained. Even so, the opposition of a small, but influential party, contrived to keep the craft guilds at bay, and the reign of John, much as was accomplished for the vindication of national liberty, left the petty tyrants of the city untouched.

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* "It was for the most part an aristocratic constitution, and had its unity, not in the municipal principle, but in the system of the shire," observes Mr. Stubbs, speaking of the Norman period.—'Const. Hist.,' i. 407.

True, these very tyrants were themselves among the magnates of the realm who extorted the Charter in 1215. Geoffrey FitzPiers, the first champion of the cause of national freedom, has often been claimed as a citizen himself, and a descendant of such a city worthy as Godfrey or Gosfrith the portreeve. At the first great meeting of the barons, Geoffrey brought the charter of Henry I. before them, and Stephen Langton expounded its full significance. This meeting was held at St. Paul's. Geoffrey died soon after in his residence at the Tower, only surviving Henry FitzAylwyn, the first mayor, a single year; but archbishop Langton now headed the barons, and on May 12, London threw open her gates to their forces, led by Robert FitzWalter, the standard-bearer of the city. At Runnymead London was well represented, and her liberties secured to her by a special clause of the Great Charter.

The temper of the city was fully aroused by these events. For the first time men began to understand what is now meant by the word individual liberty. The commons were not satisfied that their new mayor, FitzAlan, or the general of their forces, FitzWalter, or the Basings and Blunds and Bukerels and other aldermen of wealth should alone enjoy the privileges obtained at so much cost. Efforts were made from time to time to obtain recognition of the popular party. The name of Serlo le Mercer, mayor in the year of Magna Charta, is significant. It denotes the election of a member of a craft, one who had, indeed, no aristocratic or other surname, and who was only known by his occupation.

Meanwhile the meddling of the pope once more made union necessary for the promotion of the common cause. Innocent III. annulled the Charter, excommunicated the barons, and suspended archbishop Langton. King John triumphantly overran the kingdom, and shut up the barons and their army in London. The archbishop, their best or only leader, had been forced to make the long and perilous journey to Rome, to obtain from the Pope a reversal of the sentence against him, and also if possible to put the matters at issue in a clearer light. But the papal decrees continued to fall on London at the king's demand; and the citizens, again torn by violent factions, seem to have been unanimous only in defying king and pope alike. "The ordering of secular matters pertaineth not to the pope," they asserted;* and Simon Langton, when he counselled them to ring the bells and celebrate mass as before, acted no doubt on an understanding with the archbishop his brother. We may see in the removal of Jacob Alderman from the mayoralty in 1217, and the substitution of Solomon de Basinges, a temporary triumph of the aristocratic party, the same party which had already committed London to the cause of the French prince Louis. Dover Castle stopped the way, however; and while the siege went on, and the Londoners despatched FitzWalter with a contingent to invest Lincoln in conjunction with a French force, king John died, and immediately the whole aspect of affairs was changed. The young king, proclaimed as Henry III., was speedily crowned at Gloucester; "for by reason of the war still continuing between himself and the aforesaid Louis and the barons of England, he could not come to London and there be crowned."† Peace was concluded in the following year, but not until FitzWalter, whose military skill did not equal his courage, had been taken prisoner in the narrow streets of Lincoln. But in the treaty of Lambeth the liberties of the city were acknowledged, and the citizens who had been captured during the late hostilities were now set at liberty. The French and aristocratic party evidently came out of the contest with a loss of prestige. In 1217,[*] "Serlo le Mercer was again made mayor of London, and so continued for five years." FitzWalter never recovered his influence, and the popular party for a brief period became so powerful that Constantine FitzAthulf or FitzOlaf, who at a wrestling match ventured to raise the cry of "Montjoye and St. Louis," was taken up by the justiciar without his aristocratic friends being able to deliver him. No form of trial delayed the sentence, and Constantine and two of his fellows were hanged; though, when he felt the halter round his neck, he offered 15,000 marks to save his life.[†]

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* Green, i. 249.

† 'Chronicle of the Mayors and Sheriffs,' p. 4.

Serlo was succeeded in 1222 by Richard Reinger, another "plebeian" mayor—if I may borrow a term from Roman history—who also ruled for five years. A reaction began to set in about 1227, when the same sheriffs, who, to judge by their names, Henry de Cokham and Stephen Bukerel, belonged to the "patrician" party, served for two years. A contest arose at the end of their second period of office, and the popular party so far prevailed that all the aldermen and principal citizens joined in an oath that for the future they would not permit the same men to serve as sheriffs for two consecutive years. Eleven years of comparative tranquillity were passed under two mayors, both of old city families, Roger le Duc and Andrew Bukerel; the aristocratic element reappears in the list of sheriffs; and on the disgrace of Hubert de Burgh and his flight to Brentwood, though the bishop of London was able to restore him to sanctuary, it is evident that the ascendant party in the city had no sympathy with his cause. Their opponents in the following year made an expiring effort, and obtained the election of their nominee to one of the sheriffships. But a charge was soon discovered or invented to displace him. Symon FitzMary, whose name sufficiently indicates his lowly origin, so sadly wasted the property that formed the issues of the sheriffwick that he was not allowed to receive them any longer—so says the Chronicle *—and the clerks of the sheriffwick were entrusted with the task of collecting them, and of acquitting with them "the ferm of his lordship the king."

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[*] This is the date in the Chronicle. It means of course the end of the year.

[†] The wealth of Constantine, his name, and the cry he raised are in my opinion sufficient justification for this view of his case; but he is sometimes, I am aware, reckoned among the popular leaders.

We have here the first indication of the growing rapacity of the young king. Symon FitzMary, though the chronicler frowns on him, was unwilling to hand over to the Crown what he considered more than its due. He was opposed, we may be sure, by the direct interference of the aristocratic party, who had by this time forgotten the old cry of "Montjoye," and joined the brilliant band of courtiers about the rightful heir of Henry II. But they soon found that the weak, rapacious, and fickle king despised them as upstarts, treated them with contempt, laughed at their assumption of nobility, and finally added injury to insult when he threw his weight into the scale against them, and actually commanded them to admit Symon FitzMary to the sheriffship.

* p. 7.

In this bid for popularity Henry succeeded for a time. The poorer citizens looked on him as their champion, the more so as the mayor, William Joynier, absolutely refused to admit FitzMary. Here he was acting strictly within his rights; and though it is difficult to explain the position taken up by FitzMary, it is easy to see that Henry was engaged, with all the characteristic Angevin cunning, in playing off one party against the other to his own advantage, while he watched for an opportunity of overthrowing the city liberties altogether.

A very small accident gave him this opportunity. Under the guise of supporting the cause of the widow and the oppressed, he was enabled to intervene in the administration of justice, Symon FitzMary being once more made his tool. Whether Symon was a single-minded man—whether he had the liberties of his fellows really at heart—or whether, on the other hand, he was a mere creature of the court hired to do a certain piece of work and reckless of consequences, we cannot tell. But the case of Margery Vyel brought affairs to a crisis.

She was the widow of a citizen named John Vyel, who at his marriage had made a settlement on her, and, having apparently prospered, died the owner of a considerable property. His son was sheriff in 1241, but it does not appear whether this son, Vyel the younger, was the son of Margery or of a previous wife. Be this as it may, she claimed in 1246 to be entitled to a third of her deceased husband's goods, as his widow; but the city authorities, sitting at Guildhall, gave judgment against her, on the grounds that her settlement was sufficient, and that her husband had made no further provision for her in his will. The widow Vyel was by no means content, and, appealing to the king, brought about a serious conflict as to the old question of the freedom of London from the jurisdiction of any but its own magistrates. The matter was made a party question. The king on the one hand was anxious to humble the citizens. He had received several serious rebuffs from them as to the appointment of sheriffs and mayors. One mayor elected by the citizens had refused to serve, in consequence of the king's personal ill-will.* Symon FitzMary, unfortunately, played the king's game for him by opposing the election as sheriff of Nicholas Bat, another member of one of the old ruling families, on the ground that he had served the office in the previous year. Henry had on more than one occasion "taken the city into his hands," as it was termed, appointing the mayor, however, to govern it for him. He was now about to take a much more important and tyrannical step. Having sent Henry de Ba, or Bath, a justice, to St. Martin's-le-Grand, to try the case of the widow Vyel, on the refusal of the citizens to acknowledge his jurisdiction, the king took possession of the city, and, setting aside the mayor and the sheriffs, appointed as his bailiffs William de Haverille and Edward de Westminster. The mayor and principal citizens journeyed to Woodstock, and had an interview with Henry, but could not induce him to change his mind. This was towards the end of August,† and the time for new elections was approaching. William of Haverille insisted on the lower officials taking an oath of obedience to himself, and evidently anticipated a prolonged term of office. But on the 8th of September the king changed his mind. Some money transactions had no doubt taken place in the interval, and the mayor and sheriffs were reinstated, undertaking on their part that the city would plead in the king's court as to the case of the widow Margery, on the ninth of the ensuing month of June.

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* Gerard Bat, 1240.

† 1248.

When the eventful morning arrived the mayor*—who had been re-elected—and the sheriffs attended at Westminster, and were kept waiting for four days before the king could be induced to attend to their business. Meanwhile a kinsman † of the widow had been constantly making allegations against the citizens, and they on their part had actually deprived Symon FitzMary of the office of alderman for taking her side. ‡ When at length they were admitted to the royal presence a new demand was made upon them. Before proceeding to the case in hand, Henry announced to the astonishment of the burghers that he had made grants in Middlesex to the abbot of Westminster—he was at that time actively engaged in the building and endowment of the Abbey—and desired their ratification of certain franchises. For these he proposed to offer certain exchanges of equal value. Now, if there was one thing which the aristocratic party in the city valued more than another it was the farm of Middlesex, with the rights belonging to it, which they had enjoyed since the time of Henry I. For once, after a few minutes' hesitation, they had to fall back on the despised commonalty. "They could do nothing in the matter," they replied, "without the consent of the whole community." Although the king was much angered by this answer, evidencing as it did that on some subjects all classes of the citizens were at one, he dissembled for the time, and proceeded to hear the case of the widow Vyel. It was speedily determined against her, and the mayor and sheriffs went back to London victorious but not triumphant, knowing but too well that Henry would not let the abbot's claims rest, and that, in all probability, they would not so easily have won their cause, but for the greater importance of the new demand.

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* Michael Tovy.

† Henry de la Mare.

‡ This Symon FitzMary by a deed dated in 1246 (see Smith's 'Topography,' p. 29) founded a priory at Bishopsgate to be in the special patronage of the bishop of Bethlehem, to whom and his successors an annual payment was to be made by the priory. The foundation still exists under the name of "Bedlam."

The king, who cared nothing for Margery Vyel, had in fact been victorious. He had cajoled the citizens into coming before his court at Westminster, and he foresaw an infinite number of exactions, fines, gifts, bribes, and other means of replenishing his exhausted exchequer in this one great achievement. The claim of the abbot, unfounded as it was, cropped up at intervals for fifteen years, and was made a constant instrument of annoyance to the citizens. At length, towards the close of 1263, after many events of greater importance had taken place, and while many questions of constitutional significance were still pending, the case was decided, under the rule of Simon de Montfort, in the king's court at Westminster. By verdict upon oath given by twelve knights of the county of Middlesex, it was found that the sheriffs of London had power to enter "all the vills and tenements" which the abbot holds in Middlesex, even to the very gate of the royal abbey itself. The tenants of the abbot were bound to do suit and service like the freeholders of the county at the County and Hundred Courts. This decision was duly pronounced by the justiciar, Gilbert Preston; and though the citizens denied the jurisdiction of the court, they were not unwilling to accept its sentence when given in their favour. The abbot, therefore, by deed, formally renounced all claim to the privileges illegally given him by the king—

only however to reassert them on the first convenient occasion.

Henry III., in the interval, still continued to plot against the city liberties, and so far carried on his operations under the disguise of supporting the popular cause. A roll, sealed with green wax, was found in his wardrobe at Windsor,* early in 1258. So the story ran, and that the king had read it, and had learned from it that his faithful commons were oppressed by the rich men of the city. How the roll with its green seal came into the wardrobe remained a transparent secret. Henry was at his wits' end for money. He had just accepted from the pope the crown of Sicily for his second son, Edmund; and parliament, at least the assembly which afterwards grew into parliament, had refused his demands for aid to prosecute the claim. The roll with the green wax seal came opportunely to his help. John Maunsell, one of the judges, and a fit implement of oppression, was despatched into the city. The folkmote was summoned and assembled on Sunday morning, January the 27th, when Maunsell read the contents of the roll to the people, and added that the king regretted to hear of such oppressions and would by no means permit them. It would be wearisome to go through all the subsequent processes, more or less legal, by which Maunsell brought the aldermen to their knees.† They went with Ralph Hardel, the mayor, a member of the patrician party, to meet the king at Knightsbridge on his return to Westminster; but Henry sent a "certain esquire" forbidding them to come into his presence. On the 1st of February a meeting was held in Guildhall to receive a message from the king. The people attended in large numbers, the mayor and aldermen being also present. John Maunsell announced once more the king's desire to inquire into the grievances set forth in the now too famous roll, and desired the city authorities to make oath as to their assessment of tallages and other imposts. To take the oath was not only to endanger themselves, but it was also to give up an ancient and cherished privilege of the city, by which no citizen could be obliged to make oath in such cases as this. These objections were overruled by the voices of the people. They gave assent to the imposition of the oath by loud cries of "Ya, ya"; thus, as the chronicler bitterly remarks, disparaging their own liberties, "which, in fact, these same most wretched creatures had not been the persons to secure."

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* Spelt Wyndlesore, here and elsewhere in the Chronicle.

† The story is told with painful minuteness by the chronicler already quoted, p. 33, &c.

The king's triumph was thus complete, at least for the moment. Maunsell, well instructed beforehand, lost no time in taking advantage of the popular vote. The mayor, the sheriffs, even the king's chamberlain, were removed. All the rolls of tallages were delivered to John Maunsell. The constable of the Tower, Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk,* became governor of the city. The inquisition, as it was called, sat daily at the Guildhall. Six-and-thirty men of each ward were examined, and a report was prepared on their evidence. All this was done so speedily, that on the 10th February Maunsell had the act of accusation complete, and the city magnates were summoned to Westminster to receive judgment. Here Maunsell told them that they had been guilty of changing the mode of making the tallage; that they had not read the roll of the last tallage to the people in Guildhall, and so forth, a long list of charges being gathered of, it must be allowed, the most trumpery character. The aldermen answered, clearing up some of the charges, but, above all, putting themselves on their privilege as citizens of London, and offering to defend themselves according to the laws and customs of the city. An unseemly wrangle ensued. The offer of the citizens was too reasonable to be conceded, and at length they were dismissed with orders to return on the morrow. A new accusation was now made. The matter of the tallages, it was perhaps found, would not be sufficient; and when the mayor and aldermen came to Westminster they were charged before the king himself with having altered the weights and measures of the city. It was in vain that they pleaded that not the weights but the method of weighing had been changed, and that the change had been made on the recommendation of more than 200 trustworthy men. It was evident that the fable of the wolf and the lamb was being re-enacted. Once more the folkmote was summoned to meet in St. Paul's Churchyard, and John Maunsell,* addressing the people in a kind of sermon from the Cross, promised them all their rights and liberties at the hands of the king, who thus placed himself as it were in competition with the mayor and aldermen. The speaker went on to put a supposititious case, in which he asked the people what they could expect if, when their champion the king accused these men of oppression, they should be allowed to acquit each other, every alderman calling upon his fellows as compurgators. This question, of course, the populace answered as they were expected to answer, in contravention, as the chronicler sadly observes, "of the privileges of the franchises that had been granted unto the city of old, and by their predecessors, citizens of blessed memory, obtained." No conference of discreet men was held. The voice of prudence was drowned in the acclamations of the populace, "sons of divers mothers," says our historian in bitter scorn, "many of them born without the city, and many of servile condition." The mayor and aldermen once more proceeded to Westminster, where Henry de Ba, their old enemy, gave judgment, suspending them, degrading them, and forbidding them to return to their respective wards without the king's permission. Henry was present, and saw that the time had come for an exhibition of magnanimity. With a few exceptions, one of them being the mayor, all were restored to their offices. William FitzRichard became mayor, and one of the sheriffs was changed, a man of the old Bukerel family being removed, and a tradesman of lower rank substituted.* These alterations and reinstatements did not take place without money payments, yet it is not easy to see what the king had gained by the whole transaction, except the immediate gratification of having humbled the chief citizens. This was the year of the "Mad Parliament" and the Provisions of Oxford, and it is possible that Henry began to foresee a time when those very citizens were the men on whom he might have to depend; that the populace was even more fickle than himself, and that there were men among the city aristocracy who, loyal as they were to their ancient privileges, were also willing, if he would allow them, to stand by the throne in the impending struggle.

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* Earl Marshal 1245.

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* It may have been one of the other commissioners.

Two men were, however, now coming to the front with whom he would have to reckon. What Simon de Montfort did for England, Thomas FitzThomas did for London. He had been sheriff when the tallages question and that of the alteration of weights had been brought forward. The roll with the green seal had been found at Windsor when he was but three months in office. He seems to have perceived the probable change of front in the king's policy, and he also perceived that by such manipulations of the folkmote as he had now twice witnessed, the cause of the people was only ostensibly advanced, but really retarded. He saw that to put their trust in the throne, as against their own magistrates, was but to admit wolves to do the work of the sheep-dogs. As Simon de Montfort called a new power into existence when he summoned the burgesses to parliament, so Thomas FitzThomas, by employing the most ordinary means, and showing the people how to use their own power, taught the "plebeian" citizens to elect for themselves representatives who as aldermen or mayors should do what they could and what the law permitted to remove their grievances. In 1262 the aristocratic party failed in the elections. William FitzRichard * was displaced, and the sheriffs, whose names for the three years of his mayoralty had been Adrian and Cornhill, Bruning and Coventry, Picard and de Northampton, were now Philip the Taillour and Richard of Walebrook. The new mayor was Thomas FitzThomas.

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* William Grapefige's name is perhaps enough to prove this.

FitzThomas must have been very busy during this year. It was in his first mayoralty that Henry III. made his retreat to the French court, feigning sickness, and Simon de Montfort was organising his preparations for enforcing the Provisions of Oxford, notwithstanding Urban IV.'s bull absolving the king from the oath he had taken to observe them. Such were the unhappy circumstances of the country † when FitzThomas's first

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* His true character comes out in 1267. He became warden of the city at a time when the king abused its liberties after Evesham.

† For an account of Simon de Montfort, and his brief but memorable career, see Green's 'History,' i. 293-307.

mayoralty commenced. His second year was marked by an attempt of the constable of the Tower to take "prisage" of vessels coming up the Thames with corn—an attempt defeated for a time by the vigilance of the citizens, and a declaration on the part of FitzThomas* that force would if necessary be repelled by force. Shortly afterwards he took the oath to Edward, afterwards Edward I., as the king's heir and successor, and administered the same oath to the aldermen, attending for the purpose at the houses of those who were ill. So far there would seem to have been nothing in his rule except evidence of a strong desire to preserve the liberties of the city, and to act with loyalty towards the Crown. But he had already contrived to show the "patrician" or retrograde party among the citizens his determination to uphold the rights of the poor as well as of the rich, yet the Chronicle† which describes him at greatest length, was evidently written by one of the fiercest of his opponents, and we have therefore no account which even attempts to do justice to his qualities. He pampered the populace—so we are told. He taught them to style themselves the commons of the city. He gave them the first voice in everything, submitting every important measure to their vote, and asking their will upon it. If they replied with their familiar "Ya, ya," it was done; and the aldermen were little consulted.‡ When Montfort made his great march from Reading to Dover, a deputation of the citizens was sent with the members of the council at the king's command. They took the opportunity of assuring the earl that he possessed the sympathy of the city; and something like a league was made between him and the burghers to observe the Provisions of Oxford, in fealty to the king, but always reserving the liberties of London. FitzThomas immediately organised the people by their wards. All aliens were dismissed. The "commons" enrolled themselves by hundreds and thousands; vigilance committees were appointed, and the worst excesses which ensued were only the destruction of some houses built upon common land, and the opening of some lanes and rights of way, which here and there powerful or wealthy persons had been suffered to stop.

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* This is clear from the 'Chronicle,' though the mayor's name is carefully suppressed.

† FitzThedmar, 'Chronicle of Mayors and Sheriffs,' already frequently noticed.

‡ The chronicler contradicts himself palpably. The aldermen and chief citizens, he says, were little or not at all consulted, adding, they were just as though they had not existed. With so prejudiced a picture before us, it is as difficult to arrive at the truth as to avoid taking the opposite view too strongly.

The conflict between the greater and lesser citizens, the merchants and the craftsmen, came to a head when, upon the earl's first success, he demanded of the citizens that they should formulate such rules as might be to their advantage, promising to obtain their ratification from the king in council. FitzThomas seized the opportunity for legalising the existence of the new trade guilds. He summoned the people, and telling them to organise themselves by their handicrafts, and to make such provisions as should secure the conduct of each, he dealt a fatal blow at the old oligarchy. The chronicler in his hatred of these proceedings styles the new "nations," into which the mechanics had enrolled themselves, "abominations," and describes their guilds, correctly enough, as "solely to their own advantage, and to the intolerable loss of all merchants coming to London." The influence of FitzThomas showed itself further in his obtaining at length the judgment, already mentioned, as to the claim of the abbot of Westminster; thus vindicating his impartiality, and his anxiety for the full recognition of the liberties of great and small.

But as the king, by a fluctuation in the tide of events, began to recover his power, his old desire to annoy the city showed itself anew; and when November 1263 came round, and FitzThomas was again elected, and actually sworn in as mayor, a brilliant opportunity presented itself for displaying the change of his policy in London. He now no longer sought popularity with the commons; but on FitzThomas presenting himself at Westminster for approval, sent to the barons of the exchequer a royal writ forbidding his admission to office. This was just before the reference of the questions at issue between Henry and his subjects had been made to the French king.* The news of Louis's award, by which the Provisions of Oxford were declared utterly null and void, was received in most parts of England with something like a sullen acquiescence. But the commons of London, whom, as we have seen, Henry had just gone out of his way to insult, wholly refused to abide by it. They had not, they said, joined in asking for French arbitration, and they would have none of it. After a momentary pause their example was followed by the great commercial towns of the south, the Cinque Ports, and by nearly all the middle class throughout England. Montfort was in Southwark rather hoping for than demanding admission to the city, but the retrograde party among the citizens contrived to keep the gates closed against him. The queen was lodging in the Tower, as during the publication of the award Henry had crossed to France, and on her attempting to join him on his return home, as she rowed in state up the river, the citizens assembled on the bridge reproaching her as the cause of all their troubles, her foreign relations having by their rapacity and misgovernment brought the king into his present straits. She was at length obliged to turn back under a storm of stones and foul words. The commons were further angered by an attempt which Henry made to take earl Simon from Southwark, and bursting the Bridge Gate they admitted him with acclamations to the city. Here, no doubt, he counselled the steps to be taken for the public safety before he went to attend the abortive parliament which Henry had summoned to meet at Oxford; and the citizens immediately throwing aside party feeling, and, acknowledging their need of experienced guides in the abeyance of the mayoralty, appointed Thomas Puleston their constable, and Stephen Bukerel their marshal, thus turning apparently to the leadership of their traditional rulers. They rapidly enrolled themselves, being joined by Le Despenser, whom Simon had made justiciar and had lodged in the Tower. Their first exploit was not very brilliant. It merely consisted in a march to Isleworth, where they burnt the palace of the king's brother.*

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* Louis IX., called St. Louis.

Immediately on the rising of the parliament the earl of Leicester returned to London. Although he must have censured some of the recent excesses, which included a massacre of the Jews, he cannot but have seen with satisfaction the extensive preparations the citizens had made; and in the height of his difficulties must have derived the greatest encouragement from his reception in the city. A solemn treaty was drawn up, in which citizens and barons declared "they would stand together against all men, saving, however, their fealty to their lord the king." A march upon Rochester, which they occupied with the exception of the Norman keep, was the first service on which the Londoners were employed. They returned home for Easter—the last Easter for many of them—before the battle of Lewes, a battle which has been described as the Flodden of London. Though their cause was victorious, the messengers who brought the news that the king and his brother had been made prisoners, and that five-and-twenty of his lords had been killed or taken, had also to add that "Sir Edward le FitzRoy" had driven the citizens before him like sheep, and had wiped out the insult to his mother in the blood "of a countless multitude" of the commons. The capture of the prince could not restore the husbands and fathers for whom so many wept; and when, on the Tuesday before Ascension Day,* the army of Montfort returned to London in triumph, to lodge the king of the Romans in the Tower, and Henry III. at St. Paul's, many a cresset fire was unlighted in the street, and many a shuttered front told of death and mourning within.

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* Richard, king of the Romans, or, as he is described in the Chronicle, king of Almaine.

The Provisions of Oxford being accepted, and the constitution ratified by parliament, the difficulties of the popular party might be supposed at an end. John Maunsell was banished with the queen's foreign relations, and spent his time scheming with them for a descent upon the southern coast. The king's position was in reality that of a prisoner, and earl Simon knew how little the acts which he was compelled to sign as a prisoner would avail when he became free. The parliament of 1265 was but scantily attended by earls and barons. The addition of two citizens summoned from every borough to sit with the knights from every shire put the crown on the parliamentary edifice, and "has done more than any incident of this struggle to immortalise" the name of the earl.* They met in the chapter-house at Westminster on the 13th January, 1265. Unfortunately the names of the first London M.P.'s have not been preserved. On St. Valentine's day they received a solemn declaration from the king, that he and his son were bound by the charter and would no more aggrieve or cause to be aggrieved the earl of Leicester, the earl of Gloucester or the citizens of London, for anything they had done during the past commotions. How the king kept his promise the subsequent history of Thomas FitzThomas will tell.

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* 1264.

He had acted as mayor during the year of the battle of Lewes, although many of the usual formalities had been omitted, and no "hustings" had been held. On the expiration of the term he was again elected (28th Oct., 1264), and on the morrow admitted to the full exercise of his office by the king. On the 17th March of the following year, the king, now restored as far as it was safe to restore him, to liberty, held a solemn court in the cathedral church of St. Paul. A strange scene took place. When the mayor and aldermen came up to do homage and to renew their oaths of fidelity, FitzThomas addressed the king in these memorable words:—"My lord," he said, in a voice audible to the assembled multitude, "so long as unto us you will be a good lord and king, we will be faithful and duteous unto you." †

The king was powerless to show the resentment he must have felt at this qualification of the oath. He nursed his wrath, as became the son of king John, and in due time exacted the penalty to the full.

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* Green, i. 300.

† This anecdote is interpolated as a marginal note by the chronicler, who can scarcely find words to express his horror at the "wondrous and unheard of" conduct of "this most wretched mayor."—*Chron. Mayors and Sheriffs*, p. 77.

The Londoners undoubtedly did not flinch from the duty they had laid upon themselves. Certain persons belonging to the Montfort party were arrested for outrages committed at Stepney and Hackney, during the raid of Simon de Montfort the younger. Having been duly convicted, they were hanged on the 29th June. Meanwhile prince Edward, who had escaped from custody, was engaged in the siege of Kenilworth, and after various skirmishes which concern the history of London only incidentally, had engaged the forces of Leicester and Gloucester at Evesham. The Londoners had cause to remember long afterwards a terrible thunderstorm which burst over their city on the 4th August. To them it was ominous of a long period of darkness and oppression. The news of the death of earl Simon and the destruction of his party came to them in two days' time, and they must have known, or at least feared, the worst. Before the civic year was out, all the king's acts done under pressure of earl Simon were annulled—all the oaths he had made and received, all the donations, charters, and writings to which he had set his hand were recalled ; and the parliament, which met at Winchester a month after the fatal day at Evesham, disinherited or outlawed all who had been slain in the battle or taken at Kenilworth. Many prominent citizens were among the "disinherited," as they were called ; but the commons met as usual on St. Michael's day to elect their sheriffs, and on the morrow accompanied them, with Fitz-Thomas as their mayor at their head, to be sworn in at Westminster before the barons of the exchequer. But no judges were in attendance. The doors of Rufus's hall were closed against them, and they returned to London with doubt and dismay depicted on every face. Rumours had come to them of a vast force which the king was already engaged in assembling at Windsor for the reduction of the rebellious city. Some were for fortifying it against the king. Others, comprising, of course, both those of the old court party who had always been against the commons and those whom fear or hope now caused to change their views, were for unqualified submission. They were still sufficiently powerful to take the lead in sending abject messages to the king by the hands of monks and friars. But Henry knew his advantage. The hour of vengeance had come. He turned a deaf ear to all informal embassies; and at last the citizens, whom suspense had by this time wholly demoralised, though a week had not elapsed since Michaelmas Day, sent a letter sealed with the common seal, throwing themselves on the king's mercy. Sir Roger de Leiburne was deputed by Henry to carry his terms to the citizens. They were to remove all barricades, chains or posts from the streets—the beginnings of unfinished fortifications,—to submit themselves wholly in life and limb, and, finally, to send the mayor and the principal men with him to the court at Windsor, ostensibly to confirm the conditions named in the letter. Leiburne met the citizens in the old church of All Hallows Barking, close to the Tower of which he had taken possession, and laid these terms before them, promising a safe-conduct to the mayor and his deputation. There was nothing for it but to obey. They had always professed obedience. They would have had nothing to fear from a constitutional king, such a king as Fitz-Thomas had described in his memorable speech at St. Paul's. On Friday the 5th October, therefore, they set out upon a journey from which some of them were destined never to return. It was not in the nature of such a man as Henry to keep a safe-conduct granted under the circumstances. After long and vexatious delays, the mayor was admitted to the castle, the citizens remaining without until evening, when they were taken in and lodged in the keep, on the site of the present Round Tower.

The next day the mayor, with Pulesdon, Thovi, Bukerel, and a certain John de Flete, of whom nothing else is recorded, were separated from the rest of the citizens who were lodged in the outer bailey, but, by a piece of the most odious ill-faith, the five first-named were reserved in the keep by the king's orders, their bodies, we are told, being granted to prince Edward and the safe-conduct "availing them nought."

Having thus secured the principal citizens, Henry proceeded to London, where he wreaked his vengeance as he pleased on all who had offended him. He gave away to his followers more than sixty houses, as even the royalist chronicler admits; hostages were demanded for the good conduct of above sixty more; their lands at Lynn and Yarmouth were seized; and finally, in contravention of another promise, Henry imposed a fine on loyal and disloyal alike, amounting to no less than 20,000 marks, or close upon 100,000*l.* of our money. Nor was this all. As if to heap insult on the fallen city, and to add every sign he could of his indiscriminate hatred, he issued a charter in which, acknowledging the receipt of the fine, "he remitted his indignation unto the citizens."

Thenceforth, for six long years London lay at the king's mercy. No mayor was elected, the city being governed by wardens appointed by the king, and by bailiffs chosen instead of sheriffs. Everywhere throughout England the proscribed adherents of earl Simon were in arms. The feeble king could but waste the public resources, and add to the general confusion, until Edward, his son, now arrived at maturity, and not oblivious of the teachings which in his early youth he had received from earl Simon, took affairs into his own hands, and gradually brought about a semblance of peace.

Clear evidence of the poverty into which London had fallen in these bad times is afforded by the charter in which the prince,* then busy with his preparations for the crusade, remits to the citizens their share of an aid granted to him on the customs of the realm, and even more by the fact that in gratitude they presented him with the paltry sum of 200 marks.

Of the fate of FitzThomas we would fain know something. When he enters the keep at Windsor on that fatal Monday, he disappears from public view. He was alive a year later, at least in the belief of his fellow-citizens; for when, after a form of election, William Fitz-Richard was admitted warden of the city and sheriff of Middlesex, the "fools of the vulgar classes" clamoured for his release. "We will have no one for mayor!" they cried, "save only Thomas FitzThomas." But their longings were in vain. The chronicler of the dominant party mentions very circumstantially a plot to seize the principal opponents of the mayor, which was frustrated by the battle of Evesham, but he puts it into his narrative as an afterthought, three years later; and its insertion may possibly be taken—if it is taken seriously at all,—to mark the receipt of some fresh intelligence of the ill-fated prisoner, perhaps his death. It would be more satisfactory to believe that with the settlement of affairs, or at the accession of Edward, he received his freedom; but his name occurs in no list of the pardoned, and we see our last of him, perhaps, pacing the leads of the tower on its lofty mound and looking wistfully eastward to where he might descry the smoky canopy of the city which he had loved so well and for which he had suffered so much.

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* I call Edward "prince" for convenience. The title was not used for kings' sons till long afterwards. He is usually styled "Sir Edward" in contemporary writings.

By imprisoning and gagging FitzThomas, Henry did but render his views more enduringly popular. For six years no election of mayor was permitted to take place. The chief magistrates and sometimes their subordinates were appointed by the king. One former mayor, as we have seen, stooped to hold power on such terms. But the policy of FitzThomas, which had made the cause of the commons that of the craft guilds, gave fresh strength to the popular party. The oppressions of these six years, and the intervention of great provincial nobles with their armies of half-tamed foresters and yeomen from the bleak hills of the west, only made the citizens of all classes long for a settled government. Custody of the bridge, from whose parapets she had been insulted, was given to the queen. By her the wardenship was farmed to collectors who spent nothing on repairs, so that the whole edifice sustained "great damage and peril." The state of the bridge was typical of the state of the city. At length the increasing decrepitude of the king and the corresponding growth of Prince Edward, both in popular estimation and in personal vigour, gave him sufficient influence in the management of affairs to make some improvement possible. The slaughterer of the citizens at Lewes was forgotten in the restorer of the old law and order. Men remembered that he had pleaded for earl Simon's life, and had followed his mutilated remains to the grave. The abundant harvest of 1267 had its indirect effect on the prosperity of the citizens. And three years later, in 1270, they obtained leave once more to elect their own mayor.

John Adrian, an alderman of the retrograde party, who had figured among the number of royal wardens, had influence enough to get himself elected; but both he and his sheriffs were displaced in the following year by members of the trade guilds. It is evident from the names as well as from the meagre records of the time, both that the old contest still went on, and that by degrees the new craftsmen were gradually gaining in wealth, influence, and a settled policy. The wards begin to assume their modern names, and are more seldom called after their owners, or the aldermen who govern them. In other words, the great estates were being broken up, and the power of the old families was waning. They put up Walter le Poter, who had been sheriff the previous year, as their candidate for the mayoralty at the ensuing election; but he was defeated by the "mob of the city," who would have no one but Walter Hervey,* a worthy pupil and successor of the ill-fated FitzThomas.

His opinions may be gathered from an anecdote told by his enemies.† He was censured by some persons for wishing to be mayor. No man, it was remarked, ought to have an office who covets it. Such people think only of their own promotion, and nothing of the welfare of those subject to them. Walter Hervey, on hearing this criticism, "made answer to the people standing about him, affirming and swearing by God and by his own soul to the effect that he did not desire to be mayor, or any other officer in the city, for his own sake; but that, solely from love of God, and from motives of charity, he was willing to endure that burden and that labour." Such was his outspoken policy; and he further declared his intention of supporting the poor against the rich, and of watching that they were not unduly oppressed in the matter of tallages or civic expenditure.

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* "Who before was mayor," says the Chronicle; but this is a mistake or a misprint. He had twice been sheriff—once by royal appointment.

† Chronicle, p. 156.

It may easily be guessed that these sentiments did not recommend him to the old oligarchy. The aldermen appealed in a body to the court at Westminster. Walter Merton was the ruling spirit of the council. The king was ill, or he might have meddled to defeat the moderate proposals of the minister. A warden was to be appointed until five arbitrators on either side had decided on a mayor. Evidently Walter le Poter had retired from the contest, as he is named on the side of the aldermen, with John Adrian, the late mayor, and Henry Waleys, who was destined, in more settled times, to rule the city for many years. Henry de Coventre and Thomas Basing, members of the oldest and proudest of the patrician families, were associated with them; while Hervey nominated Robert Grapefige, Robert Hauteyn, Alan, a capmaker,* Bartholomew, a grocer,† and Henry de Winchester, a member of one of the older families, who apparently had thrown in his lot with the popular party.

Before the committee could sit, however, another and greater arbiter had stepped in. Retribution, long delayed, had come at last. With the cries of the men he had so cruelly wronged ringing in his ears, Henry died. When the citizens assembled in Westminster Hall, clamouring day after day for the mayor of their choice, the noise, we are told, "reached his lordship the king in bed, to which he was confined by a severe illness." This was on the eleventh of November, and he never recovered, but died

* "Le Hurer." † "Le Spicer."

on the sixteenth, and four days later was buried in the noble church to build which he had robbed his people. There we may still see his handsome fatuous face in the earliest portrait of an English king that has come down to us.

A hush fell upon the contest. The earl of Gloucester going into the city to proclaim the absent Edward, called the people together in their traditional folkmote in St. Paul's Churchyard. Before the meeting, he and the other ministers had so arranged matters with the chiefs of both parties that, when the folk assembled, Walter Merton, mounting the pulpit of St. Paul's Cross, told them that their mayor, Walter Hervey, would be admitted to office.

CHAPTER VI.

THE RISE OF THE COMPANIES.

WHEN the craft guilds became powerful enough to control the election of the city officers, the old system was about to die. Its work was done, but it died hard. By the end of the fourteenth century it was gone. It had arisen in a state of things so different from that which saw its end, that we realise it with difficulty. The small Saxon population which settled within the deserted walls of what had been Roman London, found a wide and empty space crossed by two great paved highways. Their first division of this space was into holdings or estates, some of which may have been of considerable size. Such a space on the north side of the Cheap, was the site of the king's residence.* A similar space upon Cornhill belonged to the bishop. By the river side the holdings were smaller, but comprised spaces equal to two or three parishes. These divisions appear to be older than the parochial divisions, and do not always coincide with them. The two systems were formed independently. When I

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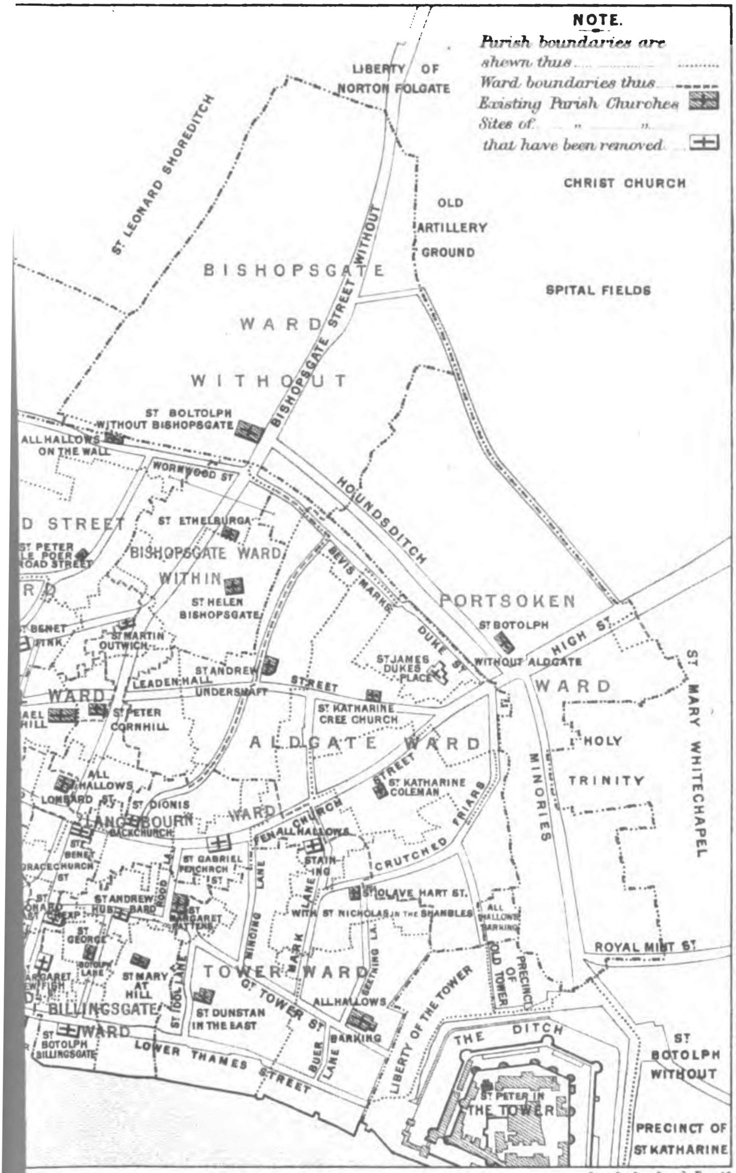
* Gutter Lane, formerly Guthrum's Lane, has sometimes been said to commemorate Guthorm-Athelstane, Alfred's Danish godson. Sir F. Palgrave, in his curious little work the 'Merchant and the Friar,' speaks (p. 188) of "the lane of Guthrun (*sic*) the Dane, otherwise Gutter Lane in the ward of Cheap." Unfortunately, Gutter Lane is in Farringdon Within. The cases cited throughout the volume must be looked upon as more or less fictitious. See below, the story of Simon Frowyk.

RDS.

To face p. 166.


NOTE.
Parish boundaries are shewn thus ....
Ward boundaries thus ------
Existing Parish Churches ▨
Sites of " " that have been removed ⊞
LIBERTY OF NORTON FOLGATE
ST LEONARD SHOREDITCH
CHRIST CHURCH
OLD ARTILLERY GROUND
SPITAL FIELDS
BISHOPSGATE WARD WITHOUT
BISHOPSGATE STREET WITHOUT
ST BOLTOLPH WITHOUT BISHOPSGATE
ALL HALLOWS ON THE WALL
WORMWOOD ST
D STREET
ST PETER LE POER
ROAD STREET
ST ETHELBURGA
BISHOPSGATE WARD WITHIN
ST HELEN BISHOPSGATE
HOUNDSDITCH
BEVIS MARKS
DUKE ST
PORTSOKEN
ST BOTOLPH WITHOUT ALDGATE
HIGH ST
WARD
ST MARY WHITECHAPEL
ST JAMES DUKES PLACE
ST BENET FINK
ST MARTIN OUTWICH
ST ANDREW UNDERSHAFT
LEADENHALL STREET
WARD
ST PETER CORNHILL
ST KATHARINE CREE CHURCH
ALDGATE WARD
HOLY TRINITY
MINORIES
ALL HALLOWS LOMBARD ST
ST DIONIS BACKCHURCH
LANGBOURN WARD
ST KATHARINE COLEMAN
CRUTCHED FRIARS
FENCHURCH STREET
ALLHALLOWS STAINING
ST GABRIEL FENCHURCH ST
ST BENET GRACECHURCH ST
ST ANDREW HUBBARD
ST MARGARET PATTENS
ROOD LA
MINCING LANE
MARK LANE
ST OLAVE HART ST.
ST NICHOLAS IN THE SHAMBLES
ALL HALLOWS BARKING
ST GEORGE
BOTOLPH LANE
ST MARY AT HILL
ST DUNSTAN IN THE EAST
TOWER WARD
TOWER ST
SEETHING LA
ALLHALLOWS BARKING
ST IDOL LANE
BILLINGSGATE WARD
ST BOTOLPH BILLINGSGATE
LOWER THAMES STREET
BUER LANE
LIBERTY OF THE TOWER
OLD TOWER
PRECINCT OF
ROYAL MINT ST
THE DITCH
ST PETER IN THE TOWER
ST BOTOLPH WITHOUT
PRECINCT OF ST KATHARINE

Stanford's Geogl. Estabt.

say they appear older, I must allow that it might be fairly argued that they are newer. Still, the preponderance of evidence is the other way, and it seems probable that the earliest partition of London was into estates or holdings, which subsequently developed into wards.

One reason for this opinion may be found by comparing land in London with land elsewhere. In London the holdings are partly in one parish, partly in another. The parishes were partly in one ward, partly in another. The connection between the ecclesiastical and civil institutions is very slender. But in the country, the church and the hall form part of the same range of buildings; the squire has the gift of the benefice, and his estate is the parish. The two old divisions of manor and parish are almost always conterminous.

The subdivision of London parishes presents some peculiar features. So often do we find churches of the same dedication in close proximity, that it is difficult not to conclude that some large parishes were broken up into smaller parts, each part retaining the old name with a distinguishing addition. Here, no doubt, the influence of property was felt. The alderman or owner of the estate built a new church, and had a portion of the old parish assigned to it. Thus, in the ward of Queenhithe closely adjoining each other, are the three parishes of St. Mary Magdalene, St. Mary Mounthaw, and St. Mary Somerset.* St. Mary Mounthaw is known to have been at first the chapel of the Norfolk family of Montalt. Two other parishes are also in Queenhithe, and both are dedicated to St. Nicholas. Two in Cordwainers' ward are dedicated to St. Mary. All Hallows seems to have been a large parish in Dowgate; but, at some period difficult to fix, it became two, "the Great" and "the Less." The reason for this division may be indicated by the fact, that All Hallows the Less was, like St. Mary Mounthaw, the chapel of a great mansion, Cold Harbour, and stood partly over the gate of the courtyard.* There are indications that the whole east end, comprising the wards of Aldgate and Portsoken, was once in a great parish dedicated to St. Katherine. We have still, in name at least, St. Katherine's by the Tower, St. Katherine Cree, and St. Katherine Colman.† So, too, we cannot help observing the close proximity of St. John Baptist and St. John the Apostle; and the churches nearest to All Hallows Barking had subsidiary dedications to All Saints, as had also St. Dunstan's, in the neighbouring eastern parish of Stepney.

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* Somershithe.

There are probably a few other examples of this kind: one of a different kind is found in Bassishaw, or Basinghall, a ward which is remarkable as being conterminous with the parish of St. Michael, and as one of those which retains the name of its ancient owners. The Basings were evidently of Saxon origin.‡ Their settlement is at a considerable distance from the river, but forms the smallest ward north of Cheap. That it was long kept open, perhaps in a kind of park or large garden, appears from its having been selected at a later time for the site of a number of trade or craft halls, no fewer than four of the companies having had their headquarters in Bassishaw, together with one of the city courts, and the family mansion of the Basings. A few other wards retain their ancient names. In the oldest records all were personal. "The Alderman," says Carpenter, writing in 1419, "has his title from the ward over which he presides, as 'Alderman of Chepe,' for example 'Alderman of Bridge,' 'Alderman of Quenehithe'; in ancient times, however, on the contrary the ward was styled after its Alderman."* Candlewyke Street ward was at one time called that of Thomas de Basing. Castle Baynard, and Tower Street, were both at one time named after the Hadstocks, another patrician family.†

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* Newcourt, i. 250.

† Ibid., p. 377-379.

‡ But Heath ('Account of the Grocers' Company,' p. 82) considers them to have been Italians, as they are mentioned among the Lombards, in the 'Hundred Rolls' of 2 Edward I. So are Gregory Rokesley and others; and the reference is too late to prove anything. A Lombard was probably by this time a money-lender, not a native of Lombardy.

Of those wards which retain the old family names, the most prominent are the two Farringdons, Without and Within. In 1279, William Farringdon purchased the estate of Ralph le Fevre, which is described as the ward of Newgate. About the same time he also bought the reversion of the "ward of Anketill de Auvern," which comprised Fleet Street and the parish of St. Bride's.‡ It is not very easy to ascertain what he bought, whether, that is, he became owner of the land, or of the incumbency of the office of alderman. By the end of the thirteenth century the great estates must have been in part broken up. It is hardly credible that one man should have been able to buy an estate which comprised the

* 'Liber Albus,' p. 30.

† The ward of Cheap was that of Henry le Frowyk; Vintry, of Henry le Covyntre; Bridge, of John Horn; Cordwainers, of Henry le Waleys; Langbourne, of Nicholas de Wynton; Aldgate, of John de Northampton; Wallbrook, of John Adrian; Broad Street, of William Bukerel; Aldersgate, of John de Blakethorn; Billingsgate, of Wolmar de Essex; Bread Street, of William de Durham; and other examples might be given before 1280. —See Riley's 'Memorials,' *passim*.

‡ Joyce FitzPeter, sheriff in 1211, appears to have had this ward before Anketill. See a very curious paper by Mr. Palmer in the 'Reliquary,' xvii. 36, notes K and L. He witnesses a deed relating to "Sholand" or Shoe lane as *Joc. Filio Petri tunc Aldermano warde*, then alderman of the ward—which ward still remained anonymous.

whole of the western suburbs from St. Bartholomew's round to the Temple; together with Newgate Street and Ludgate Hill. We only know that he was alderman for that part of the double ward which lay within the wall, and that in 1393 the outer part claimed and obtained the right of electing an alderman for itself. Although, therefore, in this particular case, it would not be easy to say of what the estate of William Farringdon consisted, if it was more than the baronial jurisdiction, there is plenty of evidence as to the holdings of other great city families. Besides the Basings, we have the FitzAylwins of London Stone, who owned the advowson of the adjoining church of St. Swithin, and, indeed, the whole parish itself. Henry, the first mayor, was in all probability the son of Aylwin, called Aylwin "Child," who was wealthy enough to found and partly endow the priory of Bermondsey.* The son of Henry, Peter, called FitzMayor, inherited an immense estate, which he bequeathed to coheirs now represented by some of the highest nobility. The Beckets, who came from Rouen, had held some property on the north side of Cheap. The Bukerels had Bukerelsbury, on the opposite side. They came, it is believed, from Italy. Arnald FitzThedmar, whose Chronicle throws such light on the political movements of the thirteenth century, was of German origin.† The Pountneys lorded it on the site of the Roman fort, and the Bats, the Rokesleys, the Blounts, and the Cornhills, who were among the old landowners of the city, counted themselves the equals or the superiors of the great country lords. Henry III.

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* See below, chap. xxii. Also the very curious preface to the 'Liber de Antiquis Legibus,' by Thomas Stapleton (Cam. Soc. 1846).

† See the family legend in the 'Chronicle of Mayors and Sheriffs,' p. 201.

taunted them as "churls who called themselves barons."[*] When the aldermen ceased to be merely landowners they similarly ceased to be looked upon as barons.[†]

In addition to the great estates, which gradually became wards, there were certain sokes, or liberties, in London, which survived a few years as exempt jurisdictions. Some of them actually became wards, others were absorbed. They were of the nature of wards or manors, but were not endowed with the same privileges of self-government till long after the great estates of the aldermen had become wholly free. One of them became eventually the ward of Cornhill, but was at first the soke of the bishop of London. The standard-bearer had a liberty at Castle Baynard. The knighten-guild had a soke outside Aldgate, which subsequently became Portsoken and a ward. The queen, Maud, or Matilda, had another. The cathedral church of St. Paul had a small liberty, comprising the precincts.[‡] The priory of St. Bartholomew seems to have had a similar liberty, as we read in 1246, of their "sokenreve." It appears to have been absorbed in Farringdon Without. The word "soke" is very loosely employed by old writers, and sometimes appears interchangeably with "ward." The heads of wards had *sac* and *soc*, or the rights composing baronial jurisdiction, and the proprietors of sokes as distinguished from wards, had the same. The steward or bailiff of the bishop had probably the government of Cornhill. In 1228, the bishop made a declaration of his rights in the soke, and obtained recognition of them from the citizens, the chapter of St.

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[*] The mayor ranks as an earl (Norton, p. 260), and was so assessed under Richard II. In the city he ranks immediately after the sovereign, but at the Duke of Wellington's funeral Prince Albert, as representing the Queen, preceded the Lord Mayor.

[†] See Stubbs, iii. 561.

[‡] There is a curious reference to it in Pepys's 'Diary,' iii. 348 (Bohn).

Paul's, and the king's treasurer.* But in 1291, the soke had become a ward, and soon afterwards we find an alderman mentioned. All such exempt jurisdictions were, however, gradually subordinated to the general civic government. In 1347, the citizens refused to recognise the liberty of lord Fitzwalter, on the express ground that it was repugnant to the liberties of the city.†

The history of the ward named Portsoken, which contained two of these liberties, is not so brief. Aldgate, there is reason to believe, was not one of the original or Roman gates of the wall. In what year it was opened we cannot say, perhaps in the reign of Edgar, perhaps in that of Edward the Confessor. It was certainly in existence by the time of Henry I. when queen Maud made the bridge over the Lea at Stratford. Adjoining this gate she had a "soke." To the northward was another estate or soke, that belonging to the knighten-guild already mentioned. In 1107 a canon of St. Augustine opened a house at the gate near a church dedicated to the Holy Cross and St. Mary Magdalene, which had been built by one Syred‡ some time, we do not know how long, before. In the following year, the preaching of the Augustinian, whose name was Norman, began to attract great attention ; the queen, whose confessor he became, granted him her property in the gate itself and the soke adjoining, to found a house of which he was to be the first prior, and which was to be dedicated to the Holy Trinity.* How the queen came to be possessed of the gate I do not know. It is very possible she actually opened it and built it, and that there was no gate at this point in the wall before her time.† The knighten-guild were connected with the church of St. Botolph Aldgate, which goes to prove that they had a corporate existence before Aldgate existed. Nay, it is possible that the guild existed before the church of St. Botolph itself was built: because it is described as standing on land which belonged to them.‡ Norman's popularity increased. He obtained property in the city, the advowson of churches, and other benefactions. The "good queen" as she was called, did not live long; but her popularity must have contributed to his. Ten years after the foundation of the priory she died at Westminster, and was buried in the abbey of her uncle. The king confirmed her gifts to Holy Trinity, Aldgate, and when, some seven years later, the brothers of the knighten-guild§ took the strange resolution of joining Norman's little band of canons, he confirmed the grant of their soke to the priory.

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* The whole document appears as an interpolation in the 'Liber de Antiquis Legibus.' See Riley's 'Translation of the Chronicles of Mayors and Sheriffs,' p. 210. And Brentano, in Toulmin Smith's 'English Gilds,' p. 59, where there is an account of a "soke" belonging to the bishop of Worms.

† There is a very lively account of lord Fitzwalter's claim and its rejection in the 'Merchant and the Friar,' p. 149.

‡ Syred, or Sired, was a canon of St. Paul's T. R. E., and is mentioned in D. S.

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* After the Dissolution this house and church wholly disappeared. The church of the convent of Minoresses has been confounded with it by Cunningham and others. There is a cartulary of the Priory of Aldgate among the archives of the university of Glasgow. See Third Report, Historical MSS. Commission. A new church of St. James, Duke's Place, was consecrated in 1623, but has since been removed.

† Stow and others, deceived by the name, have endeavoured to give a very ancient origin to Aldgate.

‡ They "gave seisin to the prior on the land itself through the church of St. Botolph, which is built on it, and is, as they said, the head of that same land."—Stevens, 'Continuation of Dugdale,' p. 75.

§ Their names are given as Ralf, son of Algod, Wimard le Doverlishe, Orgar le Prude, Edward Hupcornhill, Blakstan and Albyn his kinsman, Albyn and Robert his brother, the sons of Leostan, Leostan the goldsmith, and Wizo his son, Hugh the son of Wlgar, Algar Secusun, Orgar the son of Dereman, Osbert Drinchepyg, Adelard Hornpiteson. A charter of William Rufus is recited by Stow and another of Henry to the men of the knighten-guild, in which they are granted, "the guild that belonged to

The most interesting point to be noticed here is that the prior became alderman of the Soke of the Port: but when is not known. In 1264, Prior Eustace, holding that a regular priest had no call to act in temporal matters, delegated his authority to a bailiff, as the bishop had done in Cornhill; but few of his successors seem to have been of his mind, and Stow describes the prior-alderman as sitting in court and riding with "the mayor and his brethren the aldermen, as one of them, in scarlet or other livery as they used."

After the reign of Henry III. the great landowners of the city had no longer any place as such in the governing body. The aldermen no longer owned their wards. The names are fixed, the offices purely elective. The constitution of the city, in fact, had undergone a complete change;* the oligarchy was broken up; the danger which at one time threatened, that London would fall first into the hands of some local tyrant and then into that of the king, as in the case of the great

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them and the land that belonged thereunto, with all customs" as they had the same in the time of king Edward and king William. This was the soke conveyed to the church in 1125 by Ralf and his companions. The list of their names is curious. It contains a very early mention of Cornhill, one of the brethren being Edward "Hupcornhill." There are two Leostans mentioned; one of them a goldsmith, whose son Wizo is with him; the other, whose trade is not given, and whose two sons Albyn and Robert are among the brethren. There is also a son of Dereman, no doubt the same Deorman to whom William the Conqueror had given the Essex charter still preserved in Guildhall. See above, p. 87.

* Mr. Stubbs ('Const. Hist.,' i. 407) seems to think that a previous civic revolution took place on the "disappearance of the portreeve, the conversion of the knighten-guild into a religious house," and other changes before the reign of Stephen. It is elsewhere (p. 630) described as a victory of the mercantile over the aristocratic element. We have now to witness the victory of the craft-guilds over that mercantile element.

cities of the continent, was averted; and when we look back through the names of the chief agitators and political leaders of this time of transition, one name stands out as that of the man who more than any one else prepared the way for the Whittingtons, the Larges, the Greshams, the Beckfords of later generations, and who set the ancient liberties of London on a foundation so secure that they remain practically what they were after the lapse of half a millennium. Walter Hervey was the political pupil of FitzThomas. He succeeded to the championship of popular rights. When, in 1272, he granted charters of incorporation to the trades, and took a step which, so to speak, hardened the companies in the mould—gave them a consistence, that is, which in spite of the subsequent forfeiture of his charters, they never lost,—he only carried out the system which FitzThomas had introduced during the ascendancy of Simon de Montfort.

The history of the city companies is much complicated by that of guilds. A "frith-guild" existed as early as the time of Athelstan. The knighten-guild which Henry I. recognised was in existence at a very early period—so early that tradition assigned its foundation to king Edgar. What the guilds were may to a certain extent be ascertained. Some were religious, some were merely social. But those of greatest importance were mercantile. They were comprised in the "town guild" at the Guildhall, and controlled or endeavoured to control the whole policy of the city. It was to counteract the oligarchical action of the town-guild that Hervey gave organisation to the "craft-guilds." The original guild was undoubtedly "an institution of local self-help,"* and of the highest antiquity in England. Guildship and its duties are mentioned in the laws of Athelstan, in the canons of Edgar, and by Henry I. The "Cnihten Gild" or Young Men's Guild of London, of which mention has been made so often, had a charter from Edward the Confessor, to which Stow refers, but which is now lost.* These ancient associations bound themselves to pay for masses, to insure against fire, to provide funerals, to assist each other in fines, and, in short, to encourage peace and good-will among fellow-citizens.†

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* Miss Toulmin Smith, 'English Gilds,' p. xiv. In the sketch attempted here I have occasion frequently to use the words of this remarkable essay.

The institution of mercantile guilds is also very ancient. Their constitution is recognised by Glanville. Writing in the reign of Henry II., he uses the phrase "commune, in other words a gyld," meaning a town whose corporation had set up a guild. London must have been such a town, as is proved by the existence of a guildhall. If a countryman came into such a town and resided there undisturbed for a year and a day, and was received into the "commune, otherwise gyld" (*communiam, scilicet gyldam*), he became a freeman and could not be recalled into "villenage." ‡ Mercantile guilds existed at York, Leicester, Preston and other places before the end of the twelfth century.

The third kind of guild was that of the handicraftsmen. The struggle in London was between them and the communal guild, or mercantile guild, which, wholly in the hands of those landowners and merchants who constituted what I have ventured to describe as the patrician party, oppressed the mere craftsman, as in other times manufacturers, so called, have oppressed their workmen. They resembled rather the modern trade union than anything else, and seem to have existed before 1180, when the guilds which had not a charter from the Crown—that is to say, all but the town or city guild itself and that of the weavers, were fined. This marks the first victory of the oligarchy in this struggle.

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* Cunningham, Palgrave, and others derive the name of Nightingale Lane from the Knighten Guild. It is well to look with suspicion on these plausible derivations. Miss Strickland's "Chere Reine" Cross is an example. Nightingale Lane is not in Portsoken, and was much more probably called from the birds which sang in it or from an ale-house sign. Stow makes special mention of the rural aspect of this district in the sixteenth century.

† Frith-guild means an association for a peaceful purpose.

‡ The case of Simon Frowyk is detailed in the 'Merchant and the Friar,' p. 140. Frowyk is a bondsman of Alan, Lord Zouche, who endeavours in vain to detain him when he finds him on his glebe after he has become a citizen of London. The story is partially fictitious.

It has usually been asserted* that on this occasion the "adulterine" guilds, as they were called, were suppressed. It is true we do not hear of them very often; but the same record which gives us their names when they are first made to pay, mentions them again a few years later.† They were eighteen in number, and paid sums varying from the forty-five marks of the goldsmiths to the half mark of "the guild whereof Hugo Leo is alderman." It has yet to be proved that these were in any sense trading companies, or that their aldermen had any municipal rank as such.‡ The word alderman was often used of any one who was senior officer of an association. The guilds of 1180 were presided over by men of whom we hear little or nothing in the city annals. If they had been aldermen in the modern sense they would appear as sheriffs and mayors in their turn.* Peter FitzAlan, who was alderman of one of the Bridge guilds, and is spoken of as dead,† cannot of course be the same as the Peter FitzAlan who, sixty-seven years later, was mayor when the case of the widow Vyel first came up. There was a William de Haverille, sheriff in 1190, who may very well be the same as the William de Haverhill, who is named as alderman of an otherwise anonymous guild, fined ten marks; but such an exception only goes to prove the rule. A few years later there is mention of several trades as having certain bonds of union, this time not for peace but for ill doing, among themselves. The goldsmiths, by which we must understand the workmen employed by the goldsmiths, fell out with the tailors, and the cloth-merchants and tanners joined in a fray which resulted in thirteen persons being hanged, "that others, put in awe thereby, might take warning; so that the peace of his lordship the king, by all within the city, might be the more rigidly maintained." The weavers, again, by their superior wealth, and their superior organisation, were constantly exciting the envy, not only of other trades but also of the city guild itself.‡ They had taken care to obtain acknowledgment as early as 1130, when Robert, son of Levestan, who may have been their alderman, paid 16*l.* into the treasury for them. They had a charter, more or less formal, in which Henry I. enacted that no one should exercise their trade in London or Southwark except he be a member of their guild. This was confirmed by Henry II. On the establishment of the mayoralty the weavers had a narrow escape. In 1202 the citizens offered the king sixty marks to suppress the guild, but they had money as well as influence, and the king only renewed their privileges, while he increased their annual payment. "Although," as Mr. Stubbs remarks, "there is no positive evidence to connect them and their fellow-guildsmen with the factions of Thomas FitzThomas and Walter Hervey, or with the later troubles under Edward I., it is not at all unlikely that their struggle with the governing body was a continuous one." Edward gave them a charter so worded that they assumed powers of self-government, which the city authorities could not recognise, and in the following reign a verdict against them was obtained after long litigation.*

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* Stubbs, iii. 574, for example. The word "adulterine," by the way, was also applied to castles erected without a licence.—Stubbs, i. 333.

† Madox, 'Hist. Exchequer,' i. 390.

‡ Ralph Flael is said by some to be the alderman who sold a ward to William Farringdon. This is a mistake of Flael for Fevre. In any case Flael could hardly have been alive in 1297.

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* Both these points have been assumed of late. In Herbert the question is further complicated by carelessness. He says there were "four gilds de Ponte, or of the Bridge, Thomas Coke, alderman." If we turn to the record, however, we find, it is true, four gilds "de Ponte"; but they have four aldermen, of whom "Thomas Cocus" is only one:—"Gilda de Ponte, unde Thomas Cocus est aldermannus, debet j marcas. Gilda de Ponte, unde Ailwinus Fink est aldermannus, debet xv marcas. Gilda de Ponte, unde Robertus de Bosco est aldermannus, debet x marcas. Gilda de Ponte, unde Petrus Filius Alani fuit aldermannus, debet xv marcas." Thomas Cook was therefore not the head of four local guilds, but only head of one, and that the poorest. Mr. Stubbs (iii. 561) speaks of three "as aldermen of the Gilda de Ponte," as if there was but one guild. It is a serious thing to differ with Mr. Stubbs, but the facts are plain.

† So at least I understand the "fuit" in the record.

‡ The weavers were everywhere important. See Toulmin Smith, 'English Gilds,' 120, and Stubbs's 'Const. Hist.,' iii. 572.

It was perhaps in consequence of this verdict that the old corporation of the weavers resolved itself or was divided by a higher power into its constituent elements, and we henceforth hear of the drapers, tailors, and others, but no more of the weavers till long after. There is, however, absolute silence on the subject in the works of

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* Mr. Stubbs oddly observes (iii. 574) that at the end of the reign of Edward III. the guilds had increased to forty-eight, but that "the weavers were not in the first class: the grocers, mercers, goldsmiths, fishmongers, vintners, tailors and drapers being evidently richer." But the tailors must be identified with the telarii or weavers, who would otherwise have unaccountably disappeared, since they are not named at all, even among the inferior companies.

London historians. The phenomena are altogether peculiar, and but few facts can be picked out as tolerably certain. The weavers touched on one side the trade in linen, on the other that in wool. The woollen drapers were naturally very much divided in their interests from the linen-armourers,* and the tailors who constructed garments, as well from the vegetable as from the animal production, were distinct from those who wove the cloth. We find, therefore, not only great dissension at times among the weavers, but a strong tendency to establish separate interests. The drapers, under their Latin designation of *pannarii*, very soon divided themselves from the tailors, *cissores;* and, though there is no evidence of their separate existence † before 1299, when the tailors' records commence, it is very probable that from time to time they both rebelled against the tyranny of the weavers. Certain it is, that this powerful guild, which had subsisted through all changes and chances from the time of Henry I. at least, now suddenly and unaccountably disappears; while from its ashes rise the tailors—to whom long after, in the reign of Henry VII. the title of "Merchant Taylors" was conceded—the cloth-workers, at first "shermen" and fullers, and the drapers, all of which preserve, more or less dimly, a tradition of their previous united state of existence.

How far these guilds, now organised as companies, influenced the final division of the wards it is impossible to tell. The question turns on whether we are to regard the aldermen named in the list of adulterine guilds as aldermen of city wards, or whether we may take them to be merely the heads, or chairmen, so to speak, of their several societies. We cannot very well identify them as aldermen of local divisions, seeing, as has been said, that in one locality alone, four names of aldermen occur. The probability is that though in 1318 it was ordained that the freedom could only be acquired by the member of a "mistery" or trade guild, the wards and the companies were perfectly distinct from each other, and the aldermen of wards from aldermen of guilds. There was, in fact, a certain amount of antagonism between them.* In 1346, for example, the common council-men were nominated by the wards, in 1375 by the companies, and in 1384 by the wards again. Other similar changes, showing indeed a close connection but at the same time a certain rivalry, went on for many years before the constitution of the city was settled on its present basis.†

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* Not necessarily makers of armour.

† It is wholly unproved, and indeed against all probability, that Henry FitzAylwin, the first mayor, was a member of the guild and left them houses. In fact, it was at the commencement of his term of office that the transaction already described took place, when the weavers out-bribed the authorities of the Guildhall.

It is not impossible to localise certain trades. The goldsmiths were always seated in the ward of Aldersgate. Ralph Flael, their alderman in the reign of Henry II., is said to have "held the ward in demesne."‡ The drapers were now unsettled, but the mention of their houses at St. Mary "Boathatch," a lock-gate or dock on the Wallbrook, and in St. Swithin's Lane as well as by St. Mary "Woollen-Hithe," and in Broad Street, may be accounted for if we remember their probable identity with the great guild of the weavers. After their separation the tailors seem to have had a hall in Cordwainers ward, and then to have bought the ground on which Merchant Taylors' Hall still stands, in the lane which their trade endued with the nickname, now long become permanent, of Threadneedle Street. The drapers, who wandered with the weavers, found a resting place in Cornhill, though their anniversary was kept in the chapel of Bethlem Hospital. From Cornhill they migrated to St. Swithin's Lane, when they seem to have hired a hall from John Hende. It was not until 1541 that they moved to their present quarters in Throgmorton Street, a house built by Cromwell, earl of Essex, on the ruins of the Austin Friars, and forfeited by his attainder.* The bakers, who as a guild are almost as old as the weavers,† may have flourished in Bread Street ward, and the shoemakers in Cordwainers.

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* Stubbs, iii. 574, 575.

† The identification of the adulterine guilds with the later companies is scarcely possible. The goldsmiths, of which Ralph Flael was alderman, may have developed into the wealthy company of that name. So, too, the piperarii may have become grocers, and the butchers have survived to be chartered. But it is with doubt that I would suggest the identity of the later company of merchant-tailors, at whose head was, not an alderman, but a pilgrim, with the "Gilda Peregrinorum, unde Warnerius le Turnur est Aldermannus." There were eighteen guilds, and four being in one locality, the number of wards represented, if wards were represented at all by the aldermen of the guilds, would be but fifteen. This is more than improbable.

‡ Herbert, ii. 127.

The German merchants kept to the river's bank, where they had their own house, the Steelyard. Stow quaintly speaks of the "Haunce of Almaine," but the word *Hans* is old English and means, literally, guild.‡ Their house was close to the mouth of the Wallbrook, in the ward of Dowgate, and surrounded with quays and stores. The head was termed an alderman, though he was certainly not alderman of a ward. We read of the Easterlings at a very early period as living together under strict regulations, and considering themselves a colony of the great continental towns of the Hanse, Cologne, Lubeck, Rostock, and the rest. The German families in the city were numerous and wealthy, but cannot have belonged to the Steelyard, the members of which kept wholly apart, leading a celibate, almost a religious life, in the monastic sense, and looking forward, no doubt, to the time when they might leave this remote island and return to their dear fatherland.[*] The German Guildhall (*Gildalda Theutonicorum*) is frequently mentioned before the reign of Edward IV. when they acquired a larger house, known as the Steelyard, from their *stafel*, *staple*, or market in it. The merchants of the Steelyard engaged in the thirteenth century to keep Bishopsgate in repair.[†] They seem to have been the same with "the emperor's men," or Easterlings, declared by Ethelred to be law-worthy; but it is not certain, as these are described as resorting to Billingsgate.[‡] That their credit or their money was accounted good is clear from our expression "sterling," as the equivalent of real or "royal." [§]

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* See a curious account of the vicar-general's tyrannical proceedings in Stow, p. 67 (ed. Thoms), quoted below, chapter x. p. 309.

† There are frequent entries in the rolls of payment for the "Bolengarii."

‡ Stubbs, i. 411.

Another very ancient society was that of the saddlers. Their guild seems to have been connected with the church of St. Martin-le-Grand, and to have been wholly religious. An agreement between Ernald, their alderman, and the canons of St. Martin, which makes mention of the antiquity of the society, cannot itself be much later than the reign of John.

Such are the chief indications of the organisation of guilds and companies before the accession of Edward I. The civic revolution, which is described at the close of the last chapter, brought these organisations to the front. The tyranny of the patrician party had succeeded by the union of its members. Their common interest, and above all the necessity for excluding the lower classes from a share in the government, acted as a bond. There was constant disunion in the opposite ranks. The trades could not agree together. United action was only possible on great occasions like that which led to the election of Hervey. To him, or to some astute adviser, occurred the solution of the difficulty. It was obviously impossible that the trades could be bound together. The weavers were already disintegrating. No universal bond could be found. The new mayor took the business into his own hands. No longer striving for one great union against the city guild, he organised all the different trades separately, and assuming, as chief of the city executive, the right to grant charters of incorporation to the craftsmen, he called a new force into existence. Bringing order out of disorder, he faced the aldermen with a hydra-headed combination, against which the struggle was soon found to be useless. The charters which he granted were not called in question while he remained mayor, which was only for the one year reckoned from the king's death in November 1272. The chronicler from whose one-sided pages we have so often quoted, makes many insinuations as to Hervey's conduct during the new king's absence, but they are inconsistent; and without endeavouring to exalt his character above the average morality of the time, we may yet look on Walter Hervey as worthy of the dignity conferred on him by his contemporaries, and worthy also of a larger measure of historical fame than has yet been accorded to him. The founder of a system of civic government which is still, nominally at least, in full force, does not deserve the oblivion in which London has been content to leave his memory.

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[*] See above, chapter iv.

[†] Herbert, i. 10.

[‡] Riley, 'Memorials.'

[§] An interesting account of the English nation at Bruges in the fifteenth century is given by Mr. Blades, 'Life of Caxton,' chapter iii.

The mayoralty of Walter Hervey terminated in the usual way, and a member of the aldermen's party was permitted by the commons to succeed him. Henry le Waleys, or Galeys, a merchant trading with Bordeaux, of which city he was mayor a year later, was elected. He had hardly taken the oaths, when a disagreeable incident occurred. His sheriffs, Cusin and Meldeburne, men belonging to his own party, were convicted, one of having taken a bribe from a dishonest baker, the other of conniving in the fraud. The customary contest as to jurisdiction between the government at Westminster and the City authorities took place, but the precedent of Simon FitzMary having been adduced, the citizens deposed their sheriffs, and elected in their stead two men of the oldest and proudest families, by apparently such a reaction as constantly occurs in public opinion. In conjunction with the mayor, they immediately attacked the charters of the craftsmen. Occasion was easily found. The charters had been disobeyed: "a certain person" had worked in contravention of the statutes contained in the charter which he and the men of his trade had obtained. They came into the Guildhall, where the mayor and the aldermen, including Walter Hervey, alderman of Cheap, were assembled. The complainants were asked where they obtained their charter. From the late mayor, Walter Hervey, was the reply. Hervey boldly acknowledged the authorship, not only of the charter in question, but also of a number of others. The mayor kept silence, but Gregory Rokesley, an old and wealthy alderman, afterwards, "Master of the Exchange," ambassador to Flanders, and mayor after Waleys, rose and expressed his opinion that Hervey's charters only had force during his mayoralty, and that they were framed in such a way as to benefit the rich, and oppress the poor. The aldermen assented, but Rokesley's bid for popular support did not succeed. Hervey withstood him to the face, and a "wordy and abusive dispute" ensued. Hervey, when he left the Guildhall, assembled a great crowd of those to whose trades he had granted charters, in the church of St. Peter in Cheap—where now a green tree refreshes the dusty street—and promised to do what he could to maintain the charters. For the next two days he was busily visiting his adherents "through the streets and lanes of the city," and strengthening the weak-hearted and waverers. But the oligarchical party, remembering the tumultuous scenes at Westminster which had preceded Hervey's election, went to the council, then sitting in St. Martin's-le-Grand, and by representing the probability of a similar outbreak, and the consequent danger to the "peace of his lordship the king," easily persuaded them to issue a writ in the king's name for the apprehension * of Hervey. But twelve compurgators speedily acquitted him, and Christmas ensuing the matter dropped for a few days.

On New Year's day, 1274, the mayor and citizens met once more in the Guildhall, and Hervey's charters were brought in by the tradesmen and impounded by the mayor, who, a fortnight later, in open hustings, had them read, their alleged dangerous character explained, and the injury they would cause described, after which it was ordered, with the assent of the people present, that the members of the different trades should follow their crafts as before, and that the charters should be held of no weight.

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* The writ is so worded that the aldermen may have thought themselves justified in arresting Hervey—though they are not directly commanded to do so.

It is evident that some intimidation was used to obtain the consent of the people to the loss of their charters. But still more high-handed proceedings were about to be taken.

The great market-place of Westcheap was, as we have seen, covered with booths, arranged in order according to the nature of the wares exposed for sale. The whole of the ground now occupied by Wood Street, Milk Street, Friday Street, Honey Lane, Ironmonger Lane, and so on, was then like a country fair. "I read," says Stow, "of no housing otherwise on that side of the street, but of divers sheds." Such for many centuries was Cheap, the Forum of London, *Warda Fori*,* as it is called in the old records. The roadway of which Stow speaks, ran along the edge of the market place, whence it obtained its name of Cheap-*side*. In the centre stood the great church of St. Mary "le Bow," so called on account of its stone vaulting. Before the church was a tilting ground, but all the rest of the open space was let out from time to time for the sheds of various provision dealers, arranged by their trades. They did not live in their booths,† and the permanent population of Cheap must have been small. It was, no doubt, these tradesmen who had made Walter Hervey their alderman, and at this, the constituency of their enemy, the patricians determined to aim their next blow. An edict went forth announcing that the young king was coming home, that the city must be in order to receive him, and that, as a step in this direction, the market-place must be cleared.‡

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* Letter-book A., p. 116, and Lansdowne MSS. 558, fo. 205.

† Fitzstephen.

‡ The proclamation recorded in the 'Chron. Mayors and Sheriffs,' p. 173, only mentions two trades; but it is clear from a consideration of the whole passage that all the others suffered.

The shopmen had in many cases paid handsome sums of money for the privilege of selling their goods at what they regarded as permanent stalls in Cheap. The mayor, backed, no doubt, by superior power, asserted in reply to their remonstrances that the sheriffs who had given leases had done so on bribery. He ruthlessly carried out, apparently in one day, the removal of the sheds. The king's eye must not be offended, he said, by the sight of any refuse lying about; and his severity fell with peculiar weight on the fishmongers and butchers. They appealed to Guildhall on the morrow. The mayor and aldermen were assembled to "plead the common pleas." The complaint of the unfortunate salesmen was laid before them, and the reply of the mayor is very significant. He had evidently been consulting with the council, and knew how far he would be supported; at the same time he did not scruple, in order to crush the plebeian rising, to surrender, and to acknowledge virtually that he had surrendered, the liberties of the city. For he made answer that what he had done he had done by order of the king's council, thus endeavouring to shield himself.

Hervey, we may be sure, made the most of this admission. The king's council had no jurisdiction over the chief magistrate of London. Again a "wordy strife," says the chronicler, ensued. The mayor was openly reproved by Hervey before all the people. At length, stung by his reproaches, he broke up the meeting and betook himself to his friends at Westminster. Here the final course of action was resolved upon. Hervey's supporters had been dispersed to their houses out of the city and into various other wards, by the clearing of Cheap; and now, without further delay, Hervey himself must be silenced.

Accordingly the interrupted pleas were reopened on the morrow. From what ensued it is evident that the meeting was carefully packed. "Certain persons of the city, of Stebney, of Stratford and of Hakeneye," Hervey's dispossessed constituents, no doubt, were excluded. The mayor had learned his lesson well. A "certain roll" was read in which were detailed the various "presumptuous acts and injuries" which Hervey had committed. He had not attended at the exchequer to show the citizens' title to the Moor:* he had attested that a certain man was an attorney who had never been admitted; he had allowed ale to be sold in his ward at three-halfpence the gallon, contrary to an order of the aldermen; he had taken money from the fishmongers to plead their cause; he had allowed wine to be carried out of the city, and had received presents of a tun and a pipe and twenty shillings from different wine merchants; he had converted to his own use some money collected by his followers for the advancement of the interests of the lower orders in the elections: such were the charges trumped up against him. Among the articles of this strange accusation were two, upon which no particular stress was laid, although, in reality, the whole object of the roll was to press them. They related to the charters and to the proceedings of the previous day, when Hervey had "made unjust complaint against the mayor, who had warranty sufficient for what he had done," namely, that of the king's council. It is curious to observe that the poor people dispossessed of their stalls in Cheap are described as "certain persons of the city, of Stebney, of Stratford, and of Hakeneye," who came with him to the hustings. Thus it appears that the fishmongers and butchers who had their shops in the market-place lived out of town and only came in to business. Cheap, in short, in the thirteenth century, was like the whole city now.

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* Finsbury Moor (Riley).

The object of the mayor in clearing Cheap was soon apparent. In the depopulated ward a new election would ensure the return of an alderman very different from Hervey, and the mayor had no difficulty in obtaining a vote deposing Hervey, and ordering the "aldermanry" to choose a successor.

From this time Walter Hervey disappears from the city annals. What became of him we cannot tell. The work he did lived after him. Twenty years later he was spoken of as an improver of the city,* but his struggles for the handicraftsmen were forgotten in a new order of things. He may have lived to see the partial triumph of his efforts when, in 1298, at the return of Edward from his Scottish campaign, the citizens assembled by their trades to give him welcome. He may even have survived to see the first royal charters given to the companies by Edward II. By imparting corporate life to the old crafts he had conferred on them a political consistence not easily destroyed. To him they owed their ultimate victory over the old oligarchy. Within a few years their place among the ruling powers of London was fully established, and a list still extant among the earliest records of the city preserved in the Guildhall shows us the wards reorganised, and marks the completion of the civic revolution he had initiated. That he was so soon forgotten, is not to the credit of his successors in London. It is not very clear why this should be. It is not because of the remoteness of the time at which he lived and worked. Richard Whittington is a modern hero, yet he entered into the labours of such men as FitzThomas and Hervey in the century before his own. It is strange indeed that the city preserves no memorial of the only martyr among the mayors, or of his pupil, the man who before any other recognised the importance of the handicrafts, and by substituting companies for guilds made them the future rulers of the municipal commonwealth.

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* Riley, 'Memorials,' p. 25, where mention is made of his having rebuilt the bridge over Wallbrook, at the eastern extremity of his ward.

CHAPTER VII.

THE WARDS AND THE COMPANIES.

THE rule of Edward I. in the city was stern. The citizens of all parties had welcomed him home from the Crusade with a display of enthusiasm which told at once of their sufferings in the past and of their hopes for the future. The reorganisation of the municipality must have been their first care. The establishment of the livery companies on the one hand, was balanced by the final division of the wards. Sokes of all kinds ceased to exist. The suburbs were benefited by the extension of city privileges and city order. The completion of the new bridge led eventually to the incorporation of Southwark, and its enrolment among "wards without." But all these changes and reforms required time. Trade was increasing, and with it a wider distribution of the wealth which had previously been in the hands of a few. The king insisted chiefly that order should be preserved: and the first years of his reign were passed without any serious infringement of the civic liberties.

Under the year 1284 we have for the first time the names of the members sent to represent London in a parliament. The king had summoned the estates of the realm to meet him at Shrewsbury. The city sent six men, namely, the Mayor Waleys and his friend Rokesley (of whose history we shall have much to say), with Philip

Cissor (or "the Tailor"), Ralf Crepyn, Jocele (or Jocelyn) le Acatour (or "the Buyer"), and John of Gisors.* They sat in judgment on David, the brother of the last prince of Wales, and, as the chronicle grimly adds, they carried his head back with them to London. Before the year was out, one of them, Ralf Crepyn, was wounded in Cheap, as before narrated, when the strange murder of Laurence Duket was perpetrated.† As no returns to the writs of parliament of this early period are known to exist, these names are well worth recording. The legislative measures of Edward's reign were of the utmost importance in moulding the future destinies of the city, and both in the codification of the old laws and the regulations now framed for the action of the hundreds, London was interested. The statute known as *Quia Emptores*, in particular, may be named as having had a direct influence on the development of civic institutions. Every district was now held responsible for crimes committed within its bounds: the system of compurgation which had been in force in London for so many generations, in short, now became universal. "The gates of each town were ordered to be shut at night; and all strangers were required to give an account of themselves to the magistrates of any borough which they entered."‡ In London, the order which Edward elsewhere enforced was frequently endangered. The tragedy of Duket did not stand alone: similar tumults were not infrequent. We do not read of any such oppressions as those of Edward's father; but it may have seemed necessary to the orderly mind of the "Greatest of the Plantagenets," as he has been sometimes rather vaguely called, that a stronger power than that of annually elected magistrates should watch the transitional course of events in the city: especially as Edward's warlike aspirations rendered the peace of so large and wealthy a place more than ever necessary. He made a vehement attempt to subject it to the system of assize visitation which he had perfected, and when, on the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul (29th June), 1285, the justices in Eyre (*iter*) sat at the Tower, they summoned the mayor to give an account of the peace of the city.

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* The names are given in the "Chronicle," lately published by Canon Stubbs in the Rolls Series ('Annales Londonienses,' Introduction, xxxiii.).

† See above, chap. iv.

‡ Green, 'English People,' i. 335.

It so happened that London was just then under the rule of two remarkable men, of both of whom I have already spoken. Gregory Rokesley and his friend Henry le Waleys,* or Galeys, had, one or other, held the mayoralty from the time of Walter Hervey's suppression, in which they were so largely concerned. Hervey's successor as Alderman of Cheap was Stephen Aswy,† who must have been a mere creature of Rokesley. There does not appear to have been any rivalry between Waleys and Rokesley, but sometimes one, and sometimes the other, would hold office for a year or two. They had been sheriffs together in the reign of the king's father. Waleys traded in wine, and Rokesley also had great foreign dealings, being both a goldsmith and also a wool merchant. In their benefactions to the Grey Friars they were rivals. Waleys built a portion of the church, where now stands Christ Church in Newgate Street. Rokesley made the dormitories of the friars, where is now the Blue Coat School. They were, in short, typical examples of the traditional London merchant prince, enormously wealthy, benevolent in an ostentatious way, impatient of interference from the commons, and yet imbued with lofty ideas of the greatness, freedom, and privileges of the city which they practically ruled between them during the first dozen years of Edward's reign. But their attention was too much divided by the nature of their business and by public employments for it to be possible they could govern London adequately. Both were in attendance on the king in Gascony in 1273, and the mayoralty was in the hands of deputies. In the following year Rokesley was on an embassy in Flanders, and in 1275 Waleys was mayor of Bordeaux. The sheriffs were not above suspicion, as we have seen in Laurence Duket's case. Burglaries, murders, and the escape of prisoners were events of daily occurrence. Young men of the older families broke out into debauchery. An example was made of one of them, but too many escaped with impunity. The execution of Michael Thovy,* only checked this spirit of disorder for the moment. Justice was done by fits and starts as the mayor had time to attend to the duties of his office. A raid upon coiners and clippers was marked by the wholesale execution of nearly three hundred Jews. On this occasion Edward's judges visited the city and sat in the Guildhall: but the king determined at last to get London more completely into his own personal control. When Rokesley was mayor for the eighth time, the judges were sent to hold their assizes at the Tower as I have said, and they summoned him before them to give an account of the peace of the city.

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* Rokesley's family was long seated at Rokesley, a village in Kent, which gives its name to the hundred, though it is now a mere hamlet and was united in 1557 to North Cray. The Italian origin of the family is extremely doubtful. See Hasted's 'Kent,' vol. ii. 51, and Thorne's 'Environs,' i. 129; also 'Arch. Cant.', vol. ii. Gregory's heir was his nephew, Roger Rislepe, who seems to have assumed the name of Rokesley. Henry le Waleys was probably a Gascon by birth.

† Mr. Stubbs in his "Chronicles" (p. xxvi.) spells the name Ascwy.

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* He was probably son of a citizen of the same name who had been sheriff and even warden under Henry III.

Although a small part of the Tower precinct was within the imaginary boundary formed by the old Roman wall, it was wholly without the liberties of the city. Close to the border stood, and stands, the old church of Allhallows, distinguished from other churches of the same dedication by its connection with the great Abbey of Barking, a few miles farther down the river beyond the Tower. Here, no doubt, from the days of good St. Erkenwald, came the Lady Abbess,* whenever she had business in London, with her bailiff, her chamberlain, her treasurer, her chaplain, and other attendants, and landing at her private wharf, heard mass in the church before proceeding farther into town.

On this fateful 29th June, the mayor put on his robes at the house in Milk Street, which he had long rented from the Prior of Lewes,—one of the first private houses we hear of as standing in the market place—and prepared to obey the summons. Followed by his sheriffs and the aldermen in full civic procession, he passed along Cheapside, by the great cistern his friend Waleys had that very year filled with water from the distant Tyburn, and threading the narrow lanes to Tower Street he dismounted at "Berkyngechurche." A commodious vestry-room for the use of the Lady Abbess adjoined the church, and entering it Rokesley divested himself of his robes of office, took the seal ring of the city off his finger, and the chain off his neck, and handed them to Stephen Aswy. Then he went out through the postern, over the little drawbridge, and so to the Tower, and came into the presence of the judges,* "not as mayor † but as one of the aldermen, and neighbour of the citizens before mentioned," as if he was an ordinary individual coming as compurgator of some one who lived in his ward. The judges, incensed at this behaviour, asked what he meant. Rokesley must have been a bold man. He answered bravely that the city of London was not bound to send to the Tower to hold its inquests, nor was it bound to make any appearance for judgment beyond its own liberties. A judge of assize on the bench is not, even in these days, approached without much deference: and in the reign of the stern Edward, the treasurer John de Kirkby,‡ sitting actually within the royal fortress, deeply resented such language, though he must have known that he was acting as we should say unconstitutionally, only that the British Constitution of which we hear so much nowadays had not then been discovered.

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* The Abbess of Barking ranked, like the Abbesses of Wilton, Shaftesbury, and St. Mary's at Winchester, as a baroness of the realm. She was very frequently a princess of the blood, and seldom less than the daughter or sister of a peer.

Rokesley seems to have quietly retired,§ but the next day, attending with the citizens on Edward at Westminster, he and a large number of the principal persons were placed under arrest, and those who had been with him at Barking Church were actually imprisoned for a few days. Aswy, to whom he had delivered his chain and ring, was not let out so soon as the rest.‖ Meanwhile, on the clever plea that the city had been found without a mayor, it was "taken into the king's hands," and Sir Ralf de Sandwich was appointed to exercise the duties of the mayoralty under the name of warden.

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* They probably sat in a hall near the gate.

† 'Liber Albus,' Riley's Translation, p. 15.

‡ He was Bishop of Ely, and the first, as we shall see (vol. ii.), to inhabit Ely Place in Holborn. He may be commemorated in the name of Kirby Street.

§ There is great difficulty in piecing together the few notes we have of this event. I have endeavoured here to make the narrative straightforward, but the reader is referred for the official account to the Record Series, 'Liber Albus,' i. 16.

‖ This exception is mentioned in the 'Liber Albus.' Aswy was alive and at liberty in 1291, but died soon after and was succeeded as alderman by "Joh's Blound," according to Lansdowne MSS. 558, fo. 204. Blund became mayor in 1301.

Apart from the immediate causes of this course of action, Edward may have been influenced by several considerations which are but dimly hinted at in contemporary history. He may have feared that the influence of Rokesley and Waleys was becoming too great and that a new oligarchy of wealth was being gradually established in the place of the old oligarchy of the landowners. The craft guilds had now attained a position which made their recognition and regulation a necessity. The wards of the city required to be defined and limited. The landing-places along the river's bank were out of repair, and so filthy that no well-dressed person could pass from his boat into Thames Street without risk of contamination. The king himself, with the great schemes he was nourishing of bringing the whole island of Britain under his government, could not allow anything like disorder in its principal city. Sir Ralf de Sandwich showed indefatigable activity. He put everything into military order. Yet he always acted with the advice and co-operation of the aldermen, and the annual election of the sheriffs went on as usual. The king, in short, only appointed the warden as a permanent mayor, and did not in any other way infringe the liberties of the citizens.

At this period the city records commence to be regularly kept, and their publication, in part at least, under the editorship of the late Henry Thomas Riley, has both revealed the sources from which Stow made the collections which have immortalised him, and also enabled us to correct his account and to form our own opinion as to the course of events. Whether the keeping of records was one of the new regulations or only the extension of an ancient custom we cannot tell, but it is impossible not to connect it with various other civic changes, reforms, and improvements introduced during the twelve years of the mayor's eclipse.*

Foremost among them was the definition and naming of the wards. The year 1290 is celebrated in the annals of England for the passing of the famous statute known from its opening words as "Quia Emptores." † By it certain feudal restrictions on the subdivision of land were removed, and the increase of manors was checked. The influence of the new statute on the geography of London is at once apparent when we note that in the same year the list of wards became substantially what it remains to the present day. One of the earliest collections of city records ‡ contains a very curious list of aldermen and their respective wards which must be assigned to this year 1290. It is simply headed "The names belonging to the wards of the city of London, with the names of the aldermen." § Its insertion shows that some arrangement or rearrangement had just been made, and this is further evident from another list,‖ written some thirty years later, in which the aldermen named in the first list are the earliest of whom the writer apparently has any knowledge. From 1290 it should be possible to construct a complete list of the rulers of each ward.

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* In 1288 and part of the following year Sir John de Bretton was warden, Sandwich being probably in attendance on the king abroad. Sir Ralf was second son of Sir Simon de Sandwich, of Preston in Kent ('Archæologia Cantiana,' v. 190).

† The Third Statute of Westminster. Green, 'History of the English People,' i. 335.

‡ Letter Book A, fo. 116. I am indebted to Dr. Sharpe of the Town Clerk's office for the discovery of this list. It was very incorrectly printed in 1839 by Allen (i. 94), who referred it to the 'Liber Albus.' Mr. Riley had seen it, but does not seem to have been aware of its importance. He dates it "about 1292," I presume because Gregory Rokesley is mentioned in it. But Rokesley died on the 13th July, 1291 ('Arch. Cant.,' ii. 234). The date above mentioned, 1290, also accords best with other facts.

§ "Nomina propria Wardarum civitatis Lond. cum noia. Aldermanorum.'

‖ Lansdowne MSS. 558.

The twenty-five councillors who advised the mayor in the reign of King John had gradually become identified with the aldermen: and this title, which at first was applied to the heads of trade guilds and other functionaries, was henceforth confined to the rulers of the wards.* The city was parcelled out into twenty-four divisions. Each division was to elect its alderman, except Portsoken of which the Prior of Aldgate was *ex officio* alderman. There are many signs in other wards that the old hereditary system was long in dying out, and the aldermanry of Farringdon, which then comprised both the modern wards of that name, continued to be vested in William Farringdon, who had bought it, and his son Nicholas, for no less then eighty-two years. Their rent was the presentation of a gillyflower annually at Easter. Nevertheless, election now became the rule, and hereditary succession the exception; and, but that two of the larger wards were afterwards divided, no important change has since been made in their number or name.†

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* It has been suggested that the twenty-five councillors came from the twenty-five wards, but a chronological arrangement of the facts disposes of this idea. There were not twenty-five wards then in existence—moreover, it would be necessary to account for twenty-six, if the mayor is reckoned.

† These two lists present a few curious variations. In 1290 Langborn is called "Langford." By 1320 it has obtained its present name. Broad Street is called "Lodyngeberye." It is "Brade strete" in the later list. Before each name in the older list is the word *Warda*, until we come to "Portsokne" which is without it. We therefore err in speaking of the "ward of Portsoken," but we might say the "Soke of the Port." Aldgate is Alegate in the earlier list, and Algate in the later. Our modern form is certainly wrong, and never occurs in ancient documents. If it did we should

Sir Ralf de Sandwich's activity showed itself in other ways. It may be worth while to look into the old minute books of the corporation and examine a few of the entries which relate to this period, for they give us some of the earliest contemporary notices of London life.*

On Friday, the feast of St. Margaret the Virgin, (20th July), in 1291, for example, we find Sir Ralf inquiring as to the condition of the bridge over the Wallbrook at Bucklersbury. He had previously made a very stringent order as to the cleansing of the course of the stream, from where it entered the city, close to the modern site of the three railway stations in Liverpool Street, to the Thames at Dowgate. The bridge, which was close to St. Mildred's Church, at the eastern end of Cheapside, was in a dangerous state. It had been repaired many years before by "the then improver of the city," Walter Hervey, who had charged the cost against the occupiers of four adjacent houses, probably those which stood at the four corners of the bridge. One of them was the old mansion of the Bukerels, from

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have it as "eald," or "old," as in the case of "Ealdstrete," which survives as Old Street. Certain wards were called after trades, which shows the growing influence of the guilds. Bread Street, Vintry, and Cordwainer Street are among them. Cheap is called "Warda Fori," and Queenhithe "Ripa Regine." Farringdon obtains its modern name in 1320, but in 1290 is called "Warda de Lodgate et Neugate." The bishop has surrendered his hold on "Cornhulle," which has become a ward and is ruled by Martin Box. Baynard's Castle has an alderman, one of the Aswys, and the name of Lord Fitzwalter does not occur. There must, however, have been some question as to the position of these two ancient sokes, for in 1320 neither of them is named in the list (Lansdowne MSS. 558, fo. 204. "Nomina Aldermanorum London. post ultimatū jter justic. apud Turrim London."). Fitzwalter's claim was not finally disposed of till 1347.

* Riley's 'Memorials,' p. 25, &c.

whom the district was named. Another had belonged to Richard "de Walebroke." There were four stones in ancient times to mark these tenements, but Harvey took them away to widen the road. No doubt, things of this kind were no longer dependent on such primitive arrangements, but had begun to find their way into writing. "Certain men" of the adjacent wards were now put upon oath as a jury, and found that the tenants of these houses were bound to keep the bridge in repair and the sheriffs were accordingly ordered to see it done.

In ascertaining the duties to be paid on certain kinds of goods two public weighing machines were used. Of the "small beam," as one of them was called, we have a curious notice under this same year 1291. It appears that a certain citizen called Imgram de Betoyne had, at the request of Queen Eleanor, been appointed custodian of the "beam" for his life. It probably stood by the riverside in the ward of Queenhithe, a ward called from the old landing-place which had belonged to Eleanor, the mother of King John, and which, in 1246, had been leased by her heir, Richard, earl of Cornwall, to the city at fifty pounds a year, with sixty shillings to the hospital of St. Giles. When Imgram died, the warden and aldermen promptly put William de Betoyne, who was probably his son, into the office. William was himself alderman of the ward, and it may be believed that the custody of the "beam" was lucrative. Meanwhile, Jacobina la Lumbard, a lady of whom we have no further knowledge, obtained from King Edward, who was then at Berwick-upon-Tweed, a letter, dated 28th June, in which he requested the warden and aldermen to give her the keeping of the "small beam." To which they sent a reply stating respectfully that they had given the place away already and could not comply with the king's wishes. From Jacobina's name we should judge her to have been a money-lender, whom the king would willingly have paid at the expense of the city; but it is to be observed that he did nothing illegal or oppressive in the matter, and that his nominee, Sandwich, identified himself completely with the governing body in their reply.

An amusing incident occurred a month later, and is duly entered in the records.* Roger de Portlaunde, who was clerk to the sheriff, occupying a position analogous to that of sub-sheriff in our own day, was a gentleman who entertained very strict notions as to his own dignity as the representative when in his court of the sheriff, and through him of the warden, and through the warden of "our lord the king" himself. On a certain Thursday in July, Portlaunde was holding the sheriff's court, when Robert de Suttone "cast vile contempt upon him." Suttone's contempt was expressed by repetitions of a syllable which the chronicler spells as "Tprhurt" or "Tphurpt," "to his damnifying, and in manifest contempt of our lord the king." Portlaunde had refused him leave to plead in the court on account of some previous offence, and Suttone had vented his discontent by these utterances, which Portlaunde with evident effort endeavours to spell for the benefit of the warden and the aldermen.† Suttone, whatever his moral shortcomings, understood the rhetorical value of the direct negative, and wholly denied the truth of the deputy sheriff's complaint. But when Savage the armourer, and Marescalle the surgeon, and German de St. Giles, and Goddard the attorney, and other reputable citizens had been formed into a jury, they found that Robert de Suttone had said in full court that he cared nothing for all the forbidding of Roger, and "still further speaking in manifest contempt, he uttered these words in English 'Tphurpt, Tphurt.'" He was accordingly committed to prison.

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* Riley, p. 27, from Letter-book A, fo. 96.

† The syllable also appears in a political song, printed in the Camden Society's volume by Wright, p. 223.

In another note we are told of the election of three citizens to be killers of swine "found wandering in the king's highway, to whomsoever they might belong, within the walls of the city and the suburbs." A night fair, or "evecheping," as it was called, in Soper Lane, was put down in 1297, "by reason of the murders and strifes arising therefrom." In the same year new regulations were made as to the guarding of the city gates. Edward I. was anxious to go to war with France, and though he was restrained by his councillors, and by the breaking out of Wallace's rebellion in Scotland, London was placed in a state of defence. During this year, indeed, news must constantly have reached London of the atrocities committed in the north of England by the Scottish freebooter, and "could not but have filled the English with horror something akin to that which the English in India must have felt at the outbreak of the Mutiny."* Many Londoners were in the army which Wallace defeated at Stirling † in 1298, including a canon of St. Paul's, Sir Hugh de Cressingham,‡ who was among the slain, and whose body the savage Scots flayed. The story even came to London that Wallace himself had a sword-belt made of the skin.

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* Bright, 'English History,' i. 189.

† 'French Chronicle' (ed. Riley), 244.

‡ He is not mentioned by Newcourt, unless he may be identified with Hugh de Kersington, who was prebendary of Neasden about this time. Aungier, in a note, speaks of him on the authority of Prynne as Canon of St. Paul's and "an insatiable pluralist." He was Treasurer of Scotland.

Meanwhile, the king, who probably was in great want of money, offered to restore their mayor to the citizens of London on payment of a fine of 23,000 marks. Henry Waleys stepped at once, as if naturally, into the office, and everything went on without a break. John le Breton had been warden for the four last years of this period of sequestration. Following the mayor's restoration was the grant of a charter in which it was arranged that for the future in case of the absence of the king and his court from Westminster the mayor should be admitted at the Tower by the constable.

The impression made in London by Wallace's rebellion must have been very strong. All the chronicles speak with horror of his atrocities. He "destroyed Northumbarlond and brent and robbet it, and kylled both man and womon and chyldryn that lay in cradylles, and brent also holy chyrche," says one of them.* In consequence of these crimes Scotland was placed under an interdict; "all the world spake of the wykkednesse that thai diddyn throghe crystendome." The terror inspired by these stories was not lessened by an earthquake which occurred in January 1299. At length the king crushed the rebels in the terrible slaughter at Falkirk, and when Wallace himself was taken he was sent to London for execution. He arrived on the 22nd of August, 1305, and having been lodged for a night at a private house in Fenchurch Street, he was duly hanged and beheaded on the 23rd, to the great satisfaction of an immense throng of the citizens, to whom he appeared as the Nana Sahib of his time. The next three years witnessed the deaths by the same process of Simon Fraser, Herbert Morham, Thomas Boys, the Earl of

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* Egerton MSS., quoted by Aungier. 'Fr. Chron.' p. 25.

Athol, two brothers of Robert Bruce, and a brother of William Wallace, all of whom were sent to London for execution.*

These scenes, horrible as they appear to us, were probably thought very proper at that time. We have already seen how the Jews were treated. In 1264, not fewer than 500 of them were massacred, and the Jewry burnt. Yet we do not read that any one was punished for this atrocity. In 1279, as mentioned above, 293 Jews were hanged for clipping the coin. The chronicle is so precise as to the number that we cannot doubt an execution of the most shocking character must have been carried out, a judicial massacre, in fact. A few years later we read that "all the Jews of England were taken and imprisoned and put to ransom." This was in 1287. They had objected to a tallage, laid upon them by the king's mere motion, no doubt, for the Jews were reckoned as royal chattels, and all they had was his. It was said that they paid 12,000*l.* to appease the king's indignation on this occasion, and if we remember that at this time a good lamb could be bought for 6*d.* and a goose for 4*d.* the amount appears prodigious. But the respite thus purchased did not last long. Edward wanted a grant of a fifteenth from his subjects in 1290, and his subjects, on the other hand, prayed him to expel the Jews from the realm altogether. After some hesitation, due no doubt to the fact that the Jewries of some of the large towns were a source of regular revenue as well as an always ready scene for irregular exactions, he consented. They were accordingly ordered to quit the kingdom between the first of August and the first of November, or as an alternative to become Christians. Notwithstanding the unattractive side of Christianity which must have been presented to the Jewish mind by the transactions of the past few years, there seems reason to believe that a considerable number did embrace the Cross.* "Of the sixteen thousand who preferred exile to apostacy," says Mr. Green,† "few reached the shores of France. Many were wrecked, others robbed and flung overboard. One shipmaster turned out a crew of wealthy merchants on a sandbank and bade them call a new Moses to save them from the sea." The Jews' quarter in London still retains its name; but when the race was permitted to return in Cromwell's time the new Jewry was at Aldgate, on the site of the Priory of the Holy Trinity, and to this day large numbers of Jews congregate at the same place.

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* The writer of 'The Greatest of the Plantagenets,' p. 315, somewhat strangely remarks upon Edward's clemency in only hanging one Scot. But seven at least besides are mentioned in all the contemporary chronicles. The same apologist carefully, and perhaps wisely, avoids all mention of the expulsion of the Jews.

In the reign of Edward we have the first distinct mention of the modern Livery Companies. The king's second marriage and the victory which delivered England from the fear of Wallace occurred so nearly together that we are not surprised to find that the double occasion was celebrated in an unusual manner. On Edward's first visit to the city after these events a magnificent pageant was organised, and every citizen according to his trade took part in it.‡ The fishmongers especially distinguished themselves, a figure of St. Magnus,* on whose day the procession took place, forming the central feature of their show.

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* A hospital for converted Jews had been established in the previous reign. When converted Jews grew scarce it became as it is still, the Rolls Court. By the revolutions of time it chances that the present master of this house is himself a Jew, but unconverted.

† i. 341.

‡ Herbert, i. 89. The date cannot have been 1298, as the battle of Falkirk was fought on 22nd July, 1300.

It has been asserted that Edward I. gave charters to some of the companies. The fishmongers, in particular, are named among those who were thus recognised, and their historian, Herbert, mentions the fact vaguely. No such charter has, however, been preserved. It is true that Edward I. recognised the existence of the fishmongers, but only to censure them for misconduct in their trade. Nevertheless we can have no doubt that during the whole of this reign the companies were gradually attaining to a more perfect system of organisation, and though still unchartered were already engaged in making regulations for the conduct of their respective misteries.†

Edward of Carnarvon appears on the city records before the death of his father as obtaining for one of his servants, Thomas de Kent, who had been serjeant to the Mayor, the custody of the gate-house of Cripplegate, on condition that he was "to well and honestly behave himself, and keep the said gate roofed at his own expense and protected from wind and rain."‡ Thomas was very soon afterwards promoted to some other civic office, it does not very clearly appear what, but letters from both Edward II. and his favourite, Gavestone, remain in the records § recommending one Albon, who had been Gavestone's "vadlet," for the post, together with the city reply that it was already given to Kent. These are only examples of numerous similar requests on the new king's part, and it was not until long after that the citizens perceived that the more they granted the more he would ask. In 1310 he wanted them to give one Richard de Redyng the "small beam," of which we have already heard, and in this request he was joined by his wife. It was granted, and we find indeed that queen Isabella was always a favourite with the city. Her opposition to the king's foreign minions, and the strength of her character as compared with his, gave her a certain ascendancy. When the son who was afterwards to be Edward III. was born, in 1312, she sent a messenger from Windsor to apprise the mayor, aldermen and commonalty, "forasmuch as we believe you would willingly hear good tidings of us." An amusing transaction ensued.* The queen's messenger was her tailor, John of Falaise, and he attended in the city on the 16th November, to make the pleasing announcement. But the mayor and aldermen had received the news the day before from one Robert Oliver, and had illuminated the city in consequence. There were public rejoicings and a holiday, with high mass at St. Paul's a week later, and on the following day, the mayor, with the consent of the aldermen and commonalty, presented John of Falaise with ten pounds sterling and a silver cup, thirty-two ounces in weight. This magnificent present—the money alone would come to at least 200*l.* in our reckoning—did not satisfy the queen's tailor. He sent it back. The mayor seems to have taken no further steps in the matter, and John of Falaise, no doubt, ultimately repented of having "cut off his nose to vex his face."

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* Two days, April 16 and August 19, are assigned to St. Magnus in the calendar. There is considerable difficulty about assigning a date to this procession: it may have taken place in honour of the king's marriage in 1299.

† There can be no doubt that this word originates in "master," or as we pronounce it "mister," not in mystery.

‡ Riley, 'Memorials,' p. 59.

§ Riley, p. 69, 70.

In 1312 an attempt to extend the fortifications of the Tower had led to a serious outbreak, and in 1313,

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* Riley, p. 105.

Edward II. had attempted to tax the city as if it were "in demesne."* But the citizens objecting and offering a considerable sum by way of loan, he was induced to be satisfied for the time. A heavy tallage was laid on the people, and a list of pledges for the unpaid assessment occurs in the Letter-book two years later.† The whole history of this unhappy king's dealings with the city shows him to have been a worthy grandson of their greatest oppressor, Henry III., and in the contests that ensued between him and his queen, the citizens warmly espoused her cause and contributed largely by their support to her ultimate victory. In addition to the troubles caused by bad government, two years of great scarcity, owing to heavy rains, ‡ followed, of course, by a pestilence, increased the discontent of the citizens. Rioting broke out on very small provocation, and even the sanctity of the cathedral church was invaded on one occasion by the mob, which insulted a certain Lombard who had been in the company of the Pope's nuncio. When one of the confederated barons, Bartholomew de Badlesmere, offended the queen by refusing her admission to Leeds Castle, in Kent, on her way back from a pilgrimage to Canterbury, the citizens joined the king in exacting vengeance, and having taken the castle, hanged the governor.§ These proceedings, although the king was concerned in them, were probably carried out rather on behalf of the queen ; and the citizens refused, when Edward had recalled his favourites, to give him any assistance whatever.

The city meanwhile fell into great disorder. John Wengrave, by underhand means, kept the mayoralty for three years, during which he "did much evil to the commons." A new charter confirming various privileges having been promised, the mayor and the people quarrelled over the terms to be introduced, and we read * that the commons were victorious and provided certain points, "a thing that was much against the will of the said John, the mayor." What these points were we know not, but it is evident that "the times were out of joint" in the city. Edward's second charter was granted in consequence of the Leeds Castle incident, and acknowledged that citizens should not be called upon to serve in war beyond the civic boundaries. "It has been treated as a document of great importance." †

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* Allen, p. 98.

† Riley, p. 108.

‡ In 1315 the rains lasted, we are told, from Pentecost to Easter. 'French Chron.' p. 251.

§ Sir Thomas Culpeper.

There is some difficulty in unravelling the events of the last few years of Edward's reign. The citizens were strong partizans, and opposed the Despencers with all their might. Popular outbreaks occurred frequently. Obnoxious persons were seized and beheaded or hanged by armed mobs. The king made and unmade mayors. Hamo de Chikewell, or Chigwell, appears to have been a rival of Nicholas Farringdon, and to have supported the king's side. Farringdon, a goldsmith, and enormously wealthy, was, of course in himself a host to the queen's faction. In the confusion we read of escapes from Newgate, of murders, robberies and street fights, of conspiracies and executions, and, in short, of all possible evidences of bad government. In 1320, Nicholas Farringdon was mayor, when the king, on a trumped-up charge, made, not against Farringdon, but against one of his pre-

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* 'French Chron.' (Riley), p. 252.

† Aungier, 'French Chron.' p. 43. Mr. Stubbs ('Chronicles,' p. lxxviii.) speaks of the "bitter quarrel between the mayor and citizens." The mayor was summoned in 1319 before the regent, in the chapter-house of St. Paul's, and peremptorily commanded to make peace with the commons.

decessors in office, seized the city and deposed the mayor. Chigwell was appointed at last and remained in office during the following year, which was otherwise marked by the expedition against Thomas, earl of Lancaster, many of whose adherents were put to death in the city. London sent the king a hundred fully armed soldiers for his disastrous invasion of Scotland, and was proportionately disgusted at his miserable failure. His victim, earl Thomas, was, by contrast, canonised in the minds of the people, who had to be restrained by order of the king (June 1323), from worshipping at a tablet which he had set up in St. Paul's. Miracles were wrought there, and another St. Thomas was said to have arisen for the special protection of London.*

Meanwhile, the king turned Chigwell out and put Farringdon in his place, while Chigwell and some other citizens were called upon to attend the court in its wanderings, perhaps as councillors, but more probably as hostages. Mortimer had escaped from the Tower and fled to Flanders, and the king was much displeased with the citizens, who were not unreasonably suspected of having favoured his escape. The queen, under pretence of making peace between France and England, also withdrew from the realm, and before long was joined by the young "Sir Edward de Wyndsore," her son. Chigwell was now mayor again, not by election, but merely on the king's nomination, and in 1326 a proclamation was made in the city that no Frenchman should be allowed to trade in England. At the same time the queen's lands were seized, she was put on "wages" at twenty shillings a day, and finally, her title of queen was taken from her, and she appears for a while in the chronicle as "the lady Isabele."

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* Queen Isabella endeavoured to obtain the pope's acknowledgment of his sanctity, but failed. See 'Memorials of the Savoy,' 34–36, for further particulars.

This miserable condition of public affairs is marked by many entries in the records. The city was perambulated by bands of marauders, "the ancestors of the Mohawks of queen Anne's days."* Some of the new associations of workmen fell out, and street-fighting ensued between the saddlers and the joiners. The joiners obtained assistance from the lorimers† and from the painters, and there was a pitched battle in Cripplegate. The efforts of the mayor, moreover, were not sufficient to keep the people from showing sympathy with the cause of the queen,‡ and great satisfaction was expressed when one of her strongest partisans, Stratford, Bishop of Winchester, took up the freedom of the city. He may have been connected with London by birth, as his name would import. He signalised the occasion by giving some lead for the repair of Guildhall Chapel, and the record of this gift is the last entry under the reign of the unfortunate Edward II.

Isabella and her "gentle Mortimer" had been in constant correspondence with their friends in England, and especially in London. The city chronicler records with sympathy, under the year 1325, § that she wore the garments of widowhood. The common people, he says, greatly pitied her. At length news came that she had landed at Harwich, with her son and the Mortimer, "to destroy the enemies of the land." She was anxious at the first to be assured of a welcome in London, and forwarded a letter to the commons, to which however no answer was returned, "through fear," we are told, "of the king." Chigwell was naturally desirous to check the enthusiasm of the people, but when the queen sent a proclamation denouncing Hugh le Despencer, and the king's advisers in general, her letter was fixed at daybreak upon the cross in Cheap, and copies were exhibited in the windows. The mayor was in despair. He retired to the house of the Black Friars, but the commons went thither for him and forced him to come to the Guildhall "crying mercy with clasped hands." There they speedily obliged him to make a proclamation banishing from the city the enemies of "the king and queen and their son," and not content with this evidence of their devotion, they attacked the house of John Marshall, an adherent of the Despencers, who lived by the Wallbrook, broke into it, seized the unfortunate man, and led him into the market-place, where without further ceremony they cut off his head.

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* Stubbs, p. lxxxvii.

† Who made bits and other objects in iron and in copper.

‡ Mr. Stubbs ('Chronicles,' p. lxxxvi.) suggests that the fishmongers and pepperers took different sides. John de Gisors, in whose mill Mortimer took refuge on his escape from the Tower, was a pepperer. Chigwell was a fishmonger.

§ 'French Chron.,' p. 49. "En cele temps la reyne usa simple apparaille come dame de dolour qe avoit son seignour perdue."

A nobler victim was at hand. Walter Stapleton, bishop of Exeter, and formerly treasurer under the Despencers, had, in addition to the Outer Temple, a house in Old Dean's Lane.* He was among those proscribed by the reluctant mayor; but knowing nothing of the revolution which was taking place a few yards off, he rode into the city to his hostel to dine.† The mob, having wreaked their fury on the unhappy Marshall, had only to turn round when they beheld the bishop fleeing for sanctuary to St. Paul's. But they intercepted him, tore him from his horse, and dragged him into the Cheap, where, on ground still wet with the blood of Marshall, they cut off his head, and left his body lying while they sought for two of his servants, William Walle and John of Padington. Walle made a stout defence and had nearly escaped, but was captured on the bridge, and speedily shared the fate of his master, while Padington, who, as steward of the bishop's manor, as it was called, outside Temple Bar, had made himself particularly obnoxious, was despatched on the same spot.

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* Eldedeaneslane ('French Chron.,' p. 52), afterwards Warwick Lane, led out of Newgate Street, opposite the house of the Grey Friars.

† Mr. Aungier gives a somewhat different account of this tragedy in a note, p. 53. But the story in the chronicle is very simple and circumstantial.

Towards evening the choirmen of St. Paul's ventured forth, and raising the headless body of the bishop, bore it into their church; but the commons gave them to understand that "he had died under sentence," or, in other words, as a traitor, and they, terrified, conveyed the corpse to his parish church, St. Clement Danes, close to his suburban house.* But the people there were as unwilling to receive it as the citizens, and it was cast out with that of William Walle. At length, "certain women and persons in the most abject poverty took the body, which would have been quite naked had not one woman given a piece of old cloth to cover the middle, and buried it in a place apart without making a grave, and his esquire near him, without any office of priest or clerk." † Eventually, about six months later, when a settled government had again been established, the bishop's body was conveyed to the cathedral church of his see and duly interred with the proper solemnities; and three years later the rioters of that fatal Wednesday were apprehended, and the ringleaders suffered the doom they had inflicted on Stapleton and his companions.

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* Exeter House adjoined the modern Essex Street.

† Riley's 'French Chron.,' p. 263. Walsingham says the body was thrown into the river. The two stories are not absolutely inconsistent. Godwin says the body was buried in a heap of sand at the back of the house. This must have been close to the water's edge, and there was, moreover, the little tidal creek commemorated in the modern Milford Lane.

The Black Friars had warmly espoused the cause of Edward and the Despencers. Their newly-finished house by the riverside, at the extreme south-western corner of the old city wall, stood on the site of Montfitchett's Tower, of which mention has been made more than once already.* It must have been a fine building. Henry VI. afterwards held a parliament in the hall. But on the news of Bishop Stapleton's murder the friars fled, "seeing that the commonalty entertained great enmity against them by reason of their haughty carriage,"—"lour orgelousse port," as the chronicler calls it —"they not behaving themselves as friars ought:" and with them also fled Segrave, Bishop of London, and various other functionaries who might be suspected of friendship with the Despencers. The commons, making a rendezvous at the Leaden Hall on Cornhill, received there the constable of the Tower, who gave up to them various political prisoners, including John of Eltham, the king's second son, a mere child. The tablet of Thomas of Lancaster which the king had removed was replaced in St. Paul's: and, in short, for a month, the mob seem to have been masters of the whole city.

At length the queen's party sent Bishop Stratford to see how things were going on, and at Guildhall he was solemnly admitted to the franchise, and read letters from the queen and her son calling upon them to elect a mayor, Chigwell being described as not lawfully mayor, since he had been nominated, not by the people, but by the king. To this command they joyfully acceded, the right man having been carefully provided beforehand by the bishop. This was Richard de Betoyne, who had suffered great persecution from the Despencers, and who was well known in the city, being, like Farringdon, a goldsmith. He had just arrived from the queen, and was the next day sworn into office.

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* For some account of the introduction of the mendicant orders, see next chapter.

The rioting, however, went on as before. It is possible that the queen's party, even if they could have stopped it, found it a very easy way of disposing of their enemies. Arnold * of Spain, a wine merchant, for instance, was carried out, barefooted and half naked, to No Man's land,† where the Charterhouse now stands, and was there beheaded. News came daily from the west, where the Despencers and others of the king's party were being hanged, one by one, and Baldock, Bishop of Hereford, the chancellor, who was well known in London, having been prebendary of Vynesbury, or Finsbury, ‡ was taken in Wales with the king and was forwarded to the city, where he received such rough treatment on his way to Newgate that he died in a few days. His body was buried in St. Paul's.

This disorderly state of things continued for a whole year, during which the consistorial courts did not sit, nor did the mayor dare to hold his hustings. At the beginning of 1327, the timid Chigwell being once more mayor, the queen came to Westminster and parliament met. The city sent six representatives, two to sit, the others to be

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* He is called "Bernard" in the 'French Chronicle,' and "Anthony" by Carte.

† Mentioned in Domesday Book ; see above, chap. iv.

‡ He let his manor to the corporation in 1315, on a lease which only expired in 1867, when it reverted to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's.

ready in case of need.* The Despencers and most of their friends had been slain, and the king was in ward in the Castle of Kenilworth. His deposition was speedily voted by the parliament,† the people loudly demanding "the Duke of Guyenne" for their king. Young Edward was but fourteen at the time, but as soon as the king had agreed to resign the crown, he was knighted and crowned (13th November), and immediately afterwards took the field against the Scots.

The Black Friars continued to intrigue for Edward II., and fell therefore into great disfavour at the time besides precipitating his murder, which took place at Berkeley Castle, in Gloucestershire, the same year. Before many years were over he was looked upon as a martyr, his oppressions and vices forgotten, and the Black Friars reinstated in the public favour.

One of the young king's first acts was to grant a charter to the city. It considerably enlarged the privileges of the citizens. The mayor was constituted a justice of the gaol delivery at Newgate: he still takes his place beside the judge at the Old Bailey, and it is possible that this provision first gave rise to the alteration of his title into the modern form of "Lord" Mayor, though it did not come into ordinary use before the time of Richard III., as we shall have occasion to notice further on. The annual rent of the sheriffwicks of London and Middlesex‡ was fixed at 300*l.*, at which it has remained ever since, having previously for some time, contrary to the ancient charter, been 400*l.* The mayor was further made "escheator" of lands and goods falling in by forfeiture, but this grant seems occasionally to have been resumed by the crown.* Finally the new charter forbade any market to be kept within seven miles of London, a prohibition, with certain modifications, still in force. In the same year a short charter relating to Southwark was also granted by the young king. The magistrates of London had been much annoyed by the frequent escape of "felons, thieves, and other malefactors and disturbers of the peace" into the "village" of Southwark. To prevent this source of trouble the said village was made over to the city in feefarm, to be accounted for by the bailiff or sheriff annually at the Exchequer, like the farms of London and Middlesex, the amount being at first fixed at 10*l.* Southwark was not however fully placed under the city jurisdiction till the reign of Edward IV. (1462), and was not made a "ward without" till the year 1550.†

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* Their names were Gisors, Secheford, "de Conductu," Leyre, Cosyn, and Steere.

† It is interesting to observe that his temporary absence from the realm is assigned as a reason for his deposition. A similar reason may have governed the case of Richard II. as it certainly did that of James II.

‡ Norton (p. 346), says "the sheriffwick of London," but the text of the charter is in a collection published in 1793, and is as above, the two being thus united.

With these concessions Edward III. commenced his long and glorious reign. A sort of golden mist hangs over it. We do not know as much about city politics under Edward III. as under Henry III. True, there was not so much to record. But we read of tournaments and processions, of gorgeous pageants and conduits running wine. Knights in harness clank over the pavement, and armorial banners float from the windows. There is fighting and feasting. Expeditions are fitted out, prisoners of war received into custody, ships built and cannon cast for presentation to the king. The old "Ya, Ya," of the folkmote is drowned in the blare of trumpets. It is the time of Froissart and of Chaucer: of the Black Prince and the first Knights of St. George: of the motherly Philippa and the Fair Maid of Kent. But with all this outward show of wealth and prosperity, there is contrasted the exhaustion produced by almost constant war, the frightful ravages of the plague, the disorders of the king's later years, the breakdown of morals, beside the immense increase of ecclesiastical endowments, the armies of friars and monks, and the hordes of mass priests. The London chronicler, who began with civic annals, with the hanging of thieves in Cheap, and the conflagration in Bread Street, now fills his concluding pages with the battle at Sluys, and the siege of Tournay.

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* See the very curious story of the attempted suicide and subsequent death of Anthony Joyce, in Pepys's 'Diary,' vol. iii. 355, etc. (Bohn's edition).

† Sir John Ayloffe was the first alderman of the ward of Bridge Without ('Stow,' Thoms's edition, p. 156).

The very first event recorded is typical. When the king was only sixteen years of age, Philippa of Hainault, who was still younger, came over to be his wife, and was received in London with the loudest acclamations of welcome. The commercial treaty with Flanders, of which this union was one result, made it popular with the traders; and the young queen was conducted in gorgeous state through the city on her way to the north. The boy-king met her at York, and the wedding ceremony was made more joyful by the conclusion of peace with Scotland. The Londoners presented the bride "with a service of plate worth 300*l*."* When the newly-married couple arrived at Westminster they received a further present, which is carefully described in the records.† It reminds us of the present Jacob sent to

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* Strickland's 'Lives of the Queens' (i. 547), not very good authority.

† Riley, 'Memorials,' p. 170.

Joseph. To the king there went ten carcases of beeves, at the price of 7*l.* 10*s.* each, and twenty pigs for 4*l.*, these being bought of Nicholas Derman; also, twenty-four swans which cost 6*l.*, a like number of bitterns and herons, and ten dozen of capons, amounting in price to 6*l.* 14*s.*, these being bought of John Brid and John Scot. To the meat and fowls were added four barrels of sturgeon, which cost 12*l.*, six pike and six eels, which cost 10 marks, and five stone of wax, costing 19*l.* 19*s.* 0¾*d.*, which were bought of Hugh Medefrei. The queen's present was similar, but smaller in quantity, five carcases and a dozen pigs being thought sufficient, with pheasants, swans, pike, eels and sturgeon in proportion, and three stone of wax. The whole came to 95*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.*

The boy-king and his wife came into the city after the birth of their eldest son, and a tournament was held in Cheap.* Edward, though he had already gone through a campaign and was already a father, cannot have been eighteen at the time. Yet we are told that when the scaffolding or stage, from which the queen and her ladies watched the tilting, fell down, he would have had the unfortunate carpenters that made it hanged, though no one was killed. The oldest version of this story hardly admits of the embellishments sometimes given to it.† The lists were set up between the cross and the conduit: that is, opposite Soper Lane, which is now

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* This story, which has often been regarded as apocryphal, is given in the 'Chronicles' edited by Mr. Stubbs, p. 335, but without the incident of the queen's intercession. It is detailed by Stow, 'Annals,' p. 230. The tournament in Cheap, held in September 1331, may be this one.

† Thus Miss Strickland :—"When the young king saw the peril of his wife, he flew into a tempest of rage, and vowed that the careless carpenters who had constructed the building should instantly be put to death. Whether he would thus far have stretched the prerogative of an English sovereign," &c., &c., i. 550.

Queen Street. They were, therefore, close to St. Mary's, or Bow, Church, where we may suppose the market-place was widest. Stow says that the tournament lasted three days, that the wooden scaffold, "like unto a tower," stood across the street, and that a part of the structure, "the higher frame," broke in pieces, whereby the ladies "were with some shame forced to fall down, by reason whereof the knights and such as were underneath were grievously hurt." It does not appear from this that the queen was in any danger, or even that she fell, and the people below seem to have suffered only from the people above falling on their heads. He says nothing about the king ordering the carpenters to instant execution. On the contrary, the council seems to have sat on the case and to have thought seriously of prosecuting them; "wherefore," says Stow, "the queen took great care to save the carpenters from punishment, and through her prayers (which she made upon her knees) pacified the king and council, and thereby purchased great love of the people."

A tangible memorial of the tournaments in Cheap still exists. As we walk under the steeple of St. Mary's we may observe a window and balcony looking upon the street. From this balcony queen Anne is said to have seen a city procession in 1702, and it is alluded to, soon after it was built, in contemporary memoirs.[*] It is the successor of a stone building which Edward III. caused to be made on the north side of the old church in the place of the wooden "seld" or shed which had fallen down. Stow tells us that it "greatly darkeneth the said church, for by means thereof all the windows and doors on that side are stopped up." Under it was the crownseld, afterwards leased to the Mercers.

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[*] See Cunningham, under *Cheapside*. In the 'French Chron.,' p. 62, we read: "En cele an nostre joevene roy . . . à Caunterbury fit faire solempne joustes et puisse après à Loundres en Chepe."

Edward's revolt from the tutelage of his mother and Mortimer took place in 1330, when the Londoners, who had so warmly received the queen and her paramour a few years before, went out along the great western highway over Holborn Hill to see the earl hanged. The gallows were set up in a valley by a brook known as the Tyburn: * and here a few days later also suffered Mortimer's confidential adviser, Sir Simon Beresford.† Mortimer's body, by the special grace of the king, was interred in the church of the Grey Friars, now Christ Church, Newgate Street, where, after twenty-eight years, the body of the guilty queen was also laid, with the heart of Edward "her murdered mate," as if in mockery, in a gold vase upon her breast. Her son had always ignored the reports of his mother's connection with Mortimer. He always treated her with the highest respect. Castle Rising was assigned to her as her chief residence, but she was much at Leeds Castle—where the ghosts of the Badlesmeres should have haunted her, had she been susceptible of such impressions—and she died at Hertford Castle, which became afterwards the residence of her grandson, John of Gaunt. She spent enormous sums on jewelry. She entertained foreign ambassadors. She was much in London, where she hired a house in Lombard Street from the Prioress of St. Helen's, at the rent of *2l.* 10*s.* *4d.* a year. Here she received her son and his queen, her grandson, the Black Prince, and others of the royal family: and here she was constantly visited by the grandson of Mortimer, whom Edward III. had restored in blood and admitted to the earldom of

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* For identification of the site, see vol. ii.

† Or Bereford.

March in 1354.* The stories of her confinement by her son, and of her long imprisonment and deep repentance, seem to have no foundation in fact.† On the contrary, we do not even see her lamenting long for Mortimer: the very winter of his death she attended in state the usual Christmas festivities at Windsor.

Meanwhile, Chigwell had fared but badly. He had endeavoured but too successfully to trim his course so as to appear to belong to both parties. In the abortive rising of Lancaster against Mortimer in 1329, he was deeply implicated. An inquiry set on foot by Mortimer found a suitable charge with which to commence the prosecution of Chigwell, who was accused of having connived in a felony. The abbot of Bury St. Edmund's had been robbed and abducted by a malefactor named Cotterell, a skinner, who was hanged for his misdeeds. Chigwell, it was alleged, had received two silver basins as his share of the abbot's property. He was convicted, and, in all probability, would have shared the fate of the unhappy skinner, had he not pleaded that he was in orders. This plea brought him under the jurisdiction of the bishop. It is possible that during his sojourn among the friars he had been admitted to minor orders, in anticipation of his declining years: for he must at this time have been already an aged man. The bishop, Stephen of Gravesend, who was himself under more or less suspicion, as he had refused to consent to the deposition of Edward II., was powerful enough, nevertheless to protect so munificent a churchman as Chigwell, and kept him for a while at his country-house at Orsett, in Essex. Early in the following year, deeming himself out of danger, he ventured back to London and was warmly welcomed by his fellow-citizens, with whom Isabella and Mortimer were rapidly becoming unpopular. Mortimer immediately issued a writ for his apprehension, and he fled once more. Only his lifeless body returned, to be buried in the north aisle of the new cathedral.*

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* Beltz, 'Order of the Garter,' 41.

† They rest principally on some lines in Froissart. See 'Archæologia,' vol. xxxv., for an interesting paper relating to the "Last Days of Queen Isabella," by Mr. E. A. Bond.

In 1338, Edward made his first expedition against France. In 1340, he won a great naval victory in which he derived, according to the London chroniclers, considerable assistance from a ship which belonged to William Hansard, who had been sheriff in 1333. The Londoners, in fact, were much interested in this war. Froissart specially commends their martial spirit, which seems to have impressed him so much that he reckons 24,000 men completely armed, and 30,000 archers, as being in the city and neighbourhood, an exaggeration probably born of what he saw of their conduct in the field, where, as he says, "the more blood is spilled, the greater is their courage." The records contain among other entries regarding the war one or two of interest, but the events of Edward's reign are very fully detailed by all the historians, and for my present purpose it is only necessary to refer in passing to the wars, and then go on to notice the newly-chartered companies, the regulation of trades, the enforcement of sanitary precautions, the sufferings of the people from famine and pestilence, the increase of ecclesiastical and monastic foundations, and many topographical points which do not concern the general history of England.†

In 1339, we find a list of the munitions of war provided by the city. In the house called "La Bretaske," near the Tower, were stored cross-bows, with their "quarrels," and twenty-nine cords, "called *strenges*." At Alegate a similar store was made, and besides these a number of weapons had been lent to William Hansard for his ship, "La Seinte Mary Cogge." Besides these, there were laid up at the Guildhall six instruments of brass "usually called *gonnes*," as well as "peletæ de plumbo," balls of lead, for the said instruments, of four-and-a-half pounds weight; and in addition thirty-two pounds of powder. These terrible weapons were probably imported* by the Bardi, a company of Italian merchants with whom Edward, and before him Mortimer and Isabella, had extensive dealings. Cannon had been used at the siege of Florence thirteen years earlier.

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* Stubbs, 'Chronicles,' p. lxxxiv.

† The details of Edward's foreign campaigns are very pleasantly given in Miss Yonge's 'Cameos.'

Another part of the city preparations consisted in putting the Thames into a state of defence, and the king, on each expedition, exhorted the citizens to this effect, and solemnly charged them with the preservation of peace in the city. When, in 1341, he had to raise the siege of Tournay, and suddenly returned home to obtain or hasten supplies, he sent first for the mayor and confided to him the task of apprehending the careless guardians on whom he had depended.† They were speedily taken, except Sir John de Molins. Edward's journey to St. Albans, and his seizure of Sir John's treasure in the keeping of the abbot, have been often described, and the punishment of the judges at Westminster belongs to a later chapter.‡ The mayor above mentioned was succeeded by John de Oxenford, who died in a few months, when Simon Franceis became mayor for the rest of his term and for the following year as well. Among other wealthy and eminent citizens of the period, John Pulteney, or Pountney, a draper, was remarkable for his munificence to the church, and was mayor in 1330, and in three other years, though he had never served the office of sheriff.* His magnificent house near Dowgate, the Cold Harbour, stood till 1600. When he died, in 1349, he was buried, like his predecessor, Chigwell, in St. Paul's. Another great merchant family bore the odd surname of Turk, of whom one, Walter Turk, fishmonger, was mayor in 1350. He lent money to the king, and is frequently mentioned in the city annals. In his epitaph, which long stood in the church of St. Nicholas Cole Abbey, he is described in quaint rhymes as

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* See a long and interesting note on the subject, Riley, 'Memorials,' p. 205.

† 'French Chron.' (Riley), p. 283. Andrew Aubrey, "three times mayor and member for the city in 1337," p. 275.

‡ See vol. ii.

> "Audax, formosus, pulcher, cives animosus,
> Pauperibus fomes, piscenarius, vice comes."

This brave, handsome, beautiful and courageous citizen, the warmer of the poor, fishmonger and sheriff, was one of a large family of the same name, and died two years after his mayoralty. I have already mentioned Richard de Bettoyne, who was mayor in the year of Edward's coronation. A curious petition was made by him in 1338, the year of the outbreak of the French war. He was by trade a goldsmith, and represented the city in parliament, so that we may presume him to have been wealthy. But in his petition, which is addressed "To our lord the king, and his council," he sets forth that he attended at the coronation as mayor, and performed the office of butler, with three hundred and sixty valets, each carrying a silver cup: but he complains that the fee which he received from the king on this occasion, the fee, in fact, appended to that service, which was always a gold cup and cover, with a gold enamelled ewer, was made the subject of a charge from the exchequer. The sheriffs had been called upon to levy an estreat upon the goods and chattels of the said Richard, to the appalling amount of 89*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* We may be sure Edward did justice to his unfortunate petitioner: but the fact is not recorded.

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* Note in Aungier's edition of the 'French Chron,' p. 64.

Each of these great merchants, it will have been perceived, belonged to a company. In addition to the goldsmith Betoyne, and the fishmonger Turk, and the draper Poultney, we have among the lists of mayors and sheriffs, Grantham, a pepperer, or grocer; Swanlond, a draper; Lancer, a mercer; Ely, a fishmonger; Conduit, or "de Conductu," M.P. in 1322 and 1327, a vintner; and at last, after 1340, the companies were so universally recognised that every mayor or sheriff's name was followed by that of the trade or craft to which he happened to belong. It is evident, then, that a great change had occurred in the condition of these bodies since the days of Walter Hervey, and that the arrangements in progress under Sir Ralf de Sandwich had now been completed.

The city companies have, in fact, from that day to this, been, so to speak, the very city itself. We have already mentioned as among the early guilds the weavers and saddlers. There is no kind of proof now to be found which connects the companies formed under Edward III. with the guilds which existed before the time of his grandfather,* yet it would be rash to say the companies did not grow out of the guilds. There is no royal charter of the modern kind now extant which dates before those which were granted in 1327 to the goldsmiths, to the tailors and armourers, and to the skinners. These are among the twelve great livery companies, so called, it is said, from the leave they obtained to wear a dress of the colours of their respective societies. Another derivation connects the word "livery" with the freedom of the city. The tailors and linen armourers were at first conjoined. Edward III. also gave charters to the grocers, fishmongers, drapers, and vintners. As an example of the way the modern companies grew up, we may take the history of the grocers.* Twenty-two persons, we are told, carrying on the business of pepperers, in and near the Cheap, chiefly along the rows of booths which about this time began to be known as Soper's Lane,† agreed to meet together and draw up rules for the regulation of their trade. In the first volume of the records of the grocers' company, these twenty tradesmen are spoken of as the founders. It is evident, therefore, that whatever were the guilds to which any of them may have belonged, this is an entirely new departure. The meeting, which was held "in the Abbot's place of Bery"—a hall probably, in St. Mary Axe, which they hired for the purpose—was preceded by a dinner, to the expenses of which each man contributed twelve pence, and twenty-three pence more were disbursed by the wardens, who were elected on the spot, namely Roger Osekyn and Lawrence de Haliwell. They commenced operations at once, though they did not obtain the royal recognition till eight years later.*

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* Herbert's valiant struggle to connect them must be considered a failure. He does not adduce a single fact which can be accepted as satisfactory.

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* It has been carefully detailed in a volume by John B. Heath, of which the second edition appeared in 1854.

† See Riley, 'Memorials,' p. xviii., as to the origin of this street name. Stow is mistaken in attributing it to Alan le Soper. It has long been merged in Queen Street.

The work of incorporation went on merrily during this and several succeeding reigns. Eight of the twelve great companies were chartered before the end of Edward's life. Exclusiveness and monopoly were, of course, the objects of each society thus formed. They desired to regulate trade and also to regulate traders. They fixed the prices. They fixed the methods of manufacture. They made rules as to the conduct and even the dress of their members. It is apparent that to do this effectually they required to have power to forbid all interference from without. No one must carry on their trade who was not of their mistery. It will be remembered how the charters of Walter Hervey were superseded by the want of this power. The royal charters conferred it—though it may be doubted whether the mayor's charter might not legally have been quite as efficient—and every new company as it was formed sought for the distinction of a grant from the king himself. Edward's constant wars made every windfall welcome, and batches of charters seem to synchronise with great expeditions. What Richard I., seeking money for his crusade, did for English cities, Edward III., gathering armies against Scotland and France, did for the mercantile communities.† The companies included in every case the greater merchants. The most eminent members of the city governing body—the aldermen—joined them, and in a very few years they were able not only to control trade, but also to control the corporation.

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* The name of grocer, or rather "grosser," was applied to the pepperers because they sold their goods in gross (see Skeat's 'Dictionary,' p. 245). Retail dealers were called "regrators."

† The more carefully the history of the companies is studied, I venture to think, the more clear it becomes that in identifying them with the older guilds a serious obstruction has been placed across the course of the investigator. The only guild which now survives, even in name, is the guild merchant, that is, the corporation. All the others, if they lasted till the Reformation, must then have been dissolved. Many, no doubt, had meanwhile merged in the companies, or more correctly had been super-

The power in the city constitution assumed by the twelve livery companies, became, in the reign of Edward's feeble successor, the cause of many troubles. In 1346 each ward elected its alderman, and a number of the inhabitants, four, six, eight, according to the size of the ward, to be members of the common council. All elections were made by a similar number of six, eight, or twelve as the case might be. In a few years it was found that this arrangement would not work. The governing body had been able to summon what electors it pleased. In 1375, accordingly, it was superseded, and the great companies were recognised in an ordinance by which the power of nomination was taken from the wards and given to the companies, and by which the persons so nominated were to be summoned both to the council and the elections. It will be seen at once that this deprived a large body of citizens of all municipal power except that of electing their aldermen, and was a fruitful source of contention and disorder, as we shall observe further on.*

The halls of the companies speedily rose in various parts of the city, and were conspicuous among the

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seded by them in the exercise of their secular, as distinguished from their religious, functions. An example of the confusion of guilds and companies is afforded by the history of the Skinners as given in Strype's 'Stow,' where we are told that Edward III. addressed them as the "Guild or Fraternity of the Skinners of London." But the charter really runs—to the king's "beloved men of the city of London called Skinners." (See Herbert, p. 301.)

* Stubbs, 'Constitutional History,' iii. 575.

humbler houses of private merchants. The palaces of the old city families, the Basings, the Bukerels, the Lovekyns and others, were found convenient in some cases. The goldsmiths occupied a house built by Sir Nicholas de Segrave, whose brother had been bishop during three years of Edward II.'s reign. The merchant taylors were at first in a hall "about the back side of the Red Lion in Basing Lane," but eventually bought a mansion in the ward of Cornhill from Edmund Crepin, and a little later added to it the holding of the Outwich family, and established themselves firmly where they have ever since remained. The mercers had their shops about the eastern end of Cheap, and a kind of bazaar called the Mercery. The open market-place was being permanently occupied by this time, and one of the last remains of it was the meadow which adjoined the crownseld already described. The mercers had made a small settlement for themselves on the north of the Cheap side, but the space was required for an extension of the buildings of the hospital of St. Thomas of Acon, which, about this time, as mentioned before,* was reforming itself into a school. The mercers obtained the open space opposite, and there erected the hall and other buildings in which they remained till Henry IV. gave them the crownseld itself. On the dissolution they obtained the site of their old quarters and carried on the good work begun by the brethren of St. Thomas. The fishmongers and stockfishmongers had many halls about Thames Street and Old Fish Street, but eventually settled down on the site they still occupy. The skinners† were fortunate, after some migrations, in obtaining a house which had been used by an old guild of their trade, but which had long been in private hands. It came to Edward III. shortly before he incorporated the company, and they bought it from him.

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* Chapter iv.

† They are said to have had a licence from Henry III. to hold land, an early recognition of a company, if we could accept it. There is probably here a confusion between guild and company. I assume this in the text.

The regulations made by these new bodies for their respective trades were solemnly confirmed at the Guildhall. There are numerous entries on the subject in the city records. Some of them were afterwards included in the royal charters: and on the whole the rules set forth in the Letter-books of the corporation are earlier than the grants from the crown. The grocers, described as "the good folks of Soper Lane,"* for example, register their regulations as early as 1309, and the armourers as early as 1322. Edward's charters to the pellipers or skinners, and to the girdlers are set down in the same collection, and the bye-laws of the cutlers, spurriers, pewterers, heaumers,† hatters, glovers, and other minor traders are also to be found.‡ The companies thus, by union among themselves, attained enormous power, which in too many cases they wielded very tyrannically. The general tendency of their action was, however, for the benefit of the city; and this was especially the case when they set themselves to reform abuses and prevent adulteration and frauds upon purchasers.§ Whittington, who became so famous, was particularly noted for his sternness to the brewers who made bad beer. If the laws of the companies were fairly carried out, they must have produced excellent results; but unfortunately, it does not seem that any of the officials of the time were above taking presents, and even Whittington received money and wine from the brewers on different occasions. The goldsmiths in their charters had imposed upon them the duty of assaying gold and silver, and have discharged it ever since. The tailors inspected the cloth fair in West Smithfield, and tried the measures with a standard yard of solid silver. The grocers had the oversight of drugs, the vintners the tasting and gauging of wines. All these duties had been discharged previously in fits and starts by the mayor and sheriffs, and their transference to the companies facilitated the movements of business and, could we but be sure they were honestly performed, must have tended to benefit the consumer. Another and very important branch of the ordinances of the companies related to apprentices. No one could enter a mistery without an apprenticeship, and in some of the trades even a journeyman must have served his time to the craft.

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* This description of the pepperers or grocers does away with any idea that they were already a company, though long before there had been at least one guild of pepperers (see chap. vi.).

† Makers of helmets.

‡ All are printed in Riley's 'Memorials.'

§ Most of these notes are from Herbert's first volume.

While Edward and his family were engaged abroad in fighting the French, these changes were quietly going on at home. Not that the citizens failed in patriotic sentiment. On the contrary they were equally ready to pay for men-at-arms to go with the king and to devise grand pageants when the city was honoured by a visit from some royal guest or captive. Edward took care to interfere as little as possible with the affairs of the citizens, and in return he was as popular as any English king before him, and as able to obtain a loan or gift when money ran short. He gave them leave in 1354 to have silver maces carried before their mayor and his sheriffs, an honorary favour, which yet produced in the following year a vote of twenty-five men-at-arms and five hundred archers, "all clad in one livery." This contingent took part in the glories of Poictiers, and, no doubt, marched in the van of the procession when the boy hero, already known as the Black Prince, led king John of France a prisoner through the Cheap on his way to the Savoy. A thousand citizens in their holiday costumes crossed the bridge on horseback and met the royal personages in Southwark, while the mayor and aldermen welcomed them at the foot of the bridge and conducted them through the city. A crown was put upon the organisation of the great livery companies when the king himself was enrolled as a linen armourer. Thenceforth the list of honorary members of the merchant taylors, as they are now called, has contained almost every English king, and princes and nobles in due proportion.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE BISHOP.

IT would be hardly possible to overrate the influence of religion on the external appearance of London in the fourteenth century. The parishes did not multiply, but in each of the churches were numberless private chantries. The older monasteries were as sleepy as ever, but beside them were the friars, ever begging, ever teaching, ever preaching. The houses of the poorer folk were still very miserable. Overcrowding must have been the rule, when every man had to live near the scene of his daily work. A long journey home after dark was impossible through unlighted streets and unmended roads: and so, although the houses were taller than before and overhung more and more until opposite neighbours could shake hands from upper windows, the squalor, the bad air, the want of pure water, the teeming population, contributed to a state of things almost incredible. The death rate must have been under ordinary circumstances from 40 to 60 per 1000, instead of from 18 to 20 as now. And when the plague came, as it did in 1350 and raged for seven years, the average of deaths must have been something of which we can have no conception. Even if the estimate be exaggerated which makes 50,000 to have been buried during one year in a new cemetery provided by Bishop Stratford,—the nephew of Stratford, archbishop of Canterbury, who as bishop of Winchester had taken so prominent a part in the deposition of Edward II.—yet the fact that the deaths were so estimated by contemporary writers shows how terribly the pestilence must have raged. Sir Walter Manny bought "the Spittle Croft" which adjoined the bishop's field, and the two together were soon afterwards covered by the buildings of a Carthusian monastery built by Stratford's successor, bishop Northburgh.*

The blow inflicted by this awful visitation seems to have taken effect in an increase of ecclesiastical establishments; chiefly, however, in the endowment of mass priests to pray for the souls of the deceased, one or more of whom must have been mourned by every family. The result did not add much to the substantial beauty of the parish churches. They continued small and mean with certain exceptions, such as St. Mary le Bow in Cheap: and the view of the city from a distance, say from the opposite side of the river, must have been remarkable for the number rather than the height of the towers. Some of the conventual churches and the noble spire of St. Paul's must have been very conspicuous among the smaller edifices. The aspect of old London in the later years of Edward III., in fact, from what we know, was very fine. No doubt, as in the case of so many modern cities on the Continent and in the East, the best view was from the outside, where the narrow winding lanes, the broken pavement, the filth and ruin were not apparent, and where the spectator was astonished by the vast mass of buildings great and small which covered the double hill, a few standing out by themselves on account either of their beauty or their size. The long, red-tiled roofs of the companies' halls were contrasted with the shingled or lead-covered spires of the churches which rose between, while here and there a grim bastion of the city wall, or one of the gates, crowned by vanes and banners alternating with the heads of Scottish marauders, showed high and square.

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* For a full and careful account of the Charterhouse, see Archdeacon Hale's paper in the 'Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society,' iii. 309.

The Templars had long disappeared ; but their house was the first to greet the traveller from the west. It seems never to have been decided whether the Temple is in the city or not. The Temple, in fact, was on the spot before the city had ventured to throw its arms round the new suburban ward of Farringdon Without. So far back as 1360 the question was raised. The original Templars had come and gone before 1313. Their successors were nothing if not aggressive and litigious. The Lord Mayor who ventures into the precincts of the lawyers with his sword and his mace held upright does so at the risk of being mobbed. Woe betide the policeman who pursues a thief into the labyrinth of courts. Yet the Outer Temple, a little district of alleys and lanes chiefly named after Devereux, earl of Essex, is in the city and amenable to the jurisdiction of the civic authorities. But when the students of the common law in 1326 accepted their lease from the hospitallers to whom the house of the Knights of the Sepulchre had been given, an exception was made for what was then and long after the house of the bishops of Exeter. The bishops of Ely were also entitled to "corrody" in the Temple, and John of Kirkeby had many a contest with the knights on the subject, before he removed to Holborn.* It was to his house here, as we saw in the last chapter, that the body of the unfortunate bishop

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* See below, chapter xx.

Stapleton was carried by pious choristers after his murder, and his successors retained their lodgings on the spot till the time of Henry VIII.

The Templars' first settlement had been in Holborn. There, in 1118, they built a house which must have stood very close to what is now the north-east corner of Chancery Lane, or Southampton Buildings. Some relics of its carvings were unearthed on the spot a few years ago. The knights removed to the "New Temple," as it was called for centuries, in 1184, and seem to have made it very strong. King John both resided in it on several occasions and also kept his treasures under the guardianship of the Templars. When they were suppressed, amid the troublous times of Edward II., their house, of which only the chapel now remains, was given by the king to his cousin Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke. The earl of Lancaster next obtained it, but on his "martyrdom" it reverted to the crown, and in 1338, by special arrangement, went to the Templars' old rivals, the Knights of John of Jerusalem, at Clerkenwell. They had a house of their own already, and leased two-thirds of the estate to the students of common law for a rent of 10*l.* a year, while the Outer Temple, as we have seen, continued in the occupation of the bishops of Exeter.

Of the buildings which existed when the Knights of St. John made these transfers but one can be said to remain. The church with its circular nave is the most ancient edifice along the route between the Tower and Westminster Abbey. A crypt still to be seen at Clerkenwell, and the church of St. Bartholomew, Smithfield, both retain features of the same period. But the Templars' chapel has peculiarities unequalled for their interest. Only three other examples of the round form affected by the Knights of the Holy Sepulchre are to be found in England. One is at Northampton, and one at Maplestead in Essex, and most of us have seen the quaint little church which represents the Temple at Cambridge. The modern Templars have dealt very hardly with their church. Considering its antiquity and the venerable associations which might have been expected to guard its walls, which even the Great Fire spared, one is tempted to wonder at the audacity, rather than the bad taste, which has wiped off every trace of age, has renewed every crumbling stone, has re-chiselled every carving, has filled the windows with kaleidoscope glass, has painted the roof with gaudy patterns, and has taken the old monuments, rich with heraldry, down from their places and bestowed them under the bellows of the organ.*

On the opposite side of Fleet Street another religious house survives, like the Temple, in its chapel alone.† The hospital for converted Jews, which Henry III. founded in 1233, has become the Rolls office, and the chapel was long desecrated by the presence of accumulated records. Little but the skeleton of the building is ancient, but very few of the thousands who daily pass so near it have any idea of the wealth of renascence monuments which the old walls contain. In calling attention to them I feel a certain hesitation. Should the ruthless hand of the restorer be let loose on the altar-tomb of John Young, by Torregiano, it will be a source of regret to every one who can admire work in a style which is neither gothic, nor classical, nor even "Queen Anne."

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* This is scarcely credible, but strictly true.

† The liberty of the Rolls is not reckoned in the city, that is, in the ward of Farringdon. It may, therefore, be assumed that the boundaries of the ward of Anketin de Auvergne had not been defined in 1233.

The chapel in which Burnet and Atterbury, but above all Butler, preached, and whose pulpit was filled in our own time by the lamented Brewer, has exceptional claims on our regard.

The extension of the city liberties to Temple Bar was an infringement of the rights of the Abbot of Westminster, in whose great parish of St. Margaret the churches of St. Dunstan and St. Bride were but chapels of ease. Their dedications show the lateness of their dates. The dean and chapter still present to St. Bride's, but Henry III. persuaded the abbot to annex St. Dunstan's to his Jews' House. The opening of the Fleet Bridge under Ludgate, which had previously been a water-gate only, must have taken place before 1228, and the "bar of the New Temple" is mentioned as early as the first year of the fourteenth century. A new roadway or street now connected the outlying suburb of Showell Lane, now Shoe Lane, with the city, by a route more direct than that which led through Newgate and over Holborn Bridge. Of the manor or ward which the great goldsmiths of the Farringdon family purchased here I have spoken already.* This part, westward from the Fleet, was previously the aldermanry of Anketin de Auvergne, and was known for a time as his ward, and before him it apparently belonged to Joyce Fitz Peter.†

That there was no bar here before 1246 is probable from the wording of the original grant of the Savoy.‡

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* See chapter vii.

† See chapter vi.

‡ 'Memorials of the Savoy,' p. 10. "Extra muros civitatis." In another deed, dated in 1284 (Appendix, p. 248), the phrase occurs, "extra civitatem Londoniarum." It is possible, therefore, that Temple Bar did not come into existence till the end of the century, and that it was part of the system of defence completed under Edward I.

A piece of ground, there spoken of as lying outside the walls of London, is described in subsequent documents as lying outside Temple Bars. Similar bars were set up on the great western highway in Holborn, and at Smithfield, Norton Folgate, Whitechapel, and other places on the principal roads. When the archway which subsisted till our own time was built in 1670, it succeeded to "a House of Timber," described by Stow, who, however, mentions "posts, rails, and a chain" as being the ancient arrangement. The singular form was adopted instead of the plural when this "house" was erected, but the bar was never properly a city gate, that is, a fortified opening in the wall. There was in fact no wall or other defence between city and county. Shire Lane* till lately marked the boundary. Access could be had from the Templar's tilt-yard—now the site of the New Law Courts—into the city by numerous passages.

In addition to the monasteries and hospitals already enumerated as having been in existence in the time of Fitzstephen, a walk through the city from the Temple Bars, at the close of the reign of Edward III., would have revealed a great number newly founded. The friars, to whom I have already had several occasions to refer, established themselves early in the reign of Henry III., and by the middle of the fourteenth century their churches had become conspicuous ornaments of the city. The Carmelites had a house next door to the Temple, the site of which is still known as the White Friars'. On the opposite bank of the Fleet was the more celebrated settlement of the Black Friars, or Dominicans, who made their appearance in London in 1221, when, under the patronage of Hubert de Burgh, they opened their first house, like the Templars, in Holborn. The history of the gradual piecing together of an estate on this spot has been told with loving minuteness by a modern antiquary.* In 1250 they had managed by gift or purchase to obtain so much land that it became possible for them to build a convent suited to the requirements of the order. Only a part of this estate, apparently, was occupied by the earl of Lincoln when the friars moved, in 1285, to their new buildings on the river's bank, at what we call still the Black Friars'. For this purchase the earl gave 550 marks, to be paid by instalments. The new house actually interrupted the course of the city wall, which the brethren, such was their extraordinary influence, obtained leave to remove and rebuild. One of their number, Robert Kilwardby, was at this time archbishop of Canterbury, and to his good offices, no doubt, they were indebted for the king's favour. It must be allowed to the credit of the Black Friars, that so far, at least, they did not seek popularity at any sacrifice of principle. They endeavoured to mitigate the cruelty of the decrees against the Jews by every means in their power, and when, in 1255, thousands were sacrificed in a general persecution, the friars protected them with little regard to their own safety, "quod dictu horribile est," as one of the chroniclers of the day exclaims. So, too, at the time of the deposition of Edward II., they took the king's side, and so greatly incurred the wrath of the Londoners, that they had to flee from their house into the country.

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* Called Searle's Place at the time of its removal.

Gregory Rokesley, who, as we have seen,† did much for the Grey Friars, seems to have looked with equal favour on the Dominicans. It was on a site of his presentation in "two lanes or ways next the street of

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* Mr. Palmer's paper will be found in the 'Reliquary,' vol. xvii.

† See above chapter vii.

Baynard's Castle," that their second house was built; and he permitted them to take down Montfitchet's Castle, and to use the materials for a church, which must have been one of the finest in London. It has as completely disappeared in its turn as the Norman baron's tower which it succeeded.* The city wall was pulled down from Ludgate to the Thames and rebuilt, so as to include the convent within its shelter. At the bend of the wall thus made a "certain good and comely tower" was reserved for the accommodation of the king, whenever he might choose to visit the brethren. Parliaments were held here on several occasions, and the magnificence of the buildings is frequently referred to in contemporary records. The Friars Preachers gradually fell into all the vices which beset their brethren of the older monasteries, and by the time of the suppression had as little claim on the public regard as any body of Benedictines or Cistercians in the kingdom.

The churches of the friars were always much esteemed places of burial. The Black Friars could boast of preserving the tomb of Hubert de Burgh, which they brought with them from Holborn, and in addition were laid in their spacious aisles the bodies of John of Eltham, the brother of Edward III., the father and mother of Henry VIII.'s last wife, and many other great folk, one of the most remarkable being that Tiptoft, earl of Worcester, who was Caxton's patron or friend, and who was as much distinguished for his learning as he was disgraced by his cruelty in war. But though the Black Friars could show many noble names inscribed on their pavement, and had among their relics the heart of queen Eleanor and that of Alphonso her eldest son, they were not so highly favoured in this respect as their neighbours on the hill above. The church of the Grey Friars has disappeared as completely as that of the Black Friars, its site being now partly a cemetery and partly covered by the modern Christ Church, Newgate Street: but in it were laid the bodies of four queens, and a larger number of great folk than even in "Powles" itself. Weever says of it that it was "honoured with the sepulture of four queens, four duchesses, four countesses, one duke, two earls, eight barons, and some thirty-five knights," summing them all up as "six hundred and sixty-three persons of quality here interred." Stow tells us of "nine tombs of alabaster and marble invironed with strikes of iron, in the choir; and one tomb in the body of the church also coped with iron; besides seven score grave stones of marble."* The queens were Margaret, the second wife of Edward I.; Isabella, the widow of Edward II.; her daughter, Joan "Makepeace," wife of David Bruce, king of Scotland, whose funeral is said by tradition to have taken place the same day as her mother's; and Isabella, wife of Lord Fitzwalter, in her own right queen of Man. Besides these the church contained the hearts of Eleanor, queen of Henry III., and of Edward II.† All the monuments, which were at the east end of the church, were destroyed and sold for the paltry sum of fifty pounds by Sir Martin Bowes, Lord Mayor in 1545.*

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* There is an interesting reference to this and other churches of the friars in a petition of the mayor, aldermen, and commonalty to Henry VIII. in 1538 ('Memorandum Relating to the Royal Hospitals,' printed in 1836):—"May it please your grace . . . to consider that the four churches of late belonging to Grey, Black, White, and Augustine Friars, be the most ample churches within your said city, *Powles* only except." Of the four a part of one only has been spared till our own day, when the last remains of the old work in the church of the Augustines was obliterated under the name of restoration.

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* A catalogue of the monuments in the Grey Friars' church, from the register of the house, is printed in 'Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica,' vol. v.

† The duchesses buried here were Beatrice of Brittany, daughter of Henry III., and Eleanor, Duchess of Buckingham; the duke was John of Bourbon, who died here in captivity after the battle of Agincourt.

The Franciscans, who came to London during the lifetime of their founder, in 1224,† were at first entertained by the Friars Preachers who had preceded them. They then hired a house in Cornhill where they remained until the munificence of the citizens allowed them to migrate to Newgate Street, where John Ewen, or Iwyn, gave them a site, and himself joined their body. It has sometimes been said that they took up their abode among the shambles in token of humility, which is possible, but Ewen's grant and the probable openness of the spot are sufficient reasons for their choice. The first chapel, afterwards the choir, was built for them by William Joyner, mayor in 1239. The nave was added by Henry Waleys; the chapter-house by Walter le Poter; the dormitory, as already mentioned, by Gregory Rokesley, who was buried here; the refectory by Bartholomew de Castro, who further gave the friars an annual feast on St. Bartholomew's day; the infirmary by Peter de Helyland, and the studies by Bonde, a king-of-arms. In later years the famous Whittington built and furnished their library.

The conventual buildings were but mean, as was the wont of the Franciscans, but a second church, which was not completed for twenty-one years, must have been one of the most magnificent in London. It was 300 feet long, and had columns and pavement all of marble. The ground occupied by the domestic buildings is now covered by the school known as Christ's Hospital, in many parts of which remains of the old architecture may still be seen.

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* Malcolm, iii. 331. Ten tombs and 140 gravestones were sold on this occasion. The church, or what remained of it, thus desecrated, was burnt in 1666.

† See preface to the 'Grey Friars' Chronicles' (Camden Society), by J. G. Nichols.

There was also a house for sisters of the order, without Aldgate. Waleys was its greatest benefactor and was buried in the church. It is commemorated by the street called the Minories, as the sisters were known as Minoresses, or poor Clares, from their patron, St. Clare. A curious history attaches to the site of their house, which though it was in Portsoken is not now reckoned in the city.* Their church soon after the Reformation was made parochial, under the name of Holy Trinity in the Minories, the gift being in the crown. Pretensions of an absurd kind were put forward by successive incumbents, as to exemption from episcopal visitation and other privileges of a royal chapel. Boniface VIII. in 1294 had indeed made the old house of the sisters exempt, and nothing but a kind of local tradition existed to support the claim, which was not, however, overruled till it had been a source of considerable trouble to the authorities. The curates used to perform marriages, as they were about the same time, and on similar grounds, performed at Somerset House and the Savoy, without licences or the publication of banns. The old church, after having been repeatedly repaired, was pulled down in 1706 and rebuilt as we now see it. The conventual buildings must have been of a substantial and even ornamental character, and worthy rivals of the neighbouring foundation after which the modern church is called.†

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* Cunningham, p. 847 (ed. 1849), evidently believed that Trinity Church was that of the priory of Aldgate, of which I have spoken in a former chapter. But its history is fully detailed by Newcourt, i. 562. The author of 'Old and New London,' it need hardly be said, falls into Cunningham's error, vol. ii. p. 249.

† Smith, 'Topography of London,' p. 8, gives two views of the ruins finally removed after a fire in 1796. The superior of the convent is called an abbess by all the authorities. See 'Archæologia,' vol. xv.

Intermediate between the Minoresses and the male representatives of their order, was the site of the noble foundation of the Augustinian Friars, which still, in an abbreviated form, retains their name, as the church—also shortened—retains some of its architectural features.* The church pavement still shows traces of some two score of brasses, all marking the graves of illustrious people, including a step-brother of Richard II., an earl of the Bohun family, one of the Arundels, one of the Veres, one of the Courtenays and one of the Berkeleys. Of the fabric of the church, which was built for the friars by the grandson of their founder, another Humfrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford, about the middle of the fourteenth century, we are told that it boasted a noble spire—"small, high, and straight," says Stow, who lived under its shadow—in this respect probably excelling the other churches of the mendicant orders. The friars had made their first settlement here in 1253, and gradually, by encroachments, by favour, by purchase,—in short, by incessant activity, open or underhand,—they had put together, in the very heart of the city, an estate which even in the middle ages must have been immensely valuable. The church owes its partial preservation to its having been assigned for the use of a Dutch congregation, but after the dissolution neither considerations of taste nor the prayers of the inhabitants of the parish availed with the marquis of Winchester to spare the choir or to save the falling steeple: so that, as Strype observes bitterly, for one man's commodity London lost so goodly an ornament, "and times hereafter may more talk of it." Times hereafter, unfortunately, have to complain of what in some respects is an even greater act of vandalism. Of the old church as Stow knew it, little if anything now remains. A modern building, with neat masonry and shallow mouldings, was erected in its place under the name of restoration some few years ago, and the last remnant of the four noble churches—next to "Powles" the finest in London,—of which the corporation spoke in such moving terms to Henry VIII., was wantonly and stupidly destroyed.

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* See paper on Austin Friars, by Hugo, London and Middlesex Society, 'Transactions,' ii. 1.

These mendicant orders, as the friars were called, abounded in bishops. Even then the greatness of the see of London made it necessary for its incumbent to employ a coadjutor or suffragan. For a long time Peter de Corbavia, an Italian, whose proper diocese was in Dalmatia, resided in London, and helped bishop Gravesend. We find him, in 1327, employed to purify St. Paul's, where two rival canons had fought and one of them had shed blood.* Another of his duties was to perform episcopal rites in churches which the pope has specially excepted from the supervision of the bishop. In 1331 we meet him again at St. Paul's to consecrate a new bell. In the following year he died and was buried among his brethren of the Grey Friars. The Black Friar, archbishop Kilwardby, has already been mentioned. The pride of the friars increased with years. Their learning soon gave place to mere pedantry. Their credit with the people declined. But their churches only grew more and more magnificent, and this lengthened notice of them is justified because, though they must have been among the most prominent architectural features of the city, they have now so utterly disappeared.

But far above all competitors within the boundaries of the city rose the new fabric of the cathedral church.

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* Stubbs, 'Chronicles,' xci.

The pavement was laid down in 1312, and the spire finished with its cross and pommel within three years more.* Though it was not built of stone, but of timber covered with lead, this steeple must have presented a magnificent appearance. It rose, according to contemporary authority, to the extraordinary height of 520 feet:—"The height of the stone fabric of the belfry of the same church contains from the level ground cclx feet. The height of the wooden fabric of the same belfry contains cclxxiiij feet. But altogether it does not exceed five hundred and xx^ty^ feet. Also the ball of the same belfry is capable of containing, if it were vacant, ten bushels of corn; the rotundity of which contains xxxvj inches of diameter, which make three feet; the surface of which, if it were perfectly round, ought to contain four thousand lxviij inches, which make xxviij square feet and the fourth part of one square foot. The staff of the cross of the same belfrey contains in height xv feet, the cross beam being vj feet."† The Londoners were justly proud of their cathedral church, which must have cost vast sums. The contemporary chronicles contain frequent entries as to the completion of various parts, the translation of the bodies of the saints to their new tombs, the dedication of altars, the reception of

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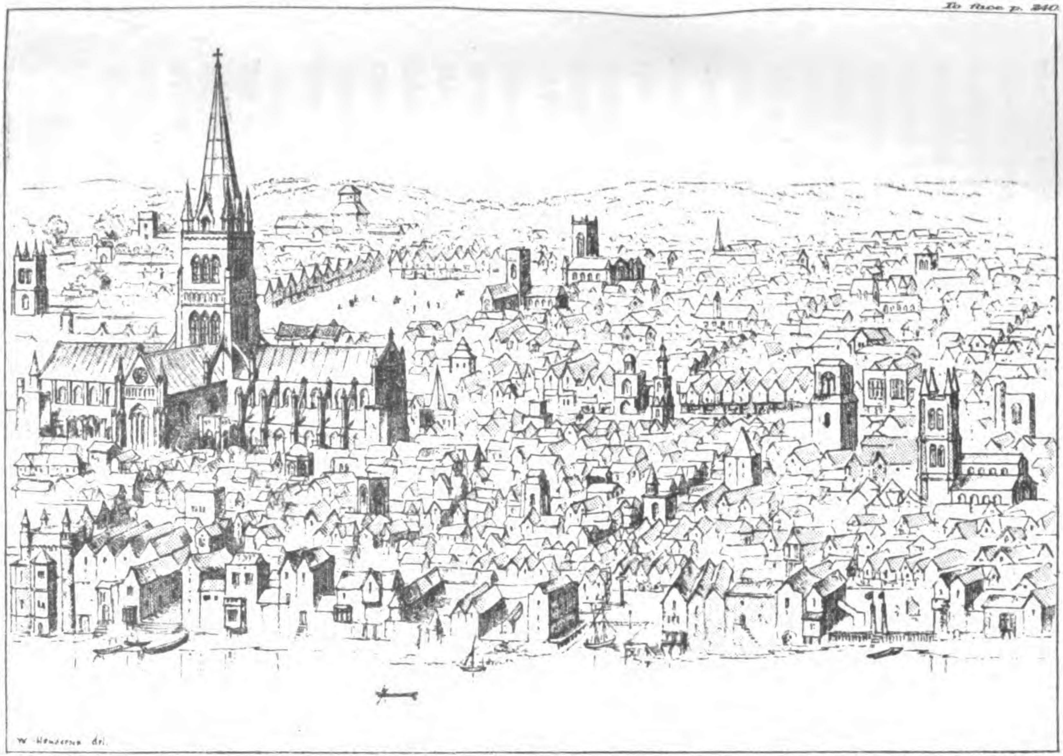
* In a 'Chronicle of London,' printed by Edward Tyrrell in 1827 (from Harl. MS. 565), the dimensions of the church are given according to "a tablet hung against a column by the tomb of the Duke of Lancaster." This tablet is mentioned in Strype's Stow, but is quoted incorrectly. It is odd that Longman, in his 'Three Cathedrals' (p. 30), should have overlooked this Chronicle, which is sometimes attributed to Sir Harris Nicolas.

† I have thought it worth while to give this quotation from the "Chronicle" printed in 1827, as it seems to be little known, and was not referred to in some recent controversies. See Longman's 'Three Cathedrals dedicated to St. Paul.' There is a little view of this spire in the 'Annales Paulini,' edited by Mr. Stubbs in his volume of 'Chronicles' for the Rolls series, p. 277.

To face p. 240.


W. Henderson del.

Stanford's Geogl. Estabt.

ST. PAUL'S BEFORE 1561.
As sketched by Van den Wyngaerde

London: Edward Stanford, 55 Charing Cross.

precious relics and the consecration of bells. Round about the church was the precinct wall pierced by six gates, of which the chief opened upon Ludgate Hill, affording therefore a measure for the eye of the visitor approaching from the west, and perhaps framing as in a picture the noble front of the church itself. At the north-western corner was the house of the bishop. On the south side was the chapter-house, the scene of so many events of historical importance in the history of our city. Though the citizens still claimed the right to assemble in their folkmote at the eastern end of the churchyard, where the wall and a gate only intervened between it and the wider expanse of the Cheap, the old open space had gradually been encroached upon, and in spite of protests and even an action at law, was so reduced as to be useless for its former purpose.*

When the first foundations of the new and glorious fabric of the cathedral church were laid, after the great fire of 1087, the Cheap was covered only with the tents and booths of the market-people. When it was finished, and the spire had received its "pommel and cross," in 1314, houses crowded round the precincts, the open space of Cheap was confined to a mere field near Bow Church, the vacant ground on the north was occupied by the church and house of the Franciscans, and only a little space, just about the bishop's "palace" and the so-called "Pardon Churchyard," were cultivated as gardens. In 1329 a fruiterer who was gathering nuts in what is now London House Yard fell from the tree and was killed.† The king's coroner deeply offended the susceptibilities of the dean and chapter by holding an inquest in the bishop's hall, within their sacred precincts. The chapel of the Holy Ghost stood on the same side, and in Pardon Churchyard was an old Norman building erected by Gilbert Becket, the portreeve, with a cloister, in which the Dance of Death was painted. A little to the eastward and near the gate into Cheap stood a temporary pulpit, sometimes used for sermons by popular preachers, and sometimes, as at the death of Henry III. for proclamations to the people. The church itself had grown so much that two parish churches, St. Faith's and St. Gregory's, were both absorbed. The modern St. Paul's stands within the boundaries of St. Gregory's, though itself "extra-parochial," except the north aisle of the choir, which is in St. Faith's. The church was demolished about 1256 to make room for the completion of the east end of the cathedral, and parishioners worshipped in a portion of the crypt assigned to them and beautifully fitted up. St. Gregory's was built close to the western entrance, at the south side, and probably served as a foil or measure to the main building. In very mistaken taste, it was pulled down during the repairs and "beautifications" of St. Paul's carried out under the superintendence of Inigo Jones.

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* 'Liber Custumarum,' 338, &c.

† 'Chronicles,' Stubbs, p. xcvi. The report of this accident must have been seen by some one who, quoting it from memory, confounded it with that described above in chapter iv. as having occurred in St. Michael Paternoster.

The number of priests attached to the service of this immense church, with all its chantries and altars, was reckoned at upwards of one hundred when the celebration of masses was abolished at the Reformation. Of these, the officers on the establishment,* so to speak, were the dean, subdean, four archdeacons, treasurer, sacrist, with his three vergers, precentor, chancellor, thirty canons, now called prebendaries, and twelve minor canons. This vast body subsists, in name at least, to this day, but the

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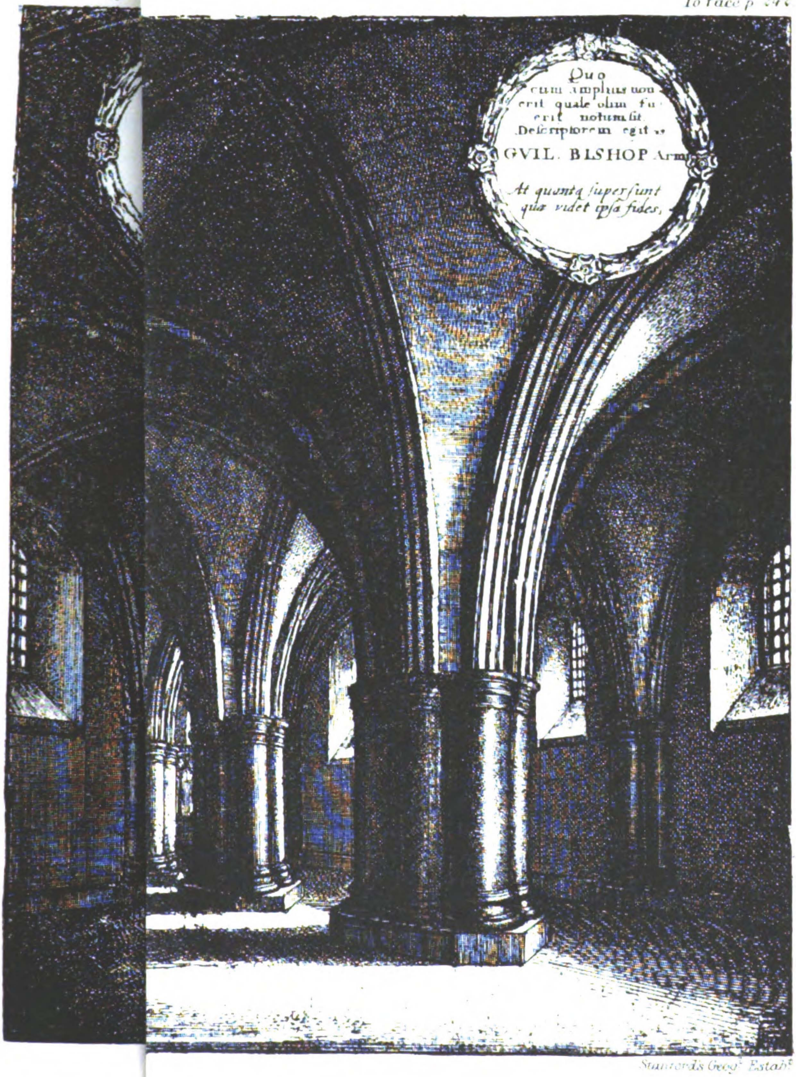
* See Dr. Sparrow Simpson's 'History of Old St. Paul's,' p. 25.

From an engr

To face p. 242


Quo
cum amplius non
erit quale olim fu
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GVIL. BISHOP Arm
At quanta ſuperſunt
quæ videt ipſa fides,

Stanford's Geog.l Estab.t

whole constitution of the cathedral has been altered. The prebendaries, from being each lord of a well endowed manor, are almost without any emolument, four "residentiary canons," without estates, but drawing a salary from the ecclesiastical commissioners, represent the higher clergy, and occupy the pulpit. We do not so much as hear of any pulpit in the old church. Preaching was not, in the thirteenth or fourteenth century, considered at all a necessary part of the priestly office. When a sermon was wanted, some person of known eloquence, generally a friar, was called in for the purpose. To this day many old churches in our city and in the suburbs have "lectureships" attached to them, established for the most part at the time of the Puritan movement, when parishioners were dissatisfied with the mere ministrations of prayer and the sacrament.*

At the close of the reign of Edward III. the see was governed by one of the most popular of the long line of prelates who had occupied London House. Sudbury, his predecessor, had somewhat favoured the doctrines of Wycliffe, and had, in an evil day for himself, sneered at the devotion of the pilgrims who assembled at the shrine of St. Thomas in Canterbury Cathedral. The words were remembered against him, no doubt, when the Kentish mob dragged him from the Tower and smote off his head, in the riots of 1381. Six years earlier, on his advancement to the primacy, he had been succeeded in London by William Courtenay, who in his turn, after Sudbury's tragical end, was promoted to Canterbury. Among their predecessors in London, mention should be made of Maurice, whose daring mind planned the great church as completed; of Gilbert Foliot, who was excommunicated by archbishop Thomas, to the great indignation of the citizens, who a few years later crowded to Canterbury to worship at the tomb of the new saint; of Richard of Ely, or FitzNeal, the first of a long line of literary bishops, and the leader of the movement which his dean, Radulphus de Diceto, carried on, and which eventually produced the great chroniclers of the thirteenth century; of Roger the Black, a patriot and legislator canonised by popular acclamation, whose shrine in the south aisle was long marked by the knees of innumerable votaries; and of the two Gravesends, uncle and nephew, the second of whom, Stephen, was hated and ill-treated for his fidelity to Edward II.*

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* "It is clear from the minutes that preaching or lecturing on Sundays was not practised in the church, for in the year 1583 Mr. Shepherd offered to preach a lecture upon Tuesdays and Thursdays; but the parishioners preferred to have one on Sundays in the forenoon and on Thursdays in the night."—Parish Books of St. Margaret Lothbury, by Mr. Freshfield, in 'Archæologia,' xlv. 67. There are other notes to the same purpose in this curious and interesting paper. See also Newcourt, i. 20, who is quite indignant, apparently, at preaching going on in the cathedral.

Bishop Courtenay from the first opposed the doctrines of Wycliffe, and was no sooner in possession of the see than he called a synod at St. Paul's and summoned the reformer to appear before them and give an account of himself. He came, but accompanied by John of Gaunt, who was practically regent of the realm, as the Black Prince was dead, and the king, sunk in senility, thought of nothing but the charms of Alice Perrers, who on her part was busy amassing an estate from the foolish favours of her doting lover. Courtenay saw in the Duke of Lancaster the man who had driven William of Wykeham from the court, and had restored his favourite to the king. His appearance with Wycliffe did not in reality strengthen the reformer's case. On the contrary, when the bishop and the duke had disputed fiercely for some minutes, the shouts of the assembled citizens became so threatening that John of Gaunt withdrew, and went to his house at the Savoy. The next day, nevertheless, he ventured again into the city to dine with a certain Flemish merchant, William of Ypres, who lived by the Thames' side. The city mob, meanwhile, had assembled in great force at the gates of the Savoy, and were clamouring for the duke and Lord Percy, who had joined him in insulting the bishop. Wycliffe seems to have quietly retired from these tumultuous scenes. He must have perceived that the duke only took up his cause to annoy the bishop, and not from any conviction of the truth of his doctrine. News came in that the people had burst the gate and were wrecking the house. The duke and his friend left their oysters untasted, as we are told, and fled by boat to Kennington: and the bishop to whom also the tidings were brought while he was at dinner, himself went to appease the multitude, in which he at last succeeded by reminding them of the sacredness of the season, for Easter approached.

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* I may refer the reader who wishes to know more of these and the other great men who filled the seat of Erkenwald to Newcourt, Dugdale, Godwin, and the history of St. Paul's by the late Dean Milman.

Notwithstanding Bishop Courtenay's popularity, there were occasions on which he acted against the true interests of the city. In 1376 Edward demanded an aid or subsidy from the clergy. Things were not going well in France, and money was badly wanted at home and abroad. The bishop withstood the king and the grant was refused. But old as he was Edward had his revenge. The bishop ventured to pin a papal bull relating to the Florentines to the cross of St. Paul's. It was a direct incitement to the lawless to pillage the wealthy Italian bankers and merchants. The mayor* protested and invoked the chancellor, himself a bishop.* Courtenay had put himself in danger of a "præmunire,"† and only a very speedy apology saved him from the consequences.

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* I have not been able to make certain whether this mayor was Brember or his predecessor Ward.

Courtenay became archbishop on the death of the unfortunate Sudbury, and was succeeded in London by Robert de Braybrook. The Wycliffe controversy still raged, and the city had not yet recovered the tumults of 1381. Half the house of the Hospitallers had been burnt at Clerkenwell, and the whole of the Savoy. The young king had excited a warm thrill of loyalty by his courageous conduct in Smithfield, and Walworth, who with his own hand had cut down the rebel Tyler, was still mayor. But Braybrook set himself to reform abuses, to restore ruins, to regulate services, to endow the poor priests and control the wealthy prebendaries of his church. He abolished the expenditure on gluttony, by which every new canon signalised his election. He introduced the Use of Sarum for the daily prayers. In many other ways he showed the practical turn of his mind, and after five centuries we still see traces of his work, not only in London, but in the suburbs.‡ The college of minor canons was founded by him and obtained a charter from the king in 1394. He cleared the nave of buyers and sellers, who, "not only men but women also," he complained, "—not only on common days, but especially on festivals,—expose their wares, as in a public market." He further threatened to excommunicate those who, throwing sticks and stones at the pigeons,

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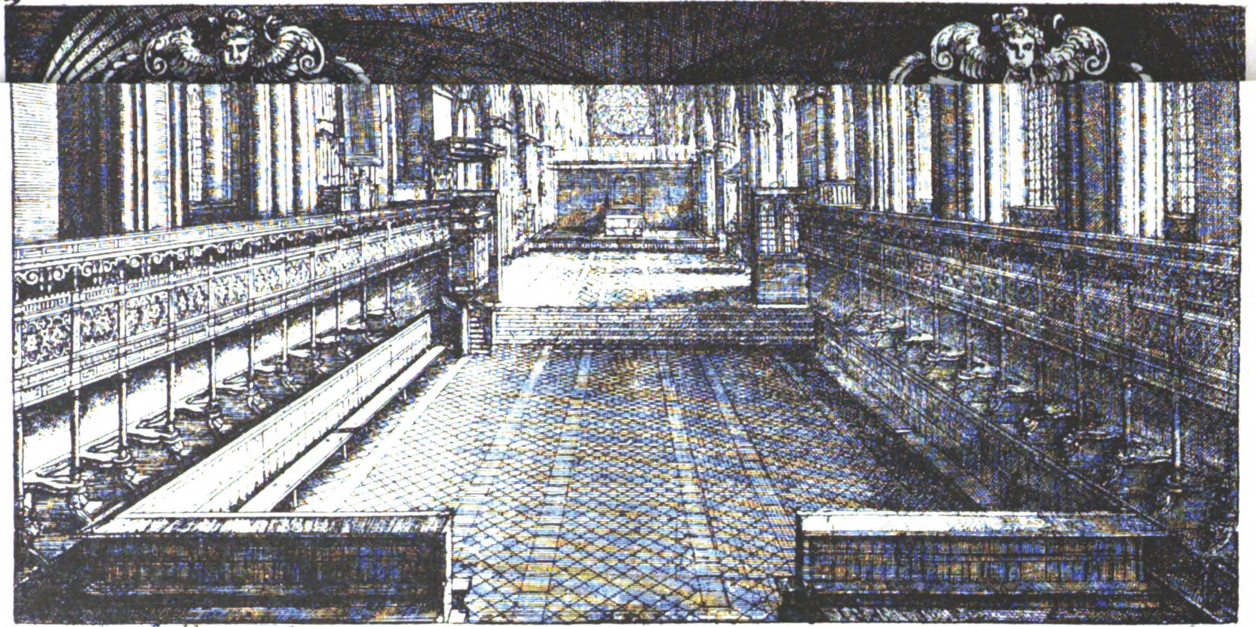
* The bishop of St. David's, John Thoresby, afterwards of Worcester and archbishop of York.

† The statute of Præmunire was passed in 1353 to counteract the aggressions of the pope, who was then at Avignon.

‡ It was by his arrangement that St. John's, Tyburn, was removed, and St. Mary "le Bourne" built instead. See vol. ii. chapter xxi.

From an engraving by W. Hollar; date about 1657. *To face p. 248.*

169 CHORI ECCLESIA CATHEDRALIS S. PAVLI, PROSPECTVS INTERIOR.



Wenceslaus Hollar delineavit et sculpsit

Stanford's Geog^l. Estab^t.

London: Edward Stanford, 55 Charing Cross.

broke the carvings, or those who, playing at ball, broke the windows. It does not, of course, follow that these latter practices went on within the church, but it is evident that the great nave had been built only to be desecrated, and that the "Paul's Walk" of which we hear so much before the fire of 1666 was a very ancient institution.

Meanwhile Richard II. had long belied the promise of his youth. He kept no faith with the city. He established the very oppressive rules by which the constable of the Tower seized a toll of every boat or ship passing up the Thames. He made the citizens repair their wall and the forts on it, and ordained an "octroi" or duty on all food brought into the city to pay for the work. These and a multitude of minor oppressions did not endear him to the populace, who had their own battle to fight with the companies. Unfortunately we have here no longer the guidance of the candid Fitz-Thedmar: and it is barely possible to disentangle the ravelled web of city politics in the reign of Richard II. One mayor, Sir Nicholas Brember, took a prominent part in the affairs of the country at large, and seems to have been at least as worthless as any other of the king's unworthy favourites. He had participated in the suppression of Wat Tyler's rebellion, and at any rate no such mean motives were ever attributed to him as to Walworth* in this matter. In the struggles of the young king for emancipation from the control, first of Lancaster and afterwards of Gloucester, Brember was reckoned among the king's friends: and Richard was welcomed into the city on Sunday, November 10, 1387, by a large assembly, comprising the mayor, Nicholas Exton, and the chief citizens, all wearing the royal livery. But the "five lords" had influence in London, and when Richard's schemes were known they did not meet with favour. Gloucester was received without hesitation, and the mayor told the king that though the citizens were ready to arm against his enemies they would do nothing against his friends. It was afterwards alleged that Brember and others, who called themselves the king's party, endeavoured to persuade the mayor to join them in a plot against the life of Gloucester, who was to be invited to a banquet in Brember's house, and there murdered. Whether such a plot was ever concocted, and whether Richard was a party to it, are questions which cannot now be answered. We only know that Brember's position was altogether unusual, although we cannot tell to what circumstance he owed the king's favour.

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* They are set forth by Allen and others and need not be detailed here. It may be worth while to mention that the so-called dagger in the city arms is the sword of St. Paul, and has nothing to do with Walworth.

The question of the day in the city was one of little importance without the walls. We saw, in the last chapter, how the companies had come to wield unbounded influence in the election of the members of the governing body. In 1375 the common councilmen were elected exclusively by the companies. The wards, and those of their inhabitants who did not happen to be free of a company, were thus excluded from power. In 1384 another change was made. The populace rose against the tyranny of the companies. The fishmongers by their monopoly made themselves especially unpopular.* One poor wretch, John Constantyn, a shoemaker, went about among his neighbours counselling them to make resistance. He set the example by putting up the shutters of his shop—it was on Thursday, the 11th February—and calling upon the people to join him. It does not appear that any actual rioting took place, but the mayor, Brember, and the sheriffs sallied out, took Constantyn, hurried him into the Guildhall, condemned him, and without further delay cut off his head. For this act Brember obtained a special writ from the king, excusing him on account of the dangerous tendency of Constantyn's conduct. But it was evident that something must be done to appease the populace: and the election of the deliberative council was accordingly given back to the wards. At the same time, however, the choice of the electoral body was left with the companies, so that the people were no better off than before. It is evident that they obtained no power, for a fishmonger was mayor in the succeeding year. In 1386, Brember, in order to further the schemes of Suffolk, Tresilian, and the other "king's friends," forced himself into the mayoralty. He belonged to the grocers' company, which at this time was so powerful that it boasted of sixteen aldermen among its members. In spite of this strong support, public opinion was against the king, and when Gloucester appeared at Clerkenwell with forty thousand men, the gates were opened and Brember fled, but was shortly apprehended. He was brought before the parliament with Tresilian, and though he offered to prove his innocence by wager of battle, he was tried in the ordinary way. This was on the 17th of February, 1388, and on the 20th he was condemned, and immediately hanged at Tyburn.*

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* Riley, 'Memorials,' p. 482.

Bishop Braybrook seemed to have held aloof as much as possible from all interference in politics. When Richard came into the city in state in 1387, he did not appear. The following day, however, he withstood De la Pole, the king's favourite, to the face, reproaching him as a malefactor already condemned and only suffered to live through the royal clemency. Richard was highly incensed, and ordered the bishop out of the room. But in 1388, after the death of Brember and the exile of De la Pole,* Braybrook joined the archbishop in a solemn service at Westminster, where Richard renewed his coronation oath. Two years later he was concerned in a transaction of peculiar importance to the city.

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* Stow (p. 190) says he was beheaded.

Richard was as extortionate as he was extravagant. The oppressions of Edward II. and Henry III., and the vast sums they had contrived to squeeze out of London, were not forgotten. Richard resolved to try one of his ancestors' favourite devices. He sent to borrow 1000*l.* from the citizens. They refused the loan, and, in addition, ill-treated "a certain Lumbard" who would have given the money. John Hinde, the mayor, with his sheriffs, was summoned to Nottingham, and on his arrival arrested and locked up in Windsor Castle, the sheriffs being separated and sent, one to Wallingford and the other to Odiham. This was in May. In August, the citizens, who had found out that "the end of these things was a money matter," resolved to meet the king's demands, and it was arranged that he and his queen should visit London. The people, to the number of four hundred, went out to meet them as far as Wandsworth, and the bishop and his clergy awaited them and joined the procession at St. George's Church in Southwark. At London Bridge two white horses were offered to the king and queen, in trappings of red and white with silver bells. The conduit in Cheap ran with wine, and a child, dressed as an angel, presented them with gold crowns. A "table of the Trinity," in gold, perhaps a bas-relief or an enamel, was given to Richard, and one of

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* Earl of Suffolk.

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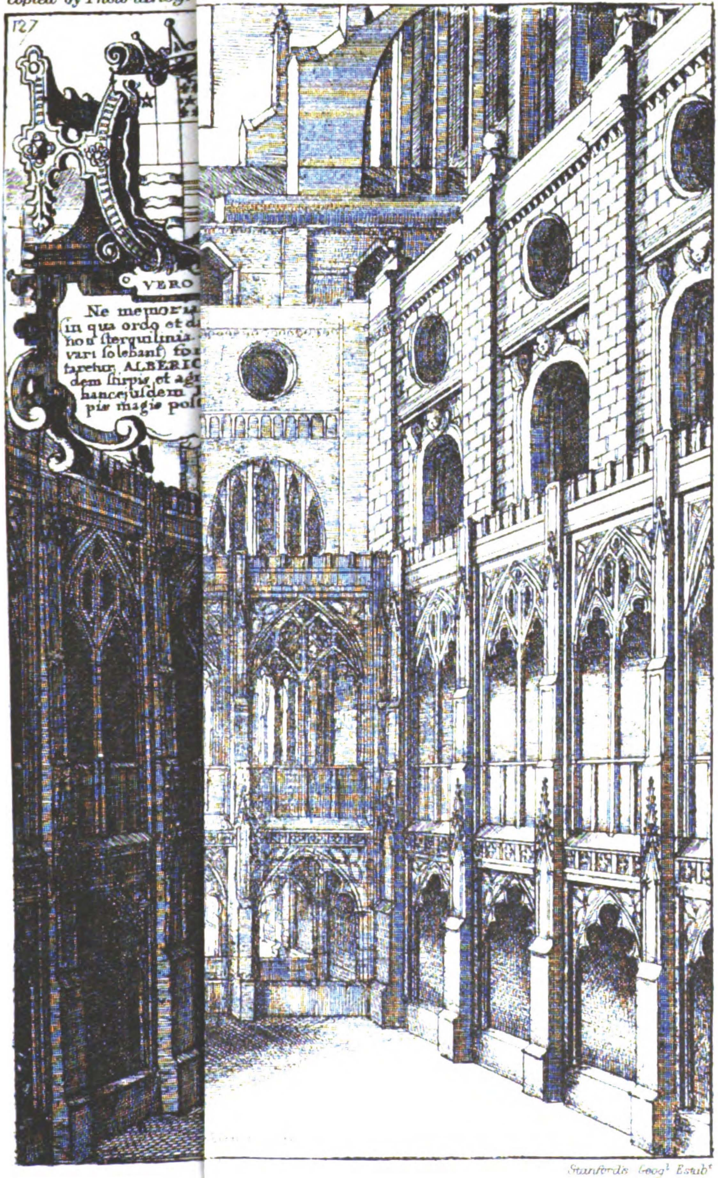
127
VERO
Ne memoria
in qua ordo et d
no ſterquilinia
vari ſolebant) fo
taretur, ALBERIC
dem ſtirpis et ag
hanc ejuſdem
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Stanford's Geog^l Estab^t

St. Anne to the queen, in honour of her name. Going on to St. Paul's, the procession was met by the choir singing to welcome them, and a solemn mass was performed before the king and queen went on to Westminster.

In addition to the costs of this entertainment London had to pay a fine of 10,000*l.*, and on the 28th February following, a formal patent or charter was granted by which Richard received them back into his favour. It may readily be believed that the citizens, of whatever rank, had now lost the loyal feelings with which they had originally regarded Richard II.; and, as events proved, he was to add another example to those of Henry III. and Edward II. as showing that the favour of London was worth keeping.

Bishop Braybrook and the primate were now much exercised by the universal outbreak of "Lollardry." If we may believe a contemporary poet* Richard himself made a declaration against heretics on the occasion of this visit to the city.† Courtenay had held a synod or conference at the Grey Friars' in the year after Wat Tyler's rebellion, and undeterred by an earthquake which interrupted the proceedings, but which the archbishop adroitly turned in his own favour as showing that the earth would fain shake itself free from false doctrine, he had set up a White Friar at St. Paul's Cross to inveigh against Wycliffe and his "poor priests." In spite of all he could do the new doctrine spread in every direction.‡ Oxford was leavened with it and we may be sure London was not far behind. Wycliffe had died at the end of 1384, and

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* 'Political Poems and Songs' (i. 282), edited by Wright for the Rolls series.

† Some readers will remember the curious rhyming line in Richard's epitaph at Westminster:—

"Comburit hæriticos et eorum stravit amicos."

‡ See Green, 'History of English People,' i. 490.

Courtenay had been able to suppress his teaching in the university, but it only spread the more widely, like a pollarded tree. When the pulpit at St. Paul's Cross was occupied by a preacher reputed a Lollard, all the city crowded to hear him. The mayor in 1382 and the following year was more than suspected of favouring the new doctrine, and when his opponent Brember succeeded in procuring his imprisonment we may be sure the fact was not forgotten against him.*

When Richard married his French bride of eight years old, the citizens, with a last effort of expiring loyalty, met the royal procession on Blackheath, and a few days later conducted the queen in state through the city, on which occasion the crowd was so great that the Prior of Tiptree was crushed to death with eight other unfortunate spectators. This ill-omened event was followed shortly afterwards by the death in his mayoralty of Adam Bamme, when the king by an exercise of illegal authority appointed a new mayor. This was the last time a king of England† took the city of London "into his own hands" to use the old phrase. The mayor he thus arbitrarily appointed was none other than the famous Richard Whittington.

The remainder of this reign so far as London is concerned, was a time of deep discontent. The king's extravagance increased daily. He extorted blank charters, or as we should say "cheques" from wealthy citizens and filled them up at his royal pleasure. He borrowed money from every one who came to court, and yet he is reported to have spent 3000 marks on a single dress. The citizens, worn down with taxation, petitioned that there should be some lightening of their burdens, since the war with France was happily ended by the advent of the little French princess: but the king was so indignant that it was with difficulty that Braybrook and the archbishop pacified him.

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* This imprisonment of Northampton is mentioned by Stow, but I have not succeeded in discovering particulars.

† Charles II. did something of the kind, but the difference is pointed out by Norton, p. 118.

Meanwhile Henry, the son of John of Gaunt, had become the idol of the people, who had forgotten their hatred of his father. In the beginning of 1399, the old duke died at Ely Place, in Holborn,* which he had hired after the destruction of the Savoy. His son was in exile. In May of the same year, Richard departed on his Irish expedition. Early in July Henry landed in Yorkshire, and hastened to London, knowing how strong his cause would be if the city favoured him. He was received with joy, and his army supplied with provisions by the citizens. When a little later he brought the wretched king a captive to the Tower, it is said that a body of respectable citizens begged that he might be put to death, but others report that only the lowest rabble wished to assassinate Richard. Henry returned from the Tower and gave thanks in St. Paul's. Braybrook was one of those who took part in Richard's deposition, in the coronation of Henry, and in the subsequent act by which the ex-king was condemned to perpetual imprisonment. All these events happened before the last year of the fourteenth century was out, and in the beginning of the following year Richard's body was brought to London, "in the state of a gentleman,"† and shown to the people in St. Paul's, "that they might believe for certain that he was dead."

With the dirge for Richard, Braybrook's episcopate was nearly ended. Yet he survived till the autumn of 1404, when he died, and was buried in the Lady Chapel of his cathedral. After the great fire Pepys records that the bishop's body "fell down in the tomb out of the great church into St. Fayth's." He describes the "skeleton with the flesh on," all tough and dry like spongy leather, the head turned aside, and adds, "a great man in his time and Lord Chancellor; and his skeleton now exposed to be handled and derided by some, though admired for its duration by others." The disgraceful exhibition continued till the new cathedral was built, when the body was re-interred in the crypt; where, however, no monument marks its last resting-place.*

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* For an account of Ely Place, see vol. ii. chapter xx.

† See 'Life of Bishop Braybrook,' in London and Middlesex 'Transactions,' vol. iii.

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* A fine brass was on the tombstone and is engraved by Dugdale. Newcourt makes some interesting remarks on the subject (p. 20):—"One thing more of mine own observation I cannot omit, which is this, viz. though the sculptures in brass were by sacrilegious hands torn away from all the tombs in the church, yet this alone, which was one of the costliest, having the bishop's effigies in brass at length engraved upon it, in his episcopal habit, and his epitaph in brass likewise inscribed about it, was left untouched, till it was buried in the ruins by that dreadful fire, notwithstanding it was the most conspicuous of any; the lord mayor and his brethren, and the greatest part of the congregation passing over it every Sunday." It would seem, therefore, as if the good bishop's memory was cherished by the citizens until then.

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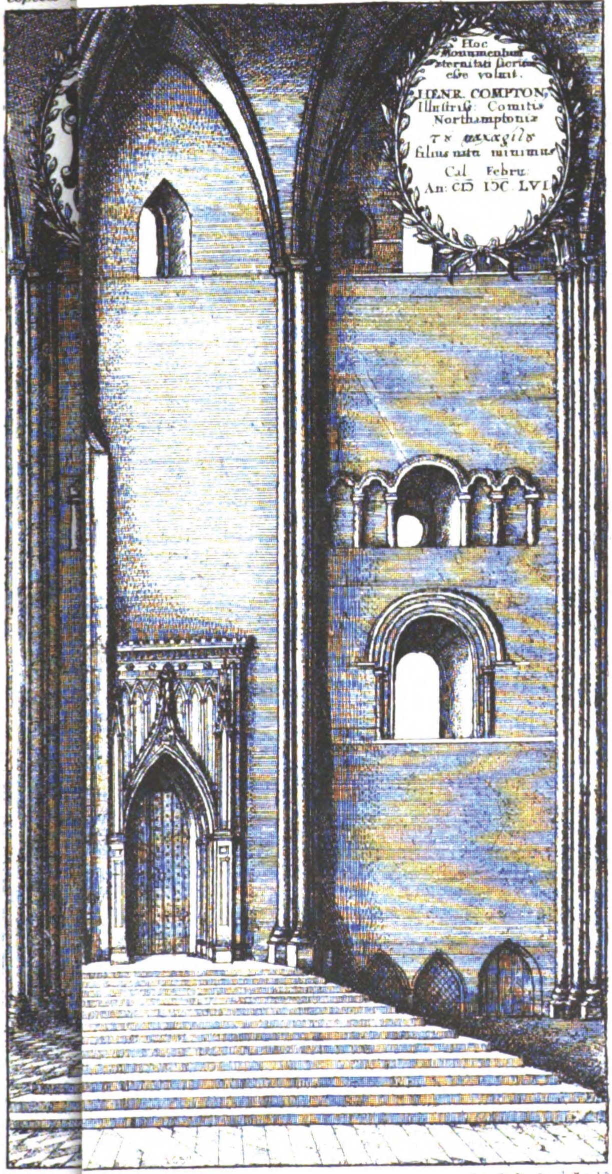
To face p. 254.


Hoc
Monumentum
æternitati sacrum
esse voluit.
HENR. COMPTON,
Illustriss: Comitis
Northamptoniæ
τὸ μακαρίτου
filius natu minimus
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An: CIↃ IↃC. LVI.

Stanford's Geog^{l} Estab^{t}

W Hollar
et

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tenuem diſsoluor in umbram
Dabit Deus his quoq finem

Virg: Æneid: Lib 2

CHAPTER IX.

YORK AND LANCASTER IN LONDON.

WE have now in our narrative of the city history arrived at a period regarding which innumerable books exist, teeming with information. London was particularly fortunate in having attracted the attention of an acute and patient observer like Stow, before the bloom of the middle ages had been rudely wiped off. He saw it as it was left by Whittington and Large, still but half ruined by Thomas Cromwell and his master, and before the great fire had made it into modern London. That the fire spared Stow's monument in the little church upon Cornhill was only an accident, but amid such widespread destruction, when some of the grandest buildings in Europe were sacrificed, it was perhaps a good omen for the future that the curious terra-cotta figure of the antiquarian tailor still sits where his widow set it in the side aisle of St. Andrew Undershaft. Mr. Thoms has well remarked that "the devouring element, as if pitying his fate, and honouring his labours, spared the monument of him who had so carefully preserved the history of London's greatness."

Stow's general accuracy is remarkable, but when, in our own day, another and almost equally painstaking interpreter of old records arose, a few mistakes and errors were detected. Henry Thomas Riley, whose premature death was a public loss, obtained access to the original documents on which Stow founded his historical passages, and by publishing them with his own comments has enabled us to correct Stow where it is necessary, and at the same time to form for ourselves a clearer view than has previously been possible of the growth of the municipal institutions. Of London in the fifteenth century it is now easy to conjure up a tolerably distinct impression. The city itself was still greater than its suburbs. Though Westminster, with its new wool staple, its law courts, its royal palace, and its long line of noble villas by the bank of the Thames was rapidly rising into importance, London itself with its bridge, and perhaps on account of its bridge, was still the most populous and the most wealthy. We have traced its gradual growth, the extension of its "wards without," the bridging of the Fleet, the covering of open spaces, the formation of streets in Cheap, the building of halls and churches, and the changes of public opinion regarding the religious orders. By this time the monastic institutions swallowed up a large part of the city itself, and clustered thickly round the gates. The parish churches had in many cases become collegiate, that is, attached to foundations for the residence of priests or monks, and were crowded with chantries and separate altars at which mass was sung for the repose of the souls of generations of wealthy citizens. With all this outward deference to religion it cannot be said that morals had improved, and the records are full of details of crime, in which the idle mendicant friars and the ignorant mass priests take somewhat more than their due share. Although much foreign trade had been lost in the wars of the Edwards, the city was still very wealthy when the first Lancastrian king ascended the throne, and a lively competition and friendly rivalry with Bruges and Ghent, and with the Hanseatic towns of northern Germany, more than made up for the decline of trade with Bordeaux and the absence of Italian bankers.

The name of Richard Whittington, who was four times mayor in the early years of the century, is as familiar as nursery tales can make it.* The country lad of good family was sent up to London at thirteen to make his fortune. He was accredited to a wealthy mercer, who like himself came from the west country, and taking the oath of industry, obedience, and duty, imposed upon apprentices, entered the office, as we should say, of John Fitz Warren. This must have been about 1371 or 1372, and king Edward was still alive. The boy may have seen the last tournament of the old monarch, and Alice Perrers riding to Cheapside as the Lady of the Sun, and sitting on the balcony where the motherly Philippa had sat when she was a girl queen. He may have watched the rising walls of the "Charter House," and heard from an eye-witness of the burial in the pest-field behind of the 50,000 victims of the great plague. He may have seen the Canterbury pilgrims set out, nay, he may have been acquainted with Geoffrey Chaucer, who was alive till the end of the century. He must have often looked at the gay banners hung out from houses where some great country baron was lodging while parliament sat,† and was probably a spectator of the grand mystery play—of the history of the world from its foundation—which the parish clerks gave at Skinner's Well near Clerkenwell, and which lasted eight days, when the most part of the nobles and gentles of England were there to behold it.*

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* Messrs. Besant and Rice, in their charming little account of Whittington and his times, have made extensive use of Riley, but have breathed life into the dry bones, and presented us with a picture as vivid as it is accurate.

† See evidence of Chaucer in the Scrope and Grosvenor Case, p. 178: "Being asked if he knew of any interruption or challenge made by Sir Robert Grosvenor, or by his ancestors, or by any one in his name, to the said Sir Richard (Scrope) or any of his ancestors of that name, he replied that he was on one occasion in Friday Street in London, and as he passed through the street he saw hanging out a new sign made with the said arms, and asked whose town house it was which had hanging without it these arms of Scrope."

In due time the apprentice† was made free of the mercers' company, which numbered King Richard II. himself among its members: and he seems to have very soon attracted the attention of his sovereign. He had subscribed five marks in 1379 towards the defence of the city, and ten years later he pays 10*l.*, from which we may judge of the prosperity of his affairs in the interval. In 1397 Richard took upon himself to make Whittington mayor on the death of Adam Bamme during his year of office.‡ The arbitrary nature of this step does not seem to have given any offence. The citizens were too much occupied with other and more important affairs. The blank "charts," or cheques, already mentioned, were being signed, and the appointment of a popular merchant was acquiesced in willingly, as is proved by his regular election to serve as mayor again in the following year. There was disquietude in the city. The king's affairs were more and more involved. There was a constant dread of invasion. The river was but half protected, and a few years before a Scots pirate had shown himself off the Nore, and had only been driven away by an expedition fitted out at the cost of a private citizen, Sir John Philpot. There were warm disputes over the elections of aldermen, and new regulations were adopted, which practically placed the power of choice in the hands of the aldermen themselves. Whittington belonged to the retrograde or autocratic party, which now pursued very much the same policy as that of the old oligarchy in days long gone by. Proclamations were made against public meetings, and Whittington, who had been elected alderman of Broad Street Ward, in 1393, is frequently mentioned as assenting to all such repressive measures. He was not mayor the year Henry IV. ascended the throne, but was re-elected in 1406.

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* Stow, p. 7.

† Messrs. Besant and Rice accept the authenticity of the story of Whittington's first commercial venture with the cat (p. 137).

‡ There is a misprint of 1379 for 1397 in Besant and Rice. The king's writ is in Riley, p. 544, from Letter-book H.

Meanwhile, the new Guildhall was fast approaching completion.* The old Guildhall, the place of meeting of the ancient senate of the city from time immemorial, had been situated in Aldermanbury, a street in the ward of Cripplegate, to which it gave a name. Strange to say, we do not know when the old site was abandoned. Some remains of its buildings were still extant in the time of Stow, but as we know that the Guildhall chapel was built in the reign of Edward II., on a site adjoining that of the new Guildhall, it is evident that the removal had then already taken place. Stow speaks of the older hall on this new site as being little better than a cottage. The old hall in Aldermanbury may have been burnt† and a sudden removal may have been rendered necessary: but if so, the removal probably took place before the final arrangement respecting wards, which I have ventured to assign to the government of Sir Ralf Sandwich. That this is likely appears by a glance at the ward map, by which it will be seen that the site of the Guildhall itself is a reservation taken out of the ward of Bassishaw and annexed to that of Cheap. The new site may have been chosen, as I have already hinted, on account of the openness of the ground, where, probably, the "haugh" or wooded space surrounding the mansion of the Basings still in part existed. Many other halls were on the same estate. "Bakwellehalle"* closely adjoined the site of the new Guildhall and was appropriated in the mayoralty of Whittington as a mart for the sale of broad cloths. The chapel and Bakwellehall have disappeared, and their place is taken for a bankruptcy court and other civic buildings; but their position may be ascertained by a glance at the accompanying view in a print engraved in the early part of the eighteenth century. The original Guildhall in Aldermanbury must have almost touched the new one, which, however, faced a different way, and this closeness of the two structures, though they were in different parishes, wards, and streets, may be the reason for the absence of any notice of the removal of the corporation from their time-honoured place of meeting.

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* Riley, p. 545. I am disposed to think that part at least of the beautiful crypt, now so shamefully ill-used, is of older date than the building above.

† Stow says it was a carpenter's yard in his time. History repeats itself. The crypt of the newer Guildhall is a carpenter's yard now.

In order to provide for the new building many expedients were resorted to of a somewhat questionable nature. Thus a payment was imposed upon apprentices, upon persons taking up their freedom, and upon the enrolment of deeds; and fines were imposed on small offenders, who had hitherto stood in the pillory in Cheap or sat in the stocks in the poultry market. A sum of 100*l.* was, moreover, taken from the tolls of London Bridge for six years which should have gone to repairs.

Whittington's second, or to speak more exactly, his third mayoralty was in 1406 and was marked by a return of the plague, of which it was reported that thirty thousand people died. The year must, in fact, have been one of extreme anxiety. The insecure condition of the kingdom, the king's personal unpopularity, the frequent plots and tumults, and, it may be, disaffection, in the city, are indicated in the numerous executions for high treason, and the subsequent exhibition of traitors' heads on the battlements of the bridge. Another cause of disquietude was the increase of Lollardry, and the Act for burning heretics, which had been passed in 1401, led to consequences the horror of which can hardly have been foreseen. The Black Friars, and indeed all the conventual orders, began to see their influence slipping from them. The ballads and rhymes of the time are full of scurrilous references to their life and conduct. The increase in the number of mass priests, already mentioned, did not tend to the elevation of the secular clergy. Learning declined, and the name of one of the greatest scholars, Duns Scotus, became and remains a synonym for ignorance. The so-called learned men were occupied with absurd quibbles, and the spread of superficial education among the laity, while it helped to discredit the pedantries of the friars and to further Lollardry, also paved the way for the great literary revolution which the century now begun was destined to see before it closed. Meanwhile, the bishops clamoured for an example, and in February, 1401, their first victim, William Sawtree, mass priest, or perhaps curate, of St. Osyth,* suffered the cruel penalty annexed by the new act to "obstinate heresy."†

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* So called from the Banquelles, who succeeded the Cliffords and Basings. The original "manor-house," so to speak, may well have stood on the spot.

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* Or St. Benet Sherehog, Size Lane. Newcourt points out that John Newton was the parish priest here from 1396 to 1427. Some authorities bring Sawtree from St. Osyth's in Essex, where he may have been the abbot's vicar.

† The Grey Friars' Chronicle simply records :—"That yere a prest was brent in Smythfelde, that was called Sir William Sautre for erysse." "A lollard and an eritik approved afore alle the clergye" (Tyrrell's 'Chronicle'). The spelling of the newly-defined offence does not seem to have yet been settled.

To their surprise the bishops found that so far from crushing out the spirit of the new sect by this barbarity, its constancy rose superior to the flames, and that the behaviour of Sawtree at the stake only encouraged his followers. Parliament, too, when it met, showed some signs of disapproval, and it is among the marvels of the time that the Church did not see the danger it ran in betaking itself to such extreme measures of repression. Sir John Oldcastle,—in right of his wife, Lord Cobham,—was the acknowledged leader of the Lollards, and from his neighbouring estates in Kent was able to succour the sufferers in London. His soldierly qualities endeared him to the king and his son, Prince Henry, while the personal holiness of his life testified to the sincerity of his convictions. For eight years, including that of Whittington's mayoralty, the act was not put in force, but even the lowest rabble must have been horrified at the burning of the second martyr, at which the prince himself assisted. The story is so quaintly told by the chronicler* that we may quote it whole:—"This same year (1409) there was a clerk† that believed not on the sacrament of the altar, that is to say God's body, which was damned and brought into Smithfield to be burnt. And Harry, Prince of Wales, then the king's eldest son, counselled him for to forsake his heresy and hold the right way of holy Church. And the prior of St. Bartholomew's in Smithfield brought the holy sacrament of God's body, with twelve torches' light before, and in this wise came to this cursed heretic: and it was asked him how he believed: and he answered that he believed well that it was hallowed bread and not

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* 'Chronicle,' printed in 1827, p. 92. I have, for the most part, modernised the spelling.

† Mr. Green says he was a layman, named Thomas Badby (i. 535).

God's body: and then was the tun put over him and fire kindled therein: and when the wretch felt the fire he cried mercy; and anon the prince commanded to take away the tun and to quench the fire, the which was done anon at his commandment: and then the prince asked him if he would forsake his heresy and taken him to the faith of holy Church, which if he would do, he should have his life and good enough to live by: and the cursed shrew would not, but continued forth in his heresy, wherefore he was burnt."

On the accession of Henry V. these horrors became more, rather than less, frequent. With some difficulty the new king was persuaded to commit Lord Cobham, his old companion in arms, to the Tower, whence, however, he very soon escaped and commenced to organise his followers and take measures for an armed rising. Meanwhile there was a great convocation of the clergy at St. Paul's which lasted a fortnight,* and when it was over, Archbishop Arundel and many other bishops called the people together on Sunday at the cross, and solemnly accursed Sir John Oldcastle and all his supporters. Immediately after Christmas the rising began. Suspicious bodies of men were to be seen assembling among the thickets between London and St. Giles'. On the 8th January, 1414, the king and his brothers and the bishops took the field against the rebels, whom they found in great force beyond St. Giles' "between Westminster and the highway toward Tyburn."† The first person they took up proved to be a squire of Oldcastle's, and they seem thereupon to have arrested wholesale all the passengers they met on the road. No resistance seems to have been made, but thirty-seven poor wretches were committed, some to the Tower and some to Newgate, and on the morrow they were hanged in Lincoln's Inn Fields, and their bodies burnt. We hear of no formal trial: of no identification of the prisoners: nor are we told that they had arms in their hands: but the chronicler no doubt reflects the scare which was in men's minds when he says, "these men were arisers against the king," adding, "and certainly the said Sir John Oldcastle with great multitude of Lollards and heretics were purposed with full will and might for to have destroyed the king and his brethren, which be protectors and defenders of holy Church, and them also that be in degree of holy order in the service of God and of his Church, the which will and purpose, as God would, was let." It is evident that we see here the elements of a religious war at work. Fanaticism and superstition were busily employed. Whether Oldcastle's designs were treasonable or not, they were put down with a ferocity begotten of terror. When he was taken in "the march of Wales," namely, in his native Monmouthshire, he was put to death with even greater cruelty than that shown to his followers. London was the headquarters of "heretykes" and "Lollards,"* and he was accordingly drawn through the London streets to the gallows at St. Giles',† "and he was hanged be a cheyne of iron, and was brent up galawes and alle."

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* It assembled on St. Edmund's Day (20th Nov.) and sat "tyl the iiij day of Decembre," 1413.

† This circumstantial account is in Tyrrell's 'Chronicle,' p 97. For the ancient topography of the district, see vol. ii. chapter xxi.

While these tragical scenes were being enacted, London was plunged into a whirl of agitation of another kind by news of the victory of Agincourt. War, as usual, brought with it financial excitement, and enormous fortunes were rapidly accumulated by some of the leading mercantile firms. Centuries have not dissipated the estates bequeathed to their descendants by some of the contemporaries of Whittington. Among the city lists of the magnates of the time we meet with the names of men whose posterity are now in the first ranks of the peerage. And Whittington himself profited like the rest. He is said to have burnt bonds worth 60,000*l.* before the king on his return, a by no means improbable story. No doubt he had made more by the king's want of money for his campaigns, and these very bonds, though they may have represented a royal debt, were probably by no means worth their nominal value. In 1419, the year of the king's marriage with Katherine of France, he was mayor for the last time, but if he died in the following year, as has been asserted, it is impossible that as mayor he can have entertained the king and queen, for they did not come to England till Candlemas,* the king entering London "upon seynt Valentyne's day,"† and the queen on the 21st of the same month of February, 1420, when he was out of office, if not dead. But his death is placed by some authorities ‡ in 1423, which is more probable, being the year in which his will was proved by John Coventry, John White, William Grove, and John Carpenter. The munificent gifts he had made to the city in his lifetime were continued after his death. In addition to the college for priests, in St. Michael, Paternoster Royal, which he founded, he exemplified the new interest in literature by his gifts of books to the Grey Friars, where a building, on the site of the present hall, was erected to receive his library, and to the Guildhall. The executors, moreover, pulled down and rebuilt the prison of Newgate adjoining the gate, which with a great part of the city wall had been repaired in 1415. The gate, indeed, was wholly new, and seems to have been placed a little to the south of the original site, whence its somewhat misleading name. The old "Chamberlain's Gate" was probably on the same spot as the Roman entrance from the Watling Street, of which the remains have been found in our own day.

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* Tyrrell, p. 106.

† There has been some conflict of opinion as to the spot on which he suffered, but the 'English Chronicle,' edited by Mr. Davies for the Camden Society, expressly mentions "Sent Gilis feld."

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* Feb. 2nd.

† Tyrrell, p. 108.

‡ Besant and Rice, p. 174. Mr. Brewer says ('Life of Carpenter,' p. 23) that Whittington's will was made in September, 1421, and proved in 1423. The king's licence for rebuilding Newgate prison was obtained on the 23rd May.

Whittington or his executors have also the credit of founding the first city library. It consisted of a very considerable stock of books, and Stow says they erected a "fair and large library" for it and for the other manuscripts belonging to the corporation, adjoining closely to the Guildhall chapel. In the reign of Edward VI., his uncle, the Protector Somerset, sent for the books, and carried them away in "three carres," promising to restore them shortly. But the promise was never fulfilled, and London, till our own day, was left without a library. New and restored buildings for St. Bartholomew's Hospital, the pavement and glazing of the new Guildhall, the stocks market, where the Mansion House now stands, the opening of "drinking bosses," or taps, in the public conduits, and an almshouse for thirteen poor men, which still subsists,* were among the objects to which his wealth was devoted. His example was followed by many other public-spirited citizens, and all generations of Londoners have been taught from their infancy to revere the name of Whittington.

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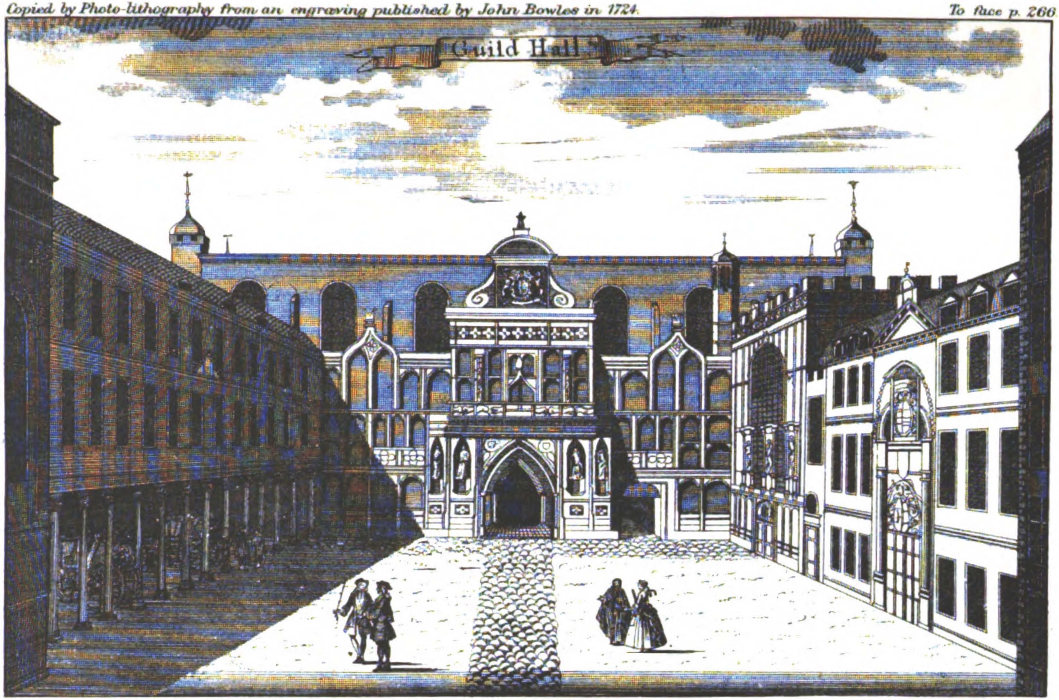
* On Highgate Hill.

Copied by Photo-lithography from an engraving published by John Bowles in 1724.

To face p. 266



Stanford's Geog^l Estab^t

London: Edward Stanford, 55 Charing Cross.

Carpenter,* his executor, also deserves a few lines of remembrance. He was of a very different character from the merchant princes with whom he associated and was one of the first writers and readers of whom we know that, though in a sense a clerk, he was not in orders. He was appointed town clerk or "secretary of the city" in 1417, and is immortalised by the composition of the famous "Liber Albus," or "White Book" of London records, which has proved so valuable to the historian.† Like Sir Thomas More at a later period he was a lay brother of the Charterhouse, and seems indeed to have been attached to other ecclesiastical fraternities, but without taking orders. He is venerated as the first founder of the city school, and seems, like Neel, the master of St. Thomas of Acons,‡ and other enlightened men of the day, to have been anxious in the cause of education. The printing press had not yet been invented, but men's minds were being prepared for the outburst of the new learning which the end of the century was to see. Two years before Carpenter's death, his friend Robert Large, the mercer, was mayor; and among Large's apprentices was a boy from Kent, whose name was destined to become at least as famous as that of Whittington himself. When we come to mention Caxton, it seems as if the clouds of the middle ages were already rolling away, and the new light of the renascence breaking at once upon the page. But ere Large's apprentice had become master of the "English nation" at Bruges, and had learnt the wondrous art from Colard Mansion, London had to suffer many things, to see the hero of Agincourt on his bier, to witness the fall of the fated house of Lancaster, and to be, in particular, the scene of the ambitious plots of Richard of Gloucester.

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* 'Life of John Carpenter,' by Thomas Brewer. London, 1856.

† It was printed in the original Latin for the Rolls Series in 1859, and translated by Mr. Riley for the corporation in 1861.

‡ Whose school survived as the Mercers'. See above, p. 114.

Before the death of Henry V., and during the mayoralty of Sir Henry Barton in 1416, the lighting of the streets with lamps was made compulsory. On the 13th August, 1422, a weathercock was set on the steeple of St. Paul's. King Henry died during the course of the same month, his body passed in solemn procession through the city in the November following, and nearly a year later an almost equally melancholy procession took its place. Could the citizens have foreseen the troubles coming on the kingdom, no appearance would have been more sad than that of the infant Henry VI. in 1423. The widowed queen and her little son set out from Windsor for London on Saturday (the 13th November). They rested at Staines, and on the morrow the king was being carried toward his mother's chair in order to continue the journey when "he shriked and cryed and sprang and wolde nought be caryed forthere : wherefore he was borne ayeyne into the inne and there he bood the Soneday al day."* It seemed as if the infant king foresaw the misery he was to endure in the city to which he was being taken for the first time. On Wednesday the cavalcade passed through London, and the boy "with a glad chere sate in his modres lappe in the chare."† Then the baby king's uncles led him into St. Paul's, where he was made to kneel at the altar. When we think of the tall columns and overarching vault, of the wide marble steps, the lofty canopy, and the poor little child, not three years old, "looking gravely and sadly about him," as if feeling already the weight of two usurped crowns, as he crouched by himself in the midst, it is hardly possible to call up any scene in our history more pathetic.

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* Tyrrell, 'Chronicle,' p. 112.

† Tyrrell, p. 165. Miss Yonge ('Cameos,' ii. 353) and others have mentioned a tall white horse on which the queen sat bearing the child.

The streets of London immediately became the battlefield of rival factions. Gloucester, the regent, was personally popular. "Good Duke Humfrey" is not even yet altogether forgotten. Though his grave is in St. Alban's Abbey, a tomb in old St. Paul's was appropriated to him by the people, and his tragical fate made the deepest impression on the citizens. We read that during the mayoralty of Sir John Coventry in 1426, he warned the city of a design to seize it which had been formed by his rival, the bishop of Winchester. Shops were shut, men-at-arms called out, the gates locked, and the bishop's adherents were successfully excluded. This is an example of the state of things which prevailed more or less for nearly fifty years. A very brief summary of them will suffice. The young king was crowned at Paris in 1429, and coming to London was met on Blackheath with great ceremony and conducted through the city to Westminster by the mayor and chief citizens. A few years later, on the breaking out of war between England and the Duke of Burgundy, not only did the city furnish and maintain a contingent for the defence of Calais, but, what is not so pleasant to record, the people in London rose and murdered a number of Flemings and other subjects of the duke who had been trading here. In January, 1437, the body of queen Katharine, the widow of Henry V., rested at St. Paul's on its way from Bermondsey Abbey, where she had died, to Westminster. Her second husband, Owen Tudor, was actually at the time a prisoner in Newgate, hard by, and in the course of the following year broke out, "hurtynge foule his kepere, but at the last," adds the chronicler,* piously, "blessyd be God, he was taken ayeyn." What the poor man had done to deserve imprisonment history sayeth not. The same year that saw queen Katharine's death saw also that of the widow of Henry IV., Joanna of Navarre, who had been accused of sorcery during the reign of her stepson. It has been suggested that for "sorcery" we should read "lollardry," which is very possible, but the case of the duchess of Gloucester, notwithstanding that her maiden name had been Cobham, was one of simple superstitious belief in witchcraft. It can, in fact, hardly be doubted that when the wretched lady was charged with having endeavoured "to consume the king's body by negromancie," she at least believed in the possibility of such a thing, and the people believed that she had attempted the dreadful deed. She confessed, and was condemned to penance. Being sent from Westminster by water, she walked, with only a "keverchef" on her head, through "Fletstrete" to St. Paul's, where she offered a taper of wax weighing two pounds. This was on Monday, the 13th November. The following Wednesday she performed her dismal walk from the Swan in Thames Street—Swan Wharf still survives—through Bridge Street and Gracechurch Street to Leadenhall, and "so to Crichurche," that is, St. Katharine Cree, near Aldgate. Again on Friday, in like manner, she landed at Queenhithe, walked through Cheap, and on to St. Michael's, Cornhill. At each place where she landed, the mayor, sheriffs and crafts met her and accompanied her pilgrimage. Her chaplain was hanged, and she herself was sent into perpetual imprisonment, it is said, in the Isle of Man. A few years later the "good duke Humfrey," her husband, was murdered at Bury St. Edmunds, and within eight weeks his rival, cardinal Beaufort, followed him to the grave ; leaving England a legacy of disunion and strife which was not allayed till a whole generation had passed away.

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* 'Chronicle,' printed 1827, by Ed. Tyrrell, p. 123.

As an example of the city life of the time, we may take the story of the widow of Aldgate, of which some particulars have survived. She found a poor Breton, who had perhaps wandered over with the followers of Joan of Navarre, who, when she married Henry IV., was dowager duchess of Brittany. The widow, out of charity, took him home to her house and treated him kindly. In return, he murdered her and carried off all she possessed. Being detected, he fled across the river to Southwark, and took sanctuary. On one or two occasions the mayor and sheriffs had invaded sanctuary, as, for example, when a soldier in 1439 got safe into St. Martin-le-Grand, while actually on his way to be hanged, but they had been obliged by the fulminations of holy Church to give up their prey.* The Breton was starved out, but, in accordance with the ecclesiastical rule, he was allowed to go, on condition of forswearing the realm, and departing to Dover, and across the sea as quickly as possible.† "Bareheaded, barefooted, ungirt, a white cross placed in his hand, he was sent forth on his painful pilgrimage." But though he had escaped the law, "as he went his way it happed him to come by the same place where he had done that cursed deed, and women of the same parish came out with stones and dirt, and there made an end of him in the high street, so that he went no further, notwithstanding the constables and other men also which had him under their governance to conduct him forward, for there was a great company of the women, and they had no mercy, no pity."*

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* Kempe, 'St. Martin-le-Grand,' p. 117. The contemporary report is very quaint:—"There came out (of) the Panyer-Aley, five of his fellowship, not being of your franchises, but strangers, betwix the Bocherie and the Bole, hed and bereft from the said officer the foresaid sowdeor, with daggers drawn, and brought him with them into the Sanctuarie," &c. The Bowl was probably a tavern. The soldier's name was Knight.

† See Palgrave, 'The Merchant and the Friar,' p. 189, for an account of the usage on these occasions.

The meagreness of the city annals during this reign would be extreme but for the rebellion of Cade, one of the strangest events we meet with in all London history. Who Cade was, what he wanted, how he contrived to make himself leader of the regular Kentish levies, and to overawe the city for so many weeks, and why his power so suddenly collapsed, we shall probably never know. Our acquaintance, too, with the state of the civic parties is of the slightest. There are indications now and then of the existence of political views. Some of the city rulers are more popular than others. There is occasionally a sign of emotion among those below, of repression by those above: a reference, too vague to tell us much, to the existence of "the commons." In short, the old days of isolation were past. The citizens of London were no longer a peculiar people, dwelling in a close-walled town, surrounded by fordless morasses and impenetrable forests. They could no longer indulge in political rivalries which did not concern any one but themselves. The old days of Fitz-Thedmar and his chronicle, in which London is described as a kingdom within a kingdom, self-contained, self-governing, were gone for ever. The suburbs took the citizens far into Middlesex. Southwark was directly under their governance. They lived in villas at Stepney and even at Tyburn. London had become part of England: and already the old patriotism of the citizens to their city was growing weak. It is difficult, once the first half of the fifteenth century has been reached, to dissociate the history of London from the history of

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* Modernised from Tyrrell, 'Chronicle,' p. 117.

Westminster, or of St. Giles's, or of Southwark; and though the old bounds are still set, and the old walls, by a kind of fiction, are still standing, London entered a new stage of existence before the last king of the house of Edward III. had ascended his blood-stained throne.

The Kentish men, disgusted like every one else at the misgovernment of the kingdom, had been foremost in the deposition and assassination of the weak king's weak minister, Suffolk. In 1450 they wanted a leader, and Cade offered himself. He was an old soldier, and knew how to organise an army. Calling himself Mortimer, he led some twenty thousand men over the wooded hills of Dartford to the Thames, and encamping at Blackheath, issued his orders and levied his contributions on the city for a month, during which the king fled to Kenilworth, and the city magistrates seem to have been simply paralysed with fear. Of the mayor, Thomas Chalton, we hear absolutely nothing, except that after Cade had defeated the king's general near Sevenoaks, and had returned and made his head-quarters at the White Hart in Southwark, he called a meeting of the common council, at which was debated, not the question how to oppose the rebel, but whether he was to be allowed to enter the city. The lower classes it is evident sympathised with Cade. He promised them immunity from taxation and all the other benefits which every leader of the kind has always offered to the credulity of the populace. He demanded and obtained contributions, but ordered that they should be levied on the foreign merchants only. The archbishop of Canterbury and other great men had interviews with him, in which they were surprised at his discretion, but they naturally could not persuade him to retire or to lay down his command. Robert Horne alone among the aldermen seems to have had the courage to counsel resistance; and the very day that the citizens had met, the rebel army entered by London Bridge. Cade immediately disarmed the resentment of the commons at this proceeding by frequent proclamations to his soldiers forbidding violence or robbery: he was somewhat absurdly attired in a "pair of brigandines," with gilt spurs, a gilt tilting helmet, and a gown of blue velvet, with his sword borne before him, "as he had been a lord or a knight"* and coming westward along the old line of the Watling Street, he struck his sword upon London Stone, and exclaimed, "Now is Mortimer lord of this city."

This moderation did not last long. On the following day (3rd July) he again entered the city, having retired to Southwark for the night. He repaired to Guildhall, where the trembling mayor and aldermen were assembled. Here he ordered them to bring Lord Say † from the Tower,‡ and to arraign him before the mayor and the king's judges who were then sitting. Robert Horne was summoned at the same time, but escaped on his wife's payment of 500 marks for his liberty. Say desired to be tried by his peers, but the impatient rebel, taking him forcibly from the custody of the city officers, dragged him into Cheap and beheaded him in company with a thief and murderer named Hawarden, Say's body being stripped and dragged naked through the streets, so that, as the chronicler declares, the flesh clave to the stones all the way from Cheap to Southwark. A former sheriff of Kent, Crowmer, who was Say's son-in-law, and had been committed to the Fleet on account of a complaint of extortion in his shrievalty, was taken out to Mile-end and handed over to a party of Essex rebels, when he speedily shared the fate of Say. Their heads were borne on poles and set up on London Bridge. Cade dined, when this bloody work was accomplished, at a citizen's house, and robbed his host of "great substance," the next day doing the same at another house. This was Saturday, 5th July. The city mob, always glad to see rich men plundered, were now all on his side, but at length the mayor and aldermen woke up. They sent to Lord Scales, who still held the Tower, though he had not been able to save Lord Say, and concerted measures with him for the protection of the city. On the morrow, being Sunday, Cade seems to have rested on his laurels, merely beheading a man in Southwark; but in the evening some of his soldiers seeking to enter the city, found their passage opposed at the bridge. Cade came to see what was the matter, and drove the citizens back to the very foot of the bridge, and killed or drowned an alderman and several other people. The brave citizens, however, held out all night; "ever they kept them upon the bridge, so that the citizens passed nevermuch the bulwark of the bridge foot, nor the Kentish men no further than the drawbridge." At last, about ten* in the morning, the rebels "withdrowe thaym litille and litille," a kind of truce being patched up for a few hours, and the archbishop, again advancing, and taking on himself to issue a general pardon, Jack Cade and his followers withdrew, the leader to Queenborough, whence he hoped to escape to the continent with his plunder, which he had sent to Rochester by water, going by land himself; and the people to their forests and furnaces in the hills of Kent and Sussex. The rebellion collapsed. It was, as Mr. Green* and others have pointed out, one wave of a great tide of public movement throughout England, but, so far as London is concerned, the incident ends with the elevation of Cade's head to the place previously occupied by those of Say and Crowmer on London Bridge.

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* 'English Chron.' (Cam. Soc.), p. 66.

† Sir James Fiennes. He lived at Knole, and is called "lord lieutenant" in Mr. Cooper's account of the affair in 'Archæologia Cantiana,' vol. vii.

‡ On the outbreak of the rebellion Say, who had been Lord Chamberlain, was committed to the Tower by the king.

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* Tyrrell's 'Chronicle' says nine, and the Cam. Soc. 'Chronicle,' ten.

Meanwhile the kingdom was being gradually aroused to the fact of the existence of Richard of York, the heir of the line of Edward III. He had no position and asserted none, in respect of the crown, which had been confirmed by parliament to Henry IV., a descendant it is true of a junior branch, but claiming in the male line, while York, had he made any claim, could only have done so through the Mortimer family, whose heir he had lately become. The Mortimers had, by the marriage of Edmund, third earl of March, with the daughter of Lionel of Antwerp, inherited his position as the third of king Edward's four sons, while Henry VI. only represented John, the fourth son. But York, in addition, was, by his father's side, descended from Edmund of Langley, the fifth son of Edward III., and was thus as much a Plantagenet as his cousin the king.†

The side which London would take in the coming contest was to determine its result. Up to 1452 the city was loyal to Henry. York had marched up from the west with a large army, and hoped the gates would have been opened to him. But entrance being denied, he crossed the Thames at Kingston, and took up a position at Dartford, the royal army being at Blackheath. His rival in the king's councils was Beaufort, duke of Somerset, and a kind of armed truce having been patched up, York attended in St. Paul's on the 10th March and took an oath of allegiance to Henry VI. In the following year an event occurred which obliged him to declare his intentions. The queen, after eight years of marriage without issue, gave birth to a son at Westminster. The king at the time was sunk in the stupor of insanity. He could take no steps to recognise the prince as his heir, and Warwick, who was destined to become so famous as the "king maker," actually ascended the pulpit at St. Paul's Cross, and proclaimed to the citizens the illegitimacy of the queen's infant. The child, whose birth had taken place on the feast of the Translation of St. Edward the Confessor, was christened by the name of that saint, and when the king recovered he was duly recognised. York seems to have disavowed the action of Warwick, and when he became protector it was specially stipulated that he should only continue in office during the prince's minority. The events of the next few years belong to the general history of the kingdom, and though Warwick frequently resided in his house, the site of which in Newgate Street is still indicated by Warwick Lane,* he does not appear to have interfered to any appreciable extent in civic affairs. York also occasionally resided in the city, at his house in Baynard's Castle, by the Thames' side. He was now, and remained, during the rest of his life, supreme in London, where his popularity was unbounded. In 1451, a Yorkist army occupied the city. Warwick's followers amounted to six hundred men, all clothed in red, with the old Beauchamp badge, the ragged staff, in white. The white rose had been adopted by the soldiers of York, although it appears previously to have been a badge of the Nevils. The famous scene in the Temple Gardens had been enacted some years before, when Warwick had assigned the rose to "Plantagenet." Shakespeare has taken some liberties with chronology in his famous version of the story.* But it is to be observed that Cicely Nevil, Warwick's sister, was the wife of York. In short, during these years of confusion and warfare, London was a Yorkist camp, and her streets must have been constantly animated by the tramp of liveried men-at-arms, and the clank of knights in harness. At every corner fluttered banners of heraldic tinctures, and the retainers of country lords, each dressed in the livery colours of his master, lounged at the gates of the hostels. The mayor and sheriffs trembled for the peace of the city.† Special precautions were taken. Five thousand citizens were under arms. At night a patrol of a thousand men attended each of three alderman as a watch till seven o'clock in the morning. They marched we are told,‡ "owte of Newgate, and soe up Holborne and downe Chauncery lanne and thorow Fletstret and in at Ludgate and thorow Temstret, and soo to the Tower of London, and soe forthe home agayne." The Somerset party was absolutely refused admission. After the first battle of St. Alban's, in 1455, where Somerset was slain, the duke of York conducted the king to London. And now the feeling of the city was apparent. The victors were received in triumph with a grand procession. The duke conducted the king to the house of the bishop at St. Paul's, as Leicester had conducted Henry III. nearly two centuries before.* Shortly after, the king was allowed to retire to Hertford.

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* i. 564. The Camden Society's 'Chronicle,' quoted above, says that Cade was wounded unto the death and carried in a cart towards London, and "be the wey he deide."

† The only occasions on which this surname was used in the family were when this duke began to set up pretensions to the crown, and when Edward IV. bestowed it on his bastard son, Arthur.

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* Previously Old Dean's Lane.

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* First part of 'Henry VI.,' act 2, sc. 4.

† See further particulars in Mr. Gairdner's 'Introduction to the Paston Letters,' vol. i., p. cxxxi.

‡ 'Grey Friars Chronicle,' p. 20.

A short peace ensued, but the troubles were only beginning. One of the contemporary authorities† complains bitterly of the state of affairs in the city. The king's debts increased daily, yet payment there was none. The hearts of the people were turned away from them that had the land in governance. Commerce must have suffered grievously. The Flemings had been alienated as we have seen. Normandy and the French possessions, except Calais, had been lost. But Warwick held Calais firmly, and attacking a Spanish fleet took some rich prizes. He defeated an attempt of the Lancastrian party to oust him, and at the climax of the war landed at Sandwich, and conducting with himself the young earl of March, sent a herald to know how London was disposed. "They that were not friendly to the earls counselled the mayor and the commonalty for to lay guns at the bridge for to keep them out, and so a little division there was among the citizens, but it was soon ceased." Twelve aldermen went out and assured the earls of a welcome, and on the 2nd July, 1460, they entered London. A convocation at St. Paul's was turned into a political meeting. Warwick once more harangued the people on behalf of March and himself, setting forth the misrule of the king's government, but avowing loyalty to his person, and expressing their determination "to declare and excuse their innocence or else to die in the field." Warwick then made his father, Salisbury, ruler of the city, and set forth to meet the royal army at Northampton, taking March, and the pope's legate, the archbishop of Canterbury, and other high dignitaries with him. Meanwhile the citizens under Salisbury blockaded the Tower, in which some Lancastrians had taken refuge. The besieged "cast wild fire into the city, and shot in small guns, and burned and hurt men and women and children in the streets. And they of London laid great bombards on the further side of the Thames against the Tower, and crased the walls thereof in divers places." When the battle of Northampton had been fought and won by the Yorkists, and Henry was back a prisoner once more in the bishop's palace, the Tower surrendered "for lack of vytayl," and some of its defenders were put to death, but their leader, Lord Scales, attempted to escape into sanctuary at Westminster. He entered a boat with three rowers, but was recognised by a woman, and pursued by a number of boatmen, who fell upon him in mid-stream, killed him, and cast his body on the Surrey shore by the church of St. Mary Overey. "And great pity it was," says the chronicler, "that so noble and so worshipful a knight, and so well approved in the wars of Normandy and France, should die so mischievously:" a lament which might have been uttered over many a victim of that dreadful time.

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* After the battle of Lewes in 1264.

† 'English Chronicle,' Cam. Soc., p. 79.

Henry was not kept long in London, but was allowed to cross to his manors at Greenwich and Eltham. In October, parliament settled the reversion of the crown on the duke of York, and again for a brief season there was peace. But before the end of the year the fighting was renewed, and in a way disastrous to the cause the Londoners favoured. On the last day of December the queen's army defeated and killed the duke of York at Wakefield, and a few days later the earl of Salisbury was beheaded by the people of Pontefract. A second battle took place at St. Alban's, and Warwick was forced to retire upon London.

The Londoners, meanwhile, dreading the queen's vengeance and hearing that she had promised her northern soldiers the sack of the city, sent envoys entreating her favour, at the same time, however, shutting the gates against certain men-at-arms, whom she had sent on before her. March had been fighting in the west, where he had defeated a gathering of Lancastrians, and put to death, among others, Owen Tudor, who, old as he was, had done good service in the cause of his stepson. The queen and her army, joined by the poor king after the battle at St. Alban's, turned back from London on hearing that Warwick and March had effected a junction. The citizens, free for the moment from apprehension, welcomed Edward of York with acclamation. He reached London on the 28th February, and proceeded to his mother's house at Baynard's Castle, where the citizens crowded to his standard clamouring to be led against the slayers "of the noble duke Richard, his father." A council of lords was summoned. Henry was declared to have forfeited the crown, and the people were summoned to a great meeting to signify their will. The Cheap was no longer available for a folkmote. But they assembled in thousands in Smithfield and the open space northward towards Clerkenwell, known as St. John's Field, and being asked if they would have the young earl for their king, the air was filled with the old cry of "Yea, Yea!" and London elected Edward IV. as it had elected so many of his predecessors.

After Edward's marriage, his policy, no longer directed exclusively by Warwick, was nevertheless unswerving in its favour towards the Londoners. The alliance with Burgundy in 1467, which opened again a vast trade between England and the Low Countries, was extremely welcome to the city merchants. Edward himself engaged in commercial ventures, and sent his own wool to Flanders. During the troubles between him and Warwick, when for a time he was driven out and the wretched Henry once more set upon his throne, London stood by her elected king. The battle of Barnet was won by the help of the citizens. Henry, his feet tied to his stirrups, was led three times round the pillory in Cheap and consigned to the Tower. While Edward was absent in the west, an old adherent of Warwick's, the bastard Falconbridge, marched through Kent and assaulted London, burning the houses on the bridge. He could not obtain an entrance, however, and having only succeeded in setting Aldgate on fire, had to fall back before the resistance of the citizens. Peace was proclaimed after the fatal fight at Tewkesbury, which, so far as Edward was concerned, not only concluded the war, but rid him of every possible rival, friend or enemy.

King Edward returned in triumph once more: the mayor, Stockton, accompanied by the aldermen and sheriffs, one of whom was the famous John Crosby,* went out with a vast multitude to the fields beyond Islington to meet him, and on the highway he knighted them, to the number of twelve, including the recorder. The same night saw the last act of the dismal tragedy of Henry of Lancaster. He was found dead in his lodging in the Tower, of "pure displeasure and melancholy" said the Yorkists, of poison said others.† The next day his body was brought to St. Paul's and shown to the people. Was any old man present to recall the day when, eight-and-forty years before, Henry, as a little child, had kneeled in royal loneliness before the altar of the same church?

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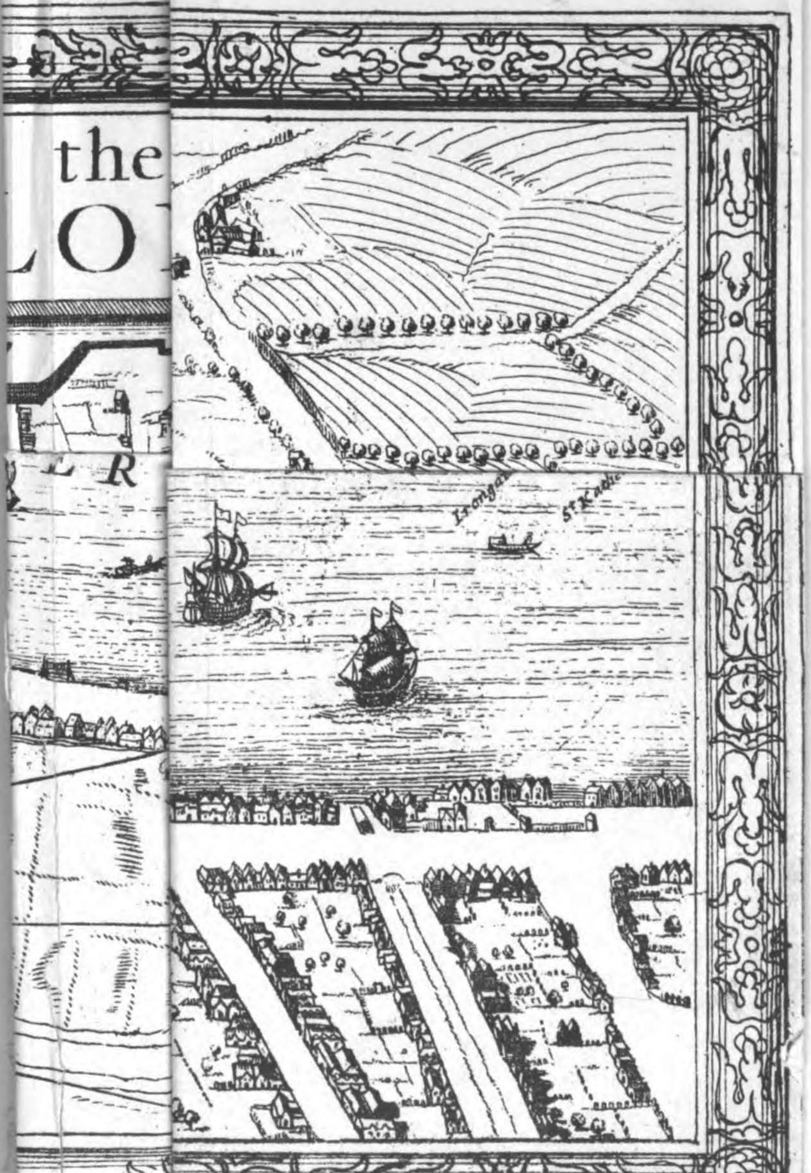
* Crosby was never mayor.

† Shakespeare makes Gloucester stab him. ('Henry VI.,' 3rd part, act v. vi.)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CHAPTER X.

SHAKESPEARE'S LONDON.

FROM the accession of Edward IV. a change comes over our city annals. The civic constitution was now settled. The outermost ring of suburbs had been enclosed. The last touches had been put to the fabric over which rival aldermen and common councillors had contended for centuries. The city had become venerable. Her citizens had begun "to think upon her stones." The repair of the Roman wall, carried out in 1476, is one of the first examples of the modern idea of "restoration," namely, a falsification of the history of a building. The first of the long series of London antiquaries, the first dramatist who was to illustrate her history, her people, her streets, for readers of all generations, were not yet born, but their time was drawing very nigh, and the printing-press was already at work. Fortunately for us, the old associations had begun to be studied before Cromwell and the Fire came to obliterate them. Stow has made the stage and painted the scenery, and Shakespeare has put in the figures. The antiquary conducts us through the narrow lanes, among the crumbling courts, under the overhanging gables, into falling priories and empty aisles. The dramatist sets Henry before us marching to Agincourt; he makes Richard plot in Crosby Place; Nym and Bardolph carouse for him in Eastcheap; at "a hall in Blackfriars" the two cardinals sit under the king as judges. Even when Shakespeare lays his scene in Illyria, or at Verona or Messina, the watchmen are from the London streets, the palaces are London houses, Dogberry himself is a tradesman upon Cornhill. In writing the plays which relate to London in those times, he could speak of what was actually before his eyes. The Wars of the Roses were not more remote from him, than the Scots' rebellion is from us. He stood, with respect to the sad story of Henry VI., nearly as we stand to that of George III. London had not altered so much since Gascoigne, and Falstaff, and Dame Quickly walked the streets, as it has now since the Gordon riots. Shakespeare saw it as Stow, who was his contemporary, saw it. It is more than probable that the antiquary* often passed before his eyes, "tall of stature, lean of body and face, his eyes small and crystalline," yet sober, mild, and "courteous to any that required his instructions." He may have seen Shakespeare at the *Mermaid*, and recognised his genius. Stow knew Ben Jonson well, who says of him that he had monstrous observation. He jested with poverty, being "of his craft a tailor." He always went about on foot, and travelled "to divers cathedral churches, and other chief places of the land, to search records." Yet he was merry, as was Shakespeare, and made epigrams. One of them is on the size of Sir Christopher Hatton's tomb, and the absence of any memorial of Philip Sidney and Francis Walsingham. He "annal'd for ungrateful men," and died at eighty, no richer than he had lived.

Of Shakespeare's personal history, we hardly know as much as we do of Stow's. But the few meagre facts that have been gleaned about him chiefly relate to

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* Thoms's 'Stow,' p. xii.

London.* His rare signature appears to a London lease. His brother's monument is in St. Saviour's Church. His theatre was at "the Gloabe on the Banckeside," a not very reputable locality. He owned a house in Southwark called the *Boar's Head.* He alludes to Whitefriars in his play of 'Richard III.,' and mentions London Stone in 'Henry VI.' A letter was addressed to him in Carter Lane, the main thoroughfare to Ludgate, where he lodged at the *Bell.* He bought a house near Puddle Dock, in Blackfriars, in 1612. The *Mermaid,* in Cheapside, has long disappeared, but there can be no doubt of its site in the block of buildings between Friday Street and Bread Street, with an entrance from each side. His plays were published in St. Paul's Churchyard, at the "Signe of the Floure de Leuse and the Crown," or at the *Green Dragon,* or at " the Foxe," and some of them in Fleet Street, "under the diall" of St. Dunstan's Church.

What London was like then, we may gather from a third source. Norden was born of a good family, in Wiltshire, about 1548.† He was therefore, the contemporary of both Stow and Shakespeare. He lived chiefly at Hendon, in Middlesex, and was employed as a land surveyor. His accounts of Hertfordshire and of Middlesex were part of a projected work, which he never completed. His map of London was drawn in 1593. There had been previous maps of the kind, bird's-eye views, in fact, such as that of Ralph Agas, which is believed to have been made about 1570, but the earliest copy known was printed after the accession of James I. There is also a small view-map in Braun and Hohenberg's 'Cities of the World,' which must have been drawn before 1561, as it shows the steeple of St. Paul's, burnt in that year. The first, however, on which full reliance can be placed, is Norden's, which represents the city only, at a definite date, 1593. We see in it both Holborn Bridge and Fleet Bridge: Moorfields had been lately drained, but were not built over. The old hospital still stands in Spitalfields. St. Clare's Nunnery is outside Aldgate. Essex House, or Leicester House, is outside the Temple. Burbage's Theatre was placed in Blackfriars * when the map was three years old. Close by, Baynard's Castle with its gables still remained as it was when Cicely, duchess of York, the "proud" mother of Edward IV., had lived in it when she visited London. Another great mansion may also be identified. This is Pulteney's, or Pountney's Inn, also called Cold Harbour, which has already been mentioned. Richard III. gave it to the Heralds, whom he had incorporated, but after the battle of Bosworth it was occupied by the mother of the new king.†

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* The "New Shakspere Society" have done good work for lovers of Shakespeare's London, in publishing Harrison's 'Description of England in Shakspere's Youth,' together with Norden's map, Mr. Wheatley's valuable notes on it, and the extracts from Perlin and Hentzner, and others. In the following pages I make continual use of this book, and acknowledge my obligation gratefully once for all.

† 'Shakspere's England,' New Shakspere Society, p. xc. Mr. Wheatley's notes on Norden's map.

With Stow and Norden, Shakespeare's London should be sufficiently familiar to us. By Shakespeare's London I do not mean only the London in which the great dramatist moved; but that of which, having the scene before him, he wrote, and in which his characters had

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* Its site is still marked by Playhouse Yard, behind the *Times* office.

† A foreign map, by Ryther of Amsterdam, published in 1604, closely resembles Norden's, but being much larger and clearer I have preferred to have it copied, the more so as Norden's map has been copied very often. Ryther's map, in two editions, is in the Crace collection at the British Museum, Nos. 31 and 32.

moved. To a mind like his, the actual scene of a great event must have been a direct incentive to clearness of description ; just as we could realise the burial of queen Anne and queen Katharine, and so make a step towards realising their execution, when we saw the actual ground in which they were so carelessly laid, with its broken pavement as if but just disturbed. When we go now to the chapel of St. Peter, and see the gaudy and vulgar tiles and a royal or noble name neatly worked into an encaustic border, we experience no emotion whatever, unless it be one of anger. But in Shakespeare's lifetime London was very much as it had been left by the wars of York and Lancaster. He could see the roses growing in the Temple Gardens, with the gabled buildings round them, which successive treasurers have since been so busy removing. He could traverse Cheap on the pathways overhung by the rapidly multiplying houses of Cheapside. He could walk in the long nave of "Powles" and listen to the distant music of the reinstated organist.* He must have known many people who had seen heretics burnt in Smithfield.† He may have been present when the heads of dukes and lords fell on the scaffold at Tower Hill. Therefore, to take up the thread of the narrative of the city history from the death of Henry VI., we proceed to describe the final tragedy of the old royal line, the fall of the Church which had so completely overshadowed the city, the acclamations which greeted the young Elizabeth, and when Elizabeth had become an "occidental star," the rising of the clouded days of the Stuarts. We are here chiefly concerned with the scenes which were constantly nearest his own mind as he turned over the pages of the black-letter chronicle of Holinshed—then among the newer books of the day.* Much that Shakespeare noticed is chiefly interesting now because he noticed it.

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* 'Grey Friars' Chronicle,' pp. 75, 80.

† Evelyn saw a woman burnt there for murder.—'Diary,' 10th May, 1652.

The popularity which Edward IV. had obtained in the city remained with him until his death. The extension of trade, in which the king himself took part, brought great wealth to London. I have spoken of the English colony at Bruges, which owed its establishment to the Yorkist alliance with Burgundy. The military ability of Edward was equalled by his commercial enterprise. His cruelty on the battlefield was well balanced by his love of luxury. He wrought sad havoc, unless he is much belied by his contemporaries, in the hearts of the citizens' wives; but as his policy filled their coffers much was forgiven him. When William Harcourt was mayor in 1482, the king made a great entertainment in Waltham Forest to the members of the corporation. After many deer had been hunted and killed, the citizens were feasted in a stately arbour erected for the purpose. The same year Edward sent, as a present to the mayoress and the wives of the principal citizens, two harts, six bucks, and a tun of wine. When he died, in April, 1483, there was great lamentation in London; and though, shortly afterwards, his favourite, Jane Shore, was made to do penance before the people, it is recorded that "more pitied her penance than rejoiced therein." †

Sir Edmund Shaw ‡ was mayor when Edward died; and Richard, seeing that the best chance of success in his schemes lay in obtaining the favour of the city, had him sworn of the privy council; and engaged his brother, Dr. Shaw, a famous preacher, to "break the matter in a sermon" at St. Paul's Cross. In this discourse Shaw hesitated at nothing. He not only accused the late king of bigamy, but the duchess of York, his mother—"proud Cis" herself—of adultery; and proceeded to describe the duke of Gloucester as the perfect image of his illustrious father. At this point in Shaw's peroration Gloucester had arranged to appear in the background, perhaps coming up through Dean's Yard from Baynard's Castle, perhaps along Cheapside from Crosby Place,* which he then rented. But by some mistake, Shaw had finished the passage before the duke appeared, and he ruined its effect by a repetition. The people had been expected to cheer the duke, but they maintained an obstinate silence. Next day an assembly, consisting of the mayor, aldermen, and principal citizens, was called in the Guildhall. Buckingham made them a speech, recapitulating a few cases of oppression and heavy taxation under the late reign, and referring to Shaw's sermon as if he had proved the truth of his various allegations regarding Edward and his mother. He next dwelt upon the dangers to the realm of having a boy-king, and ended by calling upon the citizens to offer the crown to Richard. Again there was obstinate silence; and Buckingham had to try a second speech. Even then no response was heard. The recorder, Fitzwilliam, at the mayor's command, also spoke in the same sense, but without avail. Buckingham then informed the citizens that the "lords and commons" would have determined the matter without them, but wished to have the city with them; and would expect an answer one way or other on the morrow.

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* Holinshed's 'Chronicle,' from which Shakespeare derived his historical knowledge, was printed in 1577. This, the first edition, is often described as Shakespeare's Holinshed. See Lowndes, p. 1086.

† Stow's 'Annals.'

‡ Or Shaa.

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* Shakespeare makes Richard tenant of Crosby Place as early as 1471 ('Richard III.,' act i. scene 2), but this is an anachronism. He also mentions it in act i. scene 3, and in act iii. scene 1. Richard certainly lived there at the time of the young king's death.

The prescriptive right of London to elect the king was thus partially allowed. The great importance which Richard's party attached to an election by the citizens is a very interesting feature in the story; and when we remember that Edward IV. had been similarly chosen, we can the better understand Buckingham's anxiety. At last some of the protector's servants, and some of the duke's, raised a shout at the further end of the hall, calling for king Richard, and throwing their caps into the air. This was enough, as no formal opposition was offered. Buckingham assumed the unanimity of the assembly, and invited them to accompany him on the morrow to lay the crown at Richard's feet.

The mayor, accordingly, with the chief citizens, put on their best apparel, and repaired to Baynard's Castle, where the protector was lodging in the house of the mother whom he had allowed to be so basely defamed.* He probably thought that if things took an unfavourable turn it would be well to be near the water's edge, instead of at Crosby Place, where he might have been more easily hemmed in. He affected great reluctance, obliging the citizens to send twice before he would admit them, and giving Buckingham the opportunity of pointing out that he did not expect them. But once he had accepted the offer, he did not long delay, and made his way immediately to Westminster, going thither, no doubt, by water, and took his seat on the throne.

The mention of Crosby Place in this narrative may justify a brief digression. Baynard's Castle has wholly disappeared, though Shakespeare was probably as familiar with the one as the other. Of Crosby very considerable remains still exist, though the house has passed through some strange vicissitudes, and experienced some very narrow escapes. Of the adjoining priory only the "nuns' aisle" in the parish church of St. Helen, with its window looking towards the altar from the crypt,* now remains. When Shakespeare was an inhabitant of the parish,† he saw it as it was left at the suppression, only that here and there the lead was torn from the roof, here and there a wall was battered down, and the pleasant gardens, of which three at least had belonged to the nuns, were untrimmed and neglected. Great St. Helen's must have presented a singularly picturesque appearance to him as he entered from the street of Bishopsgate. On his left were the priory buildings, low, straggling, and irregular, with trees rising in many places above the roofs. On his right was Crosby Place, with its long row of gothic windows looking on the churchyard, and its lofty hall towering behind. In the midst was the church, overshadowed and "half hidden by the foliage." ‡

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* It is sometimes said that the deputation of citizens attended at Crosby Place.

The church of St. Helen stood here before the priory was founded, for between 1145 and 1150 § it was given to St. Paul's by one Ranulf, and Robert, his son. It is the only church of St. Helen in London, and seems to have been connected in some way with York, since Ranulf stipulated for the keeping in it of the anniversary of the great archbishop Thurstan, who had died in 1140.[*] Half a century later[†] the priory was founded by William Fitzwilliam, a goldsmith, who obtained the advowson of the church, and gave it to the prioress. The nuns seem to have stood in the same relation to the dean and chapter of St. Paul's as the nuns of Kilburn to St. Peter's, Westminster; and one of the deans, Robert Kentwood, knowing, or suspecting, that things were not always conducted as they should be by the ladies of St. Helen's, issued a series of regulations, from which it is evident that he had cause for displeasure.[‡] He enjoins morning and evening service, and silence in chapel. He forbids the admission of any but nuns to the dormitory. He expresses anxiety as to the character of the portress: she should be "some sad woman and discreet." The presence of lodgers in the house is discouraged. That it was necessary to make these provisions for the good behaviour of the nuns is very evident from several parts of the document. One sentence is especially curious as giving us a somewhat novel idea of female monastic life in the fifteenth century: "Also we enjoin you that all dancing and revelling be utterly forborn among you, except Christmas and other honest times of recreation among yourselves, used in absence of seculars in all wise." This injunction has no meaning if it does not tell us that the prioress and her nuns were in the habit occasionally of giving balls, and of admitting the laity to them.[§]

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* So Malcolm describes it ('Londinum Redivivum,' iii. 554), and he had seen a considerable portion of the Priory standing; but from his print it would seem that the cloister was at a lower level than the church, and that this "squint" was in the cloister wall.

† He is assessed in the parish books in October, 1598, for 5*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

‡ Malcolm.

§ The date is not given, but the names of the witnesses, chiefly prebendaries, enable it to be fixed within five years. Newcourt, i. 363.

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[*] For St. Helen, the "Empress Helena," see chap. ii. "Roman London."

[†] Newcourt thinks 1212 is the exact date.

[‡] They are printed in full by Hugo, 'Last Ten Years of the Priory of St. Helen,' and by Malcolm.

[§] Mr. Hugo's materials were chiefly the same as Malcolm's, but his long paper already quoted, which was originally contributed to the 'Transac-

The ground south of the church was leased for 99 years by the prioress, Alice Ashfeld, to Sir John Crosby in 1466. He must have hurried on his building operations considerably if they were completed in his lifetime, as he only survived nine years, if so long, for his will was proved in February, 1475. His rent amounted to 11*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, and though he had no freehold, he seems to have been certain of a long tenure. The house must have been one of the most magnificent in London. Even yet, the hall, now a public dining-room, is a marvel of beauty. The carved oak roof rivals that of Eltham, while the building is in far better repair. The tall oriel illuminates the luncheons of bank clerks, and shines on any one, however humble, who can afford to sit near it; but it must have given light in its time to assemblies beside which even the famous coteries of Holland House are as nothing. Here "Sidney's sister, Pembroke's mother," must have entertained Ben Jonson, and may have entertained Shakespeare. Fifty years before Crosby had belonged to Sir Thomas More. Colet and all the great men who gathered round the witty chancellor, must therefore have been here, but not Erasmus, who had left England.* More's last letter, written from the Tower with a coal, the night before his death, was addressed to his friend Bonvisi, who had succeeded him

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tions' of the London and Middlesex Society, adds a little to our knowledge of the history of the Priory. The nuns are said by Stow to have been popularly called Minchons, whence Minchon, or Mincing Lane, which belonged to the Priory. The last prioress, Mary Rowlesley, had evidently provided for her kindred. In 1534 she granted the manor of Burston, now called Bordeston, or Boston, to John Rowlesley, at 9*l.* a year, and he and Edward Rowlesley continued to receive pensions till 1556.

* Erasmus left England in 1514. Colet died in 1519. More had Crosby Place between 1516 and 1523, but the More household described by Erasmus was in Bucklersbury. See Seebohm, 'Oxford Reformers.'

in Crosby Place. It is but too easy to multiply names, and the few I have mentioned must suffice. St. Helen's Church has been called, not without reason,* the Westminster Abbey of the city, and we may go further and say, in the same proportion, Crosby Place is its Westminster Hall. It is the central feature in Shakespeare's London.

Six days after Bosworth, Henry of Richmond entered the city in triumph. This was in August, and he was received by the mayor, Thomas Hill, and the sheriffs and aldermen, with great pomp, and conveyed to St. Paul's, where he offered the standards he had captured, and took up his abode in the palace of the bishop close by. His coronation followed at Westminster at the end of October, but meanwhile a terrible calamity had befallen the city. "This year," says the chronicler,† "was a great death and hasty, called sweating sickness." The mayor died and was succeeded by William Stocker. Six aldermen shared Hill's fate, and Stocker had only enjoyed his new dignity for three days when he followed his predecessor to the tomb. A third mayor was chosen in John Ward, who, whether he was a candidate at Michaelmas or had died in the meantime, only held the mayoralty till the annual election, and was succeeded by Hugh Brice, an Irishman. Thus London, in the short space of a single month, saw four different mayors at the Guildhall.‡

The reign of Henry VII. commenced with an incident very noteworthy in the city annals. The new king invented a national debt. He borrowed 3000 marks, and probably to the surprise of the lenders, he repaid it at the appointed time. This judicious conduct enabled him ,a few years later, in 1488, to obtain 6000*l.* without any trouble, and it would have been better for his popularity if he had continued to borrow and had occasionally paid. But in 1491 he extorted a so-called benevolence, and saying that he who paid most should be esteemed his best friend, he made all his enemies. The conduct of Empson and Dudley, his extortionate agents, is well known. It was signalised in London by the fine of 2700*l.*, which they imposed on Sir William Capel, an alderman, for some imaginary infringement of a forgotten law, but which, by the intercession of powerful friends, was eventually reduced a half, though not till he had been committed to the custody of the sheriff. He was marked down for future spoliation: and the king, though on one occasion, in a sudden fit of liberality, he released all the debtors in London who owed forty shillings and under, permitted the prosecution of Thomas Kneesworth for some abuse when he had been mayor two years before, and sent Shaw and Groves, who had been his sheriffs, to the Marshalsea. Heavy fines only obtained their release. When Christopher Haws, an alderman, was apprehended on some imaginary charge, "being a timorous man," it killed him: and in 1506, when the king went so far as to depose one of the sheriffs, Johnson by name, and to put William Fitzwilliam * in his place, "the other," we read,† "took such a thought that he died." Capel was made of stouter stuff, and when a year later Empson and Dudley prosecuted him for having allowed the escape of some coiners at the time of his mayoralty, he absolutely refused to pay the fine of 2000*l.* imposed on him, and went cheerfully to prison, first to the Compter,* and afterwards to the Tower, where he remained till Henry's death in 1509.

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* By the late Dean Stanley.

† 'Grey Friars' Chronicle,' p. 24.

‡ Further references to this and other visitations of pestilence will be found in a subsequent chapter.

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* This William Fitzwilliam built the church of St. Andrew Undershaft as we now see it. He had been recorder in the year of Richard's accession, as mentioned above.

† 'Grey. Friars' Chronicle,' p. 29.

Much more serious crimes than any Haws or Capel had committed were condoned for a money payment. The rebels under Lord Audley threatened London from Blackheath in 1498, and when the citizens had armed themselves and had repaired their fortifications, the king led them against the rebels, who were signally defeated. A few, including the leaders, were put to death: but the rest compounded for their lives at the rate of two or three shillings each. Even Perkin Warbeck was not hanged till he had made two attempts to escape from the Tower. In this respect Henry's reign is in strong contrast to the reigns of the succeeding monarchs of his family. But he was not on that account the more popular with the citizens, on whom he forced a new charter, at the price of 5000 marks, to be paid by instalments, which merely recapitulated some of the privileges already granted by former kings.

The young king, Henry VIII., when he succeeded his father in 1509, was not yet the husband of the princess Katharine, but on the occasion of their marriage, a procession passed from the Tower to Westminster, which must have shown the citizens, in its lavish display, how different was their new king from his father. The western end of Cheapside, which was known as Goldsmiths' Row, from the number of shops belonging to that craft, was hung with gold brocade: and the civic dignitaries took a prominent part in the day's pomp.

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* Or sheriffs' prison.

Henry was immensely popular, and contrived to retain his popularity in the city to the end of his long reign. While he was still young he came freely among the citizens: he saw the watch march through the streets in state on St. John's eve, and joined the May games on Shooter's Hill. But one of his very first acts had been to fling Empson and Dudley into the Tower, and when, in the course of the following year, they were both attainted by parliament, they were immediately handed over to the headsman, and their agents in extortion were about the same time marched in mock procession through the city, riding backwards, to the pillory.

The inclination to severity and the disregard of human life which marked Henry's later years had not yet been displayed. On the contrary, he seemed to delight in the exercise of the royal prerogative of pardon. On "Evil May Day," as it was called, a foolish demonstration against foreign merchants was turned by an injudicious alderman into a riot. The apprentices had been excited by a sermon preached by a certain Dr. Bell, and the same day Alderman John Mundy, finding some young men playing at single-stick in Cheap ordered one of them into custody. A rescue was attempted. The Compter was broken open, the foreign houses were plundered, many people on both sides were hurt, and finally Newgate prison was assailed and some rioters who had been arrested and shut up were set at liberty. To add to the confusion, the Lieutenant of the Tower, Sir Roger Chomeley, fired off his guns, and by daylight next morning all the suburbs were pouring soldiers into the city. The lord prior of Clerkenwell came with his knights. The duke of Norfolk summoned his guardsmen. The Inns of Court sent their volunteer students. In short, such a riot has seldom been stirred up in a single night, or so much alarm awakened with so little known cause. Dr. Bell was sent to the Tower, where his punning device may still be seen carved—"A Bell" —on the wall of a dungeon.* A special commission sat at the Guildhall to try the rioters. An immense number were condemned, and gallows were set up at the principal gates and in other places. Thirteen only were hanged, and the rest, to the number of 400, including 11 women, were brought with ropes about their necks to Westminster, where they were formally pardoned by the king, cardinal Wolsey exhorting them to loyalty and obedience.

It is not easy to understand the political significance of this event. Evil May Day is referred to long afterwards in many city documents. Ostensibly the demonstration was against French workmen and merchants, and especially against one Mewtas or Mottas, of whom the Grey Friars' chronicler says that he "was an outlandish man" whom they would have slain had he not "hid him in the gutters in his house." Ten years later, Seymour, who had been sheriff during the riot, was a candidate for the mayoralty, but was objected to by the commons on account of his share in the severities which followed, and was only elected after violent opposition.†

In these early years of Henry's reign the city was agitated by another event. The unpopularity of the clergy was becoming greater every year, though no stop was put to the increase of chantries and other ecclesiastical foundations. An innumerable multitude of clergy, secular and regular, of mass priests, monks, friars, singers, and preachers, pervaded the city. The nunneries were crowded. Twenty-seven minoresses died of a plague in one year at Aldgate.* The difficulty of keeping order must have been greatly increased by the comparative immunity of religious people. Colet, the friend of More, of Erasmus, of Warham, of all who were good and learned, in short, and himself a clergyman and dean of St. Paul's, in a sermon before convocation spoke openly of the morals of the priests.† The occasion was a serious one. The bishop, Fitz James, was known to have shown no mercy in his dealings with Lollards. Yet Colet permitted daily readings in his church, and had been heard to pin his faith to the Bible and to the Apostle's Creed.‡ He catechised the young in English, and it was notorious that many who were suspected of heresy came to hear him. As the convocation met in his cathedral he could not well refuse to preach to them. Yet he hesitated. If he spoke, he knew he must speak the truth. At last his mind was made up and he determined to do his duty, cost what it might. He boldly reproved his hearers for their mode of life, their hunting of preferment, their avarice, their pride, their lust, and exhorted them to newness of mind. This sermon struck the first note of the English Reformation. The bishop would have prosecuted Colet, but archbishop Warham ignored the charges. Henry himself, though he heard from him unpalatable truths, did not hesitate to declare "This is the doctor for me."

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* By one of the most senseless of all the vandalisms to which the Tower has been subjected in our own day, the prisoners' inscriptions in the Beauchamp Tower have all been assembled in one chamber, thus not only destroying their historical value, but that also of the carvings which were already on the walls.

† 'Grey Friars' Chronicle,' p. 33.

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* "This year, 1514, was great death at the Minories." 'Grey Friars' Chronicle,' p. 29.

† See Milman, 'St. Paul's,' and Green, ii. 88.

‡ For further particulars as to Colet's views, see Seebohm's 'Oxford Reformers.'

In the city the bishop made little way towards gaining the confidence or affection of the people. The burnings in Smithfield were frequent. It was dangerous to bring a priest to justice even for the worst offences. Richard Hunne, a respectable citizen who had been concerned in a prosecution against a priest, was accused of heresy, shut up in the Lollards' Tower adjoining the cathedral, and there, after a short interval, was found dead. A coroner's jury refused to bring in a verdict of suicide, but accused the keepers of the prison of wilful murder. The chancellor, Dr. Horsey, notwithstanding his indignant denial, was suspected of having helped to kill Hunne, and of having hung up the body so as to raise the suspicion of suicide. The bishop, by way of screening Horsey, made matters worse. A Wycliffite bible had been found in Hunne's house. His body was dug up, condemned by a mock court at which the bishop presided, and actually burnt in Smithfield.

The long-continued troubles of the Wars of the Roses, and the subsequent extortions of Henry VII. had diverted public attention from the ecclesiastical question, but it now daily became more and more prominent. The clergy had laid up in men's minds a store of bitter memories from which they could not in after years escape. Quite apart from religious feeling every citizen had his own grievance; there was no family but had suffered more or less from the extortions, cupidity, immorality, or accusations of a priest: and nowhere in England were the later measures of Henry more popular than in London, nowhere did the hatred of "superstition" become so intense, nowhere, unfortunately, did the enthusiasm now being awakened lead to more complete and contemptuous destruction of "massing stuff," of noble buildings, of gorgeous monuments,

> "Of tombs
> Where lay the mighty bones of ancient men,
> Old knights,"

the fathers of the city.

Under the year 1528, we have a curious illustration of the position of the religious houses in these last days of their existence. The chronicler,* from whom I have so frequently quoted, tells us of the escape of a prisoner from Newgate into the adjoining priory. He continued seven days in the church, when the sheriff and his officers obtained leave to speak with him. In spite of all exhortation, he refused either to abjure the realm, or to give himself up; and at length, exasperated by his obstinacy, the sheriff seized him, and took him forcibly away. This breach of sanctuary caused the friars to shut the church from Monday till Thursday, and "mass was sayd and songe in the fratter." At length the bishop of St. Asaph, who lived in the house, reconsecrated the church; but the "powre prisoner continewyd in prisone, for they sowte all the wayes that they cowde, but the lawe wolde not serve them to honge him; and at the last was delyvered and put at lyberte."

The next entry is of a different character, but interesting as illustrating the history of the theatre. It relates to an actor. His name was John Scotte. He was one of "the kynges playeres," and was put into Newgate for "rebukynge of the shreffes." Perhaps he presumed on his position in the royal service; but he lay for a "sennet" (seven-night) in gaol, and was then led through the city and back again; and, finally, was

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* 'Grey Friars' Chronicle,' p. 34.

"delyveryd home to hys howse," but—and this gives us some idea of what a prison must have been in those days—"he took such a thought that he died, for he went in his shirt."

The beginning of the end was now at hand for the monasteries. The same year that the poor player was done to death, a solemn farce was being enacted at the house of the Black Friars. The two legates, cardinal Campeggio, and his brother cardinal, Wolsey, sat on the divorce question; and in the autumn Wolsey ceased to be chancellor. Shakespeare must often have visited the beautiful hall of the Dominicans, in which he lays the scene.* To the privileges accorded to the monastic orders, and the odour of sanctity which hung about places which had once been theirs, we may attribute the very existence of the theatre in Blackfriars which Richard Burbage built in 1575, and in which Shakespeare was a shareholder. Players had been expelled from the city, on account of the fear of infection in large crowds; but the sheriff could not touch them within the sacred precincts. And the ancient house of the Black Friars, by its protection, repaid the poet for the immortality he has conferred upon it.† Another scene which occurred here might well have been dramatised. In 1524, a parliament had sat in the great hall. The names of the city representatives have not been preserved, but we cannot doubt that Sir Thomas More was one of them. He was certainly a member, and was elected speaker. The king had demanded a heavy subsidy, and Wolsey came into the hall to advocate it.‡ He was attended by his whole retinue, his mace-bearers, his cross, his scarlet hat, the great seal of England, and all the state which belonged at once to an archbishop, a cardinal, and a chancellor. The scene that ensued puts the reader in mind of the visit of Charles I. to the House of Commons, in 1642. More and the members, repeatedly addressed by the overbearing Wolsey, took no notice of him whatever. They sat silent in their places. At length the cardinal began to perceive the mistake he had made. He said he had been sent by the king, who would require an answer. The silence was surprising and obstinate. "Is it," he asked, "that the house will only express its mind through the speaker?" On this More made answer, assuring the cardinal that the members were abashed at the sight of so great a personage. This little bit of flattery shows the admirable tact of the speaker, who went on to say that the chancellor's presence was not in accordance with the ancient liberties of the house; and that he himself could give no reply to the demand except as instructed by it. Wolsey was obliged to retire discomfited, and afterwards, in the gallery at Whitehall, said to More, "Would to God you had been at Rome, Master More, when I made you speaker."

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* 'King Henry VIII.,' act ii. scene 4.

† The Playhouse, still commemorated in Playhouse Yard, where the *Times* office stands now, was pulled down in 1655.

‡ Roper's 'Life of More,' p. 18.

The divorce took place in 1533, but already the city monasteries had begun to feel the heavy hand of Henry. On the 11th May, 1531,* the work that was to transform London began by the suppression of the Augustinian canons of Elsing Hospital,† a blind asylum. A few months later the venerable priory of Aldgate‡ was dissolved; the canons dispersed to other houses, and the site given to lord chancellor Audley.* When queen Anne Boleyn was crowned,† she passed through the city in procession on her way to Westminster, having two days before gone by water from Greenwich to the Tower "with barges, the mayer, aldermen, and the crafftes, as the mayer dothe to Westmester whan he takys hys othe." Burnings and persecutions now went on with renewed vigour. The foolish proceedings of Elizabeth Barton, a Kentish prophetess, involved many of the clergy in destruction. In May, 1534, "the Holy Maid," as she was called, was drawn to Tyburn, with two monks from the cathedral at Canterbury, two friars, and a London rector, and all were hanged and beheaded. The bodies of the monks ‡ were buried in the Black Friars' church, those of the friars and the prophetess at the Grey Friars'; and the parson in his own church. This was but the beginning of executions. Three Carthusian priors, including the head of the London "Charter House," and six monks were hanged at Tyburn, and quartered. One of the quarters of the prior was set up at the entrance of his own house facing into Aldersgate Street. The same year Fisher and More were beheaded on Tower Hill; and so what Mr. Green has well called the English Terror was inaugurated. The pages of the Chronicle are taken up with long lists of abbots, priors, priests, monks, friars, noblemen, knights, and ladies, who pass in sad procession to the gallows, the block, or the stake. In 1537 ten women and three men were hanged at Tyburn in one day. The rebels of the Pilgrimage of Grace were tried and condemned at the Guildhall; and after their execution their quarters were buried at the Charterhouse. A single paragraph from the journal I have already so often quoted * will be a sufficient example of the horrors which went on in London during the rule of Cromwell. It tells us first of the execution at Tyburn of six men, including the abbot of Fountains and the prior of the Black Friars in York; and goes on, "At that time was drawn from the Tower after, the lady Margaret Bowmer (Bulmer), wife unto Sir John Bowmer, and he made her his wife; but she was the wife of one Cheyny, for he sold her unto Sir Bowmer; and she was drawn when she came to Newgate into Smithfield, and there burned the same forenoon."

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* 'Grey Friars' Chronicle,' p. 35.

† Afterwards Sion College.

‡ For an account of the foundation see above, chapter vi.

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* He had also the site of the Charterhouse.

† On Whitsunday, May 31, 1532.

‡ The monks were Bocking and Dering; the friars, Rich and Risby; the priest, Gold. He was rector of St. Mary Aldermary.

The assumption by the king of what had hitherto been considered the rights of the pope, in 1534, placed the monasteries at his mercy. The early zeal of the monks and friars had passed away. The apostles of the New Learning wanted to spread education, and beheld the magnificent buildings and vast estates of the so-called religious houses with envious eyes. Cromwell and the king had an old grudge against them for resisting a "benevolence." Nor did any one rise to defend them. The whole system which it had taken so many centuries to build up, and which had grown so vast that it overshadowed the land, fell at a blow. In London, without mentioning the suburbs, the suppression left vacant great spaces of the most valuable land at what we still call Whitefriars, at Blackfriars, at Newgate Street, at Smithfield, at the Charterhouse, at St. Martin's-le-Grand, in Cheap, at the Austin Friars, at the Crutched Friars, in the Minories, at Aldgate, at Bishopsgate, at St. Helen's; and, in short, on more than a dozen sites, great

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* The 'Grey Friars' Chronicle,' p. 40.

or small; some of them within, some without the walls. It is worth notice that only one abbey was in the city.* All were priories except the house of the nuns of St. Clare, whose abbess, as the Minoresses were a Franciscan order, would more correctly be described as a prioress. But many houses with mitred abbots and lady abbesses at their head held land in London; and the fall of Westminster, of Barking, of Bermondsey, of Battle, and many others, some of them much further away than these, which had owned estates in the city, contributed to the surprising change. In 1538 the work was completed, and the division of spoils began.

There were among the convents a few in which sick people had always been received. The hospitals were not all of this character, but a majority of them certainly seem to have performed their duty to the poor, and their suppression with the rest left their patients uncared for. The city authorities, though they probably saw the ruin of so many fine buildings and so many splendid churches, with utter indifference, were alive to the charge which the absence of endowments for the succour of the poor and suffering threw upon them. A period of great misery must have followed the suppression. No provision of any kind seems to have been made beforehand for carrying on the good work hitherto performed at Smithfield, in St. Bartholomew's, or at Bishopsgate, in Bethlehem. The blind at Elsyng 'Spittle, the lame at St. Giles's, the leprous at St. Thomas's, were thrown upon the world. The evil was so great that, immediately on the suppression, the mayor, aldermen and commonalty addressed a petition to the king praying him to grant them four houses which they named, for the relief of poor, sick, and needy persons. In the general confusion, the petition lay neglected for eight years. It is probable however, that though no formal step was taken, the citizens were allowed to use the hospitals, or some of them. They asked for "Saynt Mary Spytell, Saynt Bartylmewes Spytell, and Saynt Thomas Spytell, and one abbey called the Newe Abbey at Tower hyll, fownded of good devocion, by auncient fathers, and endowed with great possessions and rents, onely for the relyeff, comforte, and ayde of the poore and indygent people not beyng hable to helpe theymselffs."* In 1544 the citizens succeeded in obtaining St. Bartholomew's. Two years later they agreed to pay 500 marks a year to meet a similar contribution from the king towards the expense of providing for the poor. In the same year, 1546, they obtained the Grey Friars', and a scheme for the management of an extensive charity was formed by which the church, under the name of Christ Church, was to be made parochial ; the neighbouring parishes of St. Nicholas Shambles and St. Ewen were to be united, and two clergymen, one a vicar, and the other to be called the Visitor of Newgate, were to be appointed. Early in the following year the king made a further concession, and the city obtained possession of Bedlam. The first years of the reign of Edward VI. were taken up in arranging and regulating the hospitals, and in dealing with their endowments, committees being formed of aldermen and common councillors, to survey and govern the charities to the best advantage. In 1552, Sir Richard Dobbes, then mayor, called all the citizens together into their respective parish churches, "where, by the lord mayor, the aldermen and other grave citizens, they were by eloquent orations persuaded how great and how many commodities would ensue unto them and their city, if the poor of divers sorts, which they named, were taken from out their streets, lanes, and alleys, and were bestowed and provided for in hospitals." The result of this appeal was so satisfactory, that in the course of the same year the Grey Friars' convent was fitted up as a school, the hospital of St. Bartholomew newly furnished, and the hospital of St. Thomas, now called "St. Thomas the Apostle," in Southwark, purchased from the crown and repaired for the reception of "poor, impotent, lame, and diseased people." In the following year, a further grant was obtained of the palace of Bridewell, as a workhouse, the endowments given by Henry VII. to the Savoy being transferred to it, and on the 26th June, 1553, Edward VI. signed the letters patent, formulating the whole system of municipal charity.

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* The "New Abbey" of St. Mary of Grace, in East Smithfield, sometimes called East Minster, was without the walls. It belonged to the Cistercian order. The victualling office, so often mentioned by Pepys, afterwards stood on the site.

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* 'Memoranda, References and Documents relating to the Royal Hospitals,' printed under the direction of the committee of the Court of Common Council, 1836.

Except Bridewell, all these foundations still subsist. The conception of the public duty towards pauperism has altered since Edward VI. gave his father's palace to the citizens for a workhouse. "Bridewell" has become the ordinary name throughout the country for a temporary prison, and its origin is hardly remembered, the more so, as every vestige of the ancient house has disappeared. Some of the kings had a residence here as early as the reign of Henry III., if not of John. The spot can hardly have been dry land much before the beginning of the thirteenth century. We have, however, very few particulars of its history, and can but fall back upon the theory that it, like the neighbouring Savoy, was foreshore, and so became royal property. Henry VIII.

seems to have liked the position, and to have rebuilt the house. He and Katharine were living here when the two cardinals sat on the divorce in the Black Friars' house at the opposite side of the Fleet; and when the Emperor Charles V. was in England he lodged with the friars, and a temporary bridge was made for his suite to pass into their apartments in Bridewell. The city authorities applied the palace to various uses, but it was chiefly what we should now call a "casual ward." * It was only pulled down in 1863. In old views and maps, it appears as a castellated building of some architectural pretensions.† It was the scene of the third act of Shakespeare's 'Henry VIII.,' who, playing at the Black Friars', had Bridewell almost before his eyes.

The estates in the city, confiscated at the suppression, speedily became the prey of greedy courtiers. Cromwell himself condescended to fix upon London for the site of a residence. Some small tenements in Throgmorton Street, belonging to, and adjoining the house of the Austin Friars, were pulled down, and a "very large and spacious" mansion was erected for the vicar-general. Stow, whose father suffered from Cromwell's tyranny, feelingly describes the way in which the great man ‡ encroached on the land of his neighbours, and by the simple process of removing their fences, or the more complicated device of pushing back their summer-houses on rollers, succeeded in piecing together the open space still marked on maps as the Drapers' Garden. It was bought by the company in 1541. Henry VIII. played at

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* See view of court in Wilkinson, vol. i., and of the wretched "Pass room," in Ackerman's 'Microcosm,' vol. i.

† Wilkinson calls it a "western *arx palatina.*"

‡ "Thus much of mine own knowledge have I thought good to note, that the sudden rising of some men causeth them in some matters to forget themselves" (p. 68).

dice with Sir Miles Partridge for the bells and belfry at the eastern end of St. Paul's Churchyard, and lost them. How he had become possessed of them is not very clear, unless they were reckoned among the useless ornaments of the church, but the tower was pulled down, and the bells melted. This was the tower beside which the citizens had of old so often assembled in their folkmote, summoned by the great bell.* The site of the Charterhouse was first granted to lord chancellor Audley, who as we have seen had also Holy Trinity, at Aldgate, and by him sold to lord North, who again parted with it to Dudley, duke of Northumberland. St. Helen's Priory was granted to Williams, Cromwell's brother-in-law, who, though not in any sense his heir,† assumed the name, and became ancestor of Oliver Cromwell, the Protector. The site of the priory of the Crutched Friars, at the south-east corner of Hart Street, was granted to Sir Thomas Wyatt. The school and church of St. Thomas of Acon, in Cheapside, were bought for 969*l.*, by Sir Richard Gresham and the mercers' company, in 1541, and the good work inaugurated by Neal in the fifteenth century was carried on almost without a break.

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* The place of meeting of the Folkmote is defined for us by a presentment against the dean and chapter in the fourteenth year of Edward II., as to the obstruction and enclosure of "quandam placeam terræ de solo Domini Regis," 30 feet long by 20 feet wide in one part, in other 15 by 8. The citizens contended that the ground on the east, including a new cemetery, and the cemetery by the bell-tower, as well as the ground on the west side, belonged to the king, and that the ground between the Cheap Gate and St. Augustine's, was king's highway. Sir Miles, "the wych playd wyth Kynge Henry the viii^{te} at dysse, for the gret belfery," was hanged on 26th February, 1552, on Tower Hill.

† Thomas Cromwell's son and heir was summoned to parliament as lord Cromwell in the very month of his father's death. His descendants became, in 1607, earls of Ardglass, and on their extinction in the male line, in 1687, the representation of the great vicar-general devolved on an ancestor of the present lord de Clifford.

The alteration made in the aspect of the city by means of these changes must have been remarkable, and the social changes must have been scarcely less enormous. The monasteries had long ceased to inspire any popular enthusiasm. The people feared the mass-priests, and hated them. The friars inspired only contempt. The Grey Friars' chronicler, whose quaint pages I have so frequently quoted, was perhaps afraid to record his indignation at the destruction of so many sacred places, and so many objects of reverence, though he does not fail to show his pleasure when the reign of Mary brings some of them back. But his tone throughout the reign of Edward VI. is uniformly marked by gloom. He notes the ruin of ancient houses, the desecration of churches, and the non-observance of holy-days, but restrains himself to the occasional ejaculation, "Almyghty God helpe it when hys wylle ys," or, if a more than usually fierce Protestant preaches at St. Paul's, cries, "What an ironyos oppynyone is this!" He makes frequent mention of the successive steps by which London was transformed during this period. In 1545, we read that the church of the White Friars was pulled down and the steeple of the Black Friars. "Item, thys same yere in the same monyth (September) was the Charterhowse pulde downe." He notices in the last month of Henry's reign, two events, the death of the earl of Surrey, amid "grete lamentacion," and the reopening of the church of the Grey Friars, "and it was namyd Crystys Churche of the fundacion of Kynge Henry the viijth." Henry was actually on his death-bed, at Whitehall, when Ridley, then bishop of Rochester, celebrated the reopening of "Christ Church," in a sermon the same day at St. Paul's Cross, in which he dwelt on the king's munificence, and recapitulated the advantages of his tardy gift to the city.

The very same year saw the destruction of the choir of the church. The oaken stalls were taken out and sold. The altars were all pulled down, and with them the altar-tombs and the larger gravestones, and were sold for their value as old materials—Stow says for the paltry sum of 50*l.* A catalogue of about two hundred monuments is still extant.* Two old stones, commemorating only private persons, were found on the site fifty years ago. The other monastic houses fared even worse. We have already seen how the marquis of Winchester treated the Austin Friars.† It, with the priory of St. Bartholomew's, was spared by the Great Fire, and portions of the old buildings of the Minoresses were extant till the beginning of this century.‡ The choir of St. Bartholomew's still stands, a magnificent example of Norman work, but partially desecrated by the neighbourhood and intrusion of a factory. Some portions of a cloister and other buildings may be made out in the adjoining courts and lanes. Of the Black Friars' Priory nothing is left. Of the White Friars' we have only the name. The Mercers' chapel survived till the Great Fire, when it consisted of a handsome nave and aisles, with a lofty choir, quite overshadowing the little parish church of St. Mary.

It is, perhaps, with secret satisfaction that the chronicler demonstrates the sinfulness of the people of his time and dwells on the punishments inflicted for various crimes. To a contemporary, Henry Machyn,§ a cheerful undertaker, we are also indebted for many curious particulars of social life and street scenery. One example is mentioned by both. In April, 1552, on Easter-even, a woman "rod thrugh London" in a cart; she dwelt in Aldersgate Street, and made "aqwavyte"; and was exposed for cruelty to her servant, "of the wyche the damsell ys lyke to dee." The cruelty was depicted above the cart on a banner painted with the figures of a woman with a card in her hand, "such as one doth card wool withal," and of a naked girl, whom she is represented as carding—"the wyche she left butt lytyll skyn of her"—and about her neck was hung the implement of her misdeeds. She was finally set down at her own door, the beadles making a proclamation of her shameful acts. Other misdemeanours were punished with whipping, as some girls who were idle and would not work, some immoral apprentices, and a man for selling false rings. A "pyller" or "post of reformacyon," is many times mentioned, and seems to have given great satisfaction to the authorities. It was set up on the 1st June, 1553, at the Standard in Cheap. One Sunday morning the mayor superintended the flogging "with roddes soore on their backes" of two young servants, who were tied to the pillar with "a chain that they might go about it," and, afterwards "as many as pleased the mayor."

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* Printed in 'Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica,' vol. v. See also preface to Mr. Nichols' edition of the 'Grey Friars' Chronicle.'

† See above, chapter viii.

‡ They are engraved by Smith. 'Topography,' p. 8.

§ "Monser the Machyn de Henry," as he playfully describes himself (p. 143), kept his diary, which has been printed by the Camden Society, from 1550 to 1563.

The death of Edward took place at Greenwich, on the 6th July. The short reign of queen Jane was chiefly signalised in the city by the cruel punishment of Gilbert Potter, "a drauer at Sent Jones * at Ludgate," who had spoken slightingly of the new queen's title, for which his ears were nailed to the pillory, and afterwards "clean cut off." His master, who had denounced him, was the

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* *St. John's Head Tavern;* see Nichols' 'Chronicle of Queen Jane' (Cam. Soc.), p. 115.

same afternoon accidentally drowned in shooting London Bridge on his way to the Tower, where he held the place of a gunner. Queen Mary was no sooner come to the throne, than the Guildhall authorities gave poor Potter a reward, and in the following year he received a grant of land in Norfolk, which, by the way, he speedily sold.*

The Londoners, no doubt, had learned to hate the overbearing duke of Northumberland, and many of them had heard from their fathers of the wars of a disputed succession. Mary's title was accepted with more pleasure than might have been expected by so Protestant a community, but there was probably by this time a strong reaction against the excesses of the reformers, and we cannot doubt, also, that many believed the princess to be by no means so bigoted as her enemies asserted. It turned out well for the Protestants in the result. The queen was far more bigoted than her worst enemy could have described her, and the new party needed but the cruel persecution she so soon commenced to restore them to their former popularity. The new queen, "goodly imparelde," was received at Aldgate by the mayor and aldermen, and conducted in great state to the Tower, the crafts in their livery lining the streets ; and as the sympathising chronicler declares, the people's heart rejoicing at her coming in, and giving her "God save Her Grace, and long to continue, and prosper her in goodness! Amen." Mary soon justified the friar's joy. Notwithstanding his declarations, there was a strong party in the city, which, though hating Northumberland and loyal to the queen, was not prepared for the complete restoration of papal supremacy. The very first sermon preached at the Cross by one of the old religion gave offence, though the lord mayor was present. The preacher, Bourne, the queen's chaplain, was ultimately "pullyd owte of the pulpyt by vacabonddes," and a dagger flung in his face. In fact he would probably have perished had not Bradford and Rogers, both of them subsequently martyred, interfered to save him, and he took refuge hard by in St. Paul's School. The Grey Friar notices many such outbreaks, uniformly attributing them to "vagabonds" and the lowest of the people, but it is not unreasonable to suppose many of the same rank as Bradford and Rogers were of the same way of thinking. He records with pleasure the return of Bonner from the Marshalsea, "lyke a byshope," and speaks of the welcome he received, and of the women who pressed to kiss him, and of the joy-bells which the people rang. The altar in St. Paul's was set up again, with such magnificence that the work occupied a month. Mass was performed early in October, the bishop singing "in hys pontyficalibus," and at the beginning of 1554 the old procession, with the mayor and aldermen in their robes, was renewed about the church on Sundays. Controversial disputations were held in "the longe chapell in Powles," three times a week, between "the new sortte and the olde," and there "came moche pepulle; but they ware never the wyser." It is pretty clear that the "new sort" had the best of these arguments, for they were very speedily put down by an order in council. On the occasion of the coronation the daily service had to be suspended because all the priests not under censure for Protestantism, or for having married, were summoned to assist at Westminster. When the queen passed through the city on her way, a man bearing flags stood on the summit of the cathedral spire, a form of adornment repeated when Philip of Spain made his entry a few months later, and "one came downe from the chapter-howse upon a roppe."

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* See the curious "Epistle of Poor Pratte to Gilbert Potter 'in the tyme when he was in prison'" ('Chronicle of Queen Jane,' p. 116). Northumberland is alluded to as "the beare and ragged staf," and is compared to the lions in the den with Daniel. Pratte's knowledge of scripture makes "Nabuchodonosor" the king by whom he was cast in.

A procession of a different kind conducted lady Jane, with her young husband and two of his brothers, from the Tower to Guildhall, in November, to their trial. With them went the aged Cranmer, and all were tried together.* The old walls can never have witnessed a sadder sight. "They all v. wher cast for to dee," says Henry Machyn. Thomas White, the mayor,† was among the judges, and no one can have envied him the duty. The prisoners pleaded guilty, and confessed the truth of the indictment against them. Sentence was then pronounced, and they were led back as they had come, on foot. The lady Jane was dressed in black cloth, we are told, with a velvet cap, a black velvet book hanging to her girdle, and another book in her hand. She was at this time but "sweet seventeen," and her husband and his brothers were mere boys. It can hardly have been intended that the sentence should be executed; but Wyatt's‡ ill-timed, ill-planned, and ill-conducted rising sealed the fate of two of them.

He appeared before Southwark on the afternoon of

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* Mr. Doyne Bell ('St. Peter ad Vincula,' p. 169), says, "The trial was by special commission before the Lord Mayor (Thomas White), the Duke of Norfolk presiding as Lord High Steward, and other peers." The meaning of this sentence escapes me. Was the mayor included in the commission? If so, how can the duke have presided? I cannot conceive the mayor taking a subordinate place in his own Guildhall. The point is interesting, but Mr. Bell, though he seems to have inspected the original documents relating to the trial, does not notice it.

† He was the founder of St. John's College, Oxford, in 1555.

‡ The general history of Wyatt's rebellion does not come within the scope of the narrative in the text. I have only inserted what concerns London.

1st February, and remained at the bridge-foot for a week, during which he suffered the ardour of his followers to cool. Some deserted. Some were taken and hanged—two of them before the western door of St. Paul's. At length he was forced to march westward, as far as Kingston, before he could cross the Thames. If he had possessed ordinary military ability, or had not temporised in Southwark, no one can say what might have happened. As it was, he marched unimpeded to Westminster, past Whitehall, where the queen actually lay at the time, and through Fleet Street to Ludgate. No preparations had yet been made to oppose him. As his men were ascending the hill an officious citizen named Harris, a merchant tailor of Watling Street, exclaimed, "Those be Wyatt's ancients," * and at his word the gates were shut. It is very possible that a majority of the citizens would at least have let Wyatt in. "Some were very angry," says the chronicler, "with Harres because he spake." In short, though there was not enough discontent abroad among the citizens to induce any one himself to strike the blow, they would not have been sorry to see the blow struck.

Wyatt returned towards Temple Bar, where he was made prisoner; and having been first conducted to Whitehall, was sent finally to the Tower by water. The sequel is soon told. This was 7th February. On the 12th, lady Jane and lord Guildford Dudley were beheaded. On the 14th, twenty of Wyatt's adherents, and of those who had deserted from Norfolk, were hanged in various places. On the 23rd, Suffolk, the lady Jane's father, was beheaded on Tower Hill. Three weeks later the lady Elizabeth, the queen's step-sister, was committed to the Tower. On the 11th March, Wyatt

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* A very Shakespearian expression.

himself suffered the penalty of high treason on Tower Hill.*

So ended this miserable business, and the Marian persecution began. Philip II. and Cardinal Pole arrived in the autumn. Numerous timid Protestants recanted; and bonfires were actually ordered throughout London "for joy of the people that were converted." Our chronicler observes that "this year was divers burned in many places in England," and evidently takes as little notice as possible of individual cases. But the last entry in his diary is significant. "The v^th^ day of September (1556) was browte thorrow Cheppesyde teyd in ropes xxiiij tayd to-getheres as herrytykes, and soo unto the Lowlers tower." Rogers, who had intervened to save Dr. Bourne, was the first to suffer in Smithfield;† and Gardiner is said to have refused him permission to bid his wife farewell, on the ground that priests have no wives. This story, even if it is untrue, shows how savagely the persecutions were believed to be carried on. We have no occasion here to detail them.‡ An inundation, a pestilence in the course of which no fewer than seven aldermen died, and a famine which followed, added to the general gloom. The loss of the last of England's possessions in France was a blow deeply felt by all classes of citizens; and Mary died in November, 1558, leaving behind her a memory of hatred which the lapse of three centuries did not wholly obliterate. Her persecution of the reformers had utterly failed to stamp out the new religion; but had, on the contrary, in London especially, the effect of rendering it more enduringly popular. Of the purely civic history we know but little. A loan was contracted in the city, in the last year of the queen's reign, on the security of certain lands, and interest at twelve per cent. allowed on it. The mayors seem to have submitted to the ecclesiastical tyranny without a murmur; and were busied with schemes of internal reform, especially regarding the civic expenditure, the old standing quarrel with foreign traders, the regulation of their newly acquired hospitals, and the reduction of Southwark into a "ward without."

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* It is sometimes said that he was hanged on Hay Hill, which was then in sight of St. James's, but though two of his men were gibbeted there, our chronicler can hardly be wrong in making their leader die on Tower Hill.

† 4th February, 1555.

‡ The whole number burnt is set down at 277.

This last-named event deserves more than a mere passing mention. The borough, as it is so often called, had been a constant source of trouble to the authorities, and, as we have seen, in the reign of Edward IV., some concessions were made by which the London magistrates obtained a certain jurisdiction over it, and were enabled to prevent the escape of criminals across the bridge or the Thames. But it was not until 1550 that the mayor and aldermen obtained the complete control of Southwark. By a royal charter dated on the 23rd April in that year, Edward VI. granted to the commonalty of London the manor of Southwark, and all the manorial rights annexed to it, with a criminal and civil jurisdiction. For this grant* the mayor and citizens paid 647*l.* 2*s.* 1*d.*, and it included a number of houses which had belonged to Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, and had been bought from him by Henry VIII., and the site of the dissolved abbey of Bermondsey. These possessions have ever since, as the Bridge House Estate, paid for the maintenance of London Bridge. The ancient farm rent of 10*l.* yearly was still to be paid, as well as a sum of 500 marks for the hospital of St. Thomas, "now called the King's Hospital." The mayor, recorder, and such aldermen as had passed the chair were to be magistrates within the borough, and the whole was to be held of the king "as of his manor of Greenwich, by fealty only, and in free socage by way of service." On receiving this charter, the court of aldermen added another member to their number, and erected Southwark into a ward of the liberties of the city; and at first the choice of an alderman was directed to be by the election of the inhabitants.

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* See 'The Charters of London,' p. 164, where the text, summarised by Norton, p. 386, is given in full.

In the reign of Philip and Mary a change was made, and the alderman was appointed by the court of aldermen; and the office speedily became a sinecure, which it still remains, the senior alderman for the time being holding it upon translation from his own original ward. A magistrate appointed by the court presides in the district, and a high bailiff executes the duties of a sheriff.

Southwark had probably, in the early days of the Roman occupation, been a place of importance not second even to London. The remains found under the modern streets tell us of a time when the bridge foot was a station to be protected with care. Solid foundations and pavements are frequently uncovered. The boundaries of the fort are still indicated, as in the city, by the occurrence of interments; and the great extent of the cemetery betrays the size of the town.* It does not appear to be anywhere mentioned in a Saxon charter, but its name shows that the walls existed in Saxon times; and they were certainly available for the protection of the bridge during the Danish invasions. They were, however, easily destroyed by Norman William, and Southwark probably remained a very inconsiderable place for several centuries, though it has sent members to parliament since 1295. Richard the Clerk and William Dynnok were returned in that year; and Southwark is mentioned as having two members in 1298, 1300, and later years.

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* The opinion that Roman London stood on the site of Southwark is a mere question of names. Ptolemy, it is true, places London in Cantium (see above, chapter ii.), and Southwark may have been reckoned an integral part of the city, and may, moreover, before the extension of the walls, have been the larger part.

The central feature of the borough was and is the church of the priory of St. Mary "Overey," now called St. Saviour's, which has in part survived to our own day among the few conventual churches left in London. The nave was senselessly pulled down and rebuilt in a hideous style in 1839, when many interesting features, including a fine Norman doorway, were obliterated. The site of the adjoining priory seems to have been occupied by some religious foundation connected with the bridge at a very early period, but its authentic history begins with the year 1106, when two knights, one of whom bore the suggestive name of Pont-de-l'arche, brought in a colony of Augustinian canons, and made Algod the first prior. Henry I. gave them the parish church of St. Margaret; and shortly after they obtained the house of Pont-de-l'arche, and other property, much of which is still in the hands of the corporation as the so-called "Bridge House Estate," and is devoted to the maintenance of the fabric of London Bridge. The priory was, however, poor at first, but after the death of St. Thomas, it grew and prospered, being the resort of Canterbury pilgrims, and indeed of all travellers going south. The two parishes of St. Margaret and St. Mary Magdalene were absorbed, and portions of the great building assigned to the parishioners. At the dissolution the two were legally united into a new parish of St. Saviour, with the priory as a parish church; and it still stands, in part at least, as it stood when, in 1607, the register received the significant entry, "Edmond Shakespeare, a player."

The "restoration" of St. Saviour's took place while Gothic architecture was still very imperfectly understood. The old nave was wholly removed; and the new one is a building which possesses the rare characteristic of absolute ugliness. It is, indeed, disagreeably remarkable to the thousands, perhaps millions, who see it from one branch or another of the network of railways which now surrounds it. The eastern end and the transepts have also been severely handled, but still retain traces of their mediæval beauty, and are crowded with interesting monuments; some of them, such as the altar-tomb of John Gower, the poet, having been brought from the demolished nave. The Lady chapel has been thoroughly remodelled, but retains some ancient features; and, amid the squalor of the neighbourhood, the staring vulgarity of the store-houses which now cover the site of the conventual buildings, and the great heavy mass of the brewery opposite, where once was the park of the bishops of Winchester, it is a veritable oasis. There was another chapel in the angle of the choir and the south transept. It was, strictly speaking, the parish church of St. Mary Magdalene. It shared the fate of the nave, but was not rebuilt. A handsome Perpendicular chapel was east of the Lady chapel, and was also removed. In it had been buried the great Lancelot Andrews, bishop of Winchester. His tomb was taken down, and replaced within the existing building. The palace of the bishops has long disappeared, but stood very near the church to the westward, where the names of some of the narrow lanes commemorate it. Clink Street, in particular, points out the site of the prison in which the bishops confined heretics. In the restoration of the Lady chapel care was taken to set up the names of the Protestant martyrs of queen Mary's time who were examined by Gardiner in the adjoining eastern chapel, long used as a consistorial court.*

The connection of William Shakespeare with Southwark is one of the most unquestionable facts in his biography. He owned a house called the *Boar's Head* in the High Street, immediately opposite the east end of the church.† His brother, as we have seen, was buried in the church. His theatre was the "Gloabe upon Banckside," to which reference has already been made. Close to it, but rather more to the westward, was the Rose, another theatre. A little further in the same direction were two "pits" for bear-baiting and bull-baiting, and the locality is still, or was very lately, known as the Bear Garden, and is so marked on many maps. Another old name still extant is that of the Falcon Dock, close to which stood the *Falcon Tavern*, which is said to have been patronised by Shakespeare and his company. Paris Garden was exactly on the spot now covered by the southern approaches of Blackfriars Bridge. If the modern visitor, therefore, wishes to identify the place where Shakespeare played, he cannot do better than take the train from Charing Cross to Cannon Street, and when he has crossed the line of the Chatham and Dover Railway he is in the classical region of Bankside. Looking towards the river he will see St. Peter's Church, immediately beyond which, a little to the right, were the bull and bear pits. The train then crosses the Southwark Bridge Road, on the right-hand side of which, looking from the railway, is Barclay and Perkins' brewery. It covers the site not only of the Globe, but also of the Rose, the Hope, and various other places of a similar kind which existed here from before Shakespeare's time until all theatres were abolished by the Commonwealth. The Globe was a great hollow octagon, something like a modern martello tower, but thatched. The thatch took fire in 1613, "by the negligent discharge of a peal of ordnance close to the south side thereof."* 'Henry the Eighth' was actually being played at the time. It was rebuilt on a larger scale, and continued in occupation till 1644, when the ground landlord, Sir Matthew Brand, pulled it down, no doubt at the instance of the authorities.† The other theatres on Bankside and the bear pit were spared a few years longer, but in 1655 the last of them was removed. "Seaven of Mr. Godfrie's Beares, by command of Thomas Pride, then hie sheriefe of Surry, were shot to death, on Saterday, the 9 day of February, 1655, by a company of Souldiers." ‡

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* There is a view of it in Wilkinson's 'Londina Illustrata,' vol. i., as well as a view of the interior of the church, from which an idea may be formed as to the ruthlessness of Gwilt's "restoration."

† Boar's Head Court has not long been taken away.

The long reign of Elizabeth commenced with the customary procession through the city. "Her Grace" was met at Highgate by the lord mayor and aldermen and conducted to the Charter-house, whence on several occasions she passed through the outskirts of London before her coronation, which was delayed, it is said, on account of the difficulty of finding a Catholic bishop to bless the heretic. On the 14th January, 1559, however, she made her solemn progress from the Tower in state to Westminster, every step of which was minutely chronicled,* with the decorations of each street-corner and gate, the wondrous pageants and subleties, the dreary verses in English and Latin, the children that "made orations," the beatitudes at the Conduit in Cheap, and above all, the famous presentation at the door of St. Peter's Church† of a Bible in English. In Cheapside, we are told, her grace smiled "for that she had heard one say 'Remember old King Henry theyhgt.'" The citizens were charmed to see "how many nosegays did her grace receive at poor women's hands; how oft-times stayed she her chariot, when she sawe any simple body offer to speak to her grace; a branche of rosemary geven to her grace with a supplication by a poor woman about Flete bridge, was seen in her chariot till her grace came to Westminster."

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* Stow. We are not informed how the artillery came to be discharged so near, but it may have been stage play.

† "Munday the 15 April, 1644, to make tenements in the roome of it." MS. note in a copy of Howes' Stow, at Thirlestane House, in the Phillips collection, quoted in the 'Academy' of October 28th, 1882, by Mr. Furnival.

‡ Ibid. The Blackfriars "players' playhouse," was pulled down on the 6th August, 1655, "and tenements built in the rome."

Elizabeth, like most strong sovereigns, was popular in the city, and she retained her popularity, in spite of a few demonstrations of the old Tudor temper, to the end of her life. People never forgot that her great grandfather had been a mayor.‡ True, there was a strong

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* Allen has reprinted a scarce tract (vol. i. p. 254), which is devoted to an account of the "Passage of our most dread soveriegne Lady Quene Elizabeth through the city of London to Westminster." It was printed by Tottill in 1559.

† St. Peter's in Cheap was not rebuilt after the Great Fire.

‡ Sir Geoffrey Boleyn, just a century before the queen's accession. The citizens had good cause to cherish his memory, for he left an enormous sum, 1000*l.*, equal to perhaps 30,000*l.* in our money, to poor householders.

Catholic party among the citizens at first, led by Sir Thomas White,* the founder of St. John's College, who, indeed, had much cause to complain of the reformers' zeal. In parliament, where he sat for Southampton, he opposed the change of religion, but "to every Protestant the Mass was identified with the fires of Smithfield, while the Prayer-book which it displaced was hallowed by the memories of the Martyrs."† This, the natural effect of Mary's ruthless persecutions, turned the citizens into vehement Protestants, and it did not wholly lose its influence for a hundred years. The excesses of the Puritans in the time of Charles I. and the Commonwealth turned popular feeling a different way, but from 1558 to 1658, or from the accession of queen Elizabeth to the death of Oliver Cromwell, London was animated with a religious fervour which prevailed over every political or civic feeling such as had previously moved them.

Commercial enterprise took a new direction from the extension of English naval power. "Merchant adventurers" formed companies and obtained charters.‡ Trade with Flanders flagged when Alva ruined Antwerp; but the refugees brought with them fresh ideas and aspirations, as well as fresh methods of business. The Royal Exchange, which Elizabeth opened in 1570, was an avowed imitation of the bourses of the Low Countries. The old traditions of a guild merchant were unconsciously revived in it, though Sir Thomas Gresham had no idea that he was superseding one of the most ancient institutions of his city. The next movement, that which resulted eventually in the formation of the Bank of England, took its rise about the same time, and Sir Thomas Gresham, at the sign of the *Grasshoper* in Lombard Street, was one of the first goldsmiths who began to develop into bankers.* As the trade of Flanders died away under Spanish oppression, that of London increased, and in the markets of the city "the gold and sugar of the new world were found side by side with the cotton of India, the silks of the east, and the woollen stuffs of England itself."† The queen's statue in the Exchange was an acknowledgment of the helps to trade which her policy afforded; and her punctual payment of crown debts, and abolition of benevolences and such illegal exactions, coupled with the reform of the coinage, gave general satisfaction. The steady support of the city undoubtedly tended to strengthen her government. Money, ships, and men were forthcoming at every emergency. In fact, the citizens were far more inclined for war than the queen herself; and when the generation that had lived under Mary, and had breathed the air of Smithfield reeking with the smoke of human sacrifices, began to pass away, a little of the old temperament showed itself again. In 1586 the whole city was illuminated, bonfires blazed at every corner, tapestry was hung on many a house-front, bells were rung, the poor were feasted, and all because Babington's conspiracy had been detected and Mary Stuart condemned. The queen wrote a letter of thanks to the mayor on the occasion, and the demonstrations of joy were repeated a little later when news came of the final tragedy at Fotheringay.*

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* Mayor at the trial of the lady Jane, in 1553. See above, p. 316.

† Green, ii. 303.

‡ The company of so-called Merchant Adventurers obtained their first charter from Henry VII., and that from Elizabeth in 1564, the Turkey Company in 1579, and the East India Company in 1600.

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* See Mr. Price's 'Handbook of London Bankers,' p. 66. Messrs. Martin and Co., 68, Lombard Street, occupy the site of the *Grasshopper*, and claim to represent the original firm. The sign was abolished in 1770, and lost in 1794. (See below, chapter xiii.)

† Green, ii. 389.

The military and naval preparations to oppose the Armada were watched by the citizens with anxious eyes. Elizabeth asked London for fifteen ships and five thousand men. To this demand the citizens replied with thirty ships and ten thousand sailors, while the trained bands, to the number of ten thousand more, paraded each evening at the Artillery Ground † in Spital Fields. We may be sure that all London poured out by river and road to the famous review at Tilbury, and when the flotilla of Philip was finally defeated, Elizabeth attended a solemn service in St. Paul's on the 24th November, 1588. She was conducted from the choir to a closet made on the north wall of the church, whence she could hear the discourse of bishop Pierce of Salisbury, at the Cross, and she afterwards returned through the church and dined in London House with bishop Aylmer. Seven years later, also in November, a special service of thanksgiving was held for the queen's long reign, when bishop Fletcher, who had succeeded Aylmer, preached a sermon in praise of Elizabeth.‡ When at length she died, the grief of the citizens was marked by the most lively tokens. Monuments were erected to her memory in the churches, with epitaphs in which her virtues were set forth in language worthy of

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* There are notices of these events in nearly every city register. See Smith's 'Topography,' p. 51.

† Artillery, it is hardly necessary to observe, originally meant archery. The history of the Honourable Artillery Company is very interesting. The Guild of St. George which presided over it, was, perhaps, the only city guild which survived Edward VI. Artillery Lane, Spital Fields, commemorates the archery ground.

‡ Sparrow Simpson, 'Old St. Paul's,' p. 227. Aylmer died in 1594, and Fletcher was appointed in the following year, that of the thanksgiving.

Euphues.* When her funeral passed to Westminster there was "such a general sighing, groaning and weeping, as the like hath not been seen or known in the memory of man, neither doth any history mention any people, time, or state, to make like lamentation for the death of their sovereign." †

Such were the personal relations of Elizabeth and the citizens. Of the political history of London during her reign there is less to tell. We have on several occasions outbreaks of apprentices, but it is impossible to assign any great meaning to them. As in all oligarchical periods the lower classes were more or less oppressed. Though the mayor and aldermen were much engaged in the regulation of the charities, pauperism increased to an alarming extent. Sturdy beggars, who gave themselves out as disbanded soldiers from the wars in Flanders, infested every road, and in 1593 the evil grew to such a height that the mayor was commanded to suppress it within three miles of London. Rioting, in which the apprentices were but too willing to join, ensued, and in the very year, 1595, which saw the rejoicings for Elizabeth's long reign, five unhappy wretches were condemned for sedition at the Guildhall, and were hanged upon Tower Hill. Among such fiery materials the authorities had no difficulty over and over again in finding soldiers, and on one memorable occasion the lord mayor and aldermen being at service in St. Paul's received a message from the queen asking them to raise a certain number of men for immediate service. Before night a thousand were enrolled, being chiefly, no doubt, impressed from the casual wards and the streets, and were so rapidly equipped that the next morning they were ready to march for Dover. Their services, as it turned out, were not required, and they were dismissed to their homes, as many, that is, we must suppose, as had homes, within twenty-four hours. Essex, in his silly attempt at the close of Elizabeth's reign, reckoned on the assistance of one of the sheriffs, who commanded a force of a thousand trained-band men, but while he was demanding "munitions of war" from the armourers in Gracechurch Street, Burghley had proclaimed him a traitor in Cheapside. It is curious to note the appearance of the bishop once more among the civic dignitaries on this occasion. When Essex attempted to return to his house at the Outer Temple, the bishop, we are told, had posted a number of men at Ludgate to oppose him, and so effectually that having had a drink in Friday Street, perhaps at the classic *Mermaid*, which must have been well known to his companion, Southampton, he turned back, St. Paul's Chain was lifted up to let him pass, and he descended to Queenhithe, whence he took his way home by water.

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* Many sets of these verses are in Stow's 'Survey.' These monuments were set up also in many country churches. I have observed that for some unexplained reason they are nearly as obnoxious as hatchments to restorers, and few of them survive.

† Howe's Stow.

This event, of little importance in the city annals, is yet the turning point in the career of Shakespeare.* He was the friend of the seditious earls. He may have been implicated in their insurrection. Certain it is that their fall, the death of Essex, the imprisonment of Southampton, the banishment of Pembroke,† left an indelible mark on his mind. He had prospered in London. His subordinate share in Burbage's Theatre at Blackfriars had blossomed into the proprietorship of the Globe, which had been built in 1599 on the opposite bank. He had made money and fame. He had paid his father's debts, and bought an estate in his native town. Essex was beheaded in the Tower on the 19th February, 1601, and the populace of the city, though they had declined to join his standard, showed their sympathy by waylaying the headsman and beating him as he returned homeward from performing his hideous task. From this melancholy year a change comes over the spirit of the poet. 'Julius Cæsar' was published in 1601, "and we may have scattered through the telling of the great Roman's fate the expression of Shakespeare's sorrow for the ruin of Essex." The times, as Hamlet, whose tragedy next appeared, asserts, were "out of joint." It is impossible not to see the queen's old age and impending death reflected in many ways. We are reminded of the old age of Edward III. Shakespeare was already "aweary of the world," and in the five years that follow he wrote the more melancholy of his plays, 'Othello,' for example, and 'Lear,' and dwelt on "the darker sins of men, the unpitying fate which slowly gathers round and falls on men, the avenging wrath of conscience, the cruelty and punishment of weakness, the treachery, lust, jealousy, ingratitude, madness of men, the follies of the great, and the fickleness of the mob,"* and as the "bright and occidental star" of Elizabeth's life sank at length in gloom, his genius reflects the universal sadness with which the new era of the Stuarts was ushered in.

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* See Mr. Stopford Brooke's 'Primer of English Literature,' p. 99.

† Whose mother, "learned, good, and wise," is immortalised in Ben Jonson's epitaph. She lived in Crosby Place. (See above p. 290; and Mr. Rendle on the Globe Playhouse, Harrison's 'England' (New Shakspere Society), part ii., appendix i.

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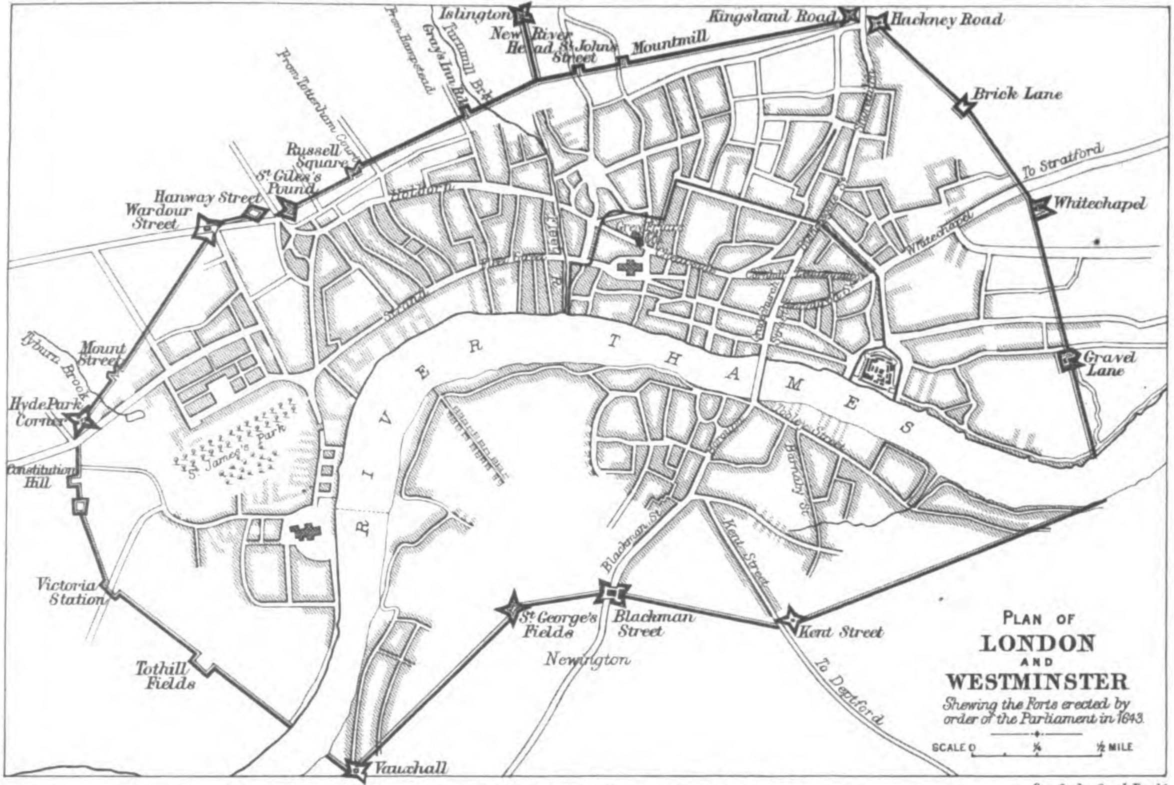
* Brooke, p. 100.

CHAPTER XI.

THE WAR, THE PLAGUE, AND THE FIRE.

THERE was no part of the kingdom more inclined than London to acknowledge peaceably the accession of James I. Amid the popular lamentation for Elizabeth the heralds proclaimed her successor in Cheap and at the other accustomed places, and four days afterwards the new king sent to thank the lord mayor for "his great forwardness in that just and honourable action." The favour of the city, as James probably knew, was worth having, and he hastened to offer it "hereby a taste of our thankful mind for the same." The lord mayor and aldermen met the king on his arrival at Stamford Hill, having sent one of the sheriffs as far as Waltham. The other sheriff was ill, and indeed London was never so unhealthy as then. It was computed that more than thirty thousand deaths occurred that year from plague alone. The building of houses in the suburbs was forbidden, as it had already been by Elizabeth, players were silenced, and Bartholomew Fair suppressed. But James very prudently stopped when he had reached the Charterhouse, and deferred his first visit to London till the plague was stayed—about a year later.

The loan of 60,000*l.* on the one side, the indiscriminate bestowal of knighthood on the other, and the disputes about precedency which ensued; the confirmation by charter of the Thames Conservancy; the settlement of



PLAN OF
LONDON
AND
WESTMINSTER
Shewing the Forts erected by order of the Parliament in 1643.

SCALE 0 ¼ ½ MILE
Islington
New River Head
St. Johns Street
Mountmill
Kingsland Road
Hackney Road
Brick Lane
To Stratford
Whitechapel
Gravel Lane
From Hampstead
Gray's Inn Rd.
Turnmill Brk.
From Tottenham Court
Russell Square
St. Giles's Pound
Hanway Street
Wardour Street
Holborn
Fleet R.
Strand
Whitechapel
Mount Street
Tyburn Brook
Hyde Park Corner
St. James's Park
Constitution Hill
Victoria Station
Tothill Fields
RIVER THAMES
Tooley Street
Barnaby St.
Blackman St.
Kent Street
St. George's Fields
Blackman Street
Kent Street
Newington
To Deptford
Vauxhall

Stanford's Geog¹ Estabᵗ

London: Edward Stanford, 55 Charing Cross.

the question of metage, and the cleansing — for the last time—of the old fosse round the walls, are the chief civic events of the first years of the seventeenth century. In 1609, James was made free of the clothworkers' company, to the great envy of the merchant taylors, who at a grand entertainment showed him reproachfully the roll of kings, princes, archbishops, and dukes that had belonged to their fraternity. They had to be satisfied with Prince Henry, who was immediately enrolled, and presented with a purse of gold, which so pleased the boy that he called upon all his attendants to follow his example and join the ranks of the company.

It is strange to observe continued proclamations against the increase of buildings. The city being overcrowded it might have been thought that an extension of suburbs would have been a safeguard against the frequent visitations of the plague ; but these proclamations were constantly issued at intervals even by Oliver Cromwell, and offenders punished in the Star Chamber, without any effect, except to drive settlers to the remoter villages, such as Islington, Greenwich, or St. Marylebone, and to render the overgrown town more unwieldy still. Two slight rectifications of the city boundaries (in reality consequent on the changes caused by the suppression of the monasteries) may be noted here, as probably the last additions of jurisdiction which London received. As far back as 1570 a dispute which arose as to the lord mayor's right to exercise his authority in the new district now springing up about Ely Place in Holborn was settled by an acknowledgment that the precinct was within the city.* Similar disputes had constantly taken place as to the sites of the suppressed religious houses, and in his second charter king James surveys and defines the city jurisdiction. The places named are the "late dissolved priory of the Church of Trinity, near Aldgate, commonly called Creed Church Street, or the Duke's Place;"* St. Bartholomew's, Smithfield; the "late dissolved house or priory of Preaching Friars within and at Ludgate, London, commonly called Black Friars; and also the late dissolved house or priory of Friars of the Order of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Mount Carmel, called White Friars; and also the inn or liberty of Cold Herberge, otherwise Cold Harburgh, and Cold Herburgh Lane." Yet the inhabitants of these precincts were specially exempted from the payment of certain taxes, and from the duty of holding certain civic offices, so long did the old "odour of sanctity" hang about the "rookeries from which the birds had been chased."

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* See further on this subject in vol. ii. chapter xx.

An anecdote, which is probably authentic, gives us some idea of the estimation in which the shrewd citizens held their Scottish king.† James was displeased because he could not obtain the loan of a sum of money which he wanted. "Being somewhat transported, he said that he would remove his own court, with all the records of the Tower, and the courts of Westminster Hall, to another place, with further expressions of his indignation. The lord mayor calmly heard all, and at last answered, 'Your Majesty hath power to do what you please, and your city of London will obey accordingly; but she humbly desires that when your Majesty shall remove your courts, you would please to leave the Thames behind you.'"

The temper of the citizens was indeed changed. The

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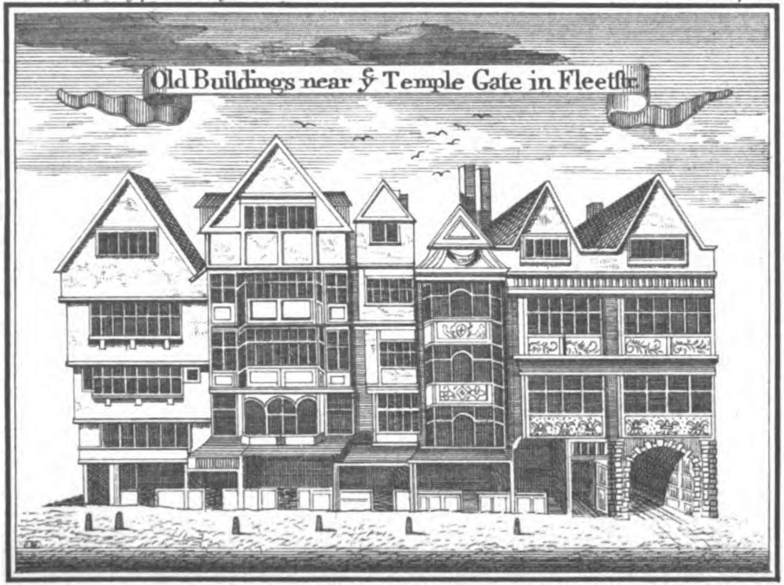
* See Maitland, i. 291.

† Howell's 'Londinopolis,' p. 19. He tells the story with evident pleasure, but qualifies it in the index as "A factious saying of the Lord Mayor's to King James." He does not give the lord mayor's name.

From an engraving published by John Bowles. To face p. 335.


Old Buildings near ye Temple Gate in Fleetſtr.

influence of Protestantism acting on two successive generations, and the spread of a certain smattering of learning, coupled with that self-conceit which always characterises the newly educated, must have inclined the Londoners of this period to the dogmatic views in religious matters which such moderate counsellors as Whitgift, or Hooker, or Fuller endeavoured in vain to direct. We have a full picture of this aspect of the times in the almost contemporary works of Izaak Walton, who was a wholesale linen merchant at the corner of Chancery Lane, and who, through his mother, a Cranmer, and his wife, a Ken, was connected with several bishops, and acquainted more or less intimately with the history of every eminent churchman of his own time, and the generation before his. Of none is his portrait more complete than of Hooker. The great controversy with Travers raged chiefly in the Temple opposite Walton's own abode.* Hooker had been appointed Master in 1585, before Walton was born, and had died at Bourne in 1600, before Walton came to live in Chancery Lane; but when he wrote of the generation before his own, he had the scene before his eyes, and when he mentioned the religious controversies of their day, it was not without reference to those of his own.

Walter Travers, though he was connected by marriage with Hooker's family,† had been his rival for the mastership, and when he was disappointed had shown his Christian temper by using the subordinate post of lecturer to preach against the opinions of his superior. The lawyers took sides, and, indeed, the whole town, where, as Walton says, even the shopwomen were keen controversialists. Hooker, in a sermon preached several years before at St. Paul's Cross, had made use of expressions with regard to predestination which differed strongly from those held by a majority of the citizens, and Travers had the support of many people of all ranks. The contest was carried on at every opportunity, Travers frequently in the afternoon combating the opinions expressed by Hooker in the forenoon.* There was no regular rupture between the two, and neither party forgot the rules of courtesy, yet there is something unseemly, to our modern ideas at least, in the whole dispute. It had, however, one result which none can regret, the composition by Hooker of his book on 'Ecclesiastical Polity,' a work which probably more than any other influenced the settlement of the Church of England under Elizabeth. In 1592 it was registered at Stationers' Hall as consisting of eight books, and the first four were published in 1594. A year later Hooker's connection with the Temple ceased, on his appointment to the rectory of Bishopsbourne, near Canterbury.

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* There is a contemporary view of the Temple Gate. See the accompanying reproduction.

† John Travers, Walter's brother, married Alice, sister of Richard Hooker. ('Herald and Genealogist,' iii. 27).

Since Hooker's time everything at the Temple has changed, except perhaps the Middle Temple Hall, which was built in 1572, and has not been substantially altered, having been spared by the Great Fire of 1666, as well as by meddling treasurers since, except that the exterior stonework was renewed in the middle of the last century.† In 1601 a play of Shakespeare's ('Twelfth

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* "Hooker, it was said, preached Canterbury in the forenoon, and Travers Geneva in the afternoon. The Benchers were divided."—Cunningham, 'Handbook,' ii. 802.

† The little fountain had associations of its own, and was made the background of one of Dickens' most pathetic scenes. But the vulgar horror of age and quaintness which has ruined so much else in the Temple has transformed it within the past few years, and it retains now no more

Night') was acted here, and the great dramatist, by an anachronism, makes it a rendezvous of Falstaff and the Prince.* Of the other buildings there is nothing left to recall Hooker. I have already spoken of the chapel, in which not a trace of old work has been permitted to remain. It would have been interesting to see the pulpit from which Hooker and Travers alternately expounded the doctrines of the Church and of dissent. Pepys records a visit to "the Temple Church, looking with pleasure on the monuments and epitaphs"† which the fire had spared, but which were removed almost in our own day.‡ Among them were tablets to the memory of a son of Coke and of a daughter-in-law of Littleton, who was honoured by an epitaph containing the well-known couplet—

"For while this jewel here is set
The grave is but a cabinet."

All religious questions were fiercely debated in the city at this time, and the tendency of a majority of the citizens was undoubtedly towards the Genevan doctrine. This was in part caused it is probable by the apathy of the clergymen who enjoyed city livings. They held preaching to be no part of their duty. True, before the Reformation preaching had been rare in a church, and after it preachers' mouths were closed by the strict enforcement of the power of licensing. But had the incumbents of the city livings exerted themselves in this particular during the reign of James and the early years

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beauty or picturesqueness than if it belonged to a nursery garden or a suburban villa.

* 'Henry IV.' part i. act iii. scene 3.

† Oct. 22, 1666.

‡ They are now, at least those which have survived, under the bellows of the organ. The church before it was completely altered is described in 'The Churches of London,' by Godwin and Britton, vol. i.

of Charles, the very strong part taken by the citizens in the subversion of the Church might have been modified if not prevented. As it was, preachers were appointed in many parishes. Preaching or lecturing seldom took place on Sunday.* The parishioners paid the lecturers' salaries, and the rectors were in many cases obliged therefore to leave to them the choice of suitable persons. In the result, as might have been and probably was foreseen, the lecturers became practically the parish parsons; and though archbishop Laud made a vehement attempt to abolish them, they held their ground, and under the Commonwealth completely supplanted the rectors. The famous 'Book of Sports' found no favour with them, and the first open difference between the court and the city broke out when the lord mayor stopped the king's carriages as they were being driven through the streets during the hours of divine service. James was bitterly enraged, and inquired how many kings there were in England besides himself. But the mayor, George Bolles, submitted with a protest, and similarly, in 1623, Sir Martin Lumley obeyed an arbitrary command of the king, who came himself to the Guildhall to reprimand the citizens for an insult to Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador. A wretched fellow was actually arrested and whipped through the city merely for making disrespectful remarks.

When James had been five years upon the throne, there was born in the very midst of the city, nay in the very midst of Cheap, a child who, though his life has little to do with the history of London, must yet be mentioned as one of whom citizens have the greatest reason to be proud. In Bread Street, in 1608, every house must have had its sign, as the idea of numbering the doors had not yet occurred to anybody. Among the signs was one very like a coat of arms. It represented a spread eagle, and was, indeed, the bearing of an old but decayed family named Milton. Its head at this time was a scrivener—"an ingenious man," says Aubrey, who "delighted in music and composed many songs now in print, especially that of Oriana." He loved his son's pursuits, and encouraged him to make verses while still quite a boy, as the poet himself says*—

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* At St. Margaret's, Lothbury, in 1583, Mr. Alexander Shepherd proposed to preach on Tuesdays and Thursdays, but the parishioners preferred Sunday forenoon and Thursday night. Parish Books, quoted by Mr. Freshfield, 'Archæologia,' xiv. 67.

"In close affinity, we sympathize
In social arts and kindred studies sweet."

The boy loved the play, and in his poems are many allusions which show him to have been fond even of comedy; but the most distinct point to such tragical pieces as 'Romeo and Juliet,' or 'Hamlet.' Above all, however, he loved London, and

". . . . the busy hum of men,
Where throngs of knights and barons bold
In weeds of peace high triumph hold,
With store of ladies, whose bright eyes
Rain influence and judge the prize."

The tournaments close by in Cheap were not yet wholly forgotten. He was able to call them up, and many another scene which the Great Fire obliterated for us Had it been healthy, London must indeed have been a city which a man could love—

"Too blest abode! no loveliness we see
In all the earth, but it abounds in thee."

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* In a Latin poem 'Ad Patrem,' translated by Cowper, and quoted with other notices, in Knight's 'London,' ii. 98.

And one of his finest sonnets is written in apprehension of an assault upon the city—

"Captain, or colonel, or knight in arms,
Whose chance on these defenceless doors may seize,
If deed of honour did thee ever please,
Guard them, and him within protect from harms."

Milton was living at this time in Aldersgate Street. He afterwards removed to "Mr. Russell's, in St. Bride's Churchyard," and during the Commonwealth he had a house on the south side of St. James' Park, into which he had a private door, so as conveniently to attend on Cromwell at Whitehall. At the restoration he took refuge in St. Bartholomew's Close, which, perhaps, of all Miltonian localities, so to speak, is the least altered. 'Paradise Lost' was composed in the rural Holborn, or the completely civic Jewin Street, and he died in the parish of St. Giles, Cripplegate, at a house which used to be pointed out long after, very near the melancholy enclosure of Bunhill Fields. A monument to his memory exists in the parish church, where his grave was found and examined in 1790.*

The reign of Charles I. opened with every omen against it. The plague raged so violently that the customary procession through the city was omitted, as was the public reception of queen Henrietta Maria on her arrival from France. Parliament for the same cause was adjourned to Oxford. To add to the miseries of the citizens, it soon became known that the king had even more overbearing ideas than his father, and a resolute opposition was organised among the commons when Charles attempted to exact a loan of 100,000*l.* It was absolutely refused, and the imprisonment of a number of those citizens who were known to have taken part in the refusal only embittered the quarrel and confirmed the opposition. When a parliament was called in 1628, the king had the mortification to see no fewer than twenty-seven of his prisoners returned as members for various places.* Ship-money was also stoutly refused, and had the city mob not given legitimate cause of offence on one memorable occasion, the whole history of the reign of Charles in London would be comprised in a list of lawless exactions and lawful resistance. But the murder of Doctor Lamb cannot in any way be defended. The wretched man was looked upon as one of the principal instruments of oppression, and in June, 1628, he unfortunately ventured into the city, where being recognised he was set upon by the rabble, dragged about the streets, beaten and kicked until death released him from their hands. The king came himself to the rescue, but in vain. The mob loudly declared that they had judged him and found him guilty, and Charles had to return insulted and baffled. An order from the council to the lord mayor and sheriffs to bring the rioters to justice produced no effect. They were then summoned to Whitehall and threatened with the confiscation of their charter, but persisted in reporting that the murderers of Lamb could not be found. Four years afterwards, however, in 1632, some of them were apprehended; but the king had meanwhile imposed a fine on the citizens, and from this time on there was no truce between London and Charles. Each year saw some aggravation of the king's oppressive conduct. Ship-money, tonnage, and poundage were imposed with the utmost rigour. Vassall, a wealthy merchant, who resisted, and defended his refusal before the barons of the exchequer, was condemned and imprisoned. But one merchant who happened to be a member of the House of Commons was more successful. John Rolle, a Cornishman, was in business in the city. He refused to pay the illegal tax, and his goods were seized by officers of the customs. The house took up the question, and, after several adjournments, voted (while the speaker was forcibly held in the chair), that Rolle "ought to have privilege both in person and goods."

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* See Knight, &c.

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* Allen, i. 336. The general history of this miserable period is so well known that I confine myself in the text to the most prominent points and of those to what concerns the city only.

Charles issued writs for ship-money in 1634, and the citizens protested in the most solemn manner, but ineffectually. Rightly or wrongly, they believed that Strafford meditated "a plundering of the city, and putting it to fine and ransom," and it was currently reported that he had threatened to hang some of the aldermen. The discovery of this so-called army plot sealed his fate. Twenty thousand citizens petitioned the House of Lords against him. A mob attacked the residence of the Spanish ambassador in Bishopsgate, and the lord mayor could with difficulty protect it. The professional preachers fanned the flames with violent diatribes against the fallen minister, and six thousand citizens presented themselves at Westminster and clamoured for justice. When the Bill of Attainder had been passed, the hesitation of Charles was overcome by similar means, and the earl's execution on Tower Hill was made the occasion of open rejoicings, and was observed almost as a public holiday. The bells of the churches rang out, and when evening came on bonfires blazed in many of the streets.

The king, to whom his greatest enemies never imputed a want of personal courage, who in the worst of times refused the services of a body-guard, and had once, as we have seen, faced a howling mob of the lowest class of the city, now took a more extraordinary, and in some respects a still more courageous step. His attempted seizure of the five members in the House of Commons is well known. Defeated in this design, and well aware that the prey he sought had taken refuge among the citizens, he boldly drove to the Guildhall,* having previously ordered a meeting of the common council to be convened. He made them a speech, demanding the apprehension of the accused members, and taking the opportunity of assuring his audience of his attachment to the Protestant religion, which he promised to defend against "Papists and separatists." To this speech he obtained no answer. The sheriffs, indeed, received his commands with respect, but that was all. He dined with one of them, "who was of the two thought the least inclined to his service."† In the afternoon he returned to Whitehall in his coach, surrounded by an indignant crowd of the citizens, who vociferated "Privilege of Parliament," as he passed. Five days went by without any return to the writs he had issued to the sheriffs, and with gradually growing rumours that the trained bands of the city were about to escort the five members‡ to Westminster in triumph, and to constitute themselves "guardians of the parliament, the kingdom, and the king." But Charles had no mind to such protection. On the 10th he left Whitehall for Hampton Court, and the following day the sheriffs conducted the five members to Westminster by water, guarded by forty long boats armed with small pieces of ordnance, and gaily decorated with flags. The sheriffs were called in and publicly thanked by the House of Commons, and an indemnity passed for their conduct. Two companies of the trained bands were then told off for constant duty at Westminster; and custody of the Tower and its stores was given to the civic authorities.*

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* 3rd January, 1642.

† Clarendon, 'History,' vol. i. See Green, iii. 214.

‡ They had been lodged very openly in a house in Coleman Street, and daily visited by members of parliament and the chief citizens.

Meanwhile, the king on his side making preparations for war, the commons ordered the "Militia of London" to train and exercise themselves daily in various open places not more than three miles from the city. The lord mayor, Sir Richard Gurney, was suspected of a leaning towards the court party. When the parliament asked the city for money, he received a letter from the king bidding him to warn the citizens of his displeasure in case they should comply with the demand. On this the parliament issued a counter-proclamation, and the lord mayor was actually arrested, arraigned before what remained of a house of peers, deprived of his office, declared incapable of ever holding it again, and committed to the custody of his own sheriffs in the Tower. The king, having declared war on the 22nd August, and having commenced his march on London, a prodigious crowd, which included even women and children, assembled to make a new fortification. Charles, after the undecisive battle of Edge Hill, continued his advance and occupied Brentford on the 12th November, after a sharp fight in which the forces of the parliament were defeated. The approach of peril nerved the citizens to greater exertions. The trained bands showed such a formidable front that the king retired first to Reading and then to Oxford. Shops were shut and apprentices enrolled, proclamation being made that when their services were no longer required the masters should reinstate them in their former places. The new mayor, Pennington, was devoted to the cause of the parliament, and during the winter the inner wall was strengthened, and a fresh line of defence completed.

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* It is asserted that Charles carried off the contents of the Mint—the property of the goldsmiths—on this occasion, amounting to 200,000*l*. See Price, 'Handbook of London Bankers,' p. 61.

This new fortification consisted of earthworks with forts at various points. It took in both the city and Westminster, and the suburbs as far as Shoreditch on the north and St. George's Fields on the south. East and west it extended from Hyde Park to Mile End and the Lea. Redoubts were made at Hackney, where not long ago some remnants of the banks might still be seen; at the upper pond of the New River;* at the Islington pound; at Southampton House in Holborn, where probably Castle Street may commemorate it; at St. Giles'; at the east end of "Tyburn Road," close to what is now Rathbone Place; and at the head of Wardour Street. On the western side a large earthwork was long known as "Oliver's Mount," and is commemorated by the name of Mount Street, Grosvenor Square. At Hyde Park Corner, at Tothill Fields, and various places on the south side of the Thames were similar structures.

To the expenses of the war the city, which had grumbled at the comparatively small exactions of the king, cheerfully contributed, the sum of 10,000*l.* a week being demanded by the parliament and paid by the citizens. The discovery of a plot formed by Sir Nicholas Crisp, a former civic dignitary, for seizing the city, gave rise to fresh exertions, as did a futile proclamation by the king fulminated from Oxford, in which London was placed under a kind of interdict. The answer of the citizens† was the expenditure of 50,000*l.* more in improvement of the fortifications and other defences, and an almost riotous concourse of the people at Westminster to petition the parliament against any reconciliation with the king. The common council desired the city companies to collect and lend 500,000*l.* to the parliament, and sent six regiments to raise the siege of Gloucester. More money and more men were forthcoming when required, and there can be no kind of doubt that the determined attitude of London decided the great civil war. Charles learned, when it was too late, what a glance at history might have told him long before, that the side of London was eventually the winning side in every struggle: and that in oppressing the citizens he had ruined his own cause. The relief of Gloucester, mainly achieved by the trained bands, was the "turning point of the war." *

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* See below, p. 357.

† "The city of London was the very soul of the cause."—Maitland, i. 380, where even the speeches at the civic banquets may be found in full.

The citizen soldiers were not, it is true, always victorious. At Newbury, Essex was utterly routed, but the Londoners mustered strongly again under Manchester at Naseby, and on the 19th June, 1645, five days after that decisive victory, both houses of parliament attended a thanksgiving service in the old church of the Grey Friars,† and afterwards dined with the citizens at the Grocers' Hall, in the Poultry. After dinner all joined in singing the inspiriting words of the great psalm ‡ of trust and triumph which Luther had used on similar occasions, "God is our refuge and strength: a very present help in trouble."

So ended the war, as far as the king was concerned. London had now to reckon with the army. The submission of Charles was offered to the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons. He expressed his willingness to comply with the demands of the parliament in everything, "for settling truth and peace." But it was too late. Whether he was sincere or not, both parliament and city had lost the power of accepting his surrender. They had called a monster into existence, and were at its mercy. A tumult, raised in all probability by disbanded royalist soldiers, gave Fairfax occasion to occupy London. The insurgents were encountered near the Leadenhall, and put to the rout. The soldiers were now masters of the city. The battle of Cornhill, as it may be called, though little known in history, had momentous consequences. Soon after the arrival of the army a demand of 50,000*l.* was made upon the citizens. They could not, or would not comply, and the soldiers threatened, and in part carried out their threat, to dismantle the fortifications. Never, perhaps, since the Norman Conquest, had London been brought so low. Colonel Pride, who in the following year was to render himself famous by administering his "purge" to the house of commons, was sheriff of Surrey, and took the opportunity of clearing Southwark of playhouses. The citizens were terrified at the approach of this uncompromising officer, but Fairfax kept order, and people began to look for a renewal of tranquillity on the return of the victorious Cromwell from his successful campaign in the north. This took place in the beginning of December, 1648. He immediately sent a couple of regiments into the city to secure any money they could find, and some 20,000*l.* was obtained by the simple process of taking it from the halls of the companies. Long afterwards, the habit, which seems so strange nowadays, of keeping cash in hand was practised universally, and Pepys we may remember, buried some money in his garden on the approach of the fire. The soldiers were billeted upon private families, the horses were sent to the inns.

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* Green, iii. 226.

† Christ Church, Newgate Street.

‡ Psa. xlvi.

Probably the citizens never spent a more miserable Christmas. The old festivities of the season were strictly forbidden. The "sour-visaged saints" demanded of the common council pay and provisions for the army till the ensuing 25th March, and only allowed fourteen days for deliberation, assessment, and collection. The reaction which had set in showed itself in the election of a royalist lord mayor, Abraham Reynardson, and no doubt the occupation of the city was chiefly caused by the existence of this and other signs of a change in the feelings of the people. By one of those curious mistakes which even the greatest rulers of men sometimes make, the council of officers greatly intensified the smouldering loyalty of the citizens by the king's execution in January, as it not only awoke any personal feeling they may have retained towards a monarch who certainly cannot be said to have treated them well: but it endued an innocent boy, of whom so far no harm was known, with all the traditional regard which London had paid to the crown. Reynardson absolutely refused to proclaim the abolition of royalty, and was committed to the Tower and heavily fined. A new mayor was elected and sworn before the remnant of the house of commons with great solemnity. His name was Atkins, and he lived to suffer for that day's proceedings. On the accession of Charles II. he took Reynardson's place in the Tower, and died in confinement.

Cromwell was now about to proceed to Ireland, and Fairfax obtained 150,000*l.* from the city towards his expenses. Prior to his departure, another solemn service was held in Christ Church, and another dinner was eaten in the Grocers' Hall, when the citizens gave Fairfax a basin and ewer of beaten gold, and plate also to Cromwell, with a sum of money. The mayor, with twelve of the aldermen, proclaimed the abolition of royalty, and things were so far settled, that no objection was openly made. As ever, the citizens above all things desired leisure for their mercantile pursuits, and the growing power of Cromwell, while it promised peace at home and protection for commerce abroad, was not unwelcome even to those who in their hearts longed for the presence of a court, and sighed amid the gloom of the presbyterian rule for the merry days of old. When Cromwell came back victorious from the decisive battle of Worcester, the citizens went out to Acton to meet him. He was feasted at Guildhall, and received everywhere as a deliverer. After he had snuffed out the last flicker of the old parliament, and had been sworn in as lord protector, the city treated him with regal honours, and the mayor received knighthood at his hands. There can be no doubt of the strong royalist feeling of the city. The person of the king was comparatively a matter of indifference. Cromwell would have done for them exceedingly well, and they would certainly have elected him had he allowed it. On his death they turned instinctively to Charles II., and General Monk's first overtures were made to the mayor and aldermen.

As this was the last time but one that the Londoners exercised their ancient electoral privilege, it excites a greater interest than the king's actual entry, which has been so fully described.* The negotiations commenced upon the rupture between Monk and the parliament, when that astute general, instead of writing to the citizens, sent a private messenger to the lord mayor, who may have communicated some of the design in hand. Be this as it may, the mayor invited Monk to a dinner, after which he and the members of the corporation repaired to the Guildhall, where he made a speech, in which he apologised for some recent military proceedings which had frightened the city into the idea that its independence would be compromised. He further, as an earnest of his good intentions, communicated the contents of a letter which he had written to the parliament advising the issue of writs for a new house of commons; and though he did not openly acquaint the meeting with his whole counsel in the matter of a restoration, he contrived to show them that in what he did he had the interests of the city rather than of the parliament at heart. and that, come what may, he felt sure they would eventually be satisfied with his course of action. By such vague phrases he restored or awakened their confidence, and a mutual engagement was entered into by which he and they were bound to stand or fall together. He charged them to keep order, and, having replaced the members of parliament who had so long been excluded, he contrived that an ordinance should be passed restoring the ancient liberty, and was in gratitude immediately elected general of the civic forces, and invited for his greater security to take up his quarters in the city. He probably thought himself sufficiently safe at Charing Cross, where he had made his headquarters in Northumberland House; so he sent a grateful but vague reply, and summoned the trained bands to a grand review in Hyde Park. Early in 1660 matters took a fresh turn. Charles sent Lord Mordaunt and Sir John Grenville from Breda with a letter to the lord mayor, aldermen, and common council, as well as to Monk, the parliament, and the fleet. The mayor, Thomas Alleyne,* assembled his fellow citizens, and introduced Mordaunt and Grenville. The letter was read amid the wildest acclamations of joy. The messengers were immediately presented with a handsome gratuity, and before the meeting broke up, fourteen members of the common council were deputed to accompany them back to Holland, with a present of 10,000*l.*, and an assurance of their loyal devotion. A few days later* the new king was proclaimed at the usual places in the city, when the citizens took occasion to testify their loyalty, and no doubt their feeling of relief from the thraldom of the presbyterians, by excesses of drunkenness such as London had not seen for many a long day. The fourteen citizens who formed the deputation were knighted at Breda, and on the 29th May accompanied Charles to St. George's Fields, where the lord mayor received him, and where, before entering the city, the king was entertained in a splendid tent erected beforehand. The magnificence of his welcome has been often described, and may be summed up in a brief sentence from the amusing diary of Samuel Pepys:—"It is impossible to relate the glory of this day, expressed in the clothes of them that rid, and their horses and horse-clothes."

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* The negotiations are given in great detail by Maitland, chiefly from Rushworth.

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* Alleyne was a member of the Grocers' Company, to which General Monk was also admitted in February, 1660. Charles II. became a member of the same company in July.

The events of the restoration belong to the history of England. The history of the city is concerned about a very different kind of subject. The two greatest misfortunes that ever befel it were already approaching. The intoxication of triumph was sobered by the outbreak of an epidemic of small-pox, to which the new king's brother, among thousands of others, fell a victim; but a worse disaster was impending.

I have avoided, hitherto, anything but a passing reference to the visitations of the plague. They culminated in the appalling disaster of 1665. Several times had the deaths from epidemic disorders reached so high a figure that the year was afterwards described as that of the "Great Plague." Such a calamity occurred in 1349, when 50,000 people are said to have died. This may be an exaggeration, yet we have no means of testing its truth, not knowing how great was the population of the city at the time. Hallam estimated it in the twelfth century as about 40,000. Fitzstephen speaks of 80,000 fighting men as mustering for war in his day.* In the sixteenth century we are just as much in ignorance as to the number of souls within the city boundaries. In the seventeenth, however, we have better information, yet there are astonishing discrepancies between the different estimates. Thus Howel thinks there were not fewer than a million and a half of people in London in the time of the Commonwealth,† while twenty years earlier the authorities of the Guildhall only estimated about 700,000 within the liberties. In 1682, Sir William Petty, a very careful and acute observer, reckoned the population at 672,000, inhabiting 84,000 houses. Yet another writer of the same period only made the number 530,000. On the whole, as Petty only reckoned the average number of inhabitants of each house at eight, it seems not unlikely that 672,000 is a moderate estimate.

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* 8th May, 1660.

The number of deaths from the plague, or from various epidemics, some of which were the plague, and some of a different character, is as difficult to ascertain now as the population. When the "bills of mortality" were first issued in 1603 it became easier, and before the end of the century a very accurate idea could be formed.

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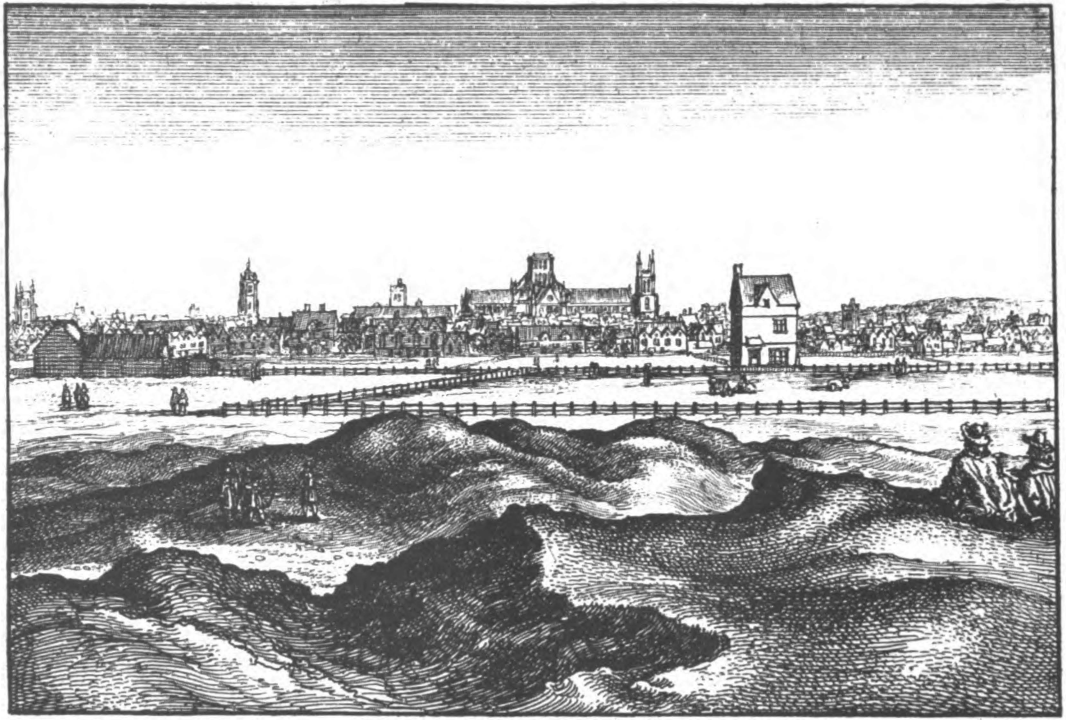
* Pegge suggests that an extra cypher has crept into the manuscript: but in writing of the period 80,000 would probably be lxxxM.

† 'Londinopolis' was published in 1657.

To face p. 352.



Stanford's Geog! Estab!

LONDON FROM THE NORTH IN 1665.
After a Print by Hollar.

London: Edward Stanford, 55 Charing Cross.

The plague which began in the year of queen Elizabeth's death, went on increasing year by year in its fatal powers till 1609, when no fewer than 4000 were believed to have succumbed to it. It lost its virulence by 1611, but there were probably a few deaths from it at intervals until 1625, when there was another terrific outbreak, and the deaths from all causes amounted to 54,265, of which 35,417 were attributed to the plague. In the same year, the number of christenings was only 6983. The deaths, therefore, in that, the worst plague year before 1665, were to the births as 8 to 1.

Several different kinds of disease were summarily referred to under the one word "plague." The Black Death is the significant name given to the epidemic of 1349. It had reached London in the previous November.* The first symptoms seemed in themselves sufficiently horrible to justify the name. A man apparently in perfect health would suddenly commence to vomit blood. A few minutes later he would fall down dead. Sometimes, however, his agonies would be prolonged for twelve hours, sometimes for two days. Every thing he touched, every place where he rested, spread the contagion. If he survived the first stunning blow of the Black Death, his body was covered with inflammatory swellings, and it was believed that even a glance of the sick man's distorted eyes was sufficient to give the infection.

The Sweating Sickness came next.† It reached London in July 1517, and speedily decimated the citizens. Yet, compared with the Black Death, it was mildness itself, and in many cases yielded to curative treatment. The city was crowded with poor artisans, and the insurrection known as Evil May Day, of which I gave some account in the last chapter, has been connected by many writers with the immigration of innumerable foreign workmen. But the sweating sickness attacked high and low indifferently. Ammonius, the Latin secretary of cardinal Wolsey, whose name occurs so frequently in contemporary memoirs, boasted to Sir Thomas More that his precautions were such that he and his family were perfectly safe. He died the same evening. Michaelmas and Christmas were both left unobserved, and the epidemic raged without interruption for six months, before it abated. The plague began to spread as soon as the sweating sickness subsided, and when we read of the state of London houses at the time, our only wonder is that such an overwhelming misfortune as the Great Plague of 1666 was so long in coming. Erasmus says of the dwellings of the lower classes in his time, that they were filthy beyond description. The floors were of loam, and were strewed with rushes, which were constantly put on fresh without the removal of the old, and intermixed with bones, broken victuals, and other dirt. They had probably improved very little, if at all, by the middle of the seventeenth century, and we may be sure that the Augæan filth of the city required nothing less than the Great Fire to purify it.

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* Hecker, 'Epidemics of the Middle Ages,' p. 20, edition of 1844.

† Hecker, p. 209.

The water supply, it is now generally acknowledged, is the first cause of epidemic disease. In London at the beginning of the reign of James I., it was threefold. Some water came to public conduits, like those in Cheap, by underground pipes from Tyburn. Some was drawn by water-wheels and other similar means from the Thames, polluted as it was at London Bridge.* A third source of supply was still more dangerous: in all the suburbs, and probably also in most houses in the city itself, people depended on wells. What wells among habitations, and especially filthy habitations, become, we know now, but in the seventeenth century and much later,* the idea of their danger had not been started.

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* Every one has heard of the sick man who died when he was removed from the sound of the water-wheel near his house on the bridge.

Such being the conditions of existence in London, the plague now and then smouldering for a year or two, now and then breaking out as in 1603, 1625, and 1636, a long drought, which means resort to half dry and stagnant reservoirs, was sufficient to call it forth in all its strength. The heat of the summer weather in 1665 was such that the very birds of the air were imagined to languish in their flight. The 7th of June, said Pepys, was the hottest day that ever he felt in his life. The deaths from the plague, which had begun at the end of the previous year, in the suburb of St. Giles' in the Fields, at a house in Long Acre, where two Frenchmen had died of it, rose during June from 112 to 268. The entries in the diary are for four months almost continuous as to the progress of the plague. Although it was calculated that not less than 200,000 people had followed the example of the king and court, and fled from the doomed city, yet the deaths increased daily. The lord mayor, Lawrence, held his ground, as did the brave earl of Craven and General Monk, now become duke of Albemarle. Craven provided a burial-ground, the Pest Field, with a kind of cottage-hospital, in Soho;† but the only remedy that could be devised by the united wisdom of the corporation, fortified by the presence of the duke and the earl, was to order fires in all the streets, as if the weather was not already hot enough. Medical art seems to have utterly broken down. Those of the sick who were treated by a physician, only died a more painful death by cupping, scarifying, and blistering. The city rectors, too, who had come back with the king, fled from the danger, as might be expected from their antecedents, and the nonconformist lecturers who remained had overwhelming congregations wherever they preached repentance to the terror-stricken people. Distinctions of creed were forgotten before the common danger. The wildest conjectures were hazarded as to its origin. The president of the College of Physicians pronounced it to have come in a bale of flax from Holland,* while the lecturers attributed it solely to the just anger of God at the excesses which had prevailed in the kingdom since the restoration.

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* Hecker, for example, accounts for plagues by earthquakes, atmospheric disturbances, personal contagion, and many other things.

† See vol. ii., chapters xvii. and xxi.

The symptoms were very distressing. Fever and vomiting were among the first, and every little ailment was thought premonitory, so that it was said at the time that as many died of fright as of the disease itself. Pepys mentions the terror which affected a household when a child suffered from headache. The fatal signs were glandular swellings which ran their course in a few hours, the plague spots turning to gangrene almost as soon as they appeared. The patients frequently expired the same day that they were seized, while others survived a week and even longer, only to die slowly of exhaustion from bleeding and ill-treatment in general.

The most terrible stories of premature burial were circulated. All business was suspended. Grass grew in the streets. No one went about. The rumbling wheels of the cart, and the cry, "Bring out your dead!" alone broke the stillness of the night. Great pits were dug in Bunhill Fields, and in Tothill Fields at Westminster, and the bodies were shot into them and covered up without coffins, without even grave-clothes, and without any funeral ceremony. In the first weeks of September the number of fatal cases rose to 1500 a day, the bills of mortality recording 24,000 deaths between the 1st and 21st of that month. Then at last it began to decline, but rose again at the beginning of October. A change of weather at length occurred, and the average declined so rapidly, that by the beginning of November the number of deaths was reduced to 1200, and before Christmas came, it had fallen to the usual number of former years. In all, the official statements enumerated 97,306 deaths during the year, and, if we add those unrecorded, a very moderate estimate of the whole mortality would place it at the appalling figure of 100,000 at least.

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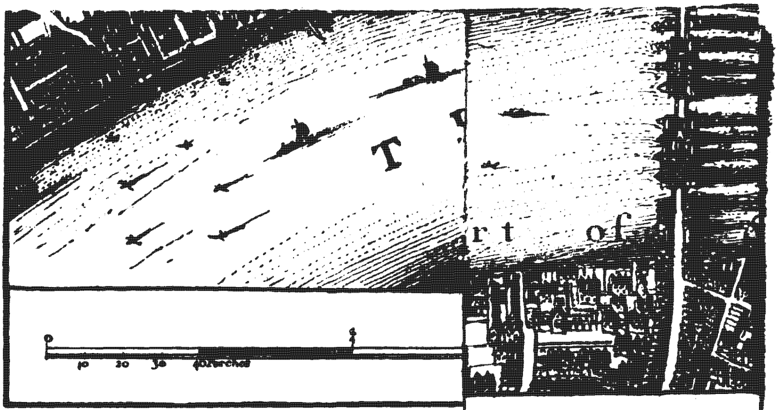
* 'Distinct Notions of the Plague,' by "The Explainer," 1722, p. 14. This and several other works of the kind were published about the same time, namely, during a scare occasioned by an outbreak of plague at Marseilles. Defoe's fictitious 'Diary' was among them.

I have thus briefly summarised the details of this terrible event, referring for fuller particulars to the innumerable publications on the subject which appeared then, and afterwards. That the plague was ever stayed we must attribute to a cause for which as I have already hinted, sufficient allowance has not hitherto been made. Though the Great Fire of 1666 was the proximate reason, the total cessation of the epidemic must be traced to the alteration in the water-supply, which the fire made not only possible but necessary, As far back as 1620, Sir Hugh Myddelton, a public-spirited Welshman, who was a member of the goldsmiths' company, had completed his scheme for bringing water to London. He tapped a supply at Chadswell Springs in Hertfordshire, and constructing a canal nearly forty miles long, formed a reservoir in Islington, from which to this day London obtains its water. The New River, as it is still called, was one of the greatest benefits the city ever received from a private individual. Sir Hugh was ruined, and parted with his interest in the great work to a company, reserving to himself and his heirs an annuity of 100*l.*, which has not been claimed since 1715. The first dividend was paid to the shareholders in 1633, but the water was evidently used only here and there before 1666. When the old wells were filled by the ruins after the fire, the New River water became universal. In the city as rebuilt it was everywhere laid on; and London must acknowledge Sir Hugh Myddelton to have been its greatest modern benefactor. He changed it, from having been as unhealthy as Dublin, Naples, or even Calcutta, to be one of the safest places of abode in the world. The mildest case of typhoid fever in the city now would probably occasion a greater sensation than a thousand cases of plague would have caused under the Stuarts.

Scarcely had the terrified citizens settled down once more in their old homes when a second calamity came upon them. The summer of 1666 was, if possible, hotter than that of the previous year. An easterly wind which occasionally rose almost to a gale, prevailed without intermission for weeks together. At last, when wooden houses must have become as dry as tinder, a baker's oven in Pudding Lane, near Fish Street Hill and Eastcheap, and thus to windward of the central part of the city, took fire one sultry night. The neighbours looked at it as they had looked at many fires before, but when twenty-four hours had elapsed and the flames continued to spread into the adjoining streets and lanes, here very narrow, crowded and old, they began to take alarm.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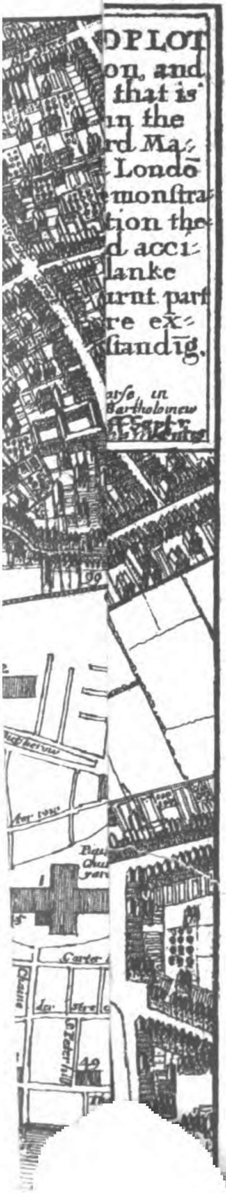

Annotations of the Churches, and other remarkable places in this Map.

1. Cathedrall of S. Paul.
2. Christ Church.
3. S. Michaell.
4. S. Peters by Woodstreet.
5. S. Foster.
6. S. Leonard.
7. S. Ann by Aldersgate.
8. S. Michaell in Woodstreet.
9. S. John Zachary.
10. S, Olaves.
11. S. Mary Stayning.
12.
13. S. Mary Aldermanbery.
14. S. Michaell Bashaw.
15. S. Laurence.
16. S. Maudlins.
17. Allhallowes.
18. S. Martins in Irenmongers lane.
19. S. Olaves.
20. S. Mary Colechurch.
21. S. Steven Colmanstreet.
22. S. Mildred.
23. S. Margaret.
24. S. Christopher.
25. S. Bartholomew.
26. French Church.
27. S. Benet.
28. Augustine Fryars.
29. S. Martins Outwich.
30. S. Michaell in Cornhill.
31. S. Peters.
32. Allhallowes.
33. S. Edmunds.
34. S. Clemens.
35. S. Nicholas.
36. S. Mary Wolnoth.
37. S. Mary in Canwike Street.
38. S. Stevens in Walbrooke.
39. S. Bennet.
40. S. Pancras.
41. S. Antholms.
42. Bow Church.
43. S. Matthew.
44. S. Austins.
45. S. Gregory.
46. S. Martins by Ludgate.
47. S. Andrew.
48. S. Benet in Thamstret.
49. S. Peters.
50. S. Mary.
51. S. Nicholas.
52. S. Nicholas Olaves.
70. S. Magnus.
71. S. Margaret.
72. S. Leonard.
73. S. Bennet.
74. S. Dennis.
75. S. Margaret Pattens.
76. S. Andrew Hubart.
77. S. Georges.
78. S. Bottolphs.
79. S. Mary hill.
80. S. Dunstan East.
81. Allhallowes Barking.
82. S. Olaves.
83. Allhallowes Fanch: St.
84. S. Catharin Colemans.
85. S. Cath: Creed Church.
86. S. Andrew Undershaft.
87. S. Hellins.
88. Ethelborough.
89. Allhallowes in the Wall.
90. S. Bottolphs Bish: gate.
91. S. Bottolphs Aldgate.
92. S. Brides.
93. Temple Church.
94. S. Dunstans West.
95. S. Andrew in Holborne.
96. S. Pulchers.
97. S. Bartholomew great.
98. S. Bartholomew the lesse.
99. S. Bottolphs by Alderagate.
100. S. Giles by Cripplegate.

A. Ludgate.
B. Newgate.
C. Aldersgate.
D. Cripplegate.
E. Mooregate.
F. Bishopsgate.
G. Aldgate.
H. Essexhouse.
I. the Temple.
K. Dorset house.
L. Bridewell.
M. Baynards Castle.
N. Christ Ch: Cloyst:
O. Hosp: S. Barth:
P. Charterhouse.
Q. Guildhall.
R. the Stokes.
S. Royall Exchange.
T. Gresham Colledge.
V. Leadenhall.
W. Dukes Palace.

The baker's shop had ignited at one o'clock on the morning of the 2nd September.* By the next night all Gracechurch Street was burned, and the flames spread along the river's side to the Vintry. On Tuesday, the 3rd, the whole of Fleet Street as far as the Temple was on fire, but the more substantial brick buildings in that quarter checked its further progress. The king himself, and his brother the duke of York, exerted their influence in blowing up and pulling down houses to stop the course of the conflagration, and succeeded so well, that it is easy to see that similar activity earlier applied might have saved the city. But Bludworth, who had succeeded Lawrence as lord mayor, though he did not spare himself, had no power of organisation. At first he under-estimated the greatness of the danger, and replied by a coarse joke to those who urged the application of stronger methods of repression. Next he despaired and wrung his hands in hopeless fatuity. By the help of soldiers, however, and others, and by the personal exertions of the duke and his courtiers, gunpowder was freely used at Temple Bar, at Pye Corner near the entrance of Smithfield, and at various other salient points to the north and east of the central fire. On Thursday evening it was brought under control, and though it burst out again in one or two places it was speedily subdued, and by Friday at mid-day the great danger was over, and people had time to judge of the dimensions of the disaster.

The prospect was terrible enough to paralyse a stouter heart than that of the unhappy mayor. The result of the five days' fire was, summarily, as follows:—396 acres of houses were destroyed, comprising fifteen wards wholly ruined, eight others half burnt; 400 streets, 13,200 dwellings, 89 churches, besides chapels, and 4 of the city gates. The cathedral of St. Paul, the Exchange, Custom House, portion of the Guildhall, and most of the halls of city companies, with a host of other stately edifices of all sorts, were consumed. The extent of the ruin is absolutely unparalleled. The earthquake of Lisbon, in that London was so much greater, was as nothing in comparison. The loss of life, as ascertained, was moderate, but the loss of property could hardly be estimated. It has sometimes been reckoned at between three and four millions sterling, but this is irrespective of the destruction of inestimable things, such as monuments, libraries, records, and objects of personal value. London, in short, as a city, was obliterated from the map.

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* The official account, from the *London Gazette* of the 10th September, is reprinted by Allen, i. 401.

The burning of St. Paul's alone would have been considered an irreparable misfortune at any other time. True the steeple, once the highest in Europe, had already, as long before as 1561, been shortened, if not actually destroyed, by lightning: but now the long Norman nave, the light and elegant choir, the chapels, the subsidiary church of St. Faith, the cloisters, the venerable chapter-house, the bishop's palace, the deanery and the canons' houses, all were reduced to a mass of smoking ruins.[*] The crypt had been filled, as a place of safety, with sheets of unbound, and in some cases unpublished, books, and four days after the flames had been first overcome, on the opening of the doors, the rush of air fanned the smouldering paper into a fresh fire, which could not be extinguished, and which consummated the ruin of the very foundations of the great edifice above.

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[*] In a curious poem, 'The Conflagration of London,' attributed by Lowndes to Simon Ford, D.D. of Oxford (lent to me by Messrs. Ellis and White of Bond Street), the burning of St. Paul's is described in forcible if grotesque couplets:—

"That reverend Fabrick which the World admir'd
Amongst a crowd of lesser note, is fir'd.
Its cloud surmounting steeple flam'd so high
That threatned Heavens ne're fear'd a flame so nigh.
Yea, some beholders thought 'twas more then fear'd
While falling sparks like falling Stars appear'd."

The beautiful church of the Grey Friars, to which I have so often had occasion to refer, shared the same fate, as did the chapel of St. Thomas in Cheap,—the Mercers' chapel, as it was then called,—and, of course, all the minor parochial churches as far east as St. Michael's and St. Peter's in Cornhill, and as far west as St. Bride's in Fleet Street. St. Sepulchre's was only partially burnt. St. Bartholomew's, or what was left of it from the rough usage of the previous century, was saved, as were the inner buildings of the Grey Friars, now the Blue Coat School, and All Hallows, Barking, though the flames approached close to it. The churches on the north side of Leadenhall Street were also preserved. These exceptions include, of course, all that lay further north, St. Helen's, St. Ethelburga's, with Crosby Hall and Gresham College, in Bishopsgate, but everything else was utterly consumed, and for most of the old city we have only the descriptions left us by the indefatigable Stow to tell how great is our loss in sumptuous churches, chapels, tombs and tablets, the memorials of long ages of faith and devotion, of artistic skill and venerable association.

CHAPTER XII.

WREN.

IT is but seldom in the history of the world that great men and great opportunities meet. Too often genius has to struggle with circumstances. Inigo Jones's fate as an architect may well be contrasted with that of Wren. He had to contend against prejudice, national poverty, and finally, the confusion which was caused by the great rebellion. His finest designs were never carried out. His noble portico at St. Paul's was finished just before war was declared. He fell, indeed, on evil days, and though at once the most learned and the most original of English architects, the accident that he lived in times of social disturbance has deprived us of any very great building from his designs. He was a man of genius without an opportunity.*

Personally, too, he seems to have been unpopular. He was much disliked by the parishioners of St. Gregory's for instance. They petitioned Parliament against him for pulling down half their church to make room for the new portico.† And others looked askance at him as an instrument of the royal extravagance. His

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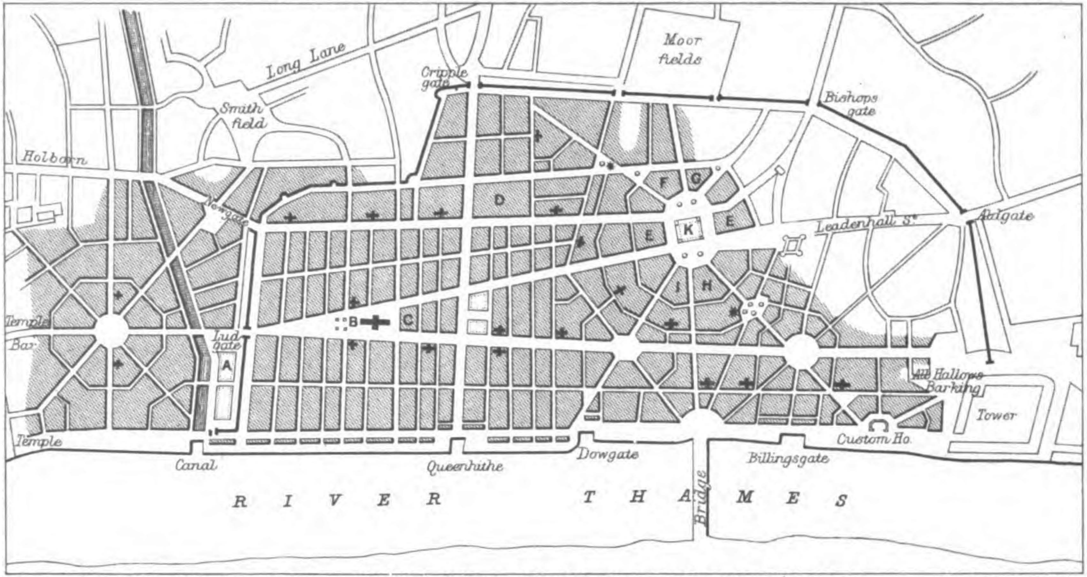
* Mr. Fergusson, 'History of Modern Architecture,' p. 265, somewhat oddly remarks that "the troubles of the Commonwealth supervened before his career was half over." But Jones was seventy years of age when the portico of St. Paul's was finished, and he was eighty when he died in 1652. Does Mr. Fergusson suppose the average length of an architect's career is 140 years?

† Fourth Report 'Historical MSS. Commission,' p. 89.

PLAN FOR REBUILDING THE CITY OF LONDON, BY SIR C. WREN.

To face p. 362.


Long Lane
Cripple gate
Moor fields
Bishops gate
Smith field
Holborn
Newgate
Aldgate
Leadenhall St.
D
F
G
K
E
I
H
B
C
A
Temple Bar
Lud gate
All Hallows Barking
Tower
Temple
Custom Ho.
Canal
Queenhithe
Dowgate
Billingsgate
Bridge
R I V E R T H A M E S

The Shaded part shews the extent of the fire, – ✚ *Churches,* – ✱ *Markets,* – **A** *Wood Market,* – **B** *St. Pauls,* – **C** *Doctor's Commons,* **D** *Guildhall,* – **E** *Goldsmiths,* – **F** *Post Office,* – **G** *Excise,* – **H** *Mint,* – **I** *Insurance,* – **K** *Exchange.*

Stanford's Geog! Estab!

London: Edward Stanford, 55 Charing Cross.

design for a palace at Whitehall is still extant[*] and is well known to architects and others. But no part of it ever existed except on paper. The Royal Chapel at Whitehall is, perhaps, the most considerable of his buildings now remaining, and though it has been diverted from its original purpose as a banqueting hall, and much altered and "restored," it is one of the most complete, satisfactory, and at the same time picturesque edifices in Europe. His only remarkable church, if, indeed, he ever designed another, is St. Paul's, Covent Garden.[†] Here, again, the fates were against him. It is evident at a glance that the great question for the architect's solution, was the simple and common one—namely, how to obtain the greatest effect at the least cost. In his portico at St. Paul's Cathedral[‡] he was less hampered by want of means. It must indeed have been a noble work, worthy of the situation, and in some sense worthy of the church to which it was attached. The worst part of the new work was the pair of western towers, but he may have hoped to improve them as time went on. The incongruity of the design with a gothic cathedral has been much insisted upon. But there was probably very little real incongruity between the Norman features of the west front, and the Corinthian columns of the portico, not more, certainly, than already existed between the round arched and the pointed work in the church itself. Moreover, incongruity, where both the old work and the new were of the best, would rather deserve the name of picturesqueness, and we may feel sure that no work of Inigo Jones ever wanted in this characteristic. We cannot mistake his touch when we meet with any fragment of one of his designs. In fact, if Wren when he was employed at Westminster, as Jones had been employed at St. Paul's, had built a similar portico, or had set a Grecian temple on the summit of his towers, it might have looked incongruous, but it would at any rate have been more picturesque than the perfectly congruous but uninteresting, if not ugly design after which the west end was ultimately finished by Hawksmoor.* It is no disparagement of Wren to say that Jones had qualities which he wanted, and that Jones more often struck the exact mean between severity and irregularity which produces the best effects in architecture.

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[*] It was published by Kent in 1727. No part of the Banqueting House was in the original design; and it is doubtful whether it forms part of the latter one, which may be found in 'Vitruvius Britannicus,' ii. 4. There are separate plates of the Banqueting House, now Whitehall Chapel, in vol. i. 12, 13.

[†] Figured in 'Vitruvius Britannicus.'

[‡] See Longman's 'Three Cathedrals,' p. 68, and the 'Hand-book to St. Paul's,' p. 28. I understand that a number of Inigo Jones's designs are in the library of Devonshire House. They probably came through Kent's hands to lord Burlington. It would be interesting to know if any view of his restoration of St. Alban's, Wood Street, is among them. The portico of St. Paul's was 40 ft. high, 50 ft. deep, and 200 ft. wide. The columns must therefore have been of about the same size as those of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, but the depth and width of the portico were much greater.

It is a question whether, if the great opportunity afforded to Wren had come to Jones instead, he could have made a better use of it. The very regularity of Wren's habits, his methodical way of going to work, his exactness and mathematical precision, are qualities seldom united with such high creative power. There is no guess-work in anything he did. He tried no experiments. Everything was thoroughly thought out. He knew beforehand what effect he wished to produce, and how to produce it. Yet, as is so often the case with genius like his, his powers improved with years, and the last design or modification was better than the first. Of no great artist was it ever more true than of Wren, that his genius was a capacity for taking pains.*

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* These western towers are usually attributed to Wren, but Miss Phillimore and other recent authorities assign them to Hawksmoor.

Christopher Wren, the son of the dean of Windsor, the nephew of the bishop of Ely, was connected by birth with the royalist party. His uncle was a prisoner in the Tower during the whole time of Cromwell's ascendancy,† but he contrived, without however any inconsistency, to stand on good terms with the Protector's government, owing to his friendship with Claypoole. He had no inclination to meddle in politics, and was not implicated with the losing side at the Restoration.‡

When Inigo Jones, before hostilities broke out between King and Parliament, added the portico to the western front of St. Paul's, he also greatly altered the ancient building in other parts. The Puritans, who saw in the cathedral a useless building too large to preach in, not only stopped the repairs, but considerably injured the whole church, and especially the new portico, in which they permitted booths to be built. After the restoration of the Stuarts even the new work was falling to pieces. The epitaph of a dean who died four years after Charles came home is significant. "Among these sacred ruins his own are laid, in the certainty that both shall rise again." Wren was now employed in the office of Denham, the surveyor-general of works, and had already shown his capacity by a college chapel at Cambridge.* He was consulted about the repairs, and reported that the whole building was in a dangerous state. The tower leaned. The pillars of the nave were mere shells, filled with rubble. The roof was too heavy for its supports. He recommended what would practically amount to rebuilding the cathedral. A dome was to be the central feature, and the rest of the church was gradually to be brought into harmony with it. Wren's idea of patching up an ancient gothic and Norman building, and of gradually bringing the whole into one harmonious design, has merits for which he has hardly yet received due credit. We might possibly, had he carried out the design, have had a new development of architectural art, growing more directly out of gothic, than the classical, or Italian style afterwards followed, and might have seen in any later works undertaken by the same hand, a further and yet further advance. Wren is known to have admired Ely Cathedral—the plan of which, indeed, he copied in his new St. Paul's—and the chapel of King's College, with its "fan-work" roof. The idea of a dome also fascinated him: though it is a curious fact, that he can never, till he built his own, have seen one of any size. The dome of St. Sophia set a pattern all through the East. Every one of the exquisite mosques of Cairo is descended from this most successful Byzantine development of a classical style. What similar feeling might have become in Wren's hands we know not. He never mastered the simpler principles of gothic architecture, and it is possible that even the task of repairing Old St. Paul's might have only awakened in his mind a disgust at the whole style, in which he saw so much bad work, so much ignorance of the principles of building, so much weakness.* St. Paul's, like St. Alban's Abbey in our own time, was chiefly remarkable for size. There was little or no uniformity. The lofty spire, the tallest in Christendom,† had been set on fire by lightning in 1444, but the flames were quenched, as tradition reports, with vinegar, and the spire rebuilt,‡ only to be wholly consumed from the same cause in 1561, when no attempt was made to repair the damage. A wooden spire, 520 feet in height, unprotected by either lightning conductors or the neighbourhood of any buildings of similar elevation, was sure to be struck within a few years. It had no towers at the west end until Inigo Jones built two small ones behind or beside his portico. The nave was Norman, consisting of twelve bays, and had been originally roofed with flat timbers. Some time, perhaps in the fifteenth century, it had been vaulted. The tower had great windows showing light into the crossing of the transepts. The east end was terminated by a lofty Lady Chapel, with a large rose window of remarkable beauty. The clerestory of the nave was Early English, but the transepts and choir were decorated.§ The monuments were numerous. A few fragments only remain, now shown in the crypt of the new church. Among the great folk buried in St. Paul's were St. Erkenwald,[*] king Ethelred, the "Unready," or "Without Council," John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster; Sir Nicholas Bacon, Sir Philip Sidney, Sir Francis Walsingham, and Sir Christopher Hatton, four worthies of the great Elizabeth period; Chigwell, Pulteney, Hewit, and probably many other mayors; more than twelve bishops of London, and a number of deans, including Colet, Nowell and Donne.[†]

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* Many of Wren's drawings are preserved in the Library of All Souls' College. They are briefly described by Mr. Arthur Ashpitel in the 'Transactions of the Lon. and Midd. Arch. Soc.,' iii. 39.

† See vol. ii. for a further account of bishop Wren and his contest with the Hattons about Ely Place. The authorities for Wren's life and work which I have chiefly consulted are Miss Phillimore's 'Sir Christopher Wren,' Mr. A. T. Taylor's 'Towers and Steeples,' and two articles by Mr. Basil Champneys in the 'Magazine of Art' for 1882.

‡ Miss Phillimore, whose own prepossessions come out strongly in the book on Wren, would make Sir Christopher much more of a partisan than history shows him. He did not in any way betray what would now be called "ritualistic" views in the planning and adorning of churches.

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* Pembroke Chapel, "restored" away by Sir G. Scott. Such an interesting building should have been spared, but Pembroke College suffered worse things than this a little later.

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* Wren, in his contempt for gothic, was justified by many things which the fire revealed. It has been so much the habit, for perhaps thirty years past, to praise the conscientiousness of medieval workmen, that I was long in coming at the reasons of Wren's aversion to gothic.

† See above, chapter vii.

‡ In 1462.

§ See Mr. Ferry's beautiful elevations in the 'Three Cathedrals.' The spire had four corner pinnacles, as appears from Van Wyngaerde's view, and from a small illumination engraved in Canon Stubbs's edition of 'Annales Paulini' in the Rolls Series, p. 277.

Such was Old St. Paul's, the finest church in London. The newly named Christ Church in Newgate Street was considered in its time more elegant, but it was much smaller, and the choir was remodelled at the Reformation.[‡] Of the other churches we can only judge from those which survived the fire. The number of them has been considerably diminished even since the time of Wren. Some have been destroyed and rebuilt. Some have been destroyed and never rebuilt, like the Guildhall Chapel. Some, like St. Martin Outwich, have been destroyed, rebuilt, and destroyed again. Of those that remain, St. Helen's is the most important, St. Ethelburga's the oldest, and St. Katherine Cree the newest, having been practically rebuilt in 1630. St. Olave's,

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[*] See above, chapter iii.

[†] Donne's effigy, in a shroud, is the most perfect of the old monuments now surviving. It stands in the south aisle of the choir. I have mentioned the preservation of Bishop Braybroke's body in chapter viii.

[‡] See 'London's Remains,' by Simon Ford D.D 1667. Mr. Ellis favoured me with the loan of this rare tract. Christ Church is thus compared to St. Paul's:—

> "This church next to Paul's was famed; Paul's the more wide;
> But this with it for neatness vi'd."

Hart Street, and St. Andrew's Undershaft also survive, with All Hallows Barking.*

The history of an old city church cannot be better illustrated than by the fate of St. Martin Outwich.† It underwent every vicissitude except the Great Fire. The parish, like several others within the city boundaries, is situated in two different wards. It probably, therefore, represents the estate, or we may, perhaps, say soke, of the Outwich family. The name occurs as early as 1291, as St. Martin Otteswich. In 1302 it is Otheswyke. The name may denote a "wych" or dwelling, within Bishopgate, or may belong to some Otto or Otho whose memory has not otherwise been preserved. Stow mentions four members of the "Oteswich" family, and calls them the founders. The advowson was in the hands of John, Earl of Warren and Surrey, in 1347. It appears to have belonged to the Crown after this for a time. But a certain citizen named Churchman, who was sheriff in 1385, and who was trustee of some descendants of the Outwich family, bought the estate and advowson for them. In 1404 we find him joining with them to sell both to the merchant taylors' or linen armourers' company, "Keepers of the Guild and Fraternity of John the Baptist,"* and the company has ever since presented to the living. The Great Fire, as I have said, spared the church, which was situated at the extremity of Threadneedle Street, with its east window looking on Bishopsgate Street. It thus closely adjoined Gresham House, and almost faced Crosby Place.

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* The following is a list of the gothic churches and chapels in London and the suburbs older than the Fire:—All Hallows; St. Andrew's Undershaft; the tower of St. Andrew Holborn; St. Bartholomew the Great; part of St. Bartholomew the Less; St. Etheldreda's, Ely Place; St. Ethelburga's; St. Giles, Cripplegate; St. Helen; St. John, Savoy; St. Katherine Cree; St. Margaret, Westminster; St. Olave, Hart Street; St. Pancras, Old Church; St. Peter's Abbey Church, Westminster; St. Peter in the Tower; St. Saviour, Southwark; Stepney Church; Austin Friars, now a Dutch Church; and the crypts of St. John, Clerkenwell, and St. Stephen, Westminster.

† The old church was described and illustrated in a large quarto volume by Wilkinson, in 1797.

From its conspicuous situation and from the wealth of its patrons the merchant taylors, we might perhaps expect that St. Martin Outwich would have resembled a great country church, or one in a wealthy commercial town like Hull or Boston. But it was only 66 feet long. The wooden roof rose but 31 feet from the floor. The walls were a mixture of brick and stone. The windows were small, and the tower was only 65 feet high to the vane. It did not even rank, therefore, with a second or third rate village church, and contained besides a few handsome altar tombs, no features of architectural importance. The two miserable aisles were divided by a couple of pillars of "a Gothic-Tuscan order," and the chancel was panelled to a height of 11 feet. Such was the old church. In 1797, it became so ruinous that it was pulled down and a new building erected, of which it was remarked that it looked more like a gaol than a church. Cockerell was the architect and his object in disfiguring this very conspicuous corner with so "heavy and ugly"† a design never transpired. Within it was a little less hideous, being oval in shape, and not inconvenient for public worship. On its removal in 1877, the parish was united with that of St. Helen and the bones of the unhonoured dead were dug up and carted off to Ilford. Some of the monuments may be seen in St. Helen's Church,* and form an interesting addition to the number already collected there.

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* The history of this guild, could it be recovered, might throw light on many difficult and disputed points. Was St. John a special patron of the weavers? Or was the guild founded after the incorporation of the company?

† Godwin and Britton, 'Churches of London,' ii. 124.

It is certain that the majority of the parish churches of London were not unlike St. Martin's when the fire came. Some of them, we know, were perched on arches.† St. Mary Colechurch and St. Lawrence Pountney were examples of this arrangement, while St. Mildred's in the Poultry was built in part on a bridge over the Wallbrook.‡

The condition of the city when Wren undertook its reconstruction may be gathered from the summary in the last chapter. But he was not content with the idea of merely rebuilding such churches as those of which I have spoken, nor was he willing to see the narrow, winding, unwholesome streets renewed on their old lines. He prepared a magnificent plan, by which St. Paul's and the Exchange would respectively become the centres of a double system of radiating streets, designed to set off the principal public buildings to the best advantage, while a broad quay lined the river's bank. The cathedral was to be surrounded by a colonnaded piazza, and every street corner was to afford some such vista as that which still surprises and delights the eye when we pass Greenwich Hospital. The western end was to have looked down Ludgate Hill from a "circular pavilion 60 feet in diameter."* The smaller streets were to be not less than 30 feet wide, and all dark alleys and courts were to be abolished. The churches were to occupy commanding situations along the chief thoroughfares, and were to be "designed according to the best forms for capacity and hearing, adorned with useful porticoes, and lofty ornamental towers and steeples in the greater parishes." The churchyards were to be in the ancient Roman fashion, a sort of girdle round the town, carefully planted and laid out, and calculated both to ornament the city and also to check its growth.† No gardens were to be within the walls, the wide streets and numerous open spaces being, in Wren's opinion, sufficient for the healthiness of the citizens. The Fleet was to be left open, to be widened, canalised, and bordered by broad quays, so as to form a convenient port for barges.‡

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* I have given some account of St. Helen's in my 'In and out of London.' See also, above, chap. x.

† There is a church at Bristol in a similar position, and a portion of one of the churches at Warwick is over a gate.

‡ 'Church of St. Mildred' by Thomas Milbourne, p. 5. It was rebuilt about 1456: "John Saxton, then rector, gave 32*l.* towards the cost of the new choir, which is described as standing 'upon the course of Walbrook.'" I may refer here to an article by Mr. Freshfield on St. Margaret's Lothbury, St. Christopher le Stocks, and St. Bartholomew's by the Bank, 'Archæologia,' xiv. 57; and several papers on old city churches in the 'Transactions' of the Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc.

Had Wren been allowed to carry out this magnificent design, which would not, by the way, have cost any more than the actual rebuilding as it eventually took place, no city in Europe would have had a more magnificent, or a more picturesque aspect. It was not a mere architectural day-dream. "Wren, with a perfect knowledge of his own powers, which he considered as dispassionately, and knew as accurately as any matter of mathematical science, was ready to undertake and perform his scheme to the uttermost."§ But several circumstances conspired to defeat it. The king could never make up his mind, and at this time the king counted for more than at an earlier period, while the mayor was not a man like Whittington or Gresham. The citizens were in a great hurry to begin the rebuilding. Leases were granted immediately in Moorfields. Men of business were anxious not to part with the old sites. The winter was coming on, and the people must be housed. In short, there was no one to take the scheme up warmly, and there were a great many to oppose it. The modern archæologist, who knows how instructive are those very courts and alleys which Wren would have obliterated, who traces with diligent minuteness the old parochial boundaries, and tries to reconstruct for himself the gabled houses, the quaint little churches at every corner, the conduits and even the sign-boards which still survive in street names, would have had most cause for regret.

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* See paper in the 'Transactions,' iii. 39, by Mr. Ashpitel.

† Miss Phillimore, p. 173.

‡ London has been Haussmannised in the past few years to an immense extent, but Wren's lines have not been followed, and, indeed, the design adopted has been varied from time to time, so that the result, though some streets are widened, will not, in the end, do much to improve the appearance of the city.

§ Miss Phillimore, p. 174.

It is, of course, impossible to go completely through even the shortest notice of all that Wren built within the next few years.* No two towers, no two churches, no two porticoes were the same. The infinite variety of his designs is almost as surprising as their uniform beauty. St. Paul's grew slowly, while the parish churches all around were springing up with amazing rapidity. For the most part very little money was forthcoming, and Wren had constantly to postpone every other consideration to that of cost. But the cheapest of the new churches was at least well built, and likely to last without any important repairs,† clean, light, airy, and designed as Wren had promised, "according to the best forms for capacity and hearing." The old idea of a church was one in which there would be the best accommodation for the celebration of the Mass. The "capacity" to be studied was not a capacity for holding a large congregation, but for providing as many altars as possible for the chantry priests. The new idea elevated the sermon to the first place in the minds of religious citizens. It is probable that many of the older churches were without pulpits of any kind. In the new ones the pulpit was the prominent if not the principal feature. In another point all the new churches differed from the old. Wren did not put up a single open timber roof like those which prevailed in a large majority of the old churches. Some he vaulted, some he ceiled, but knowing the danger from storm and fire of the high pitched roofs with their open beams, he covered his churches for the most part with lead, and laid it as nearly as possible flat. When he got leave, he took great pains with the exterior, and sometimes, when one part of a church was more exposed to view than another, he accentuated the ornamental and constructional features. The eastern end of St. Lawrence Jewry looks on King Street and the Guildhall Court. It is enriched with an exquisitely proportioned composition of corinthian columns and pilasters.* At St. Matthew's Friday Street,† again, where only one side faced a street, and light was needed, the whole wall forms a single long window divided by pillars into six arched openings.

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* An approximate list of his city buildings is in Appendix E. Miss Phillimore's is very erroneous, and carelessly printed besides.

† "Building," he says in a letter quoted by Miss Phillimore (p. 150) "certainly ought to have the attribute of Eternal."

But the great glory of Wren's parish churches, and indeed of the whole city, are the towers and spires. They are gradually disappearing, to the great regret of

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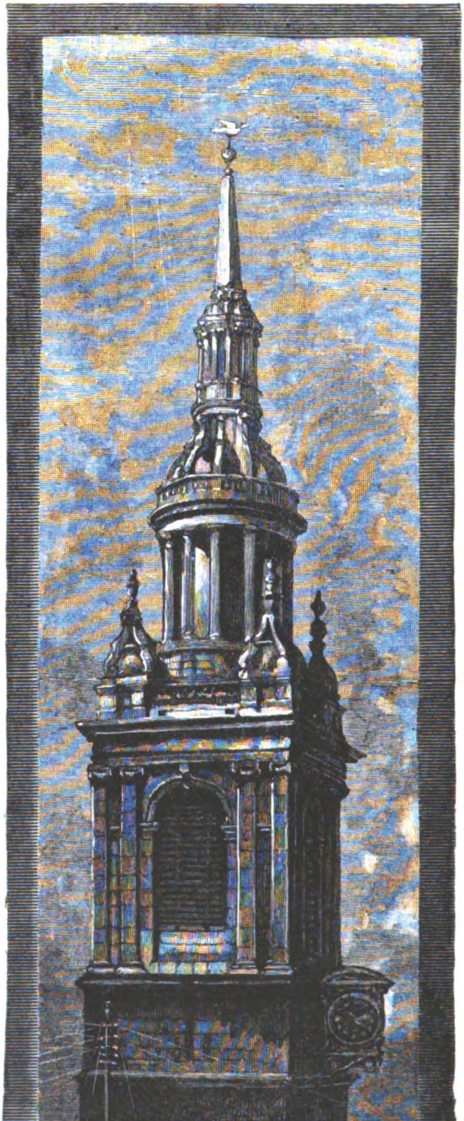
* The superiority of Wren as an artist comes out strongly when we compare the east end of St. Lawrence with the very similar one at St. Botolph Aldersgate, by Pierson.

† Now condemned or destroyed.



BOW STEEPLE.

To face p. 375, Vol. I.

all lovers of the beautiful in architecture. When two or three had been pulled down it was discovered, but too late, that the harmonious effect of all was marred. There can be no doubt that Wren made the design of one to balance or contrast or harmonise with another. No tower was built with reference to itself alone. All were part of a single great composition, now for ever lost. I am inclined the more to insist upon this because I have never heard any kind of reason given why they should have been removed. It is sometimes said that the site was valuable. But the site of a church tower is very small, and surely London is not so poverty-stricken that it cannot afford to keep its greatest ornaments. The case of the church itself is somewhat different. In the first place, it covers a more considerable area, and that, too, in many parts of the city where land is sold by the inch almost, so valuable is it. In the second, some persons of influence, though they did not scruple to allow the church to be utterly razed, had very considerable objection to its being put to a secular use.* The value of the site and of the materials was applied to a most desirable object, but how that object can be served by the destruction of buildings admirably suited for some business purposes, I have not learned. Wren seems to have foreseen the probability of this course of action, and both to have put his towers apart from the churches to which they belonged, and also to have avoided, where it was possible, setting them in the principal street front. The steeple of St. Mary-le-Bow in Cheapside is an unfortunate exception. Here he built a passage to connect it with the church, setting the tower forward into the street. It has not yet been pulled down to widen the roadway, like the best of the spires.

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* In India a man will torture and illtreat his cow in the most shocking manner, and then kneel down and worship her. A somewhat similar superstition seems to have prevailed in the minds of the worthy people—I do not in the least know who they are—who have managed this business.

Wren's towers have been divided into three classes.* Some are wholly of stone. Some consist of stone substructures with lead-covered spires or lanterns. Some are simple towers. It is difficult to preserve this classification, as it does not in any way define the relative importance of the different designs. The western towers of St. Paul's, for instance, are in the first, and the central dome in the second class. But for practical purposes, and as we have no occasion to go minutely through every one of them, it may do as well as any other.†

The stone steeples are eleven in number, including the two western towers of St. Paul's. Wren's most ambitious work is to be found in them. They were only attached to churches when sufficient money was forthcoming and the architect was not too much hampered by questions of cost. The palm among them is usually assigned to St. Mary-le-Bow: and I shall probably be considered very heterodox if I venture to prefer St. Magnus. There are some most charming features in St. Mary's, the light circular colonnade, for instance. But the square and the circular parts do not seem to come well together, and I have never been able to see any meaning or use in the corner finials of the square or lower part of the tower supporting little vases. They certainly have no beauty. Vases alone are used in the same situation on the lovely steeple of St. Bride, as well as on the tower of St. Magnus, which indeed remains, in my mind, one of the most absolutely faultless of Wren's towers, though I should

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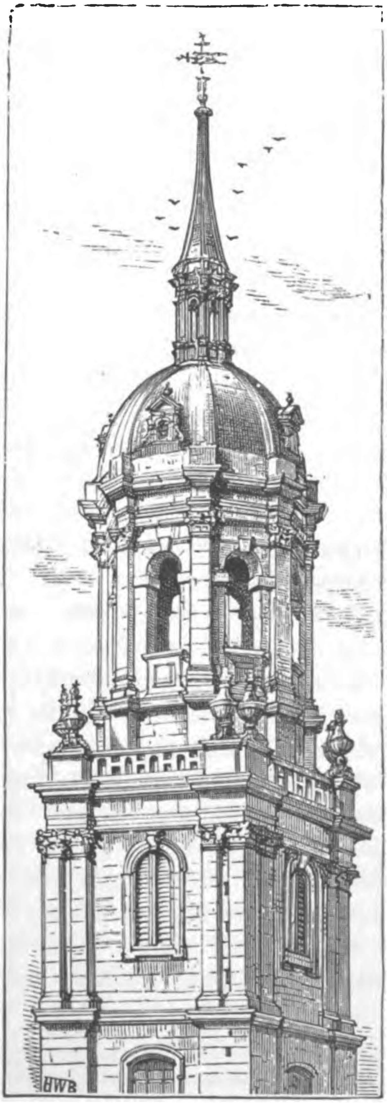
* Taylor, p. 10.

† In Knight's 'London,' v. 180, Wren's churches are divided into "domed, basilical, and miscellaneous," which is in reality no division at all, as most of them come under the last head, which has to be subdivided.



ST. MAGNUS.

To face p. 376, *Vol. I.*

have preferred stone for lead on the dome at the top. Lead, however, is no necessary part of the design.* St. Mary's is much larger, the dragon vane on the top of the highest pinnacle rising to a height of 221 feet 9 inches from the pavement of Cheapside, while St. Magnus is only 185 feet high, and looks even smaller, as it is close under London Bridge. St. Mary's was begun in 1671, and is therefore among the first, as St. Magnus, erected in 1705, is one of the last of Wren's designs.

One cannot but admire the steeple of St. Bride's, built in 1680, although the series of similar stages which form the spire would have been unpleasing if executed by any other hand. As it is, we find it difficult "to avoid the idea that they might all sink into one another, and shut up like the slides of a telescope."† Another ambitious, yet scarcely successful design, is that of St. Vedast Foster Lane. It is seen, when we enter the city by Newgate Street, behind the steeple of Christ Church, and the two are exactly the same in height.‡ As the steeple of St. Mary-le-Bow can be taken into the same view from the street, it will be seen at once that Wren thought more of St. Mary's than of the others, and that to a certain extent, they were erected to set it off. Of the two St. Vedast's was the first built.§ Its unquiet play of concave curves comes into absolute and violent contrast with the concentric circles of St. Mary's, and it is easy to believe that Wren saw the advantage of trying in Christ Church the effect of simple right angles and as few curves as were consistent with an arcuated building.

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* Mr. Champneys recognises in the lantern a reminiscence of what Wren had seen in Blickling and other Jacobean buildings.

† Fergusson, p. 276.

‡ 160 feet; roughly speaking, two-thirds the height of St. Mary-le-Bow.

§ 1697.

Undoubtedly when the authorities remove one of the three both the others will suffer.

Wren, little as he cared for gothic, has left in the city four examples of what he could do in that style. St. Alban's Wood Street, is hardly to be distinguished from a genuine gothic church of a late period. Inigo Jones had built a church on the same spot, and it is stated by tradition to have been in the same style. As Wren's work was finished in 1685, it is among the designs of a comparatively early period in his career. Thirteen years later he built the tower only of St. Dunstan's-in-the-East, the church not having been burnt. Here he imitated the design of St. Nicholas, at Newcastle-on-Tyne,* perching a small spire or lantern on four flying buttresses. Though really a strong building, it looks weak, and we cannot admire architectural gymnastics. Thirteen years again elapsed, and Wren rebuilt St. Mary Aldermary, a church only partially consumed in the great fire. The groined roof is very fine, and shows what might have been done for the further development of the old style had Wren and his successors taken it up in earnest. The mouldings are too shallow, the tracery and panelling too round, the details semi-classical; but St. Mary's will always take rank after the famous staircase at Christ Church, Oxford, as an example of post-medieval gothic.† The tower, the effect of which has been greatly injured, when seen from a little distance, by the removal of Wren's greatest spire, which stood close by in Watling Street, is graceful, and but for a too frequent repetition of small and meaningless architectural features, very successful as an imitation. St. Antholin's stood alone as the only simple stone spire Wren built. It contrasted admirably with St. Mary Aldermary, being purely gothic in construction though with Italian details. It was taller than St. Mary's by about twenty feet, as a spire should be, but the proportion between them was otherwise very equal. It was pulled down in 1875. "One cannot but deeply regret the loss of this spire, unique in its way among Wren's works," observes Mr. Taylor, and his words are not by any means strong enough to suit the occasion. We cannot boast much of the culture with which the last quarter of the nineteenth century was inaugurated in the city, when such a vandalism as this was perpetrated. We may recall the words of Strype when speaking of the destruction of the spire of the Austin Friars, "times hereafter may more talk on it."

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* St. Nicholas is familiar to all lovers of Bewick's woodcuts. Two examples of this not very meritorious design are in Scotland.

† I find, oddly enough, no mention of St. Mary's in Miss Phillimore's book. Perhaps she considers the church merely a restoration. There is evidence, I believe, by the way, that the staircase at Oxford is much older than the date, 1640, usually assigned to it (see Ingram's 'Oxford,' i. 51).

Wren's latest architectural effort was the rebuilding of the tower of St. Michael's upon Cornhill, which was only accomplished the year before his death. He had built the church more than forty years before, but the fire, though it had injured, had not destroyed the tower. We have thus in the same building a gothic steeple and a classical church, and the steeple can only be looked upon as a restoration or imitation of the old one. Indeed the parishioners seem, as became the dwellers on the old bishop's soke, to have been unusually conservative in their ideas, and their church covers the exact site of the former one, though it is not rectangular. The tower, one of the most conspicuous in London, as it rises 130 feet from the highest ground in the city, is square, and has at the summit four massive turrets rather than pinnacles, in a very fair gothic style. This is more than can be said for a vulgar porch, bedizened with coarse carving and coloured columns, which has lately been added to the original design.

Of Wren's minor churches it is not necessary that I should say much. Many of them were built in great haste, others with very insufficient means. Thus, the people of Allhallows Lombard Street had a temporary structure erected to worship in, and would have restored their old church had it been possible. They coped the walls with straw and lime to keep them from further destruction. By 1670 they reluctantly abandoned hopes of repair, and commissioned Wren to build them a new church. To expedite the building in some parishes, presents were sent to Wren and to his master mason, Hooke, and rewards for rapid work. It is astonishing how solidly and soundly they are all constructed. If ever an architect built for eternity it was Wren. We are sometimes told that it is necessary when the churches are abandoned to pull the towers down on account of the expense of keeping them in repair. But those towers which have been pulled down showed no signs of decay, and would have stood for centuries, and all the longer for not being subject to the tinkering of a modern builder. The excuse only adds insult to injury.

The smallness of the cost of Wren's works is to be observed. Though he built so solidly, and though he took care that no part of the panelling or carving was scamped, yet the most expensive of all his parish churches, St. Mary-le-Bow, only reached 15,400*l.* As money was worth seven to ten per cent. at the time, we may reckon this less than 50,000*l.* in our money. Christ Church Newgate Street, and St. Lawrence Jewry, cost 12,000*l.* each, as did St. Bride's. But a great number were built for an expenditure varying from 2500*l.* at St. Nicholas Cole Abbey, to 6000*l.* at St. Peter's Cornhill. Sir Christopher himself drew the modest salary of 100*l.* a year as architect to the City Church Commissioners. The difficulty of raising money was often very great, and some of the poorer parishes found it almost impossible. In fact, when we remember that there were no insurance companies, that an enormous amount of wealth was destroyed, that a large number of wealthy people were utterly ruined, and that little business had been done the year before the Great Fire owing to the plague, we are surprised at the rapidity with which London rose from her ashes. Private benevolence was very frequently enlisted. A tax on coals was imposed by Act of Parliament. Collections were made from house to house. Yet it was only by two parishes combining their funds that several of the churches were built.* The gifts of private individuals were in some cases out of all proportion to what we hear of nowadays. The widow of Henry Rogers, for instance, gave 5000*l.* to the repair of St. Mary Aldermary, a sum equal to fully 12,000*l.* now. So, too, Lady Williamson not only gave 2620*l.* towards the building of St. Paul's, being the largest individual subscription, but 4000*l.* towards St. Dunstan's-in-the-East and 2000*l.* towards St. Mary-le-Bow. "Mr. George Holman, said to have been a Roman Catholic, gave 1000*l.*"† to the building of St. Benet Fink. Sums of 250*l.* and 100*l.* were very common, and the citizens of the time set us a good example. The unanimity with which Wren was employed is also a pleasing feature in the annals of the period. Nor was his attention confined to churches. He built also a number of halls for the companies, but here he had the sharp competition of the city architect, Jarman, who in fact restored the greatest of them. But Guildhall was little injured by the Great Fire, and what Jarman did was neither considerable nor admirable. Wren, in short, must be looked upon as the restorer of the London we now see, and one hesitates to write that already eleven of his churches and ten of his towers have been pulled down in what I may call cold blood—as part of a settled and premeditated scheme which still carries on its evil work.*

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* The number of churches burnt was about 86. The number rebuilt about 50.

† Godwin and Britton, ii. 194.

I have reserved to the last the two most important of his buildings in the city. One is among the smallest, the other by far the largest of his churches, but their history is inextricably connected. Wren had already, early in 1672, built a small domed church. St. Mary-at-Hill had not lost its ancient tower, which stood till 1780, but Wren renewed the body of the church. Four Doric columns support a cupola, which only rises to a height of 38 feet. He formed a more ambitious design towards the end of the same year. In October the foundations were laid of the outwardly plain church of St. Stephen's Wallbrook. Whether Wren ever made a suitable design for the exterior or not I have no information, but of the interior it may safely be said that his fame as an architect is established by it, and is hardly increased by the subsequent erection of St. Paul's.

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* The churches destroyed were All Hallows Bread Street,—what does Miss Phillimore mean (p. 252) by saying that Newton was buried here?—St. Antholin Watling Street; St. Bartholomew by the Bank; St. Bennet Gracechurch; St. Bennet Fink; St. Christopher le Stocks; St. Dionys Backchurch; St. Mary Somerset; St. Michael Crooked Lane; St. Michael Queenhithe; and St. Mildred Poultry; the tower of St. Mary Somerset has not yet found a purchaser, and still stands in Upper Thames Street, though the church has been pulled down. St. Mary-at-Hill has narrowly escaped for the present.

St. Stephen's is altogether satisfactory for the same reason that Sir Christopher Wren had no rivals and no successors.* The amount of thought expended on one little church which was not to cost so much as 8000*l.* shows us both why the design is so good and also why it has never been imitated. Wren was probably the second mathematician in England at the time, his only superior being Sir Isaac Newton. He knew the exact proportions which would produce the best effect. The church was somewhat pulled about and scraped during the height of the so-called gothic mania, a few years ago, but remains substantially as Wren left it. There was a proposal to cut down the pews. Had this been carried out the whole effect of the church would have been altered. At present, by one of the most subtle yet simple contrivances ever thought of, we see the whole of the area of the church without any interruption. Wren conceived the happy thought of elevating his pillars on bases, and concealing the bases with lofty pews. The real floor, the floor, that is, from which the whole design rises, is therefore on a level with the eye, and the visitor sees the church as if in a picture—as if he himself was not within it. In so small a building this is of the greatest service in enhancing the size. When it is empty, and the visitor sees no figure to measure its size, it appears gigantic. When "two or three are gathered together," everything is changed, and it is betrayed as the miniature of a grand cathedral.* The amount of work in planning and carrying out this small building must have been altogether out of proportion to its bulk. A few sentences from a paper on it by a competent architect † will exhibit its difficulties. "The plan results from an octagon inscribed in a circle whose diameter is equal to the distance between the centres of the extreme columns. The interior length of the church is the common measure of the other parts, one-half of it being given to the diameter of the circle about which the columns under the cupola are circumscribed. . . . . The columns are of the Corinthian order, and it is truly astonishing to observe the advantage the architect has taken of so scanty a number as sixteen." But the great merits of St. Stephen's Wallbrook are not to be described by mathematical and architectural terms, however carefully chosen. They are better indicated in the simple fact that the effect charms the most ignorant visitor as it satisfies the most learned critic. To imitate work like this would require not only Wren's genius but his knowledge. We have had clever architects since his time, no doubt, but none who were able to apply to their designs his "capacity for taking trouble," and his previously-acquired mathematical experience, together with the natural eye for beauty which distinguished him. Wren stands alone in his own line as Shakespeare stands in his. Neither

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* No one could ever make the kind of claim against Wren, for instance, which a son of Pugin's made for his father against Sir C. Barry. There is nothing in the Westminster Palace which might not have been designed by Pugin or by half-a-dozen other architects, but none of Wren's contemporaries or successors could have designed St. Stephen's.

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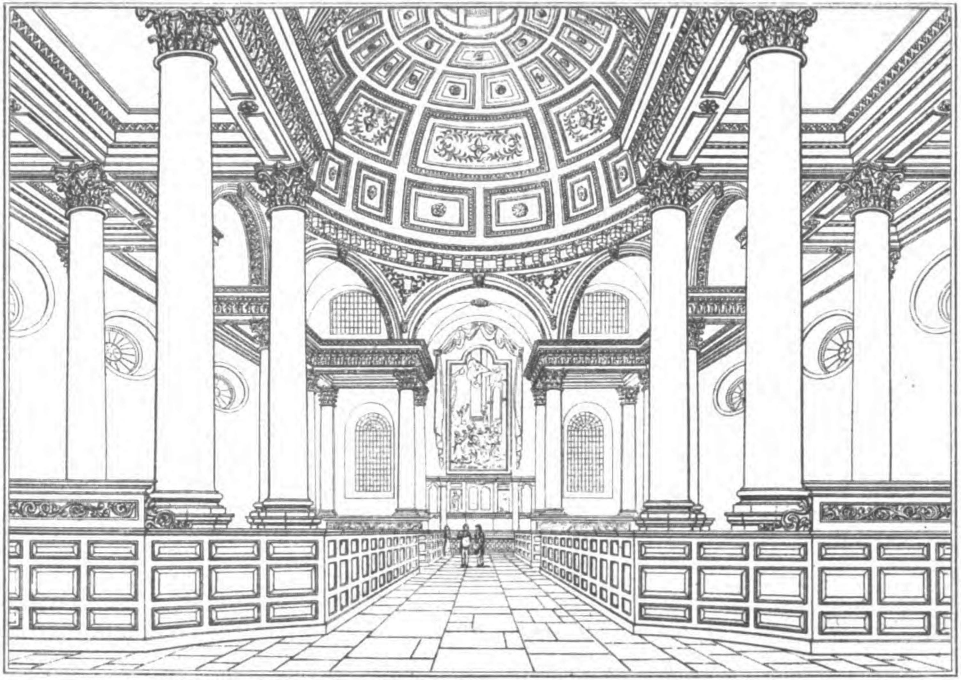
* The dimensions of St. Stephen's are thus stated by Gwilt ('Edifices of London,' i. 34); "The main body of St. Stephen's Church (for the entrance and tower stand completely distinct from it), covers a plot of ground 87 ft. 10 in. in length from east to west, and 64 ft. 10 in. from north to south; its clear internal dimensions being 82 ft. 6 in. by 59 ft. 6 in. It is very singular that so many writers, including the author of the 'Parentalia,' should have invariably quoted its dimensions as 75 ft. by 56 ft." The dome is 45 ft. in diameter and 63 ft. in height. The aisles are 36 ft. high. (See Godwin and Britton, 'Churches of London,' ii. 273.)

† Gwilt *ut supra.*

To face p. 384.



INTERIOR OF ST. STEPHEN'S WALLBROOK.

(From "The Edifices of London.")

of them established a school, for the simple reason that no one in their time was worthy to be their scholar.

The largest, and in some senses the greatest, of Wren's buildings is that which he substituted for the venerable cathedral church of London. An exaggerated idea of Old St. Paul's has been formed of late. I have endeavoured above to form an impartial idea of what it was in reality. To say that Wren's church is a worthy successor is to disparage Wren. His work is in a different style, of course, and it is not possible to institute a just comparison. The only cathedral in Europe worthy to compete with Wren's is St. Peter's at Rome; yet, except in the one matter of size, where St. Peter's has the advantage, St. Paul's is superior. It is not possible to compare St. Paul's adequately with either Salisbury or Ely; but both comparisons have been made. Salisbury and St. Paul's are alone as having been begun and finished, or nearly finished, in the same style: Ely Cathedral presents the same complexities of plan as St. Paul's; but carried very little further both comparisons fail. The slight irregularities of Salisbury only add to its picturesqueness, and the removal of an incongruous campanile by Wyatt is always ranked as an architectural crime; or, at least, as that kind of mistake which is as bad as a crime. Ely has the fault of Old St. Paul's, and is in two very different styles. No classical or gothic addition—so as it is good of its kind—can very greatly injure it. But Wren's St. Paul's is a harmonious composition, complete and uniform, remarkable as much for its unity as for its beauty.* An incongruous addition, however good in itself, would be calculated to injure it. To a gothic cathedral it stands as an ode of Gray's stands to a ballad like Chevy Chase. A line, a word, subtracted or added, would spoil the ode. Half-a-dozen good verses would not hurt the ballad.

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* I do not attempt any detailed account of St. Paul's. It is too familiar and has been too often described already; nor do I describe at any length the previous design. See 'Magazine of Art,' June 1882, for an article on the subject by Mr. Basil Champneys.

The great feature of St. Paul's, however, is neither its size nor its beauty, but its fitness, whether considered from an artistic point of view or from that of mere utility. It is sometimes objected to churches in a classical style that they are like heathen temples. This is perfectly true of St. Pancras New Church, for example, only that no real Greek building of the size would be so ugly. But St. Paul's is unmistakably a church, notwithstanding its classical details, and can never for a moment be mistaken for anything but a church. It is roomy and bright: people can see and hear in it. Windows are part of the design. At St. Pancras windows exist in spite of the style. At St. Paul's the dominant problem in the architect's mind was how to make it possible and convenient for the largest number of people to worship or to be taught together. It is not too large for the dome itself to be used as St. Paul's Cross was used in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. There are probably no such congregations in the world as those which assemble in St. Paul's Sunday after Sunday, and all can hear, all can see.

It is said to be the test of Handel's oratorios that they may be sung by any number of voices that can be assembled, and that they sound better and better as the choir is increased in strength. St. Paul's Cathedral stands the test of numbers in the same way, and never looks so well as when it is most full of worshippers. But its fitness is evidenced in many other ways, and it may safely be asserted that no church has been built since the Reformation which so completely answers its purpose.

St. Paul's, as Wren first designed it, was to be a single-storeyed building with two domes, one considerably smaller than the other, and with a portico strongly resembling Inigo Jones's. The interior was evidently a matter for more thought with him than the exterior. In fact, it would have consisted mainly of the space under a great dome, with a vestibule formed under the smaller one. But court or other influence was against it, and after some delay Wren proceeded to sketch a design on the lines of a gothic church. It was to be cruciform in plan, to have side aisles and a clear-storey and at least a couple of chapels. To all these conditions he submitted, but very unwillingly, and the drawing, which still exists, as approved by the king and the commissioners, fulfilled them all, but is without any exception the poorest and weakest design which ever issued from his hands. We can, in fact, scarcely recognise his work in it. But to the king and his brother it mattered little whether Wren had done his best or his worst so that they had a church suitable to the religious worship which one of them already openly professed. The drawing was therefore passed, with the words "very artificial, proper, and useful."

It was no sooner thus accepted than Wren silently threw it aside. There is no known drawing extant of the church as we now see it. Three features, all wholly foreign to Wren's ideas of good taste, exist in the building, all forced upon him by his employers. The existence of a central aisle and clear-storey rendered it necessary that a kind of screen should be built above the walls of the side aisles. The general appearance of the whole building becomes at once two-storeyed. So also the dome could no longer cover the wide space at first intended, but must be circumscribed to suit the altered plan This led to another constructive deception, and we have now, in fact, three domes; an inner one, which is that seen within the church; an outer one, which is that seen from the street; and between the two a cone-shaped building of brick made to carry the weight of the central lantern, with its ball and cross. Lastly, when the work approached completion, a balustrade, which is not a classical feature, but borrowed from the gothic, was proposed, and Wren a third time had to submit. "Ladies," he said scornfully, in an official reply to the commissioners, "think nothing well without an edging."

With these faults, which probably Wren himself disliked more than any one else, St. Paul's is deserving of all the admiration it receives. Much time and talk have been spent of late on the subject of the decorations. A large sum of money has been laid up, and something will undoubtedly be done before long. I confess, apart from artistic considerations, that I am glad to have been allowed to see it as Wren left it, before the altered arrangement of the organ, before the intrusion of the interior porches, before the introduction of the incongruous, if handsome pulpit under the dome: and before the old grey, ghostly figures on the dome are supplanted by modern mosaics.

The dimensions of St. Paul's are well known. The figures are easily remembered. The tip of the cross is as many feet from the pavement as there are days in the year. The extreme length is 500 ft., the width in the transepts being just half. The dome which is 145 feet in outward diameter, is only 108 within, for the reason stated above. The middle aisle of the nave is 80 feet in interior height. The western towers are 222 feet high.

The annoyances to which the architect of this great edifice was exposed grew in part out of the political history of the times. He kept as much as possible aloof from politics, but we must remember that St. Stephen Wallbrook was begun the year after wide-spread ruin came upon London merchants by the closing of the Exchequer* amid declarations of war with Holland. The first stone of St. Paul's was laid on the 21st June, 1675, the year of Charles the Second's disgraceful treaty with France. The College of Physicians, in Warwick Lane, was finished as William and Mary ascended the throne. The choir of the new cathedral was first opened for service in 1697, the year of the Peace of Ryswick.

Wren was not well treated in his old age, and he lived to be older than Inigo Jones. It is quite possible that the magnitude of his own architectural faculty had a bad influence on his contemporaries. No one could hope to approach him, so no one attempted it.† The one architect who came near him was an amateur, a man whose leisure enabled him to work out the subtle and difficult questions of proportion, as Wren worked them without leisure. Lord Burlington is now hardly known. The little he built was of rare excellence, and men of inferior genius have tried to improve it, and have only succeeded in spoiling it.‡ But what Burlington, working slowly, with every kind of professional help, with no one or nothing to hurry him, was able to do twice or thrice, Wren did habitually and did better. He thought out each design to the utmost. Whatever his hand found to do, he did it with all his might. After his time art in this country was at as low an ebb as it has ever reached. Before his death he had retired to a house he had bought in Warwickshire, and thence once a year he used to come to London and sit for a while under the mighty dome he had built. When he died, at length, in his ninety-first year, they bore his body to repose in the crypt, and his son placed over the grave the memorable words, now likewise inscribed in a prominent part of the church above—

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* See next chapter.

† See criticisms on Gibbs, Hawksmoor, Vanbrugh, and others, in the second volume.

‡ The barbarous treatment of Burlington House by some ignorant builder a very few years ago is typical. The additions are costly, loaded with ornament, and—hideous. The architect, if indeed an architect was employed, had no idea that proportion was an element in the beauty of the house he defaced. The original designs are in 'Vitruvius Britannicus' iii. 22–24. A rejected design is in vol. i. 31–32. A beautiful design for a house for General Wade, by Lord Burlington, is in vol. iii. 10.

"Si monumentum requiris circumspice."

CHAPTER XIII.

THE BANK.

WHILE Wren was rebuilding London, the king was doing all he could to ruin the Londoners. Experience had taught the Stuarts nothing. Charles II. could not see, any more than his unfortunate father, that the prosperity of the kingdom, nay even of the king himself, was bound up in the prosperity of the city. The consequences of his disastrous policy fell slightly on himself but they ruined his successor. There can be no doubt that the dethronement of the dynasty became a certainty when London had decided against it. The causes of that decision have been detailed by many historians, and notably by one for whose readers no new arrangement of facts would have much interest.* It will be only necessary here, therefore, to state those circumstances which relate strictly to the city, and especially those which resulted in the establishment of a modern "guild merchant" of such power that it regulates the trade, not of London only, nor even of England, but of Europe and the world.

The wealth of London, even after the great fire, was enormous, but the principle part of it was in the hands of the goldsmiths. What the mercers had been in the sixteenth century, the goldsmiths were in the seventeenth. They did not call themselves bankers, but professed to keep "running cashes," or, in modern language, credit accounts. Gradually they gave up goldsmith work and confined their business to money. Lombard Street became and continues to be their headquarters, as it had been that of the Italian money-lenders of the thirteenth century—the goldsmiths having previously occupied the western end of Cheap, where Old Change still commemorates their residence and the object of their trade. In 1677[*] there were no fewer than thirty-seven goldsmiths keeping running cashes in Lombard Street. The seizure by Charles I. of a sum said to have amounted to 200,000*l.* which the London goldsmiths had deposited for safety in the Tower, forced them to find some better use for money than storing it. The practice of lending it at a moderate rate of interest was very soon followed by that of receiving it upon deposit. Thus, as early as the time of the Commonwealth, banking, as we understand it, was flourishing. Cheques, under the name of "goldsmith's notes" were in use. Oliver Cromwell himself had an account[†] at the *Marygold*, a house just within Temple Bar in which William Wheeler kept running cashes. He had also dealings with Edward Backwell, of the *Unicorn* in Lombard Street, Alderman of the Ward of Bishopsgate.

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* Macaulay, 'History of England, from the accession of James II.'

The great banker of the day was this Edward Backwell. Pepys mentions him many times. Among the diarist's most self-complacent entries are those which tell of the money he laid out in table silver, and in cups for presents. But Pepys also visited Backwell for political purposes. The pay of the troops in the garrison of Dunkirk, and other expenses connected with that fort, went through the great goldsmith's hands, as did the money received from the French when, so much to the disgust of his subjects, Charles II. sold Dunkirk to Louis XIV. Backwell also made loans to the crown on various kinds of security, and Pepys went to him in 1665 to advance a small sum for the navy. Backwell was constantly sent by the king on messages to France, and we may be sure was the intermediary in many money dealings between Charles and Louis after the famous treaty of Dover. Before the fire he used to take deposits, allowing as much as 6 per cent. interest at twenty days' call, and even 3½ per cent. or more for money on demand. All the bankers' houses in Lombard Street perished in the great fire, and Alderman Backwell, on account of the great importance of the public services he was able to perform, had a special precept from the king to secure him lodgings in Gresham House, where he could carry on business until the rebuilding of the *Unicorn*. He continued to flourish. Loan after loan he negociated to meet the necessities of Charles, the war with the Dutch, and the fortification of Tangier. He bought houses in Lombard Street and lands in Huntingdonshire, but the bulk of his fortune was in Treasury bonds, for the king owed him a quarter of a million the year after the fire, and nearly 300,000*l*. in 1672.

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[*] F. G. Hilton Price's 'Handbook of London Bankers,' p. 60, and the reprint of the 'London Directory' of 1677. Mr. Price's paper on "Edward Backwell," read before the London and Middlesex Archæological Society, throws much light on the commercial history of London in this reign.

[†] The book in which the Protector's account was entered has been lost; but many of Messrs. Wheeler's ledgers are in possession of the present firm of Child and Co., on the same site.

There was keen competition among these early bankers, and other "goldsmiths" besides Backwell had dealings with the government. One of the most eminent of his rivals was connected with him by family ties. Tyringham Backwell, his son, married the daughter of Sir Francis Child, who had succeeded Wheeler at the *Marygold* just within the newly-built archway of Temple Bar. Part of the house, indeed, stood on ruins of the Templars' outer courts, and remains of ancient vaultings are said still to exist in the cellars of the bank. For Child's still flourishes, though Temple Bar is gone, and no member of the firm bears the original surname. The mysterious little chamber over the arch, with its many paned windows, one looking up Fleet Street, and one down the Strand, was rented for 50*l.* a year from the city by the Messrs. Child, just as Chaucer had rented the rooms over Aldgate in 1374[*]—and was used as a store for old documents. It had been intended for a porter's lodge, and when the Bar was pulled down in 1878, the staircase, long built up, was exposed. High up in the roof, just under the grinning skulls of traitors, was another little closet, approached by a ladder, and perhaps designed as a lock up for the porter's use when disorderly characters disturbed the peace of Fleet Street.

The family had become connected with the *Marygold* by a double marriage. Sir Joshua Child, an early governor of the East India Company, whose daughter carried an immense fortune into the Somerset family, now represented by his descendant the duke of Beaufort, had a younger brother,[†] apprenticed to William Wheeler. He was mentioned above as keeping Cromwell's running cash account, and had first set up as a goldsmith in Cheap, removing to Temple Bar early in the reign of Charles I. The apprentice, according to the time honoured city custom, married his master's daughter, and the apprentice s mother, Mrs. Child, married the master's surviving partner, Robert Blanchard. The business was thus kept in the family, and in 1681 Francis Child was sole owner and took John Rayer into the firm as his junior.

[*] Riley, 'Memorials,' p. 377.

[†] This is not quite certain. See Price.

This was not until after a crisis had occurred in the history not only of this, but also of every other London banker of the day. Nearly all were ruined, but Child's and another eminent firm escaped by the same means. In 1672 the government of Charles II. was so far from representing a majority of the nation that it comprised within the celebrated "Cabal" almost all the eminent men in the kingdom who thought with the king. The Cabal did not dare to call Parliament together. They had obtained a subsidy from the late House of Commons with a view to helping the Dutch against Louis XIV. They had employed it to fit out a fleet and attack the Dutch. In order to carry on this unpopular enterprise further supplies were necessary. But how to obtain more money, without the aid of a Parliament, was a problem no one could solve, until Clifford happened to consult a man much more clever than himself, the celebrated Shaftesbury. He obtained from him by plying him, it was said, with wine till he forgot his prudence, a scheme so effectual, but so iniquitous, that we need not wonder if in a more sober moment he would have kept it to himself. Charles had openly avowed that he would give the white staff of the treasury to any one who could show him where to find a million and a half. Clifford entering the royal presence claimed the staff, and unfolded the Shaftesbury plan. It consisted simply in closing the exchequer and seizing the goldsmiths' deposits.

Of course such an abominable piece of dishonesty must be kept secret. Yet, somehow, it got abroad to a limited extent at least. Among the goldsmiths who had money in the royal exchequer at the time was one who is still represented among city bankers. Messrs. Martin in Lombard Street, are the mercantile descendants of Charles Duncombe, who in 1672 kept running cashes at his house, the *Grasshopper*, where a century before Gresham had carried on his extensive operations. The sign was in existence till the houses were first numbered in 1770, and was stolen by a dishonest workman when the old house was rebuilt a little later. The modern bank is on the original Elizabethan site, and may therefore justly claim to be the oldest commercial establishment left in London. Evelyn notices Duncombe's shrewdness in business not without censure, and Pope, who was born, it might be said, under the shadow of the *Grasshopper*, has gibbetted him in well known lines as "a scrivenor, or city knight." Shaftesbury was among the depositors in Duncombe's bank, and Child also had influential men among his customers. Both these houses had warning of the impending crash in time to withdraw their money. But the king's principal creditor, Edward Backwell, and many others, knew nothing of it, and were ruined. The money in the exchequer consisted mainly of customers' deposits. When Charles seized upon the whole sum, the goldsmiths could not meet the demands upon them, even though, to repair in some degree the loss they sustained, the king gave them promises of interest at what would now be thought a high rate. We even hear of "runs" upon some banks which were not connected with the royal treasury, and the mere news caused such a panic as has seldom if ever since been seen in the city. The whole sum which Charles thus acquired by the plunder of the citizens, amounted to above thirteen hundred thousand, equal to at least three million sterling in the reckoning of the present day.

Thus did the son of "the man Charles Stuart" walk in the footsteps of his father, and, forgetting London's loyalty to him in his early years, the embassy to Holland, the welcome and acclamations on Blackheath, reward the trust reposed in his royal honour. He never made peace with the city, and during the remaining years of his disastrous reign, though a spark of loyalty was towards the end of it rekindled by the rumours of popish plots, and by the king's last illness, he laboured only to humble it more and more. On their side the Londoners intrigued with Shaftesbury against him and his brother, afterwards James II., and almost openly communicated with the prince of Orange. The marriage of the princess Mary with William was joyfully received "as a Protestant match, and as ensuring a Protestant successor to James." But Charles was still reigning, and James might and did marry again, and have a son. The prospect was gloomy enough. Charles took occasion when the Londoners harboured Shaftesbury to show them signs of his royal displeasure, and as in the case of ancient kings, whose history he might have laid to heart with advantage, he found eminent citizens willing to further his designs on the liberties of the city. We seem to be reading a chapter in the annals of Henry III. or Richard II. when we find a mayor, Sir John Moore, devoted to the court, and endeavouring to further the king's views by securing the election of at least one of the sheriffs. Ten years had elapsed since the closing of the exchequer, but that arbitrary and dishonourable act was still fresh in the memory of the people. They refused the mayor's nominee by an immense demonstration in favour of the sheriffs they had chosen, Papillon and Dubois. In this they were assisted and supported by the two sheriffs still in office, Pilkington and Shute, and by an alderman, Henry Cornish, whose tragical fate remains to be told. All three were summoned on the complaint of the lord mayor before the Privy Council, and committed to the

Tower. The Habeas Corpus Act was, however, now in force, and the sheriffs were produced at the bar of the king's bench, and pleading not guilty were admitted to bail by the judges. A fresh election was ordered by the lord mayor, and again his nominee was defeated by the votes of the commonalty. The king and court meanwhile had constantly interfered, and there can have been no doubt in the minds of the people as to the question involved. Papillon and Dubois were by an order in council superseded, and on a new election, Box and North were declared elected. Box, seeing the state of the case, refused to serve, whereupon Rich was substituted for him, and he and North were sworn in before the mayor.* The juries they packed left the life of every citizen who opposed the duke of York, or supported the exclusion bills, at the mercy of the court. Shaftesbury saw that, so far as he was concerned, liberty was no longer assured though one jury had acquitted him, and he prudently retired to Holland, but Pilkington and Shute, the late sheriffs, with twelve aldermen, were accused of having spoken against James, or otherwise offended the court party, and were heavily fined, while Pilkington was superseded in his aldermanry by North, the second sheriff.

London was now at the king's mercy, and he used his power as former kings, his ancestors, had used theirs. We are irresistibly reminded by what ensued of Rokesley and Edward I., or, before their time, of FitzThomas and Henry III. The mayor and aldermen were summoned to show cause† why their charter was not forfeited because they had printed and published a petition in favour of exclusion which the king had refused; because they had made illegal exaction of tolls towards the rebuilding of the city after the fire; because they had scandalised the king's government and oppressed their fellow citizens, and, in short, though the court party avoided saying so, because Charles had determined, in the old phrase, "to take the city into his own hands." The court party were careful to manipulate the bench so as to insure a victory, and the citizens were told to expect the forfeiture of their liberties. They made the long journey to Windsor as FitzThomas and his company had made it four centuries before.* They were received by the king, who, through lord keeper North, explained the situation to them, and in view of the approaching civic elections, offered conditions which were simply subversive of the whole constitution for which their predecessors during so many generations had contended and suffered. But when the king's terms were afterwards debated in the Guildhall, strange as it may appear, an act of submission was carried by a small majority, and the king issued a commission under the great seal, appointing Sir William Pritchard to be mayor during the royal pleasure, and two other members of the court party, Daniel and Dashwood, to be sheriffs. This was the year of the "Rye House Plot," and many citizens were implicated. Lord Russell was beheaded in Lincoln's Inn Fields, and another city favourite, Algernon Sidney, upon Tower Hill, while the infamous judge Jeffreys summoned one after another of the popular leaders before his court, and fined or imprisoned them on the most frivolous charges. Papillon, for having served a writ on the lord mayor two years before, calling on him to declare valid his election to the shrievalty, was fined 10,000*l.*, and refusing to pay had to seek safety in flight. He remained in Holland till the revolution.

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* The proceedings are minutely detailed by Maitland and Allen.

† The writ of summons was popularly known from this sentence as the *Quo warranto*.

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* This was 1683, so that FitzThomas's imprisonment took place 418 years previously.

The death of Charles only precipitated the quarrel between London and the crown. Yet the oppressed citizens, when the king was in danger, knowing that a worse ruler was in store for them, crowded the churches to pray for his recovery, and a feeling sprang up very like the old sentiment of personal loyalty. But it was only in fulfilment of the mocking opinion which Charles had himself expressed to his brother when he said, "They will never kill me, James, to make you king."

Nor were the citizens wrong in their apprehensions. James hardly needed the stimulus of Monmouth's rebellion to make him remember the petitioners of 1682. Had the whig party among the citizens then obtained their wishes he could never have reigned. The sheriff when Charles had refused the civic petition was alderman Cornish, and three of the companions of Jeffreys in the west, their hands still dyed with the blood of the Somerset assizes, came into the city to inflict the king's vengeance.* Cornish was on the Exchange transacting business when he received the fatal summons. His despair, for he must have seen at once that there was nothing to hope for in a consciousness of innocence, in the justice of a packed jury, or in the clemency of James, betrayed no fear, but he behaved, as a witness of his death declared, with the natural indignation of a man murdered under legal forms.

He was arrested on Tuesday, 13th October, 1685, hurried to Newgate and kept in solitary confinement, without pens, ink or paper, without any power of communicating with his friends, without counsel, nay, even without a knowledge of the nature of the charge against him. His children hastened to Whitehall, but James coldly referred them to the judges. On Saturday the prisoner received a copy of the indictment, and on Monday he was arraigned at the Old Bailey. Two informers appeared against him, both "by their own confession, accomplices in the plot with which they charged the prisoner."* The judges took part with the attorney-general in brow-beating the prisoner. In vain he pleaded that no time had been allowed for the preparation of his defence, and that a material witness was in the country and had not been summoned. He was brutally told that he did not deserve well enough of the government to have time allowed him,† or, in other words, that his fate was sealed before the hearing.

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* Macaulay, chap. v.

It may be asked how the government could count on obtaining a verdict from a jury of freemen in a case like this. But it must be remembered that the "city was in the hands of the king," as the ancient chronicles would have said, and that though there was a mayor, and though he had two sheriffs, yet the mayor was a nominee of the king—not, strictly speaking, a mayor at all, but a warden —and the sheriffs staunch members of the court party.‡ Cornish was found guilty, condemned, and four days later, on Friday the 23rd, he was led to his own door, at the corner of Queen Street in Cheapside,§ and put to death with the barbarity which then belonged to an ordinary execution for treason. The same day Elizabeth Gaunt was burned at Tyburn. William Penn, the Quaker, for whom, as Macaulay remarks, exhibitions which humane men generally avoid seem to have had a strong attraction, hurried from the city to St. Marylebone, and witnessed both the executions. The day was marked in the memories of the citizens by a tempest "such as had not been known since that great hurricane which had raged round the death-bed of Oliver."*

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* Macaulay, chap. v.

† Maitland, i. 484.

‡ The mayor's name was Smith. Gosling and Vandeput were the sheriffs, but it does not appear which of them packed the jury.

§ Maitland says "at the end of King Street, facing his own house." This expression denotes as his a house at the opposite corner, namely, in Queen Street, formerly "Soper's Lane." Macaulay remarks that the spot is equally in sight of the Exchange and the Guildhall. It is so now, but probably in 1685 only the Guildhall could be seen from the corner of King Street.

There is one house, and one only left in Cheapside which may have seen the death of Henry Cornish. It stands at the corner of Friday Street, and retains its old cross mullioned windows. On its front is a stone carving, the chained swan of Henry V., which may survive from an older house on the same site before the fire. Of King Street and Queen Street as they were then we can form little notion. The scaffoldings were still about many houses. St. Mary-le-Bow was not long finished. The head of the murdered alderman was placed over the newly repaired Guildhall, one of the few decorations of the kind it ever received, and typical of the abject state to which the city was reduced.

But a reaction was at hand. The trial of the bishops showed the temper of the great mass of the citizens. It was judged dangerous to conduct the prisoners through the streets, and they went to the Tower by water, but the people lined the banks of the Thames, and "expressed all the transports that love, compassion, and rage could beget."† Their acquittal was received with the loudest acclamations of joy. This was in June, 1688, and before October James saw that the policy his brother and he had pursued towards the city was a mistake. But this conviction came too late to save him. It was in vain that he sent Jeffreys, the chancellor, in state to the Guildhall with the restored charter. No popular enthusiasm could be evoked. The address of thanks was studiously cold, and the news which came a month later, that William of Orange had landed at Torbay, was received with open expressions of thanksgiving. Even a forged proclamation was accepted as the genuine letter of the prince, and was printed and circulated. Riots against the Roman Catholics occurred almost daily, and were so far countenanced by the authorities that the grand jury of Middlesex brought in a true bill against a nobleman who had abjured Protestantism,* and the houses of those merchants who held to the unpopular faith were searched for arms by the lord mayor. The general suspense and excitement were heightened by rumours of the king's intended flight, and news of the actual departure of the queen and her infant son. On the 11th December, James took the great seal in his hands, drove from Whitehall in a hired coach, hired a boat at Millbank, dropped the seal into the river, landed at Vauxhall, and took the road to Sheerness.

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* Macaulay.

† Maitland, i. 485.

The immediate consequences of the king's flight were momentous to London. Men looked about everywhere in vain for some one whose authority was undoubted. The king's virtual abdication dissolved the whole fabric of society, law, and order. No regency had been appointed. The prince had not arrived.† All eyes were turned towards the venerable body which still retained its ancient powers. The lord mayor reigned in London whether a king was at Westminster or not.* The lords of the council came into the city and were received in state at the Guildhall by the magistracy. The lieutenant of the Tower brought the keys of that fortress. A conference between the lords, with Archbishop Sancroft in the chair, was followed by a declaration calling upon the prince of Orange to maintain order. The lord mayor and the aldermen sent immediately four of their number with eight commoners, and formally invited William to the city.† A second invitation was despatched the same day. A loan of 200,000*l.* was speedily gathered, and amid rioting and the tumultuous plunder and destruction of the houses of the Roman Catholics, a petition was circulated and extensively signed, calling upon William and Mary to take possession of the vacant throne.

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* Macaulay, chap. ix. The earl of Salisbury.

† Macaulay, chap. x.

William was determined not to precipitate matters, and called upon the lord mayor to disavow the petition. But it was virtually adopted by the assembled convention, and the accession of the new sovereigns was received in London with frantic signs of joy.‡

One of the first cares of the new government was to make a formal restitution of the privileges which under the tyrannies of Charles II. and his brother had been for a time called in question or withdrawn.* The proceedings in the judgment on the *Quo Warranto* were reversed and declared illegal by Act of Parliament, and London was restored fully to her ancient rights. Those rights had been defined, or at least recapitulated, by an early charter of Charles II., in which all the older charters were "inspected," and it is upon the statute thus passed under William and Mary that London now enjoys the ancient freedom handed down to her by generation after generation of citizens from days long before the Norman Conquest. They had been frequently endangered, and are endangered even now. Sometimes kings like the Angevins and the Stuarts invaded them; sometimes democrats who had little idea of the effects of their own headstrong passions, assailed them from within. To some men's minds it is a sin and a shame that any part of England should enjoy freedom without exact definition. Reformers envy the wealth of the city, and would apply it to many purposes for which it was never intended and in which it would do no good. The energy some agitators display in order to obtain the money which others have earned would, if better directed, make themselves rich.

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* It will be remembered that in those days the "demise of the crown," not only dissolved parliament, but put an end to the commissions of the judges. The mayoralty, almost alone among English institutions of the kind, was unaffected by James's virtual abdication. Even the churches staggered under the blow, and Sancroft himself felt its weight within a few months. (See vol. ii., 'Lambeth.')

† Maitland, i. 488.

‡ It is, of course, easy to make too much of the election of William by the city, but perhaps Lord Macaulay makes too little of it, and has not done justice to its constitutional significance. He mentions the Guildhall very casually, and places the action of the civic authorities in a subordinate place. (See above, chap. iii. and Freeman's 'Norman Conquest,' v. 411.) But several kings had ascended the English throne after a less formal election by the city of London.

The citizens watched William's Irish campaign with exceeding interest. The siege of Derry and its relief were of personal importance to many of them: for Londonderry, to give it the full title, was a colony specially sent out by London. The city still has an Ulster estate, and the grant of James I. to the mayor.

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* 'Municipal London,' by Joseph Firth, p. 19. I shall have occasion further on to notice once again this portly volume. Here it will be sufficient to observe that the facts collected by Mr. Firth are treated with such an amount of bitter party feeling that their value is greatly lost, and their real significance obscured.

aldermen and commonalty of the ruins of the ancient Irish fort and of six thousand acres in the neighbourhood is extant. The citizens were slow to take advantage of their new property, and there was a time when it had almost become forfeit. But it seemed doubly precious after the siege, each circumstance of which was recounted with exultation * in the streets of the parent city. But the continental war was of even more importance, and led to consequences of which at the present day we reap the benefit, not in the city only but all over the world. The victories of war are as nothing in comparison with the victories of peace. The battle of Steinkirk and the fall of Namur are mere names to most of us, but we have all heard of the Funds and of the Bank of England. To William's policy we owe these institutions, and to these institutions London owes her supremacy among the commercial cities of the world.

The loan of 200,000*l.* with which London greeted the new king recalls a similar loan under similar circumstances to Henry VII., and betrays, as did the earlier grant, a feeling of confidence in the new dynasty, such as at the present day would be manifested by the state of the funds. But in 1689 the public funds had not yet come into existence, and the next step in commercial progress was, so to speak, to formulate or regulate the national debt, by instituting a corporation capable of dealing with it. The establishment of banks, as we have seen, had gone on rapidly during the reigns of the two last Stuarts. The closing of the exchequer, as the event proved, had rather tended to discredit the king and his government than the victims of his fraud. Some of the older goldsmiths gave up the contest like Backwell, but others recovered from the blow, and the revolution found them much increased in numbers and in business. Charles had been obliged to ask a loan before the end of his reign, and though it had been declared on the closing of the exchequer that such a step showed that the court had resolved never to borrow again but to take, he obtained it at the moderate interest of eight per cent. This betokens the keenness of the competition among the bankers. The principal was never repaid, but having been made part of the national debt by King William, eventually became the nucleus of the South Sea Fund.*

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* One London firm, Clavel and Simpson, St. Paul's Churchyard, published in 1689 'Walker's Account,' as well as 'A new and exact map of London-derry and Culmore Fort, drawn with great Exactness by Captain Macullach, who was there during the siege.'

The idea of a great national bank seems to have been first started so far back as 1678. Five years failed however to give it definite shape. No mere plan for sustaining credit could have commanded success. Like most great enterprises in England, the eventual foundation of the national bank was owed to private enterprise. William Paterson was in many respects a visionary schemer. He had not only failed as a colonist, but had involved hundreds, if not thousands, of his fellow Scots in the disasters of the emigration to Darien. But in starting the banking scheme he had the good fortune to meet with thoroughly practical partners.† A proposal was laid before the queen in council by which the supplies needed for the use of the king in his foreign campaign, were to be obtained and forwarded without the numerous losses and percentages which sometimes reduced a Parliamentary subsidy one-half before it reached the royal treasury. Much opposition to the new scheme was naturally encountered. The Tory party, and especially the Jacobite section of it, foresaw the additional strength an abundant supply of money would confer on the revolutionary government. The usurers, and many who were merely financiers in a better sense, thought the bank would ruin them. The new measure was, however, introduced to the notice of parliament in the spring of 1694.* Paterson was only one of a number of projectors who had laid schemes of the kind before the legislature. The absurdity of some of them, the uselessness of others, the impracticability of the vast majority, caused Paterson's plan to be looked at with deep suspicion.

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* Francis, 'History of the Bank of England,' i. 35.

† The account of Paterson in Francis does not show his connection with the Bank of England in a clear light. It seems to assume more knowledge of the subject than most readers possess.

It was briefly this. A sum amounting to nearly a million and a half was to be borrowed by the government at eight per cent., and the subscribers to the loan were to be incorporated under the title of the Governor and Company of the Bank of England. When a clause had been inserted in the bill to the effect that the new bank was not to advance money to the government without the authority of parliament, it passed, to the great surprise, no doubt, of its framers and supporters, so loud and powerful had the opposition appeared. But at the moment money was in great demand, and no alternative scheme seemed likely to work so well. The opposition was even fiercer in the House of Lords than it had been in the Commons, but at the end of April 1694 the royal assent was obtained, and though, as Macaulay remarks, it was then as difficult to raise a million at eight per cent. as it would now be to raise forty times as much at half that rate,* the confidence in the administration, as well as in the scheme itself, was so great that in ten days the sum required had been subscribed, and the treasury was actually in possession of it before it became due.

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* Macaulay, chap. xx.

The success of Paterson's scheme does not seem to have enriched him. But he was not a man to whom any amount of money could bring wealth. The working of the plan devolved on Michael Godfrey, a man of a very different type. Although not of middle age, he was already wealthy and known in the city. He was strongly opposed to the Stuarts, and from the mere circumstance that he was a nephew of Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey,* who was supposed to have been murdered fifteen years before by the "Popish Plotters," he attracted public attention and confidence. He obtained leave for the early meetings of the new company to be held at Mercers' Hall in Cheapside, but in October of the same year, 1694, he, in conjunction with ten other members of the company, signed an agreement by which Grocers' Hall in the Poultry was taken for eleven years, and here, the term having been renewed, the new society carried on business until 1734.† The first governor of the Bank of England was Sir John Houblon, to whose good offices, no doubt, the arrangement was due. "Here, in one room, with almost primitive simplicity, were gathered all who performed the duties of the establishment."‡ The secretaries and their clerks numbered only fifty-four.

It may be worth while to pause a moment to compare the condition of the Bank of England at the present day with the modest establishment here described. It now employs 900 officers of various grades. Its notes in circulation approach a value of twenty millions. From fifteen to twenty millions are deposited in gold and silver in its vaults. About two million sterling crosses its counters every day. The buildings cover the whole area of the church and churchyard of St. Christopher le Stocks, and indeed all the parish itself except a small portion on which the portico of the Royal Exchange is built, as well as large parts of the two adjacent parishes of St. Margaret Lothbury, and St. Bartholomew by the Exchange. For managing the payment of the interest on the National Debt the company receives 200,000*l.* a year. Such has been the growth of the single office opened in the Grocers' Hall in 1694.

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* Macaulay, by a mistake, calls him "the brother of Sir Edmondsbury Godfrey," vol. ii. p. 483, ed. 1873.

† See Heath's 'Grocers' Company,' p. 31. This hall, becoming ruinous, was rebuilt in 1802.

‡ Francis, i. 65.

Godfrey, who rather than Paterson must be considered the founder of the bank, and who possessed the pen of a clear and ready writer, defended the infant undertaking with success in a pamphlet * published in the following year, in which he set forth its great advantages, and justified his own reputation for foresight and prudence. As deputy governor he seems to have been practically manager of the whole concern, which, as he exultingly asserted, gave such a reputation to the government engagements—known as exchequer tallies—that they were currently taken by private persons at ten to fifteen per cent. less than before the establishment of the bank, "that it was the only fund ever settled in England that had lowered the interest of money"; and that notwithstanding the cost of the great war then raging, amounting on the part of England alone to thirty millions at least, the interest on the national debt had fallen.

When Michael Godfrey alluded to the war he little thought he should himself be one of its victims. William III. was engaged at the siege of Namur in 1695, not a year after the Bank of England had removed to Grocers' Hall. London was kept in a state of constant distraction by a succession of rumours.* The fate of nations, it was known but too well, depended on success or failure. The malice of the Jacobites warmly seconded the cupidity of the stock jobbers. The king's death was eagerly discounted. Sometimes a mere whisper went abroad; sometimes a messenger on horseback dressed in a military uniform galloped through the streets and spread dismay with the news that William had been killed. But it was observed during the whole time of this anxious siege that the simple test of a bet showed even the Jacobites to be believers in William's success. Before it came, however, Michael Godfrey had been sent to Namur to the king's camp to make some arrangements for the transmission of the soldiers' pay and other supplies. The great attack of the 17th July was actually going forward, and Godfrey's curiosity overcame his prudence. He ventured to the king's side amid a shower of bullets. William saw him with surprise and anger. "Mr. Godfrey, you ought not to run these hazards: you are not a soldier: you can be of no use to us here." Godfrey protested that he ran no greater danger than did his majesty. "Not so," said William, "I am where it is my duty to be; and I may without presumption commit my life to God's keeping." As he spoke Michael Godfrey fell dead at his feet, slain by a French cannon ball. His body was brought over to London and buried in St. Swithin's church, where his epitaph describes him as "a batchelour much lamented by all his friends." His "sorrowful mother" raised the monument to "the pious memory of her beloved son."*

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* Reprinted in the second volume of Francis's 'History of the Bank.'

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* Macaulay, chap. xxi.

The rivalry between the old goldsmiths' houses and the new institution was, of course, very keen, and might possibly have proved eventually fatal to the Bank of England. In fact, the enterprise was not three years old when it actually stopped payment.† The recoinage of silver prevented the company from meeting their notes in cash: they had received worn and clipped coin at its nominal value, and had to pay in full. By various expedients, however, they managed to protract the periods of payment, to gather in debts, and to call upon shareholders, till things righted themselves. The bank deserved well of the country at large, and various concessions were made by government, so that public confidence was immediately renewed. It was common to speak contemptuously, but shares went up, and bank stock rose from a discount of fifty per cent. to a premium of one hundred and twenty. In vain the private banks dashed themselves against the new corporation. They only rendered its position firmer. It lowered the interest of money, as poor Michael Godfrey had prophesied, and thus at once earned the gratitude of the public and the hatred of the bankers. Runs were constantly organised, and every device practised that could discredit it. It was said that both the Childs and the

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* He was the son of another Michael, the brother of Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey, whence Macaulay's mistake. (See 'Arch. Cantiana,' vi. 261.) His mother was Mary the daughter of Thomas Chambrelan of Leadenhall Street. As he was born in February, 1658, he was still a young man. The verses on his monument have disappeared, and are not worth reprinting from Maitland ii., 1184, though they contain a charming *non sequitur.*

† The account of this event in Francis, i. 75, is so wanting in clearness that a reader must conclude he desired to gloss over the whole story—and he perfectly succeeded.

Hoares purposely gathered large parcels of bank bills to present at once, but they had no success. The great war of queen Anne's reign did but make it more prosperous, and at the same time more necessary to the state. In 1707 the most dangerous run took place; but public confidence had now returned, and many private persons came forward with help. Godolphin, then lord treasurer, offered it various kinds of indulgence. Three wealthy dukes, including the cautious Marlborough, lodged large sums, and the crisis rapidly passed away. An anecdote shows the public temper at this momentous period. A poor man who had but 500*l.* in the world carried it to the bank when the run commenced. "Good Queen Anne" heard of him, and sent him 100*l.* as a present, and an obligation on the treasury for the whole of his venture.

The further history of the Bank of England is that of England itself. By slow degrees it has risen to such a position that its proud title does not fully describe it. The whole world comes to its coffers, and its name has passed into a common proverb as the emblem of stability. The old building has been enlarged over and over again. The modest house of Sir John Houblon in Threadneedle Street, where its first building was erected, would not now accommodate a tenth part of the business. In one of its courts stands a statue, dedicated in 1734, to the memory of "the best of princes, William III., the founder of this bank."

It would be easy to occupy all the remainder of my space with particulars of the old goldsmiths and their successors. The revolution in politics did not more thoroughly alter the character of the government than the establishment of banking altered the tendency and tone of London business. Before a century had elapsed from the foundation of the Bank of England, the city had become what we know it, a place not so much for residence as for commerce. It is now a vast honeycomb of offices. The sight of a little child in "the city" is as rare as that of a butterfly. People come in and go out: few stay the night. Here and there a tradesman lives over his place of business, as in the good old times, but he must be very poor or very peculiar if he has no villa in the country whither he can retire in the intervals of work. A hundred years ago, however, many citizens still lived on their business premises. When lord Westmorland, on a memorable occasion, dined with Robert Child it was in the banking-house in Fleet Street. This was the lord Westmorland who, being in love with Child's only daughter, Mary Anne, and knowing that the banker was far too well acquainted with the financial condition of the Fane family ever to consent to their union, asked him across the table what he should do if he was attached to a girl whose father opposed the match. "Why, run away with her, to be sure," was the banker's incautious reply. Lord Westmorland and Miss Mary Anne took him at his word. They eloped, but were hotly pursued by the indignant father. Mr. Child had the best horses and gained on the fugitives. But the earl was a good shot, and kneeling upon the seat he fired a pistol over the back of the carriage. The bullet took effect, and one of the banker's horses rolled over on the road.* By this very questionable manœuvre the fugitives succeeded in reaching Gretna Green, but Mr. Child never forgave them, though, as his death occurred within three months afterwards, and as he left everything to the eldest child named Sarah, after his wife, that should be born of the marriage, it cannot be said that he was likely to have remained long obdurate. As it was the Fanes did not profit very largely by the fortune of the banker's heiress. Lest the legacy should lapse, it is said that each of the children of lord and lady Westmorland was baptised by the name of Sarah, including the only son, but the eldest daughter survived to marry lord Jersey, and her grandson is the present head of the firm in Fleet Street.

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* Mr. Heywood Hardy's picture of this scene is well known. It was just a century ago, for the marriage took place in 1782.

The story of the South Sea Bubble has been often told. It is only the first and greatest of a long list of similar examples. Wild speculation, followed by deep depression, has ebbed and flowed in the city almost as regularly as the tide in the Thames. The year 1720 was memorable for the Mississippi Bubble in Paris, as well as for the South Sea delusion at home. The success of the Bank of England excited the imagination of schemers. Knaves were only too ready to take up any design that would impose for a time on fools. But the South Sea scheme differed from the countless bubbles of the day in attracting many who must be allowed to have had at least common sense. Walpole, indeed, stood aloof. When the South Sea Company offered, in exchange for trading concessions, to relieve public burdens to the extent of nearly a million a year, he warned the country against indulging in a dream.* But every one else went mad. The king himself and his ministers partook of the general excitement. Threadneedle Street, where the South Sea House was situated, sometimes became impassable with crowds from the other end of town, all thronging to invest. Stock at one time rose to 1100*l.* per cent. premium. It may be asked in what trade the company proposed to engage.

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* Green, iv. 136.

This is one of the disgraceful features of the story. The ostensible object of the company was to rival, and if possible out-do Spain in the abominable slave trade. The South Sea was that part of the Atlantic Ocean which lies between the Brazils and Western Africa. The coffee houses in Exchange Alley near the chief scene were filled daily with speculators.* Prior and Gay, the poets, staked and lost heavily. The duke of Chandos spent 300,000*l.* of which nothing returned to him. At last, in November, the bubble burst, when the crash actually brought down the ministry. Stanhope died of it, as did Craggs, the secretary of state. His father, who was postmaster-general, poisoned himself. These were only a few of the victims. Ruin fell upon thousands of innocent persons, and probably no event since the great fire caused such widespread misfortune. The South Sea stock itself was only one of many. There were companies for making butter from beech trees; for teaching wise men to calculate nativities; for casting cannon balls; for the discovery of perpetual motion; nay, incredible as may it seem, these were among the saner projects. A subscription of two millions was started for "a promising design to be hereafter promulgated," and another for "carrying on an undertaking of great advantage, but nobody to know what it is." Even this insolent attempt on the credulity of speculators succeeded. In five hours 2000*l.* were deposited, and the ingenious author of the proposal disappeared and was heard of no more.†

At this conjuncture Walpole and the Bank of England concerted measures which, wild as they seem now, were nothing to what had been proposed and almost carried. But though they led to a run on the bank they saved the national credit. The rising of 1715 affected the welfare of the bank for the moment much more heavily: but, with the proverbial want of political sagacity which characterised the Stuarts, threats of confiscation, of repudiation, and of forced loans and contributions alarmed the city, and though the funds fell to 49, and a run was, as usual, made on the bank, it "literally faced its creditors:" the citizens came forward promptly, and as the danger passed away the bank was more firmly fixed than ever in the confidence of the people, and has never since had to sustain the effects of a similar panic.*

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* A well-known picture by E. M. Ward, R.A., truthfully represents the scene in Change Alley as it appeared in 1720.

† Francis, 'History of the Bank,' i. 135.

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* Francis, i. 163.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE CORPORATION.*

WE have now to see the last attempt made by an English king to oppress the city. The accession of the house of Brunswick was popular with the Londoners, and, as I endeavoured to show in my last chapter, the support of the citizens was among the strongest bulwarks of the kingdom against the rebellion of 1715. It was the same in 1745, and both George I. and George II. were very well received at their rare visits to the Guildhall or the Mansion House. Their reigns are chiefly remarkable in the city for the local improvements carried out. The Fleet river was covered over, after a vain attempt to make it a canal in accordance with Wren's suggestion, as far as Holborn Bridge. The precinct of Blackfriars was finally incorporated with the ward of Farringdon Within, on the verdict of a jury from Hertfordshire, summoned specially for the purpose. This was in 1735, and twenty years later the project for making a new bridge over the Thames took shape, the course of the Fleet became a roadway, and not only was the new bridge named after the Blackfriars, but a Blackfriars Road appeared in Surrey on the opposite bank. A newer bridge at the same spot was opened in 1867 by the queen in person, and springs from arches actually

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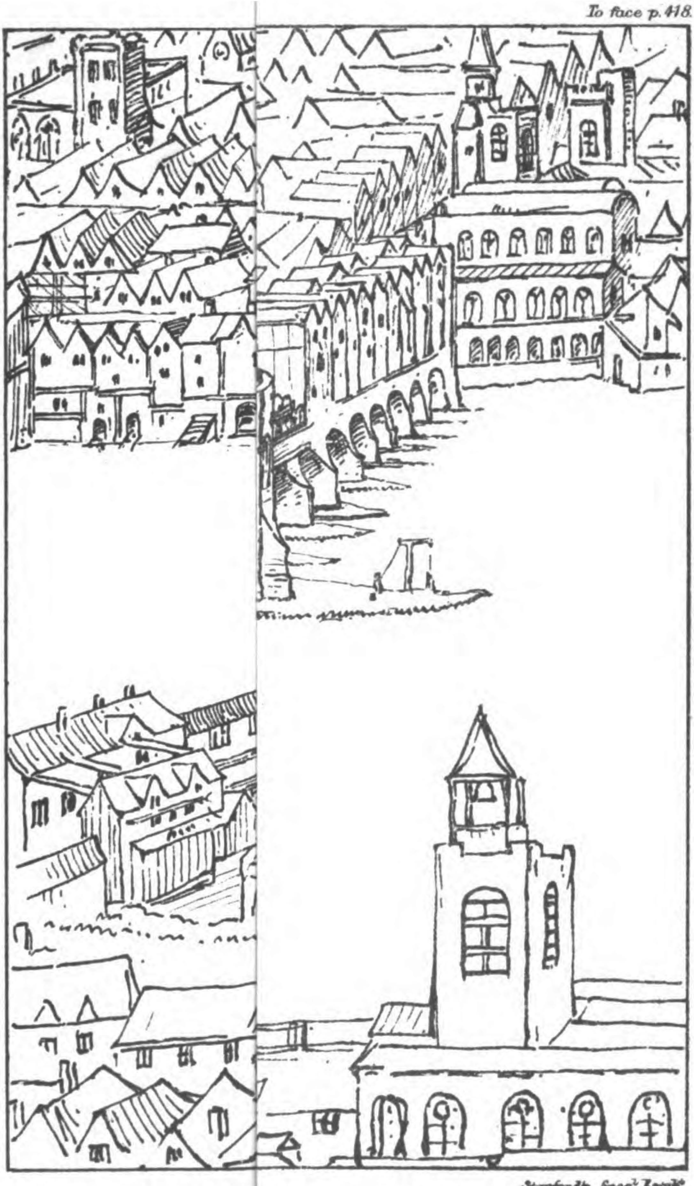
* I have failed to trace the first use of this word. In the controversies of the reign of George III. it came into use to distinguish the mayor, aldermen and common council from the livery at large.



Stanford's Geog. Estab.

built over the outfall of the old tidal estuary, which now, as the Fleet sewer, discharges a certain amount of the surface drainage, and occasionally betrays its existence after heavy rains or a sudden thaw.

Other great improvements and alterations followed. The completion of St. Paul's, the last of a long series of churches and public buildings which were rebuilt after the great fire, seems to have given leisure and money for other work, and the last year of the life of our second Hanoverian king saw the final removal of the old defences. The plans of Mylne were accepted for Blackfriars Bridge, and the first pile driven with civic ceremony in June 1760; and in the same month the Court of Common Council empowered a committee to take measures, under an act passed in the previous year, for widening the streets. The gates were pulled down, though some of them were nearly new, and the materials sold, and now the antiquary has to seek diligently for the slightest fragment of the wall which in days gone by had so often saved London. Little of Roman work remained, but here and there were the flat Roman bricks. Of the gothic archways only one had survived, namely, Cripplegate, though it was in wretched condition, and had been repaired and altered several times. Newgate had been frequently rebuilt, and subsisted until 1777. But Ludgate, which was also used as a prison, stood more in the way and was pulled down and the materials sold for 148*l*., all except a statue of queen Elizabeth, which had been set up at one of the frequent rebuildings, and which was removed to Fleet Street. There, somewhat restored, it still stands near St. Dunstan's Church.*

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* Aldgate, which had been rebuilt in 1606, was sold for 177*l*. 10*s*. Cripplegate only fetched 91*l*. Moorgate had been rebuilt in 1672, Aldersgate about the same time, and a new Bishopsgate had only been finished a few years before its final removal.

But besides removing the gates a still more serious change was carried out. Old London Bridge had long been the chief pride of the citizens. Snorro Sturlesen, a foreign visitor, writing in the thirteenth century, observed that the bridge was so wide that two carriages if they met could pass each other. Peter, the curate of St. Mary Colechurch, in Cheap, was a great engineer and architect. He perched his own church on arches to be out of the way of the fine buildings he erected for the canons of St. Thomas. The building of London Bridge in stone had been preceded by the wooden bridge he made in 1163, a little further to the eastward. Nothing can give a better idea of the size of Peter's piers than the fact the ninth contained a chapel, dedicated, like the hospital of his patrons, to St. Thomas of Canterbury. The chapel was sixty-five feet long, twenty feet wide and forty high; the roof was supported by fourteen clustered columns, and there were eight windows. In a lower chapel or crypt was the grave and monument of Peter himself: and there were two entrances, one from the "street" on the bridge, and one from the river below. At the suppression of chantries, four chaplains belonged to St. Thomas's, London Bridge. This ninth pier was as nearly as possible in the middle of the bridge, and the chapel looked to the east. There were twenty arches in all, of various sizes, and the rush of water through them, especially at high tides, made the navigation very dangerous.* Peter was thirty-three years carrying out the work, or two years less than the time Wren was employed upon St Paul's.

The houses on London Bridge were several times destroyed by fire and as often rebuilt, the whole effect in the fifteenth century being very magnificent. It had begun to decay at the time van den Wyngaerde sketched his view, but even then justified the proverb, "as fine as London Bridge," which was in common use. The Ponte Vecchio in Florence is the only building left in Europe which gives us an idea of what it was like,* but its great length, the size of the stone towers and gates, the picturesque wooden houses, projecting over the piers, the three "vacancies," with their wrought-iron grates whence people could view the passage of the boats up and down the river, and whence, as we have seen, they could, when so disposed, molest the passengers, the waterwheels under some of the arches, the locks under others, the drawbridge, must have made London Bridge one of the most picturesque relics of antiquity in the city.† Only the houses as far as the first vacancy at the northern end were burnt in 1666: but before another century had elapsed, it was found impossible to leave it unchanged. Much precious merchandise and many lives were lost shooting the arches. The traffic across the bridge was impeded by the houses. In 1754 it was found that their annual rent ‡ did not amount to a thousand pounds. An act of parliament was obtained and all were cleared away, while two piers were demolished and a wider water-way 'made by throwing a single arch across the space thus gained. The carriage-way was widened to 31 feet, which was thought an immense boon though it compares strangely with the width of the roadway of the present bridge which is found inadequate.

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* It was calculated that of the whole waterway, there about 900 feet at low water, the piers occupied 700.

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* I regret to hear that it has been resolved to remove the houses on the Ponte Vecchio.

† The views by E. W. Cook, R.A., may be seen at the Guildhall Library.

‡ It was 828*l.* 6*s.*

At length in 1823 a new bridge was decided on. In July the necessary powers were obtained from parliament, and the work was commenced in the following March. It was completed in 1831, and cost less than half a million, though the approaches, which had to be made through old streets, raised the whole expense to a million and a half. Rennie was the architect and it is allowed by every one that London Bridge as it stands now is a credit to the city. Instead of the old twenty arches there are but five, and the roadway over them is almost level. Hardly any perceptible obstruction is caused to the tide or stream by the narrow and compact piers. Already it is found insufficient for the traffic, and various proposals have been made for widening it, none of them, so far, of a kind to be recommended. The space between Fishmongers' Hall and St. Magnus' church will not admit of the obvious idea of doubling the present width without the destruction of one or other or, perhaps, both. Yet something must soon be done, for the traffic which consisted even ten years ago of 116,000 vehicles a week, is increasing; the freeing of Southwark Bridge, which had been opened in 1819, and the rebuilding of Blackfriars Bridge have only demonstrated that some way across the river below London is what is needed.

The first two kings of the house of Hanover almost effaced themselves, so far as personal power was concerned. George III., with perhaps less capacity than either, was determined to revive the prerogative of the crown so far as he thought he could do it with safety. His accession was marked by the usual addresses of congratulation, and people observed with pleasure that the young king was born an Englishman. George may have thought that this fact, and the total disappearance of such dangers from Jacobite pretenders as had menaced his predecessors, would have enabled him to ignore the results of the revolution, and assume a personal sovereignty which, as he soon found, was incompatible with the re-established liberty of his subjects. His favourite minister, lord Bute, was more unpopular in the city than any other statesman since the Cabal. When the elder Pitt resigned, a year after the young king's accession, the Court of Common Council prepared an address of thanks for the results of his administration, and added, after very slight opposition, an expression of regret at his removal from office. But the king was not to be warned by these expressions of displeasure at his policy. The Test Act, in keeping up a feeling of irritation, and excluding eligible dissenters from filling civic office, had been partially disarmed by an annual bill of indemnity under Walpole's administration, but its rigours were now again put in force, and three elected sheriffs were successively set aside between 1760 and 1762. On the other hand, the ignorant mob which had howled a few years before at the prosecution of a foolish high church preacher named Sacheverell, now kept the city in constant dread by fanatical outbreaks, when the destruction of life and property was only put down by sanguinary reprisals and wholesale executions. The irritable temper of the lower ranks was fanned into a flame by the injudicious measures of Bute; and a citizen of discreditable antecedents, but undeniable powers, named Wilkes, in a publication which, in derision of the Scottish minister, he entitled the *North Briton*, brought matters to a crisis. Pitt, in spite of his haughty demeanour, was the darling of the citizens. "When the dismissed statesman went to the Guildhall, the Londoners hung on his carriage wheels, hugged his footmen, and even kissed his horses."* They had stood by him in his long struggle with Newcastle, and now, though he took little part in the contest, they hated Bute for his sake.

The popularity of Pitt, and his great city supporter, Beckford, was transferred for a while vicariously to Wilkes. How far he was worthy of the people's favour, in spite of his winning manners, appears from many anecdotes. Boswell describes the spell he threw over Dr. Johnson, and every one who has heard of him has heard of the social powers of which, in spite of his ugly face and his squint, he boasted, when he said that with half an hour's start he could excel the handsomest man in Europe in winning hearts. The original object of his attacks on Bute was, as he often cynically avowed, the attainment of a pension or an office under government. He had squandered the fortune left him by his father, an honest wine merchant in St. John's Square, Clerkenwell, and is reported to have said of the government that if they did not find employment for him, he was disposed to find it for them. And he succeeded. When, during an enforced absence on the continent, he was asked by Madame de Pompadour, "How far may an Englishman go in abuse of the royal family and the court?" he replied promptly, "I do not quite know, but I am trying to find out."

The forty-fifth number of the *North Briton* was one of these attempts. It had national and constitutional results far beyond its merits. It consisted in a criticism on the speech from the throne at the opening of Parliament in 1763, and was considered so scurrilous, that the ministry issued a general warrant for the arrest of all concerned in its production and publication. Forty-eight printers, publishers, and other tradesmen were speedily swept up and thrown into gaol. Finally Wilkes himself was arrested and sent to the Tower. But, by the operation of a writ of Habeas Corpus, he was immediately brought out again, and chief justice Pratt, before whom he was taken, set him at liberty. The whole practice of issuing general warrants was at once on its trial. Pitt, though he regarded Wilkes with contempt, spoke against them, while acknowledging that in time of war he had used them himself. Before the end of the year they were specially condemned by the judgment of the Court of Common Pleas, and Wilkes recovered 1000*l.* against the under-secretary of state for the seizure of his papers. Meanwhile the sheriffs, acting upon the orders of the House of Commons, proceeded to burn No. 45 of the *North Briton* before the Royal Exchange; but the mob attacked the officiating hangman, rescued the paper, and assailed the sheriffs so violently that they had to retire. Riots broke out in various places, and a jack boot—in a rough spirit of punning upon the cockney pronunciation of the name of lord Bute—was solemnly hanged and burnt at Temple Bar.

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* Green, iv. 215.

During the years that followed Wilkes's popularity increased rather than diminished. The city, it is true, declined to elect him to Parliament, but the voters of Middlesex returned him at the head of the poll in the hustings at Brentford.* The House of Commons refused to receive him, but he was returned again and again. The lord mayor that year, Samuel Turner, was known to oppose him, and the windows of the Mansion House were broken. For safety in the streets it was necessary that even casual passengers and foreigners should chalk "45" on their hats. The ministers and the king were furious. Wilkes had been declared an outlaw, and he was summoned before the King's Bench, fined 1000*l.*, and condemned to imprisonment. But twenty times the amount was at once subscribed. Plate, wine, household goods, purses of money, and every possible token of sympathy were showered upon the prisoner. A chandler sent him forty-five dozen of candles. *Wilkes's Head* was the favourite signboard, and long afterwards he used to relate that he overheard an old lady say of him, "He swings everywhere but where he ought." The hopeful prince of Wales, afterwards regent and king, as George IV., is said to have shown his rebellious disposition already, and on one occasion, after he had incurred his father's anger and was in disgrace, is reported to have put his head in at the door of the king's apartment and shouted defiantly "Wilkes and liberty."

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* Vol. ii. chapter xv.

The king's popularity was further damaged in the city by an event which took place in 1770. The previous year Wilkes had been elected alderman of Farringdon Without, and William Beckford, who had ruled as lord mayor in 1762, was chosen a second time for the same high office. When, in May 1770, the House of Commons not only refused Wilkes leave to sit, but put in his place a Colonel Luttrel, whom he had defeated at the poll, the Court of Common Council called on lord mayor Beckford to take a remonstrance, couched in very moderate terms, to the king. George did not conceal his displeasure, and the lord mayor, now a very old man, addressed him in a short but respectful speech,* in which he pointed out to the king the loyalty of the citizens, and assured him that whoever, "by false insinuations and suggestions," had alienated his majesty's affection from the city of London was an enemy to his person and family, a violator of the public peace, and a betrayer of the principles established at the glorious revolution.

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* Much doubt has been thrown on this occurrence. Horne Took has been credited with the composition of Beckford's speech; and it has even been asserted strongly that Beckford never delivered it. But a subsequent refusal to allow him to speak to the king goes to prove the truth of the story, which I cannot persuade myself to reject.

These brave words were received by George III. with impatience. No reply was vouchsafed, and when shortly afterwards the lord mayor attended at court with an address of formal congratulation on the birth of one of George's numerous children, he was not admitted to the presence chamber until a lord in waiting had ascertained that no speech was to be made.* Although Beckford's boldness was highly applauded by a vast majority of the citizens, it encountered strong criticism at the hands of a large party in the corporation, yet the recorder, Eyre, who had refused to sign the address of remonstrance, was summoned before the Common Council and declared incapable of any further interference in civic affairs.† A second address was presented in November, to which the king returned a sullen reply, refusing to comply with the prayer of the petition for a dissolution of Parliament. Brass Crosby, who was now lord mayor, was fully as patriotic and spirited as Beckford, and had to suffer for his opinions. The House of Commons at that time, as is well known, did not permit the publication of the debates. They were reported, chiefly by memory, and printed in various periodicals with fictitious names, the monthly reports in the 'Gentleman's Magazine' being esteemed the best, and attributed to the famous Dr. Johnson.* The house took deep offence at reports in some of the daily papers. Two printers named Wheble and Thompson were summoned to the bar of the house but did not attend, and the serjeant-at-arms proceeded to the city to seize them, but ineffectually. The government issued a proclamation to arrest them. Finally Wheble was brought by an informer before the alderman then sitting at the Guildhall, who happened to be no other than John Wilkes. He treated the proclamation as waste-paper, and not only set Wheble at liberty, but bound him over to prosecute his captor, who was subsequently fined and imprisoned. Miller, the printer of the *Evening Post*, was arrested by a messenger of the House of Commons. Miller knew the law apparently better than Wheble. He immediately sent for a constable and gave the messenger into custody. Meanwhile Wilkes had been reinforced at the Guildhall by the lord mayor, Brass Crosby, and by Richard Oliver, another alderman. They instantly discharged Miller, and obliged the messenger to give bail for his appearance to answer for having violated the liberty of a citizen.

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* Beckford's conduct on this occasion may remind the reader of the speech of Fitz-Thomas to a very similar king at St. Paul's in 1265. (See above, chapter v.)

† He shortly afterwards resigned, being made chief baron of the Exchequer—no doubt as a reward from the court party for his behaviour in the recordership.

The excitement in the city was tremendous, and was not much allayed by the next move of the ministry and the House of Commons. The lord mayor and alderman Oliver were ordered to attend at the bar. Wilkes was summoned too, but refused to enter the House except as member for Middlesex. The House upon this specially named the following day for his attendance, and, in order to avoid raising the question, immediately

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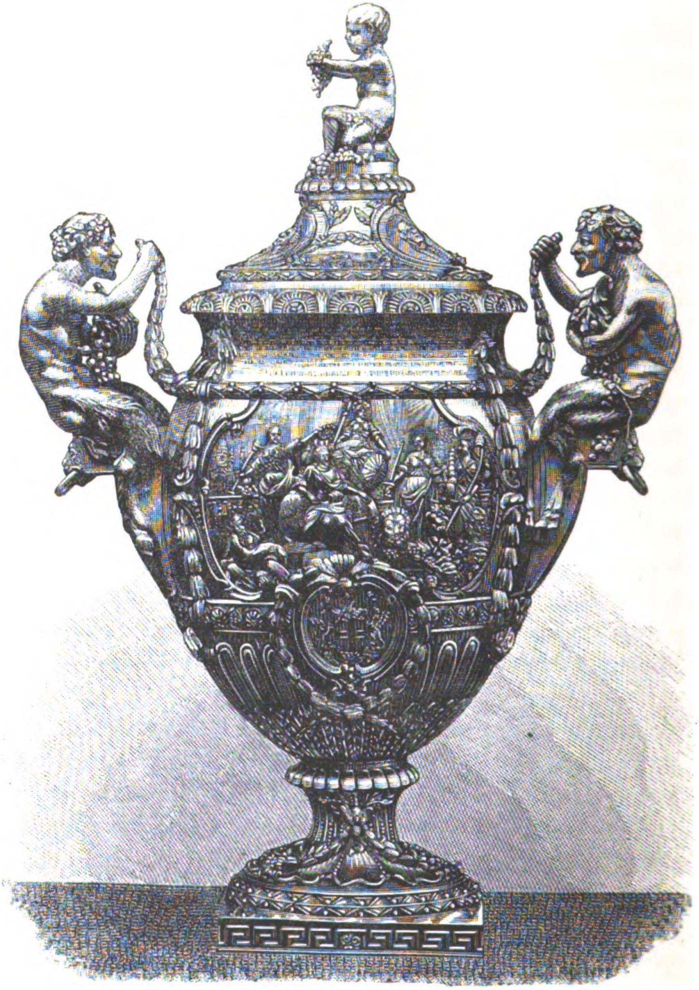
* Boswell's 'Life,' i. Dr. Johnson's opinion on the ministry is in vol. iv. "Such a bunch of imbecility never disgraced the country. If they sent a messenger into the city to take up a printer, the messenger was taken up instead of the printer, and committed by the sitting alderman."



LORD MAYOR CROSBY'S CUP.

To face p. 429, Vol. I.

adjourned till the day but one after: but the lord mayor and the alderman were conveyed to the Tower of London and remained there till after the end of the session.

At this time, as has been often pointed out,* the House of Commons represented, not the nation but the ministry. There was reason for the exclusion of a man of Wilkes's character: but the adjournment, with the imprisonment of Crosby and Oliver, shows that the temper of the House was not only unreasonable but tyrannical and cowardly. It feared to face Wilkes, but it did not fear to make fresh martyrs to the popular cause, and the result only brought the feeling of the citizens into greater prominence. When the session was over the prisoners were released from the Tower. Some days previously it had been resolved by the Common Council to organise a great demonstration in their honour. Accordingly the members attended on Tower Hill in fifty-three carriages, the artillery company forming a guard of honour, and firing a salute of twenty-one guns. The lord mayor, entering his state coach, proceeded, amid the loudest acclamations, to the Mansion House in solemn procession,† and nothing was omitted that could mark the temper of the city. But George III. was not to be taught by such demonstrations. The citizens over and over again protested against the policy which was driving the North American provinces into rebellion. To their most respectful addresses on the subject George returned the briefest and most contemptuous replies. The citizens had commenced by addressing the House of Commons. They next presented a petition to the Lords. Wilkes was now mayor (1775), and we may believe very cheerfully undertook the duty of addressing the king. The remonstrance was couched in respectful terms, and was of the common sense character that might be expected. Mercantile men were naturally alarmed at the interruption of trade. Politicians saw the futility of the military arrangements. Humane men were disgusted at the fratricidal war. But the king's reply took no notice of such considerations. "It is with the utmost astonishment," he exclaimed, "that I find any of my subjects capable of encouraging the rebellious disposition which unhappily exists in some of my colonies in North America." He went further, and declared through the lord chamberlain that he would not receive "any addresses, remonstrance, or petition, but from the body corporate of the city." Wilkes in reply wrote to say that "the full body corporate never assemble, nor could they legally act together as one great aggregate body." Their duties were exercised by the civic delegates assembled in common hall. Two legal opinions on the subject were enclosed, and the lord mayor, in the clearest and most uncompromising manner, asserted the rights of the citizens; "I presume," he wrote, "to lay claim, on behalf of the livery of London, to the ancient privilege of presenting to the king on the throne any address, petition, or remonstrance."

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* See full account of this affair in Mr. Trevelyan's 'Early Life of Fox.'

† The scene is engraved on a magnificent silver vase, which was presented to Brass Crosby, and is still in the possession of his family, who kindly permitted me to inspect it.

The full drift of the king's action in this matter was well understood. Wilkes did not hesitate in his letter to the lord chamberlain to denounce it as only worthy of the Stuarts, and to recall the fate of that "Tarquin race," as he described them. He concluded with a further appeal in favour of the Americans, and as soon as he had read his letter to the assembly in the Guildhall, it was resolved that whoever advised the king to refuse to receive an address from the lord mayor was an enemy, and that unless the king "hears the petitions of his subjects, the right of petitioning is nugatory." They immediately went on to draw up a new "address, remonstrance and petition," to be presented by the lord mayor, aldermen, and livery, on the importance of the crisis in American affairs. They expressed their disapprobation of "this fatal war," and went on to say that "if anything could add to the alarm of these events it is your majesty's having declared your confidence in the wisdom of men, a majority of whom are notoriously bribed to betray their constituents and their country." The sheriffs were then sent to ask when the king would receive the address. He replied, "At the next levee." They informed him that the livery had determined not to present it "unless your majesty shall be pleased to receive it sitting on the throne." To which the king answered "I am the judge where." When this reply was brought to the lord mayor he declined to attend the levee, and called a meeting in the Guildhall to receive the sheriffs' account of their interview. There was nothing to be done except to direct the members for the city formally to enquire who were the king's advisers.

These events took place towards the end of June, and on the 7th July an address was resolved upon by the corporation, "praying that his majesty would be pleased to suspend hostilities against our fellow subjects in America." This time the king thought it better to receive the lord mayor with due respect, but his reply to the remonstrance was brief and ill-tempered.

The last event of Wilkes's mayoralty was the reception of a letter from the congress assembled at Philadelphia, thanking the citizens of London for their efforts on behalf of peace. The disastrous effect of George's policy soon became apparent, and though Wilkes in many respects fails to impress us as a true patriot, it must be allowed that his conduct on this occasion well befitted the successor of Walter Hervey, of Gregory Rokesley, and of William Beckford.

George III., as long as his reason remained to him, continued to disregard the remonstrances of the citizens, and learned nothing by his constant experience, as time went on, of the wisdom of the warnings they addressed to him. The Gordon riots in 1780 gave him an opportunity of insulting them. The city was occupied by soldiers, who had orders to disarm all persons and detain their arms. The dissatisfaction which followed was so strong that on the opening of Parliament a kind of lame apology had to be made in the speech from the throne. Yet the city remained loyal, and on George's escape from assassination in 1788, and his recovery from the first attack of insanity in the following year, presented to him addresses breathing fervent affection for himself and his dynasty. On St. George's Day, accompanied by both Houses of Parliament, and having been duly received by the lord mayor at Temple Bar, he went to St. Paul's and attended a thanksgiving service. "The more than triumphal entry of a beloved sovereign," we are told, "filled the mind with the most sublime ideas."

John Wilkes lost some of his influence as a popular leader when, in 1779, he accepted the office of chamberlain and resigned his aldermanry. From this time his name appears but seldom in the city annals. As age approached he became more decorous in his habits. At

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* Allen, ii. 101.

his death, in 1797, he was buried in the cemetery attached to Grosvenor Chapel in South Audley Street, in which for some years he had rented a pew. His epitaph describes him as "John Wilkes, a friend to liberty."

The very year of Wilkes' death the king again refused to receive a petition from the livery, presented by the lord mayor and sheriffs, on the ground that he "received addresses on the throne from the city as a corporate body only." Twenty years had made little change in his character. The ministry of the duke of Portland was exceedingly unpopular, not only in the city, but also in Westminster, where meetings were held to censure it. The citizens were, however, by no means unanimous. Lord Lauderdale, who had become a "citizen and needle-maker" for the purpose, presented himself as a candidate for the office of sheriff, and expected the support of the popular party. He was, however, disappointed and did not even venture to go to the poll. There was strong rivalry at the time between the livery and the members of the Common Council, but in 1799, when the king again refused to receive a petition from the liverymen, an attempt was made to reconcile their conflicting interests, and the petition, which prayed the king to summon a parliament, was adopted and presented by the Court of Common Council. The government of William Pitt was, on the whole, popular with all classes in the city. The war policy of the great minister was warmly supported. Volunteers swarmed in the streets, and the king was well received when he reviewed them. The death of Nelson and his burial in St. Paul's, the celebration of the "king's jubilee," or the commencement of the fiftieth year of his long reign, and various other events of the kind, form the civic annals of the early part of the nineteenth century. But 1809 saw another outbreak of dissatisfaction. The wretched results of the Walcheren expedition caused great indignation, and an address of remonstrance against the ministers was presented. To this George replied as of old. "He was the best judge," he said, "of the measures adopted by the executive." The livery then drew up a petition. He refused to receive it, but mitigated his refusal by a reference to the failure of his sight. Possibly the old madness was felt to be returning a second time. He never again enjoyed an opportunity of insulting the citizens. After a few months his true condition could no longer be concealed. It was rumoured in October 1811 that something was wrong. Many people had forgotten the short attack twenty-one years before. In November a letter from the secretary of state desired the lord mayor to remain in office "until His Majesty's pleasure could be taken on the appointment of his successor." It is difficult to judge whether this was the legal course. At such an unusual crisis many things not to be legally justified were done; but one of the first acts of the prince regent was to receive the mayor and aldermen, and his reply to their address, which consisted, we are told, partly of condolence and partly of congratulation, was a pleasant contrast to the surly expressions with which his father had so often received them. A desire for reform was mentioned in a subsequent address, and various other petitions and remonstrances were presented, but the prince invariably received them with courtesy; and if some of us, who know more of his life than his contemporaries could learn, find it hard to account for his popularity, we must remember how different was his manner from that of the old king, and how pleasant a change it must have been to be treated with deference where experience had taught them to expect only ill-disguised contempt.

The reigns of the father and his unworthy son exemplified to the full the adage that a good man may be a bad king, and a bad man a good king. Chatham, dying, said of the reign of George III. that "his majesty succeeded to an empire as great in extent as its reputation was unsullied. Seventeen years ago this people was the terror of the world." England was seldom reduced to so low a level, but better times were in store. The victories of Nelson and of Wellington were achieved under the rule of the younger Pitt, whom George III. detested, and of Canning, who came into office as the shadow of insanity was beginning to cloud his mind. Thenceforth he lived, indeed, but had wholly disappeared from view for ten long and eventful years before his death in 1820.

Many changes were wrought in the city. The great wealth which, as always in time of war, had come to the merchants, was spent, at least partly, in works of public utility. London led the way, for example, in prison reform. The indefatigable John Howard, a native of Hackney, but a Bedfordshire squire, drew attention to the state of prisons in England and on the continent before the middle of the eighteenth century. He endeavoured to bring some kind of system into their management. The wealthy classes were most anxious to do something, but no one knew what to suggest until Howard came forward. It is curious to read his recommendations. Had we left our prisons in the state to which he thought they should be raised, they would perhaps be more deterrent than they are now as places of punishment. What prisons were before his humane endeavours had succeeded can hardly be believed. The fact is, our population had increased, indeed, nearly doubled, while our accommodation for the pauper and criminal classes was at a stand-still. The old ideal of a London gaol was a kind of tavern, where a prisoner might take his ease until his trial.* If he was very poor he received a dole. If he was rich he could live as he liked. To punish a man for proved crime by imprisonment only was rare. It did not occur to the rulers that mere detention was a punishment. The prisoner had spacious lodgings, a little more costly perhaps than his private house; he could enjoy the company of his family; he could gamble and drink; or like Bunyan at Bedford, he could work for his living if necessary. The stocks, the pillory, and the post were necessary to strike terror into malefactors. But when the population increased, and a man found a gaol to be a house with few rooms and a teeming population of all classes, with few beds, all let at an enormous rate, with a precarious loaf, and poisonous water, the state of a prisoner was much altered. About the same time the authorities began to find that merely to keep a man in gaol was a hideous punishment, as it was only another way for condemning him to a lingering but certain death. Our "sanguinary code," as it was often called, grew out of this dilemma. We still speak of a "gaol delivery." To condemn a man to prison was to condemn him to slow tortures, gaol fever,† and a short life full of misery. The hulks were little better. Slavery in the plantations was looked upon as a merciful relief. The question was brought home to the authorities in an appalling manner in 1750. The lord mayor, Sir Samuel Pennant, died on the 20th May, of gaol fever caught at the Old Bailey during the sessions; and not the lord mayor only, but two judges, Sir Thomas Abney and Baron Clark, three aldermen, the under sheriff, and many lawyers, jurymen, spectators, officers of the court, and of course, many prisoners.

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* Howard's 'State of Prisons,' p. 191.

† Howard states his opinion that the number of prisoners who died of gaol fever was greater than the number of those who were executed.—P. 18.

All the London prisons were bad, but Newgate, though it had been several times rebuilt, acquired a pre-eminent reputation * for unwholesomeness. The calamity of 1750 was only one of a number of similar if less fatal outbreaks of fever. Another lord mayor, Winterbottom, died of fever in 1752. We cannot wonder that Newgate was unwholesome in the middle of the eighteenth century, since, so far back as 1419 there was an entry † made in a letter-book at Guildhall to the effect that the atmosphere of the "heynouse gaol of Newgate" is fetid and corrupt. Sir Richard Whittington was lord mayor at the time, and he endeavoured to do something to mitigate the evil. There had been a separate prison for freemen in Ludgate, but Ludgate had been closed, and all kinds of prisoners, including "citizens and other reputable persons," were committed to Newgate, and many died "who might have been living if they had remained in Ludgate, abiding in peace there." Three years later, at his death, Whittington left money to effect an improvement, "seeing that every person is sovereignly bound to support and be tender of the lives of men," as it is said in his will. The prison thus improved was in

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* Howard mentions Newgate, the Fleet, Ludgate (a new prison so-called in Bishopsgate Street), Poultry and Wood Street Compters, Bridewell, New Clerkenwell Prison, Clerkenwell Bridewell, Whitechapel Debtors' Prison, Tower Hamlets Gaol in Wellclose Square ("This prison is at a public-house, kept by an honest Swede"), St. Catherine's, the Savoy, Tothill Fields Bridewell, Westminster Gatehouse, the King's Bench Prison in Southwark, the Marshalsea, the Borough Compter, the new Borough Gaol, and the Surrey Bridewell.

† Riley, 'Memorials,' p. 677.

existence at the time Howard wrote. The builders, he reports, seem to have regarded in their plan nothing but the single article of keeping prisoners in safe custody. What must the old one have been like if this was the condition of the improved prison? Howard complains that the rooms and cells were so close as to be constant sources of infection. Already, however, the citizens had determined on building a new gaol, but he was not satisfied with it, especially as the old cells for felons condemned to death were to be retained—cells of such a character that "criminals who had affected an air of boldness during their trial, and appeared quite unconcerned at the pronouncing sentence upon them, were struck with horror, and shed tears when brought to these darksome solitary abodes." *

This old prison subsisted till it was burnt by the Gordon rioters in 1780, the present gaol, which had been founded a few years before, being then in part completed on the southern or Old Bailey side of the gate. The last public act of lord mayor Beckford's life was to lay the foundation-stone of the new buildings. He caught a chill from which at his advanced age he could not rally, and died three weeks later, 21st June, 1770.

In spite of Beckford's and Howard's efforts, Newgate continued for many years longer a disgrace to London. Every humane person who saw the condemned cells spoke of them with horror. When Neald, another philanthropist, visited the prison in 1815 he reported that half the prisoners, and especially the women, were miserably poor, and scarcely covered with rags. It was the custom to try prisoners on a Friday, so as to give the convicts twenty-four hours longer in the world, as Sunday was not counted a legal day, and the modern

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* P. 152.

six weeks reprieve was unthought of even by the most humane. There is a curious picture in the 'Microcosm,' by Pugin and Rowlandson,* which represents the interior of the chapel on the Sunday intervening between trial Friday and execution Monday. It shows eleven felons, two of them women, in a kind of central pew, painted black. In the middle of the pew is a table, on the table is a coffin.

The Gordon rioters made very short work of old Newgate. Dr. Johnson describes the scene in one of his letters. The Protestant rioters went about their task very methodically, but were quite unmolested. They were allowed to act "without trepidation, as men lawfully employed in full day. Such," reflects Dr. Johnson, "is the cowardice of a commercial place." The gaol fever was not eradicated by the fire. Thirteen years after his followers had destroyed the old prison Lord George Gordon himself died of gaol fever in Newgate, having been imprisoned for a libel.

The benevolent work of Mrs. Elizabeth Fry and other disciples of Howard commenced about this time, and in 1817 the coffin was dismissed from the chapel table and some attempt at classifying the prisoners was made. Mrs. Fry taught the women to knit stockings and other articles that by selling them their prison fare might be improved. What it was may be guessed when as late as 1825, a visitor is equally surprised and pleased to find that a regular allowance of food has begun to be made from city funds.

From that day to this improvement has gone steadily forward. The city prison is at Coldbath Fields, and is a model institution. Newgate is only used as a temporary house of detention for prisoners awaiting trial, who are conveyed by a subterranean passage into the dock at the Old Bailey, where the Sessions House now occupies all the ground on which the old College of Surgeons, with its dissecting rooms, the destined end of so many lodgers in the adjoining building, used to stand.

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* Vol. ii. p. 208. Several other views of gaols and bridewells may be seen in the same book, which was published in 1809. The combination of the artists was very fortunate.

The prison of Newgate is interesting as an example of a building designed for a special purpose, and eminently satisfactory from an architectural point of view. There can be no doubt that it is a prison, just as there can be no doubt that St. Paul's is a Christian place of worship. Dance, the architect, deserves the credit of having built a perfectly simple but perfectly suitable façade, the more so as though it is three hundred feet long, it has no windows, except in the central part, which is the gaoler's house. The height is only fifty feet, yet the effect is that of a Norman keep. The statues, removed from the old gate, are somewhat incongruous, but the festoons formed of fetters are, if a little grotesque, extremely effective.

At the coronation of George IV. the lord mayor figured prominently. In the Abbey he stood beside the throne, and at the subsequent banquet he filled the old office of butler and received the ancient fee.* But the popularity which had been accorded to the Prince Regent was not continued to George IV. He had long forfeited the respect of those of his subjects who were most often brought into contact with him, and now sought adulation in Scotland and Ireland. The citizens warmly espoused the cause of queen Caroline. When the divorce bill was proposed, the corporation addressed her with words of sympathy, and when it was finally withdrawn, received her in state when she came to St. Paul's to return public thanks. Her chief councillor and support seems to have been alderman Matthew Wood, who had been twice lord mayor,* and was much beloved by the citizens. He lived in South Audley Street, and his house was used by the unhappy queen when she came to London. Eminent citizens had now ceased to live habitually in the city, and the great extension of building in all directions, but especially in Bloomsbury, which preceded the peace in 1815, commenced again after a very few years' interval. The change was already beginning which has transformed London. The great palaces of Queen Victoria Street and Lombard Street are inhabited only during the day, and the shopkeepers who live over their shops are few and far between. When the queen died, a few weeks later, it fell to the share of another eminent alderman as sheriff to escort her remains across the country. This was Robert Waithman, to whose courage and coolness it was due that the 14th August, 1821, did not become the date of a frightful riot, if not of a massacre. Unlike Wood, Waithman lived over his place of business, and an obelisk in what is now Ludgate Circus, was set up opposite his house as a testimonial.

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* See above, p. 217.

The whole character of the city has changed since that time. The population has declined, the population that is, which lives permanently within the old boundaries. It was reduced to little over a hundred thousand in 1861, and is now only half that number. At the same time the rateable value has increased. Streets of brick have become streets of granite. Houses have become palaces. London at the present day rivals Venice in her prime. True, much of the architectural display is unsatisfactory.

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* In 1815 and 1816. He was made a baronet in 1837, and was father of Lord Hatherley, and grandfather of Sir Evelyn Wood.

Too many fronts look as if the builder's object was to spend a sum of money without reference to propriety of or proportion of design. But intermingled with such failures we find many examples to show that art is now at a higher level than at any other time since Wren died. The corporation has done much for its own city; but it has not stayed its hands at the city boundaries. It has not only rendered London a model for cleanliness, light, water, and locomotion and health among the cities of the world, but also has made to the poorer suburbs such magnificent gifts as Burnham Beeches and Epping Forest, as Coulsdon Common and Wanstead Park, True, these advantages may be bought too dear. It is possible that the fall of the corporation of London, however undeserved, may produce no evil results, and lead to no abuses greater than those that now exist, but to judge by the examples of Paris and New York, this is most unlikely. There are certain things which need to be reformed. The parochial charities, for instance, might be utilised more frequently and widely than at present. The upper class of citizens might be inclined more frequently to serve as aldermen and sheriffs.* The terms of admission to the franchise might be revised. The other city companies might be called upon to do work similar to that carried on by the goldsmiths and fishmongers. In short there are many things on which the pressure of public opinion will in time make a change: but the measures, so far as they are known, which seem to be under consideration now, are not so much calculated to improve existing institutions as to remove a body which had political enemies on account of its age, its wealth, and above all its freedom. Coercion and corruption cannot be applied to London electors as things are now constituted. The suburbs of London are exceeded in good government, cleanliness, and health only by the city of London itself, and by no other city in the kingdom. The change will probably mean a great increase in the rates all over the territory of the new municipality, as before the new constitution has got into working order there will be an immense waste of money and of time.* In fact it needs no sagacity, nothing but the smallest experience, to see that the advantages, whatever they may be, of the change, will not accrue to the generation which makes it, and if only thirty years are consumed in fighting over again the battles which the citizens fought and settled in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, their children will be more fortunate than were their ancestors.

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* See above in this chapter for the example of an earl who was a candidate for the shrievalty.

The many advantages which accrue to the suburbs at large from the existence in their midst of a body wealthy enough to try great sanitary experiments, to make expensive inquiries into the food supply, to maintain great public charities, to relieve ratepayers in the administration of justice, are perhaps hardly appreciated at their full value. When the lord mayor is dethroned,† and the money which enables him and his colleagues to do these great things is thrown into the common fund it will be too late to look back with regret to the employment of thousands in such arts as upholstery or cookery, which the reformers profess to despise, but which nevertheless enable many very estimable people to earn their livelihood. The political independence of the city has made it, much more than the universities, a leader in public opinion, especially where great constitutional questions are involved. London carried reform. London abolished the corn laws. London admitted Jews to Parliament. It would be easy to show by a review of the history of the past forty years how great and how good has been the influence of our city on the opinion of the country at large; but I pause here, unwilling to enter into questions of contemporary politics.

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* The example of the school board is in point here.

† It is obvious that the mayoralty as it is now must be abolished if the Corporation is extended; else we should have a prince among us who would rank next to the queen, and exercise an authority beyond that of any other subject. England could not brook such a monarchy within her own.

The unwritten constitution of the city has, as we have had occasion to see, varied at different times. I have endeavoured to avoid legal terms as much as possible and have refrained, as far as I could, from descriptions of the various charters which the citizens have received from the crown. In concluding this part of my work, I would venture to point out that a common expression on this subject is erroneous. There is no historical warrant for saying that the liberties of London are founded on royal charters.* On the contrary, the numerous charters, from that of William the Conqueror to the Act of William and Mary, did not so much grant liberties as define and limit them. The most the Norman could offer the city was its original liberty. Since Magna Charta that liberty had been the birthright of every Englishman, but for centuries it had only existed in the city of London.

There have been several commissions on the subject, but so far nothing has been done to change the old constitution. When most of the municipalities were reformed in 1835, London, though it had reluctantly received the commissioners, was excepted. Lord John Russell proposed to legislate in 1837, but the strong show of opposition in the city induced him to abandon the idea. In 1854 a commission was appointed on the subject ; and their report is a very interesting document. London, it said, has no governing charter, in which respect it differs from many of the English corporations. The commission went on to remark that it was doubtful whether a general act of parliament would be effective as against a city usage or custom unless it contained an express mention of London. The tendency of the present day is no doubt against this kind of vagueness, and it is very conceivable that mischief might result from it. But as a matter of fact, there is no part of her majesty's dominions so peaceably ordered as the city, and none in which the inhabitants are better satisfied with their own condition and government.

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* Mr. Firth appears to me to fall into this error in several places; but as his views, though influential, are both inconsistent with history and with each other, I need not discuss them here. His opening sentence runs thus:— 'The charters of the City of London form the basis of its constitution." Chap. i. p. 1.

Government bills were introduced in 1856, 1858 and other years, but were never pressed. Nobody wanted them. The slightest opposition was sufficient to defeat them. Mr. John Stuart Mill had the true republican dislike of anything venerable for its antiquity, and the logician's dislike to anything undefined. During the brief time he sat in parliament probably none of the doctrinaire crotchets he expounded brought him less credit than his persistent attacks on the city. Lord Elcho's bill in 1875 was of a different character, but met with a very cool reception, and it is understood that the noble lord, now earl of Wemyss, has changed his views on the subject : or that having been led to investigate the questions involved, he saw the true character of the attack he had been induced to head.

It may be worth while, in conclusion, to place the present "constitution" before the reader. The lord mayor is the principal ruler of the city. He is annually elected from among the aldermen, who, as a rule approach the chair in the order of seniority, but any alderman may be elected; and occasionally, as in the case of Beckford, an alderman who has already served is requested to do so again. He is also usually chosen from among those aldermen only who have been sheriffs. The election is made on the 29th September, Michaelmas Day, by the liverymen, or members free of the city companies. The elected lord mayor is presented to the lord chancellor who expresses the queen's approbation of the choice made by the citizens: and on the 9th November he is sworn at the Royal Courts of Justice. He has precedence immediately after the sovereign and before the royal family, within the city. In other places he ranks as an earl. He is lord lieutenant of the city; a judge of "Oyer and Terminer"; a justice of the peace; and at a coronation officiates as chief butler. He draws a salary of 10,000*l.*, and has the use of the Mansion House, and of its magnificent furniture and plate: but it is understood that few lord mayors, if any, in recent years have kept their expenditure within these limits.

There are twenty-six aldermen, elected by the several wards, except Bridge Without, the senior member of the court being alderman of that ward. The electors are those persons entitled to the parliamentary franchise. The aldermen are justices of the peace, and their court forms the city bench of magistrates, and grants licenses and admits brokers. It elects the Recorder and the steward of Southwark, and several of the minor officials.

The common council is elected in the several wards; some like Farringdon Without return sixteen members, and others like Bassishaw, four only. Parliamentary voters have the suffrage as in the case of the aldermen. The total number of the common council is 206. They stand towards the city as the house of commons stands to the country at large, and their legislative power within the city is almost as unbounded. There can be no doubt that any reforms needed in the city could be carried into effect by the court of common council without the extraneous assistance of parliament.* The committees of the court do all the work which has made London such an example of healthiness, cleanliness, convenience, and, indeed, magnificence.

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* On a recent occasion Parliament was applied to for leave to take a day census. Leave was refused; but the same measure being proposed, as it should have been at first, to the Court of Common Council, was passed, and carried into effect.

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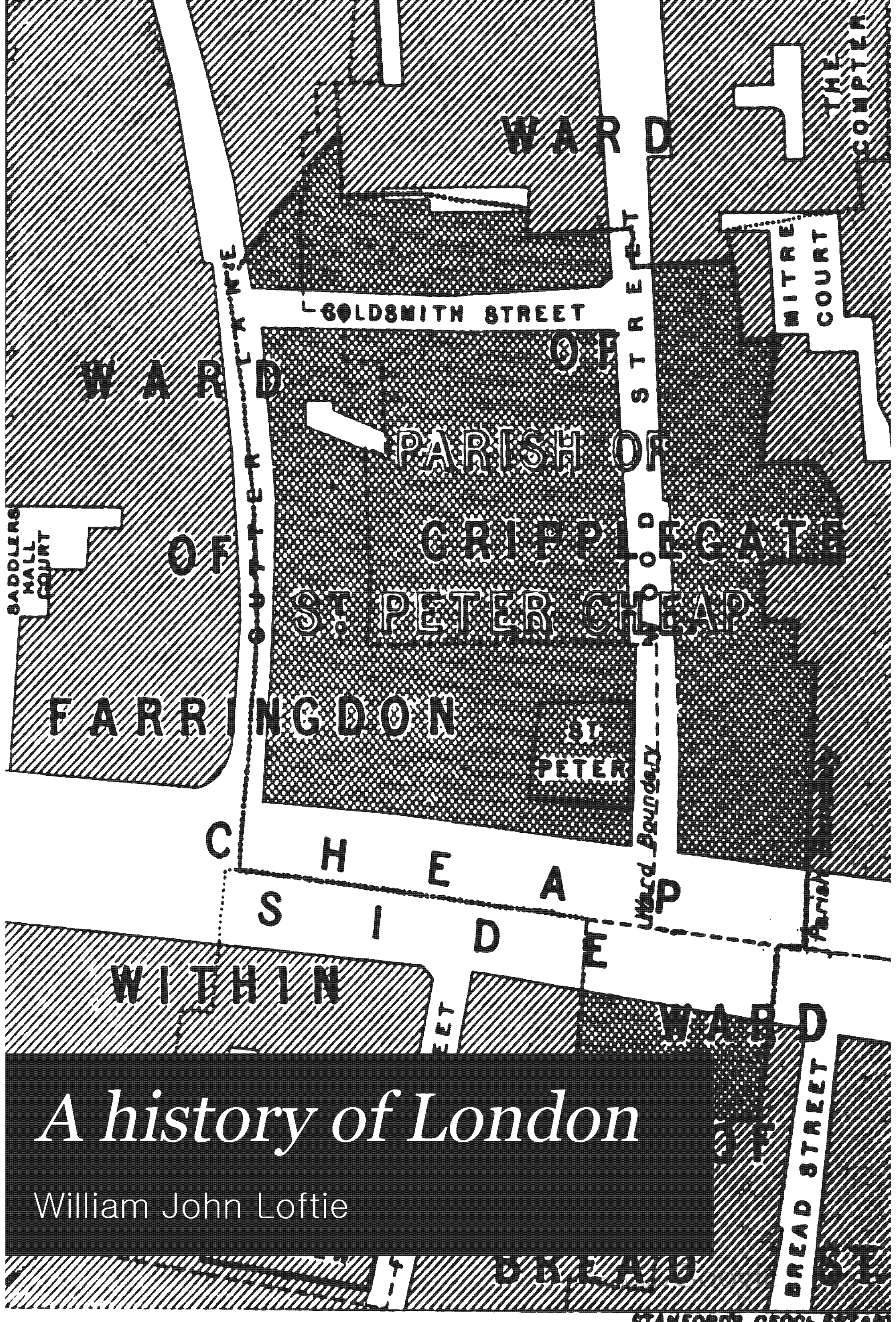
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A history of London

William John Loftie

A

HISTORY OF LONDON.

VOL. II.

A

HISTORY OF LONDON.

BY

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'MEMORIALS OF THE SAVOY,' ETC.

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CHAPTER XV.

MIDDLESEX.

WE know very little about the origin and first settlement of the Middle Saxons, though their name in itself tells us something. It shows us that the tribe which occupied the land between the river Brent and the walls of London was distinct from that which settled itself beyond the Lea. What its original name was we know not. Its situation, after the arrival of the tribe, between Essex and Wessex, the East Saxons and the West Saxons, caused it to assume the new appellation of the Middle Saxons. Beyond this meagre fact, for the Middle Saxons are not named in the Chronicle of the Conquest, we only know that they were very few in number, a mere handful, in a backward state as regards civilisation, chiefly settled along the line of the old Roman roads, and the banks of the Thames, their villages half hidden by the great forest which spread over all the hills from Hampstead to St. Albans. In name, at least, we have still the North Haw and the South Haw: we have still the Highgate and the Southgate, and the Hatch by the Coln: we recognise the oak in Acton and the ash in Ashford, and the thorn in Elthorn. Hounslow and Willesden are in the woods, but there are cleared farms at Harmond's Worth and Isleworth and Hanworth, and open fields at Enfield and Hadley and Finchley. Of the people we learn very little from the local names. The Saxon marks are very sparingly represented. When the "ing" does occur it is generally followed by "ton" or "don," town or down, as in Islington and Arlington, in Hillingdon and Newington, in Kensington and Teddington. Fields and fords and homes and greens are numerous, but Ealing, Yeading, and Charing are alone among the Middle Saxon family names. The population must have been extremely small, even down to the time of the Norman Conquest. If we may judge by the size of the parishes, it is clear that inhabitants were few and far between.

The county was divided, at the time of the Domesday Survey, into six hundreds. Of these the smallest were along the river, namely, Iselworth and Spelthorn. But Ossulston, which extended round the west, north, and east sides of London, was of great size, as were Edmonton, Elthorn, and Gore. We may therefore safely conclude that the population was greater by the river bank, and less to the north and north-west of the city, where the holdings were altogether inland. In modern lists of the hundreds of Middlesex Ossulston has no place. Kensington was an ancient division, formed when the suburbs became populous, with the three other districts of Holborn, Finsbury, and the Tower. The last-named, now the Tower Hamlets, comprised simply the great parish of Stepney, whose very size shows us how few were the inhabitants when parochial boundaries were fixed. The whole number of the tenants-in-chief in Middlesex in 1087 was only twenty-four, and the greater part of the county, in which the king had not a single manor,* was in the hands of the church, the bishop and canons of St. Paul's, the abbeys of Westminster and Barking, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, being the chief landowners.

If we go further and compare the condition of places near the river with places more inland, we find that in Enfield and Isleworth there were exactly the same number of people, namely, 114; but Enfield is five times the size of Isleworth. Where the manors and parishes, for the manors and parishes are nearly always conterminous, are very large, we are justified in assuming that the local population was small. Such places as Harrow, Hanwell, Hendon, and Kingsbury, with a vast area, had little churches and little churchyards, but fed flocks of pigs of enormous size under the beeches and oaks of the adjoining woods. Harrow and Enfield are recorded to have had pannage each for 2000 hogs, 500 were fed at Harmondsworth, and 400 at Hayes. When Fitzstephen writes, in the reign of Henry II., of the "immense forest" and the "densely-wooded thickets" of Middlesex, he uses no exaggeration: and it is told us of Leofric, abbot of St. Albans towards the close of the tenth century, that he caused the trees to be cut away for a distance of thirty feet on each side of the road from London that they should not conceal robbers.

The suppression of the monasteries, which had so great an effect in the city, made little difference to the scattered inhabitants of the country. The priory of Clerkenwell had great estates, but the knights probably had little contact with their farmers at Harefield or Cranford, except to receive their rents. The abbot of the Holy Trinity at Rouen built himself such a barn at Harmondsworth as would enable him to store his tithes for several years at a time.* The archbishop seldom visited Harrow, and his mansion at Headstone was often or generally let.† The villagers of Feltham were little benefited by their land being held from the hospital of St. Giles.‡ There is not an old castle within the boundaries of the county, if we except a part of the Tower of London. There is not a single manor house of the thirteenth, fourteenth, or even the fifteenth century. The clerical and monastic landlords were mainly absentees, and the change of the dissolution was chiefly felt in an immediate extension of the suburbs near the city, and the transformation of the distant and unvisited farms of canons and abbots into the villas of wealthy aldermen. The king, too, acquired in Hampton Court a palace beyond the bounds of St. Margaret's, Westminster, and a few great noblemen came by degrees to form parks and build mansions, like Syon House, or Chiswick, or Canons. The nobility of Middlesex was, however, at first confined to the neighbourhood of London. The Russells have had Covent Garden since 1552, and are therefore the oldest landowners in the county. The Cecils come next, with their estates in the Strand, and after them the Howards, who inherited Arundel House and the surrounding land adjoining the Outer Temple from the Arundels in 1603. But these examples are taken from families who remain in the male line. The Newdegates trace a female descent from Roger de Bacheworth in 1284, whose estate at Harefield is still in their possession. Bordeston, or Boston House has belonged to the Clitherows for two centuries, and they are therefore, outside the suburbs, the oldest of Middlesex families.*

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* See vol. i. chapter iv.

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* It is described and figured by Mr. Hartshorne in the 'Transactions' of the London and Middlesex Society, iv. 417. It is 192 feet in length by 36 feet 9 inches in width, and 39 feet in height.

† There is another immense barn at Headstone, 147 feet 8 inches long by 38 feet 8 inches wide. 'Transactions,' iii. 188.

‡ See below, chapter xxi.

The greatest overflow of the city population took place into the hundred of Ossulston. This hundred, the origin of whose name, Oswulf's Town, has long been forgotten, was very early divided into Kensington, Finsbury, Wenlakesbarn or Holborn, and the Tower Hamlets, which last comprises simply the old parish of Stepney. Most of the "hamlets," such as Wapping, now St. George's-in-the-East, Limehouse, Stratford-le-Bow, Hoxton, and Bethnal Green, have become separated parishes. Few remains of the green country have survived among them. Finsbury is not yet entirely built over. Finsbury-park is a remnant of the ancient hunting-ground of the bishop in Hornsey. Further west there is more open country, and in Willesden and Acton, Drayton and Ealing, there are still thorny hedges and shady lanes in abundance. But the division of Holborn is covered with houses, except where such artificial breathing spaces as the Regent's Park have been preserved. Many attempts were made to restrict the growth of suburbs. Three decrees at least were issued forbidding building in the reign of queen Elizabeth; and her successors, down to Oliver Cromwell, made proclamations to the same effect but without avail.

The first exodus from the city was due to the desire of the aristocracy to find sites for large houses. A survey of the successive migrations of fashion would afford us a complete history of the suburbs. The Belgravias of one age became in turn the St. Giles's of another. A hundred years ago Soho began to decline ; learned rather than fashionable people occupied its decaying palaces. Less than thirty years ago the nomads of good society moved out to Pimlico. Thirty years hence, what will Pimlico be like ? Yet there is nothing capricious in this constant ebb and flow. Four hundred years ago the Strand became fashionable, and it was only in our own day that Northumberland House, the last of the long row of river-side mansions, was removed. The change began with Essex House and Arundel House, and went steadily on, but Somerset House still represents an ancient nobleman's residence. The beautiful gateway at the foot of Buckingham Street, designed by Inigo Jones and executed by Nicholas Stone, still tells of the existence of York Place, where Francis Bacon was born. Within a very few years two immense districts of new houses have sprung up in Belgravia and Bayswater. Fifty years ago, or less, the Five Fields extended from Chelsea to Piccadilly, and hardly a house was to be seen from Millbank to Brompton. Portland Place and the terraces surrounding the Regent's Park, with all the streets between Portman Square and Langham Place, formed the refuge of the movable fashion. A centre which may be placed, according to Sydney Smith, in Grosvenor Square, existed then and exists still. A tract which was published anonymously in 1826 affords some curious information on the alterations then going forward, and shows us how rapidly the town, and many other things with it, have grown since that time.* The writer, for instance, remarks with wonder upon the clumsy semaphore erected in 1816 on the top of the Admiralty, upon "the illuminating power of smoke of coal," and upon the speedy conveyance between

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* Mr. Shirley found no family in Middlesex to fit the requirements of admission to his list of 'Noble and Gentle Men of England,' all of whom held land before Bosworth. See further on in this chapter.

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* 'Short Remarks and Suggestions upon Improvements' (by lord Farnborough), published by Hatchards in Piccadilly, 1826.

Dover and Calais "by means of a kettle of boiling water." But the interest of the tract lies in the opinions of the writer on questions, long since solved, of projected improvement, such as the removal of the Exchequer from Palace Yard and of the stables which abutted on Whitehall Chapel. The "ground lately occupied as the King's Mews is to be converted into a large square," and he suggests that in its centre should be placed an exact imitation of the Parthenon. Of old Buckingham House,* which has since been replaced by the overgrown lath and plaster palace of our own day, he says, "when the foreign princes visited this country in the year 1814, one of them, who had received from us very large sums of money for the prosecution of the revolutionary war, reproached us very contemptuously with the meanness of our royal palaces; it was observed in answer that 'our magnificence was to be seen in our subsidies, not in our palaces.'"

This delightful old anecdote, of what would now be called the real "Jingo" type, undoubtedly points to a feature of London scenery impossible to be overlooked. There is no French or German town whose suburbs have the mean appearance of the outskirts of London. Not our palaces only, but all our streets have the same aspect of genteel poverty, neat ugliness, so to speak, which is caused in great part by the smallness of each particular tenement, the meanness of the materials, and a thoroughly English dislike of show unaccompanied by comfort, which, combined with the inclemency of the climate, make each family anxious, if adornment is thought of at all, to put it within, not without the house.

Great palaces rapidly disappear before rows of small villas; and the neighbourhood of London undergoes, in regular stages, three transformations. The open country is first enclosed in great parks, like those of Gunnersbury, or Stanwell, or Cranford. Next it is broken up into villas like those at Twickenham, or on the site of Belsize Park, or the sides of Highgate Hill. Lastly, it becomes streets and lanes, such as we have seen springing up in our own day at Kensington Gore, at Paddington, and in hundreds of other places.

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* Pine's 'Royal Residences,' vol. ii.

The park and palace stage in Middlesex was preceded by the ecclesiastical. A large proportion of the Middlesex manors belonged before the dissolution to the church. St. Paul's, with its bishop, its dean, and its canons,* owned Fulham, Hornsey, Hampstead, Willesden, St. Pancras, Bloomsbury, Holborn, Islington, and the great lordship, as it was called, of Stepney. The abbot of Abingdon had Kensington; the abbot of Westminster, Paddington, Hyde Park, Knightsbridge, half of Chelsea, besides the great parish of St. Margaret's, which originally extended from near Kensington Church to Ludgate in one direction and from Kilburn to the Thames in another. Tyburn belonged to Barking Abbey and Lylleston to Clerkenwell Priory.

In outlying places the influence of the church was not so strong, even though the land belonged in general to religious houses, regular or secular. Thus the archbishop had Harrow and the abbey of St. Albans, Stanmore, but there were no great monasteries among the lonely villages of the great Middlesex forest, and it made, no doubt, little difference to the farmer at Harefield whether his rent was paid to the prior of St. John or to Master Robert Tyrwhit. The inhabitants of Feltham knew little of the hospital of St. Giles, except that it received the tithes of their corn. The Templars and Hospitallers were probably no better or worse as landlords to Cranford than the Astons and the Berkeleys. It was not until the new lords of the land went out to live on their estates that the change was felt, and a fresh era began for the London suburbs.

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* For a list of the prebends of St. Paul's see Appendix F.

In a very few cases the laity obtained property in Middlesex before the dissolution of the monasteries. The manor of Enfield, for instance, has descended from Geoffrey Mandeville to its present owner without going through the hands of any ecclesiastical proprietor. Mandeville's heiress married another Geoffrey, the son of Piers, and a prominent citizen of London.* Enfield went to him and his descendants till Maud Fitz Piers, otherwise Mandeville, married one of the many Humphrey de Bohuns who were successively earls of Hereford. This was early in the thirteenth century, and Enfield continued to belong to the Bohuns till the end of the fourteenth, when it went, with other great estates, to Henry of Bolingbroke, with his wife, Mary, the mother of Henry V. It was then annexed by act of parliament to the duchy of Lancaster, and now belongs to the queen. Lysons† observes of the Newdegates of Harefield that their estate has descended by intermarriages, with the exception of a temporary alienation, in regular succession through the families of Bacheworth, Swanland, and Newdegate since the year 1284, when by the verdict of a jury it appeared that Roger de Bacheworth and his ancestors had held it from time immemorial. It is curious to remark that this old family is not mentioned in Domesday. The estate was held under a lord, and was reckoned part of the honour of Clare, and so came, like Enfield, to the duchy of Lancaster, and it was only in 1790 that Sir Roger Newdegate obtained a release, under the great seal of the duchy, from the payment of an annual quit rent of *22s.* *

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* See above, vol. i. p. 129.

† 'Middlesex Parishes,' p. 107.

Geoffrey Mandeville had other estates in Middlesex, and his manor of Edmonton was held to include that of "Mimes," now called South Mimms, the further history of which is a very typical example of the descent of a manor in lay hands. When we look at a map of Middlesex we observe that the boundary lines of the county on three sides were fixed mainly by the course of three rivers, the Coln, the Thames, and the Lea. But the fourth, or northern boundary, is more irregular. The line leaves the Coln at Harefield, and zigzags first in an easterly direction, then north-west, and then turning east again, reaches the valley of the Lea just below Waltham Abbey. This double bend almost surrounds the Hertfordshire parishes of Totteridge and two of the three Barnets, but leaves South Mimms within the limits of Middlesex. The irregularity is very interesting. It points to a time when no exact boundary had been drawn through the forest, and it shows how great was the influence of the church in shaping the modern county. It seems probable that Hertfordshire was also inhabited by the small Middle Saxon tribe; but it is impossible now to fix with certainty the date at which the boundary was made. Two things only we know. It must have been after the foundation of St. Albans Abbey, and therefore after the time of the great Offa of Mercia. And it was also after the foundation of Ely. This is plain, because the zigzag line is so drawn as to exclude High Barnet and East Barnet, which belonged to St. Albans, and Totteridge, which was an outlying part of the manor of

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* Hoc manerium tenuit Goda comitissa T.R.E. 'Domesday Book.' Lysons goes on to say that this is the only instance of such remote possession in the county of Middlesex. In so speaking he may have overlooked Enfield.

Hatfield, which king Edgar* is said to have given to Ely Abbey. This would bring the date to some time in the tenth century, but would not exclude the possibility of a much earlier date, as Hatfield may have belonged to some Hertfordshire owner before it went to Ely. But South Mimms† belonged to the owner of Edmonton, and in the reign of Edward the Confessor this was no other than that Esgar or Ansgar, the Staller, of whom mention has been already made.‡ William gave the whole manor to Geoffrey, and in after years his descendants made grants in South Mimms to the abbey he had founded at Saffron Walden. From one of the documents relating to these grants, which included the advowson of the church, we find an indication pointing to the time when the two Mimms had not been divided by the boundary of two counties, for part of the endowment of North Mimms, as late as the end of the thirteenth century, lay in the southern division. So far the most northern district of Middlesex was but half cultivated, but half reclaimed from the ancient forest, though the great highway ran from London to St. Albans through it.§ Most of the local names refer to the woods and their gates, the oaks and the beeches, the open commons and chases and hunts. But as public security increased, the richer folk in the city found it pleasant to come out here now and then. Fine houses, more or less fortified, were built, and the wealthy merchant began to forget his merchandise, to marry into the noble and knightly families about him, and, gradually giving up all connection with the city, to become a wealthy country squire, perhaps a nobleman, himself.

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* The earliest mention of Hatfield in the 'Codex Diplomaticus' is in a charter of queen Ælfgifu, 1012.

† The meaning of the name escapes me. It may be personal. If so who was Mim? North Mimms is called in Domesday "Mimmine." The surnames Minshew and Minshull—Mins-wood or hough—are not uncommon.

‡ i. 74.

§ "The ancient high waie to high Bernet," says Norden, as quoted by Mr. Cass in his paper on South Mimms, published by the London and Middlesex Society, "from Porte-pool, now Grayes Inne, as also from Clerkenwell, was through a lane on the east of Pancras Church, called Longwich Lane, from thence, leaving Highgate on the west, it passed through Tallingdon Lane, and so to Crouch Ende, and thence through a Parke called Harnsey Great Parke to Muswill Hill, to Coanie Hatch, Fryarne Barnet, and so to Whetstone, which is now the common highway to High Bernet." This was, of course, before a road was made over Highgate Hill.

I have had, in my account of the city, frequent cause to speak of the Frowyks, or Frowykes, or Frowicks, who were so wealthy and powerful in the thirteenth century. One of them was warden during the memorable contest about Walter Hervey's election to the mayoralty at the time of the death of Henry III.* Another was reckoned among the founders of the Guildhall Chapel. The ward of Cheap was at one time called after Henry le Frowyk. Half a century later the Frowyks are seated as squires at Old Fold, within the parish of South Mimms.† They were not extinct in the male line in 1505, when one of them, Sir Thomas, left his estate in South Mimms to his daughter, Frideswide, who married Sir Thomas Cheyney, K.G. He was chief justice of the Common Pleas, and resided a little nearer town at Finchley. His cousin, Henry Frowyke, whose daughter and heiress married a Coningsby, was resident at Old Fold. There are descendants of the family among the highest nobility now. Old Fold stood near Hadley Green, where the moated site is still pointed out, now converted into a kitchen garden. The younger branches again and again returned to seek and find fortunes in the city, and at least one was distinguished as a lawyer. It was from his monument, which has long disappeared from its place in Finchley Church, that Norden copied the affecting little epitaph—

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* See above, vol. i. chapters v. and vi., and Aungier's 'French Chron.' ii. 13.

† See pedigree and very full account, with a view of the Frowyke Chantry in South Mimms Church, in Mr. Cass's paper already mentioned. Their arms with twelve quarterings are there engraved.

> "Joan la feme de Thomas Frowicke gets icy
> Et le dit Thomas pense de giser avec luy."

Another branch of the family was seated at Gunnersbury, a place which has a history of its own. Lysons conjectures that the name is derived from that of Gunyld or Gunnilda, niece of king Canute. If so, Gunnersbury boasts of having belonged to two princesses, for Amelia, the aunt of George III., bought it in 1761, and lived here till her death. The Frowykes were not long seated at Gunnersbury, and the heiress of Sir Henry Frowyke, who died in 1505, carried it to the Spelmans, and it went through various hands before it came to baron Lionel Rothschild, its present owner, who has made the old house, originally built, it is believed, by Webb, the pupil of Inigo Jones, "one of the most sumptuous dwellings in the vicinity of London."* But, with the exception of the park and house, all the old manor is gradually but surely being covered with houses, and before long this hamlet of Ealing will have shared the fate of the other suburbs, and become a part of London.

Among the other great houses built during this stage in the history of Middlesex, Stanwell claims more than a passing notice. The manor had belonged to the Windsors almost from the Conquest. In an evil hour for lord Windsor, Henry VIII. took a fancy to it. He had entertained the king handsomely, and the king returned his hospitality by coveting his house. In vain lord

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* Thorne, 'Environs,' i. 160.

Windsor pleaded that it had been the seat of his ancestors for many centuries: he begged the king not to take it from him. He tremblingly hoped his highness was not in earnest. Henry sternly referred him to the attorney-general, who showed him the deed of exchange already made out, and Bordesley Abbey, in Worcestershire, was substituted for the ancient inheritance of the Windsors. The baron's Christmas fare was all laid in, his furniture prepared, his hall warmed, before he left, for he said before he left that the king should not at his coming find it "bare Stanwell."

The strangest part of the story, perhaps, is that Henry never does seem to have come to Stanwell. He probably, as Lysons suggests, only wanted to get rid of some monastic property by exchange, and had lord Windsor pointed out to him as a likely person on whom to try the experiment. There was probably a disinclination to buy lands of which the church had been despoiled, and we have all heard of the curse which for generations was supposed to attach to owners of estates which had belonged to religious fraternities. But the subsequent history of Stanwell showed that lay property was just as subject to vicissitudes under the Tudors and Stuarts. In 1603 James I. gave it to Sir Thomas Knyvet, and here the lady Mary, the king's daughter, died in 1607.* Knyvet made a curious will. He bequeathed Stanwell to his grandnephew, John Cary, and his grandniece, Elizabeth Leigh, and the family, to prevent the partition of the estate, obtained a decree from the Court of

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* See some remarks on the date of her death in Chester's 'Westminster Abbey Registers'; on her tomb and in the register it is "December"; but Col. Chester shows that it should be "September." He is wrong, however, in speaking of her "lying a corpse in the palace," during some court festivities. She died in a private house, Stanwell.

Chancery, delaying it, that the cousins might marry and unite their respective moieties. But Mistress Elizabeth Leigh, when she came to an age to choose a husband, chose, not John Cary, but Humphrey Tracy, who joined in a family arrangement by which the division was again postponed, and Stanwell became the property of Cary. Undeterred by the failure of his grand uncle to prescribe the marriages of his relatives, John Cary left Stanwell to his own grandniece, Elizabeth Willoughby, on condition that within three years after his death she should marry lord Guildford. In default it was to go to lord Falkland. But Elizabeth Willoughby, like her cousin, Elizabeth Leigh, had a mind of her own in such a matter as her marriage, and refused either to marry lord Guildford or to give up Stanwell. She preferred James Bertie,* and the case went up to the House of Lords, who decreed her a life interest in Stanwell. She lived till 1716, when the estate went to lord Falkland, but he sold it within a few years, and it afterwards passed into the possession of a great West Indian family, named Gibbons, to whose representative it now belongs. In this case, therefore, we have within the space of a century and a half no fewer than six different families successively in possession of a single estate. It is a curious fact that every family owning land in the county since the suppression of the monasteries, bought it or inherited it by a female line.

The Clitherows of Boston, near Brentford, are usually accounted the oldest of Middlesex families. Boston was originally called Bordeston, and belonged to the priory of St. Helens. One of the last prioresses leased it to a near relation.† But it came at last to the crown, and was among the estates of the protector Somerset at his attainder. It next belonged to Elizabeth's favourite, Leicester, and was bought from him by the great Sir Thomas Gresham.* Although it was not until 1670 that James Clitherow bought it, yet Lysons remarked in the last century that "this family is to be mentioned as one of the very few who have been resident upon the same estate for more than a century." Thorne, quoting this sentence from Lysons, added: "another century has passed and Boston House is still the residence of a Clitherow." Two other families also, namely, the Woods of Littleton and the Taylors of Staines have held their respective estates for upwards of two centuries.†

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* Second son of the first earl of Abingdon, and father of Willoughby Bertie, third earl.

† See vol. i. chapter x.

Perhaps the oldest inhabited house in England is in Middlesex. Yet the seeker for ancient architecture will be disappointed at Fulham. Like so many other ecclesiastical residences all over the country, it is at once new and old. The law of dilapidations destroys equally in a vicarage and an episcopal manor house the remains and appearance of antiquity. There is a gate in the garden which bears the arms of bishop Fitz James, who was appointed to the see by Henry VII. Very nearly as ancient is Hampton Court. The manor belonged at the suppression to the knights of St. John, but had been for some years in the hands of cardinal Wolsey, who had obtained a lease from the lord prior in 1515. This lease, which was for ninety-nine years at 50*l.* a year, and a payment of 21*l.* to a chaplain, was all he had as security when he commenced the sumptuous pile of which a considerable part is still standing.*

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* Lysons, i. 29. It went to Gresham's stepson, Reade; thence to lady Reade's second husband, Spencer; he left a widow who bought up the reversions of the Reade heirs, and left Boston to her cousin Gouldsmith, whose trustees sold it on his death. Here, therefore, are seven families before 1670: Seymour, Dudley, Gresham, Reade, Spencer, Gouldsmith and Clitherow, besides the crown.

† Richard Taylor bought Staines from Sir William Drake in 1678. Thomas Wood was owner of the advowson of Littleton in 1673; but neither Lysons nor Thorne succeeded in tracing the family further back. The Woods bought the manor only a hundred years ago.

Wolsey became a cardinal in the year he acquired Hampton Court, and he speedily made the house worthy of his exalted dignity. Stow mentions it as exciting "much envy"—envy shared by a personage who was not to be baulked of anything he desired. Wolsey was accustomed to watch the movements of Henry's mind. He was equal to the occasion, and when the king asked him why he had built so costly a house, unlike lord Windsor at Stanwell, he promptly replied, "To show how noble a palace a subject may offer to his sovereign." It is possible that as he had by this time enjoyed it for eleven years he was tired of it. He certainly knew the king too well to be able to fancy he would refuse the gift. Henry showed no mock modesty or hesitation in accepting it; he assigned to the cardinal instead a right to use the not very distant Richmond when he pleased. Henry was at Hampton when he heard of the fate of his discarded minister, and here queen Anne Boleyn presided "at superb banquetings, with masques, interludes, and sports." Here Surrey fell in love with the fair Geraldine:—

> "Hampton me taught to wish her first for mine."

Henry employed much of his time in field sports in the neighbouring parks; and as he grew old he augmented the estate by one of the most monstrous appropriations attempted by any English sovereign since the days of William the Norman. An Act was passed in 1538 creating an "Honour of Hampton," to include in one royal hunting-ground not merely the adjacent Middlesex manors but also nine manors on the Surrey side of the Thames. The whole territory, of which Nonsuch was the southern lodge, was surrounded by a wooden paling and stocked with deer, churches and houses were pulled down, villages depopulated, farms given up to wood, meadows and pastures covered with game. An order passed the Privy Council in the next reign by which an apology was tendered to outraged public opinion, and the Honour "dechased." "His Highness," it was said, "waxed heavy with sickness, age, and corpulence of body, and might not travel so readily abroad, but was constrained to seek to have his game and pleasure ready and at hand." It is curious to remark that, in spite of anything done under Edward VI. to mitigate the severity of the Act, it has never been formally repealed, and the Honour of Hampton is still a Royal Chase, controlled by a steward, the lieutenant and keeper of Hampton Court.

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* The accounts of Hampton Court in Lysons and Thorne are very full. There is also a prettily illustrated little volume devoted to it by Jesse.

The palace continued for two centuries a favourite residence of our sovereigns. It was the birth-place of Edward VI., and here Jane Seymour, his mother, died. Here three Katharines* and two Annes followed each other as Henry's wives. Here the council was held in Elizabeth's reign which adjudged death to Mary Stuart; and here, under her son, the abortive conference of presbyterians and bishops took place. Charles I. passed some time at Hampton under the restraints imposed by the rebellious parliament, and made the attempt to escape which eventually led to his stricter imprisonment at Carisbrooke. On a dark tempestuous evening in

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* Katharine Howard "haunts" the passage to the chapel. Law, 'Pictures at Hampton Court,' p. 266.

November, 1647, pretending to be indisposed, he retired early to his chamber, and passing through some vaulted passages reached the gardens, accompanied by three courtiers all in disguise. A private door admitted them to the Thames bank, and a boat which was in readiness conveyed them to the Surrey side. The ill-fated princess Elizabeth was at Hampton Court at the time, and it was in consequence of her complaining that the sentries disturbed her rest that they were removed to a greater distance, and thus greater facility afforded for the king's flight.* A little later Cromwell lived much at Hampton Court, and was there stricken with his mortal fever. A fortnight before his death at Whitehall his favourite daughter, "Lady Elizabeth Claypole," as she is called in contemporary memoirs, was seized at Hampton Court "of a disease in her inwards, and being taken frantic raved much against the bloody cruelties of her father."† She died on the 6th August, 1658, and her body was removed with great pomp to Henry VII.'s Chapel at Westminster, where it still lies. Charles II. resided occasionally at Hampton, where he remodelled the gardens, and sauntered in the "parterre which they call Paradise, in which is a pretty banquetting house set over a cave or cellar."‡

William III. employed Wren to replace two of Wolsey's courts by a new building, which, although wholly incongruous, is a fine example of his palatial style. The staircases were especially grand. The gardens, newly laid out in a Dutch style, with vistas across the river, are still much as William left them, with a terrace half a mile in length and canal-like ponds. Queen Anne resided long at Hampton; and here, in her reign, Pope laid the scene of his 'Rape of the Lock.' For many years past it has boasted of no royal inhabitant. George III. is said to have disliked it.[*] Queen Victoria has made it a scene of happiness to many of her subjects, for not only are the state rooms with their noble pictures and the gardens open to the public, but the more private apartments are appropriated to the use of those whom the nation looks on as most deserving of a public recognition. Thus it came to pass that in his old age Michael Faraday was able, in the intervals of toil, to exchange the turmoil of a London street for these pleasant shades, and here, in 1867, he breathed his last.

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* Jesse's 'Court of England,' ii. 49.
† Heath, quoted by Jesse, ii. 377.
‡ Evelyn's 'Diary,' 9th June, 1662.

When Charles I. came to Hampton his children were not far off at Syon, in the charge of the earl of Northumberland. Syon had been an abbey of the order of St. Bridget,[†] founded by Henry V., who separated the manor of Isleworth, within which the new house was situated, from the estates of the duchy of Cornwall, and conferred it upon the abbess. The name was a reference to the holy mount, and the number of inmates answered to the thirteen apostles, including St. Paul, and the seventy-two disciples. There were thirteen priests attached, and in the original statutes of St. Bridget all were to live together, but at Syon the sexes were cautiously and carefully separated, "for the avoiding of scandal." The abbess was ruler over both, and no sister was admitted under the age of eighteen, no brother under twenty-five. The manor of Isleworth included the whole hundred of that name, and the foundation, as time went on, became exceedingly wealthy. In the reign of Henry VIII. fifty-six nuns were in the house, and as some of them were said to have been implicated with the supporters of the Maid of Kent,* this was one of the first religious houses suppressed. Charges of immodest behaviour were freely made against the priests and nuns by the visitors under Thomas Cromwell, and in 1539 the abbey was surrendered into the king's hands, when the clear income was found to be no less than 1731*l.* 8*s.* 4¾*d.* Pensions were granted to fifty-six sisters and to eighteen brethren. The nuns, however, so far proved the sincerity of their profession that they continued to live together elsewhere until queen Mary reinstated them at Syon, which had been kept in the possession of the crown. At their final suppression in the following reign they migrated in a body to Portugal, carrying with them the abbey keys, as the Arabs of Spain are said to have taken with them to Morocco the keys of their ancient dwellings on the slopes of the Sierras. When, centuries later, a duke of Northumberland was at Lisbon he visited the Bridgettine convent, and the abbess told him that they still retained the keys brought from Syon by their predecessors. "I dare say," replied the duke; "but we have altered the locks since then." During the French invasion of Portugal the nuns sought a refuge in England, and lived some time at Peckham. When the war was over the Lisbon house was revived, and in 1861 the community returned a second time to England, and took up their abode in Dorsetshire.

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[*] See Law's 'Pictures at Hampton Court,' p. 102.

[†] Aungier's 'History of Syon and Isleworth.'

Meanwhile Syon underwent various vicissitudes. It was, with the neighbouring Osterley, a part of the estate of Edward Seymour, duke of Somerset. On his attainder both reverted to the Crown, and Syon was granted to the duke's rival, Northumberland. Here the ill-fated lady Jane Dudley received the offer of the throne. At the duke's attainder, for the second or third time Syon went to the Crown; it so remained during the reign of Elizabeth. James I. gave it to Henry Percy, ninth earl of Northumberland, in 1604, and when, in 1682, the heiress of the Percies married the "proud duke of Somerset," it became a second time the property of a Seymour. Within sixty years, however, it went to a third family, that of Smithson, whose representative, the duke of Northumberland, is its present owner. Though the modern house is mainly that built by the protector Somerset, it has been so often altered and remodelled that nothing is visible of the older building. A century ago, both Syon and Osterley underwent the finishing touches of the accomplished Robert Adam, on whose work Horace Walpole dilates with rapture. In our own day the famous lion from Northumberland House at Charing Cross migrated thither, and now looks down on the terraced lawns, with their vistas towards Kew Gardens, which appear almost as if they formed part of the domain. The interior of the house is famous for its magnificence and for the costly collections it contains. Columns of *verde antique*, found in the Tiber, and purchased at an enormous price, mosaic tables, a vase of Irish crystal mounted in gold, portraits by Holbein and Reynolds, pictures by Snyders and Landseer, prints, drawings, and books, make it worthy of its owner's rank and wealth.

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* See vol. i. chapter x.

Few such houses as Syon now remain in Middlesex, but Osterley in some respects runs it close. Both were remodelled by Adam. The older Osterley was the scene of a well-known story. It belonged in the time of Elizabeth to Sir Thomas Gresham. "Her majesty," says Fuller—himself at a later period rector of Cranford, not far off—"Her majesty found fault with the court of this house as too great, affirming that it would appear more handsome if divided with a wall in the middle. What doth Sir Thomas, but in the night time sends for workmen to London (money commands all things), who so speedily and silently apply their business that the next morning discovered that court double which the night had left single before." Fuller adds the opinion of some, with special reference to disputes in the Gresham family, that any house is easier divided than united, and certainly Sir Thomas's was no exception. Osterley went, like Bordeston, of which I have already spoken, to lady Gresham's son by her first marriage, afterwards to Sir Edward Coke, then to a descendant of lady Gresham, the wife of George earl of Desmond, and finally, after several intermediate owners, to Francis Child, the banker.* With the rest of his wealth it ultimately descended to the Jersey family.

Another great Middlesex house has long disappeared. The glory of Canons was of brief duration,† but a blacksmith's shop, hard by at Edgware, is associated still with the name of George Frederick Handel, who was organist to the duke of Chandos. He had been previously in the service of the earl of Burlington, and may have performed in the beautiful villa at Chiswick, which I have still to describe. At Whitchurch there are tangible memorials of the great musician. Tradition and something more has commemorated William Powell, the harmonious blacksmith. He was parish clerk of Whitchurch, and died in 1780. The humble rail which marked his grave has lately given place to a substantial monument, which bears among the inscriptions a bar of Handel's immortal air.[*] Authentic history, and what is often more valuable, contemporary satire, are frequently concerned with Handel and Canons and the village church in which his organ may still be heard. Pope sneered at the duke and the musician alike, and prophesied but too exactly the rapid approach of a time when "deep harvests" should "bury all his pride had planned, and laughing Ceres reassume the land." Three years after Pope's death his forebodings were fulfilled. The duke was ruined by the South Sea Bubble,[†] and the house was sold for the materials in 1747. The grand staircase went to Chesterfield House in Mayfair, where it still remains. A statue of king George[‡] went to Leicester Square, and disappeared piecemeal in our own day. A new, but smaller and more economical house, was afterwards inhabited by colonel O'Kelly, who owned, besides a famous parrot, a racehorse which from its birth during an eclipse, made the word celebrated as the name of the swiftest horse that ever ran. Eclipse lies buried in the park of Canons. His master is buried in the church of Little Stanmore, or Whitchurch, in which there is still much to remind the visitor of Handel and his magnificent patron the duke.

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* See vol. i. chapter xiii.

† Thorne, i. 72.

Without, the church is severely classical. It belies its name by being of red brick. Within, it is not only stately and convenient, but of an unusual design, a design, indeed, which an unprejudiced critic might be tempted to consider more suited to the requirements of modern worship than any adaptation of mediæval gothic. It consists of a nave without aisles, and a small chancel raised on three steps with richly carved oak columns to mark the separation. At the other end is a gallery, and behind the altar is the organ, Handel's organ. The most curious feature of Little Stanmore church is the decoration. As Pope scornfully and not quite accurately observes,—

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[*] It is said to have been traced to an old German melody, but Handel made it his own.

[†] Vol. i. chapter xiii.

[‡] There is some uncertainty which "king George" was represented.

"On painted ceilings you devoutly stare,
Where sprawl the saints of Verrio and Laguerre,
Or gilded clouds in fair expansion lie,
And bring all Paradise before your eye."

Verrio had been dead for some years, but Bellucci's name would not fit into the line. There are figures of the evangelists and the apostles, of the cardinal virtues, and the law and gospel. The roof is blue, powdered with gold stars. On the north side is the chapel of the Chandos family, where the unfortunate duke, in Roman armour and a flowing wig, is supported by two of his wives—for he had three—on a magnificent tomb, recently repaired by the duke of Buckingham and Chandos, the heir of what was left of the family wealth.

The villa of another duke in Middlesex has a longer history than Canons. I have had occasion more than once to mention the "architect earl" of Burlington.* The masterpiece of his art was a villa at Chiswick, which now belongs to his descendant, the duke of Devonshire.

Chiswick is not mentioned in Domesday, but it is probable that a manor in Fulham, said to belong to the canons of St. Paul's, may be identified with it. It was early divided, and the duke of Devonshire has the lease of that part which used to be called Sutton. The other still nominally belongs to St. Paul's, but in 1570 it happened that the stall of Chiswick was filled by Gabriel Goodman, who was dean of Westminster, and he leased it to the chapter of the abbey, who still, I believe, hold it, though the prebendary receives, or should receive, a small rent.*

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* Vol. i. chapter xii., and vol. ii. chapter xxi.

Chiswick House was for some time the residence of Carr earl of Somerset, the disgraced favourite of James I. He mortgaged it heavily to provide a dowry for his daughter, who married the earl of Bedford, and so became mother of William, lord Russell, beheaded in 1683. The house became the property of the mortgagee, and after various changes it was bought by Richard Boyle, earl of Burlington and Cork. His great grandson was the architect, and lies buried in Chiswick Church beside his friend and assistant, Kent. He pulled down the old house and built the new one, which, with the addition of wings, still stands. His heiress married the fourth duke of Devonshire. Lord Burlington was brought up in a beautiful old house on Campden Hill,† which may have stimulated his very remarkable architectural ability. He alone of modern classical builders seems to me to be worthy of comparison with Wren.‡ His dormitory at Westminster School is perhaps the only one of his works which has survived intact.§ Burlington House, in Piccadilly, has been defaced, and Chiswick has been added to, but enough remains to show how beautiful it must have been. The design was imitated with some directness from one by Palladio. The wits of the time made merry over it. Various jests have been reported, and misreported, to the effect that, while it was too small to live in, it was too large to be hung on a watch chain.*

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* In 1845, it was reported worth annually £39 2*s.* 6*d.* See Falkner, 'Brentford, Ealing and Chiswick,' a book on which too much dependence must not be placed.

† See below, chapter xxi.

‡ See above, vol. i. chapter xii.

§ One fears to call attention to the existence of anything worth admiring or preserving in the scholastic precincts. The design is believed to have been founded on a drawing by Inigo Jones.

By a curious coincidence, two very eminent statesmen died in the villa, though they were not owners or even tenants. Charles James Fox† went to stay there for change of air in 1806, and died in a fortnight. Twenty-one years later George Canning came there with his wife for the same reason, and after three weeks also died. Fox's bed-chamber was on the ground floor, "a small but cheerful room," the walls covered with tapestry, and a portrait of Pope over the door. The bed had chintz curtains, with "a large and flowery pattern of green and red, upon a light ground." The wooden cornice was painted a light brown and green, and the fringe, tassels, and lining were also green. During the garden-parties for which in the last generation Chiswick was so famous, and at one of which Sir Walter Scott and an elephant assisted, this chamber was used as a refreshment-room. The room in which Canning died is upstairs. Lord Dalling gave an account of it many years ago in a magazine, in which he characterised it as "cheerless." When his essays‡ were reprinted he altered the word to "simple." Near it was another into which Mrs. Canning was carried after all was over. Her life was at first despaired of, but she recovered, and, having been created a viscountess, she survived her husband nearly ten years.[*] Their son was the great Viceroy of India.

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* This epigram, which may be found in Walpole's 'Anecdotes of Painting,' is attributed, with others, to lord Hervey. By Lysons it is assigned to lady Hervey.

† These notes are quoted by Faulkner from lady Chatterton's 'Home Sketches and Foreign Recollections,' published in 1841. In lord Stanhope's 'Miscellanies,' Second Series, p. 79, the question whether the two statesmen died in the same room, as commonly reported, and asserted by Thorne, i. 110, is set at rest by a letter from the late duke of Devonshire.

‡ 'Historical Characters,' ii. 402.

The grounds were beautifully laid out by Kent. As an example of successful landscape gardening they are unrivalled. Sir Joseph Paxton was "discovered" by the late duke in the adjoining grounds of the Royal Horticultural Society, and soon, with such a patron, found means to distinguish himself, but the results of his labours are chiefly to be seen at Chatsworth.[†] Some of the statues are from the old Arundel collection, others are skilful modern imitations of the antique. One relic of peculiar interest will be eagerly sought out by the visitor. It is the gate which Inigo Jones built at Chelsea, in the grounds which had once belonged to Sir Thomas More, and afterwards to Lionel Cranfield, earl of Middlesex, and to Henry, duke of Beaufort. The site is now marked by Lawrence Street and other small rows of houses, and is bounded on the west by Beaufort Street, formerly the Lovers' Lane. The house was pulled down by Sir Hans Sloane a few years after he bought it, in 1736; and this gate, which consists of a very simple portico with two doric columns, was given by him to the architect earl; who, no doubt, highly prized it.[*] Pope is said to have written some lines on the occasion:—

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[*] The duke's note is as follows:—"Chiswick, March 18, 1854. My dear Lady Newburgh, Canning died in a room upstairs. I had a great foreboding when he came here, and would not allow of his living in the room below, where Fox had died. The other room above has been very much altered, and furnished differently since. I am not surprised at Lord Mahon wanting to know; it was a sad and curious coincidence. Ever yours, &c., Devonshire." Lady Chatterton says:—"The housekeeper showed us a room downstairs, where he read prayers to the family each Sunday."

[†] It is said, on the authority of local gossip, that the sums spent by Paxton at Chatsworth would have ruined the duke had not lady Paxton developed financial powers of a remarkable character.

"*Passenger.*
O gate how cam'st thou here?
Gate.
I was brought from Chelsea last year,
Battered with wind and weather;
Inigo Jones put me together,
Sir Hans Sloane
Let me alone,
Burlington brought me hither."[†]

The county has been represented in Parliament from the earliest time, and elections were held on Hampstead Heath[‡] before 1701, when Brentford became the "county town," and so continued till the beginning of the present reign, when polling places were opened at Bedfont, Edgware, Enfield, King's Cross, Hammersmith, Mile End, and Uxbridge, as well. Brentford has been the scene of some lively contests, and all the constitutional questions involved in the elections of Wilkes, and afterwards of Burdett, were fought out here.[§]

It would be but too easy to make a volume about the outlying districts of Middlesex and their eminent inhabitants. I have said enough to show how interesting the subject might be if properly treated.[‖] There are many temptations to prolixity. I have endeavoured to take a few typical examples only ; but there is scarcely a village in the county without its memories of some one who made himself famous in the great neighbouring city. Sometimes the same eminent person is found in different places, as Lamb at Enfield and Edmonton, Goldsmith at Dawley and at the Hyde on the Edgware Road, Pope at Chiswick and Twickenham, Dr. Johnson at Hampstead and at Topham Beauclerk's villa on Muswell Hill. I have said nothing of Strawberry Hill and Horace Walpole, partly because so much has been written already on the subject, and partly because I do not concern myself with mere records of fashion. For similar reasons I have omitted many other places. A connected history of the immediate suburbs is more to my purpose, and it must suffice here merely to recall a few of the great names which otherwise I pass over. We might stand with Keats where he composed his 'Ode to a Nightingale,' though the view from Hampstead is so changed, especially in the last few years, that little remains to be seen as he saw it. From "Byron's Tomb," as a nameless stone is called in the churchyard of Harrow, we can still look over as fair a vale as any either poet ever saw. It is interesting to visit the room in which queen Anne was born at York House, Twickenham. At Wrotham, near Barnet, we may see a house built by the ill-fated admiral Byng, who called it after the ancient seat of his ancestors in Kent. We may trace the footsteps of Monk from his last halting-place at Finchley. We may climb Highwood Hill, where William Wilberforce lived, and seek at Parson's Green the residence of Samuel Richardson. And we must beware of spurious imitations. John Gilpin's "Bell at Edmonton" has disappeared, and another *Bell* since. The house at Highgate in which

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[*] Lord Burlington had already assisted Kent in publishing some of Inigo Jones's designs.

[†] Faulkner, p. 434.

[‡] Strange to say neither Park in his 'Perambulation of Hampstead' nor Howitt in his 'Northern Heights,' gives any account of the Middlesex elections. A list of members elected at Brentford will be found in Faulkner's 'Ealing,' p. 38.

[§] See vol i. chapter xiv.

[‖] Students may be referred to Lysons, whose five volumes of 'Environs' are models of topographical accuracy, and to Thorne's 'Handbook,' filled with pleasant gossip. Of the shrievalty of Middlesex I have given some account in vol. i. chapter iv.

Bacon died was pulled down in 1825. Whittington's milestone has been moved about to different places, if, indeed, any of it remains. Pope's villa was built in the present century, and is not even on the original site. But more than enough remains. There is Bedfont, where Harvey discovered the immortal fish sauce. There is Laleham, where Arnold "coached" young collegians and prepared himself for the great work of his life. At Gladmore, near Monken Hadley, the "battle of Barnet" was fought in 1471, on Easter Sunday. Lord Buckhurst, the poet, built a house at Teddington. Walter Map, the merry archdeacon of Henry II.'s court, lived at Mapesbury in Willesden. Good queen Adelaide died at Bentley Priory, in Great Stanmore, in 1849. Many of us are better acquainted with foreign countries than with our own. To some of us the environs of Cairo or Naples are more familiar than those of London. But, granted health, there is no place in the world which has the same interest for an Englishman as the county of Middlesex.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE CITY OF WESTMINSTER.

IT is not easy to define exactly what is Westminster at the present day. There is the city, there is the parliamentary borough, there is the outlying division near Kensington—in short, Westminster has undergone many vicissitudes and changes, and has been influenced in turn by kings, by monks, by bishops, by parliaments, by courts of law, until we are compelled, if we would find the original Westminster, to commence our inquiries by going back more than a thousand years.

The name itself seems to tell us something. If we could be sure that it has always been "the West Minster," we might argue that the western monastery is later than St. Paul's, that St. Paul's was in existence as the eastern minster when St. Peter's was founded. But the first charter in which it is mentioned gives it three different names. Offa, of Mercia, in 785,* making it a grant of land, calls it, first, St. Peter's; secondly, Thorney; thirdly, "Westminster." We cannot, therefore, found any argument or theory on this last form. St. Peter's speaks for itself. It is likely, on the whole, as we have seen in considering the dedications of city churches, that dedications to the apostles are older than dedications to other saints. St. Peter's is an old dedication; in fact, it is difficult to understand how the cathedral church of St. Paul can have preceded it. This difficulty, no doubt, appeared insuperable to the medieval mind, and we have the legend of the superior antiquity of St. Peter's upon Cornhill, to account for it. It is evident, therefore, that while we cannot claim for St. Peter's an antiquity greater than that of St. Paul's, we must allow that it may be very old, as old as any other foundation of the kind.

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* This charter (Kemble, i. No. 149) is marked with a star, and is not, therefore, existing except in a copy which may not be genuine. At the same time there is nothing in it inconsistent with the fidelity of the copy, and Widmore ('Enquiry,' p. 7) accepts it.

The second name is Thorney, and Thorney is spoken of as a "locus terribilis," a venerable place.* It must, therefore, have been considered sacred, perhaps by long custom, perhaps on account of association with some eminent person. A king Sebert† was invented later to account for this veneration. Widmore is very unwilling to put Sebert aside, but is obliged to conclude that the monastery was founded "about the time when Bede died, or between the years 730 and 740;" and he goes on to show that at first it was but a small place, and evidently altogether unconscious of its high destinies.

Although the name of Thorney tells us nothing about the abbey, it tells us much about its site. The word "terribilis" in Offa's charter has indeed sometimes been supposed to refer to the nature of the place, a thorny island.* We must remember that in the eighth century the greater part of what is now Westminster was a tidal estuary, a marsh, or mud-flat, covered twice a day with the brackish water of the Thames. In the midst of this wilderness of mud rose a slight eminence, "the Tothill," upon which the old road, the Watling Street, ran to the water's edge. Thence travellers who wanted to cross the Thames had to wade as best they could—the first stepping-stone, so to speak, across the shallow river being the Thorn-ey. Here, so far back as the time of the Romans, there stood some building, perhaps a post-house for the convenience of passengers, perhaps a villa. A portion of its pavement was recently discovered in the nave of the church. It is not unlikely that a causeway of some kind at a very early period connected Thorney and Tothill. When, by degrees, the river was banked out, and its channel narrowed and deepened, the ford gave place to a ferry, which is commemorated still in the name of Horseferry Road. The abbey which originally stood close by the water's edge was gradually separated from it by a narrow belt of land, foreshore at first, but afterwards wholly reclaimed, and now, as we shall see, the site of the palace of parliament. The marshes to the north were drained by what became in process of time the ornamental water in St. James's Park, and half the divided stream of Tyburn passed through it, and by a narrowed channel, south of the site of the future Whitehall, into the Thames. On the southern side of the Thorn-ey, too, the low lying lands were slowly reclaimed, part of the Tyburn being conducted into and through the abbey itself, and part being applied to grind the abbot's corn before it ran out at Millbank, where there was a second mill and a slaughterhouse, belonging to the king's palace.

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* This interpretation has been suggested by Mr. Henry Middleton, F.S.A., and commends itself to our common sense. The reader will recall the expression of Jacob (Genesis, xxviii. 17) "How dreadful is this place! This is none other but the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven." *Quam terribilis est locus iste*, are the words of the Vulgate. In a poem on the life of Edward the Confessor, published in the Rolls Series, there is a similar reference to Jacob's dream. "King Edward calls this holy place the gate of heaven."—P. 198.

† There was a king called Sebert or Seberht, as already mentioned (chap. iii.), but his connection with Westminster was not thought of till after the Conquest, when the place had become important.

* See Stanley, 'Memorials,' p. 9.

Thorney, according to a well qualified authority,* was 470 yards long and 370 broad, and was washed by the Thames on the east; by a rivulet which ran down College Street on the south; by a streamlet which crossed King Street on the north; and by a moat called the Long Ditch, which united the two streams and ran along the line of Prince's and Delahay Streets. Stone walls defended the whole precinct, pierced by handsome gates, one of which was in King Street, one near New Palace Yard, one opening on Tothill Street,† and one in College Street where stood the abbey mill. Bridges crossed the brooks, and are said to exist still, but far beneath the present streets, for Thorney has been raised about nine feet, on the average, above its ancient level.

How early our kings had a palace here we have no means of knowing. It may have preceded the monastery, as St. Margaret's may have preceded St. Peter's, but neither supposition is probable. The earliest reference to a palace is in the story of Canute's rebuking the tide, which some of the chroniclers have made to take place at Westminster.‡ There is no contemporary evidence to go upon; and whatever of palace or monastery existed before the middle of the ninth century, disappeared later, and for many years Westminster lay in ruins, deserted even by the monks. The Danes were at large in Middlesex, and London Wall § kept them out, but there was nothing to withstand them on Thorney, and when Dunstan became powerful under Edgar, the abbey was re-founded and endowed with an estate, part of which is still in the possession of the monks' successors, the dean and chapter. The charter of Edgar contains an account of the boundaries of the great manor with which he endowed the abbey. They are the boundaries of the original parish of St. Margaret, and are of the highest interest to the London topographer.* I therefore quote them in full:—

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* William Bardwell, 'Westminster Improvements,' p. 8, and Smith's 'Westminster,' p. 27.

† Built in the reign of Edward III., by Walter Warfield, the Abbot's butler.—Bardwell, p. 11.

‡ Southampton is usually the scene of this legend. See Stanley, 'Memorials,' p. 7.

§ See above, chap. iii.

"First up from *Temese*, along *Merfleotes*, to *pollenestocce* so to *Bulunga fenn;* afterwards from the *fenne* along the old ditch to *cuforde;* from *cuforde* up along *Teoburn* to the wide *herestreet;* along the *herestreet* to the old *stoccene* of St. Andrew's Church, so into *Lundene fenn;* along south on Tamese in midstream; along the stream 'be lande and be strande' to *Merfleote.*"

I have given the Saxon names in their original spelling. It is a question if we can identify the places mentioned. If we take a map which shows the undivided parish of St. Margaret, we find it bounded on the west and southwest by Chelsea; on the north by Oxford Street, as far as St. Giles's; on the east by St. Clement Danes. But from the evidence of this charter, there was apparently a time when all these boundaries were different. The Merfleet must, from its name, have been a tidal creek. Pollenstock speaks of an osier bed, or something like it. Bulunga Fen is a marshy place. All these conditions were fulfilled in the land which lies between Millbank and Chelsea, though the old names are lost. From the reference to the Tyburn, which we can here safely identify with the so-called King's Scholars' Pond Sewer, we may begin by placing the Merfleet at its outfall just east of Albion Terrace, on the Grosvenor Road. The word "fleet" points to a tidal estuary. The mention of Pollenstock and Cowford points to places at which the boundary does not run quite straight. We shall not be far wrong therefore, if we place the pollard willow very near the Victoria Station. The second bend would be that marked by the mention of Bulunga Fen, which may be placed at Buckingham Palace in the Green Park. The Tyburn next crosses what must be a very ancient roadway, now represented by Piccadilly. Here, then, is the Cowford, as nearly as possible where Brick Street, formerly Engine Street,* opens on Piccadilly. Thence to Oxford Street the brook winds, and the boundary is defined as being along it; and so we reach the wide *herestreet*,† the military way which the Romans had made to bring the Watling Street into connection with London Bridge. Along this road it continued to "the old stock" of St. Andrew's Church, perhaps an ancient tree in what is now Holborn. Thence it ran to the Fleet, here called "Lundene Fen," and "south on Thames in mid-stream." The abbot, by this expression, "on midstream," no doubt intended to guard himself against any future royal claim to foreshore, but, as we shall see, the precaution was eminently unsuccessful.

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* Widmore, p. 21; Saunders, 'Archæologia,' xxvi. 223; Kemble, 'Codex Diplomaticus,' No. 569. There are many marks about this charter to show that it is a copy, but an early one. The date, 951, should, as Kemble thinks, be 971; and there is a mistaken reference to Wulfred as being archbishop in the time of Offa. But the definition of boundaries is in Anglo-Saxon, and even if it does not belong to Edgar's time is of antiquity before the Conquest, and in every way valuable.

It will have been observed that with these boundaries the abbot had a larger tract eastward, and a smaller one westward than afterwards constituted the parish of St. Margaret. A great part of the city ward of Farringdon Without belonged to Westminster. There is no mention of St. Bride's or St. Dunstan's and we may safely conclude that they did not exist. St. Bride's would, almost certainly, have been mentioned like St. Andrew's. St. Dunstan was himself alive in 971. When these two churches were built and long afterwards we find the abbey of Westminster presenting to them. Henry III. appropriated St. Dunstan's to his hospital for converted Jews,* but St. Bride's is still in the gift of the dean and chapter.

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* See above, chap. i.

† *Here*, an army, expedition, host, legion, multitude, troop, chiefly of enemies, any number of men above thirty-five.—Bosworth's Dictionary.

The other end of the parish was extended. We saw† that a second stream ran into the Thames to the westward of the Tyburn, the brook which is commemorated in the modern district of Westbourne. Shortly after the conquest Geoffrey de Mandeville gave the abbot of Westminster the land which lay between the Tyburn and the Westbourne, that is to say, all Hyde Park as far as the modern Serpentine and all the Thames bank between the modern King's Scholars' Pond Sewer, and the Ranelagh Sewer: and the northern and southern parts of this great accession of territory were divided into Ebury, or Eybury and Hyde, both names being very likely derived from the same word Ey, or *Eia* by which the manor is distinguished in Domesday. Furthermore the abbot acquired three other estates. Of Paddington and Westbourne I shall speak in a subsequent chapter: but the manor of Neat, or Neyt, brought the boundary of St. Margaret's up to that of Kensington. This manor comprised all the land south and west of the Serpentine, most of Kensington Gardens, and the south side of the Kensington Road into High Street. Its boundaries are interesting. If we begin in the Uxbridge or Bayswater Road, we find the line runs down the ornamental water halfway to the bridge, thence passes westward through the trees till it almost reaches the Orangery. There it slopes northward and taking in all but the first five houses of Kensington Palace Gardens, runs south in a straight line to High Street, and including all the houses on the left hand of the way as we go towards London, crosses the road just after we pass what used to be called Gore Lane, but is now Queen's Gate or Prince Albert Road. Kensington Gore, the Albert Hall and the Horticultural Gardens are in Westminster, but the line runs so as to exclude the new Natural History and the South Kensington Museums, which are in Kensington, or rather in the Kensington hamlet of Brompton. Thence the boundary runs eastward, gradually approaching the main road, which is touched, just as we have passed the new Knightsbridge Barracks, where Kensington, Westminster and Chelsea meet at the point at which the Westbourne used to cross the road. An old inn, the *Fox & Bull*, formerly stood by the bridge, and is mentioned as early as the reign of queen Elizabeth. The French Embassy in Albert Gate is on the site, and the brook runs under the roadway. A modern *Fox & Bull* close by is now in process of demolition.

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* Now the Rolls.

† Chapter i.

The notice of Westminster in the Domesday Book is apparently very precise, yet from the difficulty involved in all attempts to estimate exactly the modern value of a hide of land, it has caused much controversy among those learned in such matters. The hide in Stepney, a holding fairly well defined, contained seventy-nine acres. But in Westminster which comprised sixteen hides and a half, it must, if our geography is right, have been only seventy hides. The discrepancy may be partially resolved by remembering that in Stepney there was more land than in Westminster occasionally, if not constantly submerged. Of the sixteen hides and a half which constituted the manor of Westminster, three were held by a tenant named Bainiard, or Baynard. It has usually been assumed that Baynard is the baron who built Castle Baynard in the city, and it has been conjectured that his three hides of land comprised the rising slope from the Fleet to Temple Bar which later on was the ward of Joce Fitz Peter, and was ultimately absorbed by the city as part of Farringdon Without. There would be little objection to this assignment if we had any further mention of Baynard in connection with Fleet Street: but we have none. Another place, Bayswater, equally claims to have been the holding of Baynard, but this cannot be, for the simple reason that, as we have seen above, the abbot had no estate westward of the Tyburn, till he received Geoffrey's bequest.* Baynard's holding has also been identified with Lincoln's Inn, but this is almost certainly an error. I only mention the question, in fact, to show how little is known, and how easy it is to make and defend theories which seem always the more plausible the less we really know.

The abbot's manor contained all the elements of truly rural life. There were cottages and ploughs, cattle and hogs, meadow and woodland, but only twenty-five houses "of the abbot's knights and of other men." †

Such was the estate which belonged to the abbey of Westminster at the beginning of the twelfth century. But disintegration was already in progress. In the eleventh century, at what exact date is not known, the king took up his abode either in the abbey, or close to it. Who was the first king to make a palace at Westminster we cannot tell. It may have been Canute or one of his unworthy sons: but it is more likely that Edward the Confessor, led by the strongly superstitious bent of his mind, fearing the Londoners more than he loved them, and thinking himself safer outside the walls than inside, considered the protection offered by the sacred character of the cloister of St. Peter sufficient. Certain it is that he passed the greater part of his reign at Westminster, and that he projected and built a church for the monks which in some respects was probably not inferior to what we see now. This is evident if we observe that the cloister still covers the same ground that it covered then. If there is one architectural feature of the church more familiar than another to Englishmen and all English-speaking people it is the "Poets' Corner." The Poets' Corner is formed in the south transept by the projection into it of a corner of the cloister. When Henry III. rebuilt church and cloister alike he did not disturb the Saxon ground plan, and thus the south transept has no western aisle.* The Confessor's church extended from the modern communion table westward to a door which opens into the western walk of the cloister.

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* I am inclined to think another and much later Baynard will be found to have been the abbot's tenant, and to have given his name to Bayswater.

† It seems to me quite plain from this that either Fleet Street was no longer in the manor, a theory no one has ever started, or it was still unbuilt, which latter hypothesis will best square with known facts. For an opposite view, however, the reader is referred to Mr. Saunders's paper in Archæologia, xxvi., already mentioned.

Some fragments of his work may still be identified. Among them are the arches which lead from the cloister southward to the school, which have a series of very curious ancient chambers of the same period adjoining them. The passage into Little Dean's Yard is modern, but many traces of old work are to be seen, including the break in the vaulting, where a staircase used to lead up to the dormitory. There is a description of the abbey in an old manuscript volume in the Harleian collection,* which was written for queen Edith, therefore before 1074, when she died. From it we gather that the church, which survived until a fire in the reign of Henry III., had an apse, a central tower, two towers at the western end, a cloister, a chapter house † on the present site, a refectory and a dormitory, with surrounding offices. Of these the crypt of the chapter house, the basement of the dormitory and the north wall of the refectory are still in existence. The abbey absorbed the parish church. For a time, at least, the few parishioners worshipped in the north aisle of the nave, but the first erection of St. Margaret's is always attributed to the Confessor.‡ Two theories may be held on this subject. It may be supposed that the parish church was dedicated to St. Margaret § before the abbey was placed on Thorney, or it may be thought that the dedication was a new one. In favour of this second view must be put the absence of the name from early charters; but we have no better evidence either way, and no contemporary record of the building of the church.

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* A glance at the accompanying plan will explain this. I have to thank Mr. J. Henry Middleton, F.S.A., for leave to use it. In conjunction with Mr. Micklethwaite, he has been engaged in researches in the abbey for many years, and it is probable that this plan will prove to be the most accurate hitherto published.

There continued, however, an altar, called the "Jesus altar," for the parishioners in the abbey church. There has been some misapprehension as to its position though it remained till the abolition of chantries. In fact there were two such altars. One of them stood at the eastern end of the nave, where is now the entrance to the choir. It was elevated on steps and shut in with side screens. Above it was a large rood screen, extending across the whole church, and to the eastward, at the same level as the rood screen, was an upstairs oratory, called, like the altar below, after our Saviour. To these two places the parishioners obtained access, as well as to their own church in the churchyard.*

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* Printed in 'Lives of Edward,' Rolls Series, p. 417.

† See full account in Scott's 'Gleanings,' p. 3.

‡ Widmore, p. 12.

§ There are five saints of the name in Husenbeth's 'Emblems,' p. 109. Of these the dates exclude St. Margaret of Cortona, St. Margaret of Scotland, and B. Margaret of Hungary. B. Margaret of Castello is the fourth; and the fifth, who must be identified with the church of Westminster, is St. Margaret, a virgin martyr in the fourth century. She is frequently represented in local sculpture as rising from a dragon which has her robe in his mouth.

Although St. Margaret's cannot compete with the abbey church in its interesting associations, there is yet much to record of it. Restoration after restoration has removed every trace of antiquity from its walls. Even the churchyard, with its venerable gravestones, has been desecrated, the inscriptions obliterated or covered, and much that was curious or interesting destroyed. It is sad to think that such vandalisms should have been carried out within the past two years, and under the name of improvements. The work, indeed, was begun at a time when there was, if possible, even less reverence than at present for antiquity, for one of the earliest parliamentary grants for the repair of St. Margaret's was made the year after the execution of Charles I.† There were further repairs several times before 1780, which is the date on the leaden spouting; and in 1845 there was a vote of

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* I am much indebted to Mr. Middleton for this information.

† Walcott, 'Westminster,' a compilation which must be referred to with caution, though it is the most accessible book on the subject. It is somewhat unfortunate that both the modern historians of the abbey and of the adjacent church should have been so little characterised by historical accuracy that none of their assertions can be received without proof. I have avoided in this chapter as far as possible references to Dean Stanley's and Precentor Walcott's books.

£1200 which produced most disastrous results. Since that time St. Margaret's has been a new church, and seven years ago it was still further "restored." The House of Commons has, ever since the time of the great rebellion, looked on this church as its peculiar care, and when we see what has come of it, we cannot but rejoice that they extend their attention to no other London churches.

There are a few names connected with St. Margaret's, however, that even the omnipotence of an act of parliament, or the marauding hand of the restorer, cannot quite obscure. It requires an effort of mind to remember in the new church such ancient worthies as Chaucer, Caxton, and Sir Walter Raleigh. Until last year there remained also a tangible memorial to William Cowper. There is now only a memory, and he is as unreal at St. Margaret's as the other three. It would be curious to know if Caxton, when he wrote with such warm admiration of Chaucer, was aware that the great poet lived close to St. Margaret's, in a house on the site of Henry VII.'s chapel, while he was clerk of the works at the abbey. It was in St. Margaret's that the heralds held their inquiry as to the Scrope and Grosvenor arms, in 1386, when Chaucer gave the evidence before them which has proved of such importance to his biographers.* Caxton lived near the western end of the abbey, in a house called the "Reed Pale," which may be translated, perhaps, by "red paling," which stood very near the spot marked now by the Crimean memorial column—a "pale" of red granite. He probably died in 1491, as, though registers had not yet been invented, the churchwarden's accounts record the expenditure, midway between 1490 and 1492, of 6*s*. 8*d*. for torches, and 6*d*. for bell ringing at the "bureyng of

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* It is noticed above, chap. ix. p. 257.

William Caxton."* He well deserved this favour from the parish, to which he had bequeathed some copies of his 'Golden Legend,' which were sold by the churchwardens for the benefit of the poor. In 1496, for instance, we have the entry of the receipt of 6*s.* 8*d.* for "oone of thoo printed bokes that were bequothen to the churche behove by William Caxton." That Caxton was buried within and not without the church was a matter of faith with Dr. Dibdin and the bibliographers of his time; and in 1820 the Roxburgh Society put up a tablet to his memory in the south aisle, near the east end.

Although the probable site of his house is that which I have indicated, it must be remembered that before this quarter of the town was rased to the ground, the building which was locally called by his name, and which stood here, was not two hundred years old. It may, of course, have occupied an older site. The house of Caxton was in the Almonry. The Almonry was just here. Therefore, to put the matter in logical form, one of the houses on this site was his. Caxton was a member of the mercers' company, as we saw above.† There were many houses in Westminster held by the company from the abbot, and he may, as Mr. Blades, his latest and best biographer asserts, have hired one of them. This is by no means certain.‡ Nor is it as certain as Mr. Blades would wish us to believe that this was Caxton's only connection with the abbot. At the same time, in the absence of trustworthy information to the contrary, we had best withhold our final judgment, and agreeing that

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* The volume in which the entry occurs was shown in the Caxton Exhibition at South Kensington in 1877.

† Chap. ix. p. 267.

‡ The mercers have a good many houses in and about Long Acre, adjoining the Convent, or Covent Garden. Their badge is still to be seen in St. Martin's Lane and Long Acre.

Caxton lived very near the Crimean memorial, and that Stow is wrong in making abbot Islip his patron, since Caxton died before Islip was elected, we may accept the little that we do know and see how far it connects him with Westminster and Westminster Abbey. In one of his prologues he mentions the fact that abbot Esteney "did do shewe" him certain evidences: that is, abbot Esteney allowed them to be shown to him. There is nothing in this to prove that the abbot and the printer ever came into personal contact. When we consider that the lord abbot of such an establishment not only held a high social rank, but also belonged to a society of monks, more or less recluse in their habits, it is possible that Caxton never so much as saw an abbot of Westminster in his life. He was, in fact, while he lived at the Red Pale, in the position of a retired wool stapler of moderate means, who had returned from the Low Countries, after long dealings with the merchants whom the commercially minded Edward IV. had established so near his own palace, and had naturally gravitated to the neighbourhood of the market place where his fortune had been founded. He had been thirty-five years abroad, and had imbibed at Bruges some of the artistic tastes which fostered the contemporary genius of Van Eyck and Memling. His literary ability had been stimulated by communication with Colard Mansion and other learned men, and when he came home and settled in the Almonry, he took to printing as he had learned it abroad, to fill up his leisure, to give himself an opportunity of publishing his own voluminous works, and, possibly, to add to the small savings he had brought home with him. He conducted the business, if, indeed, it can be called a business, which must have been much more of an amusement, with the same instinctive skill and care which had characterised his mercantile work at Bruges: and the result leaves him in a high rank among the founders of the selection of words from various sources which we call the English language. Caxton, as Mr. Green [*] well remarks, stood between two schools of translation, that of French affectation and that of English pedantry. He only took to printing as the employment of his declining years. He survived his return home only fifteen years. But during the time he lived in the Almonry he must have worked with prodigious energy, both at the press and in the study, and he certainly contrived before his death to make printing popular among his countrymen. He printed and published during that time about a hundred different volumes and tracts, of which some ninety-four have been identified. Several of them have been found made into pasteboard for bindings, the greatest discovery of the kind having been at St. Albans a few years ago. The British Museum preserves eighty volumes from his press. Thirty-three of his books are only known by a single example or by imperfect copies, and the greatest number of copies of any one work is only twenty-nine. The modern bibliomaniac thinks with longing of the time when a churchwarden of St. Margaret's could sell the 'Golden Legend' for 6*s.* 8*d.*

The woollen market, or wool staple, at Westminster was looked upon with jealous eyes by the neighbouring citizens of London. The market house stood just where the modern Westminster Bridge springs from its abutments. It was destroyed in 1741, being then surrounded by other buildings, for all of which the sum of £840 was paid by authority of an act of parliament.[†] A new place on which to hold a market was obtained from the dean and chapter in the Broad Sanctuary, but the only building of a civic character that remains is the so-called "Guildhall." It stands on the site of a tower in which, before the western end of the abbey church was completed, the bells were hung. The staple owed its origin to one of the periodical fits of anger against the Londoners in which Henry III. used to indulge. He ordered the city shops to be closed for fifteen days in October, 1248, and held a fair in Westminster. This fair became an annual occurrence, and was under the immediate control of the abbot, who appointed a vacant space in Tothill Fields for its celebration. The privilege of holding it was one among the many causes of the quarrel between the abbot and the citizens which Simon de Montfort in vain endeavoured to settle.* A more regular market was established by statute in 1353, when, to encourage the trade in wool, its headquarters were fixed at Westminster, and a "mayor of the staple" was appointed to superintend it. Edward IV. had extensive dealings in wool, and the Westminster staple flourished for many generations. It is possibly owing to its existence on this spot that the mercers' company rented houses from the dean and chapter. The principal scene of operations was north of Bridge Street, then the Weighhouse Lane, at the foot of which was a floating pier, or "bridge," marked in many old maps and views. In the eighteenth century an attempt was also made to set up a fish market, but it failed, owing as was said to the opposition of the city fishmongers and the merchants of Billingsgate.

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[*] ii. 56.

[†] Smith, p. 261.

Although Raleigh's headless body was laid in the chancel more than a century after Caxton's death, the appearance of Westminster had not, in spite of the suppression of the monasteries, undergone a very great change. The alterations of the last two hundred years have been far greater. Hollar, who, according to one account, was himself buried near the north-western corner of the tower, has preserved for us much of the look of the place fifty years later. When the wide roadway which now passes between the east ends of the two churches and the condemned law courts, was known as St. Margaret's Lane, and was full of houses; when a gateway stood where lord Derby's statue stands now, and another close to the chapel of Henry VII.; when other gateways marked the end of King Street, and the entrance of the Sanctuary; when the busy corner where Parliament Street now opens into Bridge Street was part of a continuous row of houses reaching to the water gate at the river's edge, Westminster presented an aspect very different from that open expanse of grass and flower beds which we now see, and the ungraceful tower of St. Margaret's came into no competition, either with the abbey towers, which were not built till 1720, or with the "pagoda" clock tower or the other ornamental features of the new palace of parliament. A network of government offices, narrow gardens, canons' houses, gothic archways, almonries, and chapels filled all the space now cleared and green. The buildings encroached on the churchyard and even on the abbey. Many of us can easily remember, before Victoria Street was thought of, that the Dean's yard was only one of a number of miserable little squares and narrow lanes of squalid houses, a nest of fever and vice, the despair of reformers and the delight of antiquaries.* Now only the hall and some minor parts of the old palace can be found. King Street has nearly disappeared and is no longer a principal thoroughfare. The clock tower near the hall, the abbot's prison and the conduit, close to which Raleigh's scaffold stood, have all departed, and left not a "rack behind." The time of William Cowper seems now, so far as Westminster is concerned, equally remote as that of Raleigh. It was in the churchyard of St. Margaret's, while he was a scholar at Westminster, that he received one of those impressions which had so strong an effect on his after life. Crossing the burial ground one dark evening towards his home in the school, he saw the glimmering lantern of a grave-digger at work. He approached to look on, with a boyish craving for horrors, and was struck by a skull heedlessly thrown out of the crowded earth. To the mind of William Cowper such an accident had an extraordinary significance. In after life he remembered it as the occasion of religious emotions not readily suppressed. On the south side of the church, until the recent "restoration," there was a stone, the inscription on which suggests the less gloomy view of Cowper's character. It marked "The Burial Place of Mr. John Gilpin"; the date was not to be made out, but it must have been fresh when Cowper was at school: and it would be absurd to doubt that the future poet had seen it, and perhaps unconsciously adopted from it the name of his hero.

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* See above, vol. i. chap. v.

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* Smith, in his 'Antiquities of Westminster,' and Archer in his 'Old London,' have preserved many of the picturesque features left standing in the present century.

The domestic buildings of Westminster Abbey have been so effectually disguised and altered that it is almost if not quite impossible to make any complete plan of what they were. Mr. Middleton's map gives the results of the latest investigations. Though, as I have said, there is not much in proportion of the Confessor's work still to be seen, its remains are in reality more extensive than is generally supposed. Many people were lately anxious as to the fate of a building standing in the so-called "Little Dean's Yard," a square on the south side of the cloister. Ashburnham House, which is reasonably believed to have been built by Inigo Jones, has, like a kind of backbone running along the whole building from end to end, a thick wall of very ancient masonry, pierced here and there with modern doorways, in which its immense solidity is apparent. This was the southern side of the "Misericorde," or place of indulgence, an adjunct to the refectory, where the monks who, for any special reason had obtained leave, ate and drank the cakes and beer provided out of some charitable fund for their benefit. Across the garden of the house is seen another great wall, pierced with round arched openings. Here stood the refectory. The dormitory has suffered even more; it is now in part a school-room, and has been so much altered and defaced that its very form is made out with difficulty. All these buildings are survivals, more or less complete, of the Confessor's work. His own palace stood eastward of the monastery, yet in places connected with it. So completely has everything been changed by the building of the houses of parliament, that it is difficult to identify even the ground on which the older buildings stood. But after the disastrous fire of 1834, it was found that the Confessor's work was greater than had been supposed, and that very little of Henry III.'s palace took up fresh ground.

Two buildings stood at right angles to each other, the chapel of St. Stephen and the so-called Painted Chamber. The house of commons sat in the chapel, the house of lords in the painted chamber, which was also sometimes described as the white hall * and the court of requests.

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* A name which misled Brayley into confounding it with Whitehall, otherwise York Place, 'Ancient Palace,' p. 357. There was a "white chamber" in the palace, as well.

This was the principal feature of Edward's palace, and if we could replace it as it was, we should find it covering the statue of Richard I., which now stands in the angle formed by the south front of Westminster Hall and the modern buildings. The windows to the east of the great hall window light St. Stephen's Gallery, which occupies the site of the chapel. It is believed that Sir Charles Barry might have saved and restored the chapel* badly as it was damaged by the fire; but, to judge by the "restoration" of its crypt, we should not have been much the better.

There is evidence that the southern end, at least, of Westminster Hall is of very early work. But the present hall is due to Richard II., and the previous building was that of William Rufus, and must have been smaller. We can therefore say nothing of what the Confessor built here. When the cloister court was formed on the east side, the buildings came to the river's edge, and the site afterwards occupied by the Speaker's Garden, and now by the principal buildings of the houses of parliament, was under water. The Speaker's house stood almost where the lobby of the House of Commons is now, having been formed out of a row of lodgings for the priests connected with the collegiate chapel of St. Stephen.

Henry III. added much to the palace. When we consider the magnitude of this king's architectural schemes, we need not seek further for any explanation of his constant want of money, and the endless demands he made upon the citizens of London. In a future chapter I shall have something to say of his buildings at the Tower. At Westminster he not only almost rebuilt the Confessor's church, but spent lavish sums on his own palace. Some of his chambers were fancifully named, perhaps from the character of their decorations : as the Antioch chamber, from a picture of the siege of Antioch by the crusaders. In the deanery to this day there is a "chamber called Jerusalem," now generally misnamed the Jerusalem chamber, and another called Jericho. In the old palace there was Heaven, Paradise, Purgatory, and even Hell.* The last named was as nearly as possible the judges' retiring room in the modern Court of Queen's Bench, now condemned to destruction. This corner, in Tudor times, was the royal nursery.†

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* **Fergusson.**

Of the law courts at Westminster we have heard much in late years. The king's judges used to travel with him, but many of our early sovereigns sat as a matter of course to hear cases. Henry III. sat in the Court of Exchequer in 1248 and 1256. James I. is the last king who "came to judgment." Westminster Hall very gradually became the head quarters of the law courts, but that they were at least occasionally fixed here appears from a report of pleas as early as 1200. They were not, however, absolved from travelling after the king till 1224, when the judges commenced to sit in the hall, as they have, nominally at least, sat ever since until now. There are some curious views extant of the different courts,‡ and various chambers were at different times appropriated to them. Edward I., however, took the judges to Shrewsbury in 1277 to assist in trying Llewellyn, Prince of Wales. In 1289 he made inquiries into the administration of justice at Westminster and punished nearly all his judges for taking bribes. It is said that a bell tower, opposite the entrance of Westminster Hall was erected with the proceeds of the fines, but, if so, it was completely rebuilt by Edward III., and subsequently became a clock tower, and as such is figured in some of Hollar's views. There was also a bell tower within the palace, and it is not easy to unravel the intricacy of the accounts as to which of them is meant by the record.

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* In one of the canons' houses at Canterbury there is still an ancient room called Paradise.

† The reader is referred to Smith's 'Westminster,' and to Brayley and Britton's 'Ancient Palace of Parliament,' for full and accurate accounts of the old buildings.

‡ See some fine plates in 'Archæologia,' vol. xxxix.

Of the modern houses of parliament much might be said did space and time permit. The new palace is the result of a long series of more or less stupid mistakes, and more or less ignorant experiments. That it is so satisfactory can only be accounted for by the enormous amount of money spent. Seen from the river the front has a symmetry not wholly unpleasing; but marred by the comparative lowness of the central part of the façade, which deprives it of dignity. The landward side is wanting in unity and seems to straggle. Much the most picturesque parts of the building are the little known courts, where no attempt at ornament or symmetry was made, and where the irregular beauties of the style assert themselves rather in spite of the architect than with his help. The ground plan looks well on paper. The way in which Westminster Hall was worked into the design, the octagon, with the four passages leading to it and the simplicity of the lobby arrangements, account for the ease with which a stranger can find his way about. The royal entrance under the southern tower, by an archway sixty feet high, and a wide staircase leading to the splendid but meaningless royal gallery, is very fine and grand. It is but too easy to find fault. The decorations are oppressive in their number and monotony. The architect knew little about the Tudor style, and could give no variety. On the exterior the pannelling is simply tiresome, while only the central tower can be considered beautiful. The

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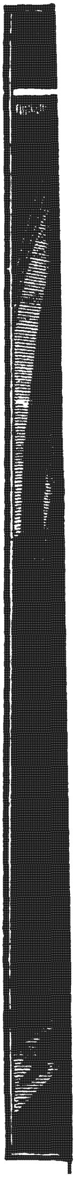

great Victoria tower might have been one of Wren's gothic efforts, and differs chiefly in size from the tower of St. Mary Aldermary. Of the clock tower it is more than sufficient condemnation to say one is constantly tempted to call it the "clock case," so exactly does it resemble a common or domestic article of furniture. It still bears the mark of recent completion; for Barry hoped to have been allowed to make New Palace Yard a quadrangle, and to have erected a great gateway, the design of which with its high pitched roof is well known, and more nearly approaches picturesqueness than anything else he did in this style. In short, the palace is what might have been expected when we forced the greatest master of the Italian style we had in England to build in gothic; just as, a little later we compelled our greatest gothic architect to build the new government offices in an Italian style. The offices in St. James's Park are, however, among Sir Gilbert Scott's most picturesque works, while it cannot be said that anything except the ground plan at the palace of Westminster is worthy of the artist who designed Bridgewater House and the Reform Club in Pall Mall.

Westminster hall was, practically, renewed by Barry, who removed the southern end, placed the window a few feet back, and made room for a broad platform or landing for the staircase which opens from the western side, facing Henry VII.'s chapel. It is difficult to realise now the old appearance of the hall.* The little shops, as archbishop Laud notes in his diary,† took fire in 1631, but the damage was insignificant: and the noble oak roof was spared. It was found to be in a very rickety state in 1820, and forty loads of old ship's timbers were brought from Portsmouth to repair it, and to complete the northern end, which had never been quite finished. A somewhat similar restoration had been made of the curious frieze of the badges and crests of Richard II. which surrounds the whole building, a few years earlier. Some relics of Norman work were obliterated under. Barry[*]; and as the whole has been refaced, a great arch erected in the eastern wall to form a members' entrance to the cloisters, a wide flight of steps built at the southern end, and some not very interesting statues of English kings and queens set up on the east side, it would not be easy, but for the roof, to find anything in the Westminster hall of to-day which was there when the estates of the realm met here to choose a new king. The walls "were hung and trimmed sumptuously," and a vacant throne stood in the midst. Near it sat the duke of Lancaster, ready to ascend it as soon as the voice of the assembly had declared him Richard's successor. This was the first great pageant in the new hall. Since then it has seen many another. Here Oldcastle was tried and condemned. Edward Seymour, duke of Somerset, and sometime lord protector of the realm, was tried in Westminster Hall, before his peers, the marquis of Winchester, lord treasurer, sitting as high steward.[†] Not long after, his great enemy, John Dudley, duke of Northumberland, was sentenced to death in the same hall. The duke of Norfolk, under queen Elizabeth, was tried in Westminster hall, the earl of Shrewsbury being high steward. Here Strafford and his unhappy master met for the last time, when Charles and his queen attended the trial. Here Charles himself encountered

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* A copy of a view made early in the eighteenth century is among the accompanying plates.

† Quoted by Timbs, p. 829.

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[*] See view in Brayley and Britton, plate viii.

[†] See several of these trials in Mr. Bell's 'Chapel in the Tower.'

Bradshaw and his assessors, and bore himself in more royal wise than at any other conjuncture of his reign. Here the seven bishops were acquitted, and the Scots lords condemned. The trial of Warren Hastings was opened in Westminster hall, a trial which is rendered the more memorable by lord Macaulay's eloquent description of its commencement.*

The palace of Westminster was occasionally inhabited by Henry VIII.: but after he had taken Whitehall from Wolsey, and St. James's from the nuns of the hospital, it ceased to be a royal residence. It had been much damaged by fire in the early part of Henry's reign, and when he obtained or seized Whitehall, he must have been very poorly lodged at Westminster, which may account for his love of Bridewell. When the papal ascendancy had been thrown off, and the monks had been banished from St. Peter's abbey, the king can have had little object in residing among some ruinous buildings, disendowed chapels, desecrated shrines, and—if Henry had anything like sentiment or superstition left in his selfish mind—the graves of his father and his mother, which he had deprived of the services they had thought so needful to their repose, and had tried to secure by so many safeguards. It was but a few years before the final suppression that Henry VIII. received the renewed oath of an abbot of Westminster, to provide the accustomed masses in the chapel of Henry VII.† Some of the ancient observances continued to be celebrated in the chapel of Henry VII. till the end of his son's reign: but ceased immediately on the accession of Edward VI.: who was himself buried under the altar of the chapel, an altar of beautiful renascence work, portions of which have lately been recovered and replaced.*

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* It is often asserted that queen Anne Boleyn was tried in Westminster hall. Mr. Bell has shown that the high steward and his court sat in the "King's hall" in the White Tower, p. 101.

† Syllabus of Rymer's 'Fœdera,' p. 773, 12 May, 1533. Abbot Benson, or Boston, surrendered on the 16th January, 1540, and was appointed first dean.

Since Henry III. had consecrated the mound of holy earth he had obtained from Palestine, by the translation of the body of Edward the Confessor, most of his descendants had chosen the chapel behind the high altar for their tombs. Many of Henry VII.'s descendants were buried in his chapel, but the body of George III. was laid beside those of Charles I., Henry VIII., Edward IV., and Henry VI. in the chapel of St. George, adjoining the royal palace at Windsor. Henry III. reserved the Confessor's ancient coffin for himself and the bones of the saint were laid in a magnificent shrine, the mere remains of which are all we can now see. It is even doubtful, if any of the "holy relics" are still in the tomb, which was renewed by queen Mary and again by James II. At the north side is the monument with its effigy of Henry III., completed ten years after his death by the piety of Edward I., whose own tomb is as plain and solid as if it had been hewn out of one of the Welsh or Scottish hills among which he wrought his mighty deeds. The plainness of Edward's tomb is the more remarkable because of the magnificence he bestowed on the tombs of his father and of his wife, whose figure, if it be indeed a portrait, is the first we have of any English sovereign, since it was completed before that of her father-in-law, Henry III. The cross Edward made in her honour at Charing remains there still in name, though the statue of Charles I. occupies the site; but the modern cross which so unmeaningly decorates the approach to the neighbouring railway station, is probably as faithful a reproduction as can be expected in the nineteenth century of the sculpture and architecture of the thirteenth. Edward also completed his father's design for rebuilding the abbey church, and added the four westernmost bays to the nave. When Edward himself was dying in 1307, at Burgh-on-the-Sands in Cumberland, he desired them to boil down his body in a cauldron, and to carry the bones against the rebels to "the very extremity of Scotland." But Edward II. was not the man to fulfil such directions. The body was embalmed and brought to Westminster, wrapped in cerecloth, and at intervals the tomb was opened, and a fresh winding sheet placed about it. The last of these renewals took place as late as the time of Henry V. In 1774 the tomb was again opened. A black marble coffin was found within the rough sarcophagus. The cerecloth was intact, and showed how carefully it had been applied for even each finger had its bandage. The body wore over its shroud the royal robes, with gilt crown and sceptre, and in this state it still lies.

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* Mr. Middleton obtained the restitution of a portion of the altar from a museum at Oxford in 1879.

It has several times been found easy to fill a volume with accounts of the tombs and monuments of Westminster Abbey. I shall notice here only a few. Edward III. rests near his grandfather, and close to him his wife. Near them is their unfortunate grandson Richard II. and his first wife, Anne of Bohemia. The effigy of the king was placed beside that of his consort in his own lifetime his hand clasping hers. Below was formerly the touching inscription, "I have been most happy and most miserable," the effect of which must have been somewhat marred by other lines of the epitaph, and in particular by the rhyming hexameters.*

One more royal tomb must be mentioned. The chantry of Henry V. is not open to the public, and is seldom fully described. It consists of a kind of stone platform erected over the tomb, which is well known, with its headless oaken effigy. The western side of the screen consists of two slender staircases, so arranged that with the floor of the platform they assume the shape of the letter H. Over it is a cross beam on which were suspended the helmet, saddle, and shield, supplied by the undertakers for his state funeral.* The shield, according to the engraving of it by Sandford, represented France. There may have been another for England, but it has disappeared. The chantry itself is a wide space surrounded by low walls from which excellent bird's eye views may be obtained all over the church. No doubt, the people, far down in the nave at the Jesus altar were able to see the elevation of the host as the daily mass was performed in the chantry above.

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* Noticed above, vol. i. p. 251.

Scarcely less important than the tombs of kings are those of their greatest ministers. Though lord Beaconsfield, who knew how the mighty dead jostle each other, so to speak, in Westminster Abbey, and how one's feelings of reverence at seeing the grave of one remarkable man, are immediately diverted to see another, chose rather to be buried in a country churchyard, yet few of his predecessors escaped the questionable honour. It comes to pass from their number, that one overlooks even the tombs of such men as the Pitts, whereas the solitary monument of lord Melbourne, in St. Paul's, is always conspicuous. But it may be safely said that of the thousands of altar tombs, tablets, cenotaphs, statues, busts, and other memorials, in the abbey, there is not one so simple, so mournful, so beautiful that it is not excelled by the black doorway in

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* Dean Stanley seems to have thought they were his veritable arms, p. 149.

St. Paul's, and the pale angels that guard it.[*] The citizens of London would fain have buried Chatham in their cathedral. We have seen how he was loved in the city,[†] and are not surprised that they would, as Walpole sneeringly observes, "have robbed Peter to pay Paul." The statue, which was eventually placed in the abbey, would unquestionably have looked better in the cathedral. Bacon set an example in modelling the figure in modern dress and parliamentary robes, and, strange to say, not only designed the monument, but wrote the inscription. No inscription was ever placed on the monument of Perceval.

Of late years, with a view to economising space and fees, it has been the custom to put up little busts on brackets in all sorts of corners. The effect is intolerable. We talk of the incongruous monuments of General Wolfe or Mrs. Nightingale, but at least they are fine works of art. A naked quarter length of the late Mr. John Keble on a Greek pedestal, is fifty times more incongruous, and bad, besides, in itself. It is impossible not to regret that Dickens's dying wish was disregarded and that his body does not rest among the scenes he loved best, and where it would have been in a sense, an honour to the place. Here it is lost. In fact, the monuments[‡] have become so numerous and so often commemorate people whom futurity will consider entitled to be called eminent chiefly because they have their memorials here, that a visit to the church is not what it was in the days of Addison and Sir Roger de Coverley, or Johnson and Goldsmith.

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[*] Had Marochetti never executed any work but this he would have been reckoned a great sculptor. But he also made the statue of Richard I. in Old Palace Yard.

[†] Chapter xiv.

[‡] The best account of the illustrious dead here interred is in the lamented Colonel Chester's book on the 'Registers of Westminster Abbey.'

The triforium of Westminster Abbey is just as full of objects of interest as every other part of the church. Yet it is not altogether a pleasant place to visit. One does not always wish to get behind, or, as in this case, above, the scenes. Even ancient abbeys have their seamy side. It is not at first possible to realise the value of every little heap of dust and rubbish which has accumulated here during so many centuries. A bundle of broken boards was once the canopy of a great king's tomb, removed to make way for the tomb of a greater than he. A heap of red fragments of terra-cotta were once the priceless images with which Torregiano decorated the high altar of Henry's sumptous chapel. A magnificently modelled "torso," worthy of Michael Angelo, is among them, and some pedestals which still bear the "beautiful feet" of little angels. Tied up into faggots are the iron rails that bore the pall which concealed the plainness of the tomb of Edward I. In one corner is the sole remaining cope chest. In another are the curious little wooden obelisks which stood at either side of the choir gate when Dart made his view. Perched high up on beams are more than a hundred helmets, some of them still bearing their crests, which like that of Henry V. have come into the abbey with funerals. At the western end of the south side is a room which Bradshaw occupied in the days of the commonwealth. It communicates with the deanery which was granted to him, and here it is said by tradition he died. His ghost haunts the gloomy chamber still, and walks the triforium on the nights of the 30th January and the 22nd November.

In a chantry over the Islip chapel is the very curious and interesting collection of waxworks. For some reason the later deans have not been anxious that the public should see these characteristic figures, and some of the more ancient are believed to have been locked away out of sight.* The commanding figure of Chatham in his robes, the imperious face of Elizabeth, the dingy image of Charles II. in its splendid point lace, the ghastly duke of Buckingham lying dead on his bier, but above all little William III. propped on a footstool beside his tall wife, both evidently portraits, and by no mean artist, should be visible to all who care to see them.

The transfer of Westminster from the abbot and his monks to the dean and his canons was made gentle by two circumstances. There were only 17 monks in the house at the suppression: and the last abbot became the first dean. The short-lived bishopric which made Westminster a city, and the "collegiate church" or royal chapel, a cathedral, helped also to keep alive the old feeling of the greatness of the place, for though a dean was nothing in comparison with a lord abbot, controlling an income which would now be reckoned at about 60,000*l.* a year, a bishop was a peer of Parliament, and bishop Thurlby turned the late abbot, now dean, out of the abbot's house and made it his palace. The dean made a house of the old Misericorde, already mentioned. Dean Benson, who had reigned for a brief period as abbot Boston, a name he derived from his birthplace, was one of these implements which kings like Henry, and ministers like Thomas Cromwell, always find ready to hand. He lived to repent of his misdeeds, and died, it was reported of "taking care." In 1533, the lord abbot's chair being vacant by the death of Islip,† Boston was brought from Burton-upon-Trent, to fill it. About the same time three manors which belonged to the abbey were pledged, or mortgaged, for 500*l.*, a large sum of money in those days. It was paid to Sir William Pawlet and to one Thomas Cromwell, not yet so well known to fame as he afterwards became. The new abbot was the first for three centuries who had not belonged to the house, and he played to perfection the part of the hireling shepherd. At the suppression he descended from his lofty station and became, as we have seen, the first dean, and Thurlby became first and last bishop of Westminster. Meanwhile Benson exerted himself to save some of the abbey estates for the new chapter, and partially succeeded, his exertions, it is probable, rather than his conscience, causing his death in 1549. He could not save the abbot's house, which on the suppression of the new see was given to the omnivorous lord Wentworth, who died in it immediately afterwards and was buried among the abbots. A second dean, Cox, inhabited the altered Misericorde, and on his flight a third, Weston, who had to make way for queen Mary's restored abbot. It was this Feckenham, so called from his birthplace in Suffolk, his family name being Howman, to whom the modern deans should be grateful for having obtained the abbot's house for them, as he effected an exchange with the new lord Wentworth, giving up to him instead the manor of Canonbury. It was this second lord Wentworth whose loss of Calais so deeply grieved queen Mary, and with Mary's life practically ended the rule of the last abbot. But the new deanery house was never again inhabited by a dean, and its subsequent history, which has been the subject of so much controversy of late, ends by disconnecting it from the abbey.

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* Dean Stanley is careful to say very little about them, and excludes the word "waxwork" from his index.

† One of Newcourt's very rare mistakes is in his list of abbots, i. 717, where he says Islip was abbot from 1483 to 1510: thus wholly omitting Fascet. Islip became abbot in 1500, and died in May 1532. (Stanley, 355.)

Queen Elizabeth founded Westminster School, and it has often, without foundation, been asserted that Francis Bacon was among the early scholars. The queen is said, at one of her visits, to have asked him how often he had been flogged, on which the precocious boy replied in a line from Virgil—

"Infandum, regina, jubes renovare dolorem."*

At first the school and the abbey were very closely connected. Dean Goodman was a kind of headmaster, and even took boarders into the deanery. This connection subsists no longer. The encroachments of the school have long been viewed with disfavour by the chapter; and when just before the death of the lamented dean Stanley, the unwilling fulfilment of a "promise to their loss" deprived them of the original deanery, which had long been a canon's residence, under the name of Ashburnham House, it was felt that the circumstances delicately described by the dean had been reversed. He spoke of the interests of the school having been occasionally overshadowed by those of the chapter. If so the cession of Ashburnham House, in 1881, and since then that of the organist's house close by show that it is now the turn of the school.

Ashburnham House requires more than a passing mention. It stands as I have said, across the very wall of the Misericorde, and its garden looked on the little that is left of the Refectory. How far the school will injure it I know not, but visitors who remember its delicate carved panelling and the fragile stucco work, will tremble for its fate. There seems to be no authentic proof that it was designed by Inigo Jones: but the negative proof that he only could have designed it is very strong. It was unquestionably built in his time for the lessee or grantee whose name it has since borne, and with an ordinary but not unpleasing exterior, is arranged and decorated within in a style which justifies what was said of it by one of the objectors to the transfer :—it stands to modern domestic architecture as St. Stephen's Wallbrook stands to ecclesiastical, as showing the power of a master to produce in a moderate space and with ordinary materials an effect perfectly satisfactory.* I have already spoken of the beautiful dormitory of Westminster School, built by Lord Burlington, which is usually said to be slightly modified from a drawing by Inigo Jones, and which is certainly well worthy of that great man.

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* It is the opening of the speech of Æneas to Dido. "Thou dost desire me, O queen, to recall unspeakable woe." Book ii., line 3.

In 1536 Westminster is described in an act of parliament as a "town." When the short lived bishopric was established in 1540, the town became a "city," and after the suppression of the see ten years later, the title still stuck to it. In an act passed in 1604 it is called the "manor and city of Westminster." Whether between 1550 and 1604 it was really a city may be questioned. It stands now alone among cities in possessing only the humbler attributes of a manor. Just as completely as if it was situated in a rural part of Wiltshire or Kent, it has its manorial officers, its lord, its steward, its bailiff: and it differs from London in having neither mayor, nor corporation, nor cathedral. It stands alone too among the Middlesex manors which have been absorbed into London, in the wider sense of that name, for not only does it preserve its manor house, but the lord of the manor lives in it. The manor houses of Rugmere and Stepney, of Tyburn and Kensington, of Finsbury and St. Pancras have disappeared. The manor house of Lylleston is a hospital. Of the manor house of Chelsea the very site is disputed. But at Westminster the lord of the manor of the church of St. Peter resides in his manor house in the reign of queen Victoria as he resided "tempore Regis Edwardi."

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* Ashburnham House is figured in Smith's 'Additional Plates,' and in 'Edifices of London' by Britton and Pugin, ii. 90, where there are two engravings showing the staircase, from drawings by Gwilt. Sir John Soane made a series of drawings of it, which are, presumably, in his Museum in Lincoln's Inn Fields.

The modern government of Westminster remains very much as it was when first organised by dean Goodman. "He was the virtual founder of the corporation of Westminster, of which the shadow still remains in the twelve burgesses and the high steward of Westminster—the last relic of the 'temporal power' of the ancient abbots His high steward was no less a person than lord Burleigh."* It may be added that the present high bailiff is the duke of Buccleugh, and that the burgesses and assistants are appointed annually on Thursday in Easter Week by the high steward or his deputy. The high bailiff is a kind of sheriff, performs the duties of returning officer, and executes warrants issued by the court of the burgesses.

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* Stanley, p. 422.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE HAMLETS OF WESTMINSTER.

IN tracing the gradual disintegration of the great parish of which I spoke in the last chapter, it would be very satisfactory if we could pursue a strictly chronological method. But no such method is possible. There are great blanks and chasms in the records. It is likely that St. Clement Danes is as old as St. Bride's or St. Dunstan's, but we have no proof of the fact. St. Martin's-in-the-Fields first appears on the page of history as the chapel of a hamlet of St. Margaret's, but the others are full-fledged parish churches as soon as we hear of them. Of the various precincts, the Rolls, the Inns, and the Savoy, we have some historical information.* Of the later and more modern parishes of St. James, St. Anne, and St. George, the whole origin and formation is perfectly well known, and almost within living memory.

The first glimpse we obtain of a change in the great parish of St. Margaret is afforded by a decree made in 1222, in which we have again a definition of boundaries. Before we consider it, we may try to form an idea of the eastern part of the parish before that date. It extended, as we read in the last chapter, to the "London Fen," by which expression all authorities are agreed that the Fleet river is intended. But it must be something more than the Fleet. The word "fen" implies a wider tract than that actually occupied by the stream. In 951 there had probably been little change in the geography of this part of London since the time of the Romans. We know nothing of a gate at Ludgate. We do know of a gate at Newgate and of a "broad military road" from it. I have already mentioned the difficulty presented by the name of Ludgate. Some have endeavoured to connect it with the meeting of the folkmote within it: but that would make it "Leetgate," or "Ledgate," not Ludgate. The difficulty of deriving it from the Fleet or Flood is equally great—indeed, an eminent authority whom I have consulted, considers such a derivation "philologically impossible." I am driven, therefore, strange as it may seem, to fall back upon king Lud. If we ask when the legendary history of the ancient kings, Lud and Belin and so on, first became popular, we find it was just in this very interval of which I have been speaking, namely, between the end of the tenth century and the end of the twelfth. I have already said that Billingsgate points to the name of a Saxon family. The people of the eleventh century had forgotten this. The easternmost watergate was naturally assigned therefore to the mythical Belin, and almost as naturally, it was argued, if such a process can be called argument, that if the eastern watergate belonged to Belin, the western one must belong to Lud. I have no means of knowing whether there was any gate here before that time: a small postern may have opened on the steep bank: on the whole I should be inclined to reject even this but for the probability that the outer slope was a Roman military burial place, a reason by no means conclusive.

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* I have perhaps devoted too much attention to what may be called the theoretical as opposed to the strictly topographical part of this chapter: but while there are innumerable books about the one, no intelligible account of the early state of the district has hitherto, so far as I know, been published.

Before the twelfth century, however, the Fen began to be dried up. A piece of foreshore extending from the river half-way up the slope towards what is now called Temple Bar began to appear, and the city took possession of it, opened the "Ludgate," and eventually made a bridge to reach it. The abbot naturally objected. A compromise left the abbot the advowson of the new church of St. Bride, but gave up the new colony otherwise to the city, and before the beginning of the thirteenth century the aldermanry, we might almost say the manor, of Joce Fitz Peter,* was formed, and eventually became part of the ward of Farringdon Without. It has been suggested that the three hides held from the abbot by Bainiard at the time of the Domesday Survey were situated here. It is very possible, and we know that they cannot have been at Bayswater, where they are usually placed, because the land there did not belong to the abbot till some years later.†

Meanwhile another invasion of the abbot's land had taken place. The highest ground on the road between Ludgate and St. Mary le Strand is still just outside Temple Bar. Here a ridge or spur of the great central hill of Rugmere,‡ came down towards the Thames. On its eastern side was a little brook, marked still by the name of Milford Lane. At its extremity, on a kind of promontory, long marked by a landing-stage known as the Strand Bridge, were the remains of some Roman buildings of which the masonry of a cistern or bath may still be recognised. These remains are the more interesting because, with the pavement discovered last year in Westminster Abbey, they are the only traces of Roman occupation yet found in the parish. On the hill above the Roman bath was the parish church of St.

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* See above, chap. vi.

† See above, chap. xvi.

‡ See below, chap. xxi.

Clement, called "Danes," either, it is said, on account of the settlement here of a colony of christianised invaders under Sweyn and Canute, or on account of the number of Danes, including Harold Harefoot, who were buried in it. Stow reports a tradition that some marauders were slain here on their way home to Denmark with their booty. No doubt, detached companies of Danes were intercepted and slain in several places; and colonies of their nation existed all over the country. The churches of St. Olave and of St. Magnus—perhaps the church of St. Bride—are evidences of their strength in London. The mere irruption, so to speak, of this parish, into St. Margaret's is significant. The Danish soldiers came along the old Roman war path, the "Heere Street," and poured down from it wherever the firmer ground of a grassy knoll enabled them to reach the Thames and their boats without risk of entanglement among the fens which surrounded the city walls. The little creek and promontory by the Roman bath added to the attractions of the situation. The Aldwych Road—which still as Wych Street survives—may in its name contain an allusion to the ancient settlement, and certainly points the way by which the colonists, whether Roman or Saxon, or Dane, swept down from the ridge to the river. The church is in what was originally the south-eastern corner of the parish which stretches northward to the still open Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, and westward to the crowded purlieus of Drury Lane. Two outlying districts may mark the settlements of isolated families. One of them is now occupied by the Lyceum Theatre,* the other on the site of Beaufort House, once the residence of the scientific marquis of Worcester, whose 'Century of Inventions,' printed in 1663, contains the germ of the steam engine, is recognised in Beaufort Buildings.

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* Perhaps some historian of the future may hazard the opinion that the name of St. Clement "Danes" refers to the long run of *Hamlet* at this theatre. I have had to notice and refute much wilder guesses than this. It would not be so absurd to hint that "Danes" is a reference to the dene or hollow by Milford Lane.

The decree of 1222 formally deprived the abbot of Westminster of this parish. The boundary line no longer runs to the "old stock of St. Andrew's church" and down the fen to the Thames. It stops at the garden of St. Giles's Hospital, turns south-eastward, and reaches the Strand near the "church of the Innocents" at the house of one Simon, a weaver.* It does not even touch the Thames. The south side of the Strand is excluded, for a reason which will be apparent further on, and the boundary returns along the king's highway to Westminster. We have here, then, already, mention of another church, and a few lines further on there is a third. St. Clement Danes, St. Mary-le-Strand, then called the Holy Innocents, and St. Martin's—away in the open fields by Charing—were all in existence, and St. Margaret's was rapidly dwindling.

It is common for people who do not know the facts of the case to throw blame upon the city authorities for not extending their "wards without," so as gradually to take in what is now so often called the metropolitan area. I do not know that the city ever wished to do this. But it is quite easy to see that it could not have been done, and I have given special prominence to this matter of the archbishop's decree of 1222, because it shows that the lords of manors, not the mayor and commonalty, prevented the extension of the ward system. To make Joce Fitz Peter alderman of that part of Farringdon Without which is comprised in the district west of the Fleet, and Anketel de Auvergne after him, was distinctly to invade the rights of the lord of the manor, the abbot of Westminster. In the same way it was not, as we have seen, till the reign of queen Mary that Southwark became a ward without, though in this case it is known that the city ardently desired further jurisdiction, and had begun to take steps more than a century before to that end. But we shall see presently that even on Holborn Hill the city jurisdiction was disputed, and we can have no doubt that every ward without was keenly fought over; while the device of taking a lease from the lord of the manor had to be resorted to in one case, that of Finsbury.*

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* See 'Archæologia,' xxvi. 227.

In addition to the new parishes carved out of St. Margaret's, some extra-parochial "precincts" had also arisen. When the Blackfriars had laboriously pieced together an estate at the north-western corner of the new ward of Joce Fitz Peter, the munificence of certain eminent citizens and the favour of the king† enabled them to migrate to the spot which has ever since borne their name. The older house, with its gardens, passed into the possession of Henry Lacy, earl of Lincoln, "a person well affected to the study of the laws,"‡ and he granted it, before his death in 1310, we know not on what terms, to the legal students and professors. They soon by renewable leases obtained virtual possession of the adjoining mansion of the bishop of Chichester; and forced the bishop to remove certain bars at the foot of "Chancellor's Lane," now Chancery Lane, which Sir John le Breton, during one of his wardenships § of the city, had allowed to be set up on account of the constant passage of traffic and the consequently muddy state of the lane. The chief buildings were erected from bricks made in what had been the bishop's "coney garth," the western part of the garden, now almost surrounded by houses. Before the reign of Henry VIII. the society flourished exceedingly, and reckoned among its members many eminent men, including Sir Thomas More. A little later, according to Fuller, Ben Jonson worked at the buildings, "when having a trowel in one hand, he had a book in the other," and it may very well be that he pursued his occupation under the orders of Inigo Jones, who built a curious, but thoroughly gothic chapel on tall arches, which was consecrated in 1623.*

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* See chap. vii., p. 207.

† Chap. viii.

‡ Herbert's 'Inns of Court,' p. 289.

§ See above, chap. vi.

Of all the buildings at Lincoln's Inn, the gateway, now that the chapel has been historically-speaking destroyed, is the most interesting: being late gothic work, somewhat like St. John's Gate and some parts of St. James's Palace. Naturally, it is very obnoxious to improvers, and is even now, it is reported, under condemnation. The new hall,† situated in the northern part of the old "Coney garth," is very conspicuous from Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, and is one of the first buildings made under the influence of the gothic revival which can be pronounced a success. The architect was chosen according to the usual English method. Having, we are informed, "given evidence of talents of a superior order in the erection of the noble Doric propylæum at the railway terminus in Euston Square," he was selected as a fit and proper person to erect a hall which was to be as like a piece of genuine Tudor architecture as it could be made. Philip

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* It might have been hoped that such a sacred conjunction would have ensured the safety of this chapel: but as I write it is being added to and altered, and that, incredible as it may seem, under the direction, not of an architect, but of a lawyer. An architect would probably have thought himself unworthy to touch the work of Jones, though at Cambridge Scott "improved" the work of Wren.

† There is an account of it in Spilsbury's 'Lincoln's Inn,' p. 88.

Hardwick showed a versatility denied on similar occasions to Barry and to Scott, and abandoning the Grecian style erected in red banded brick the very handsome new hall, on which his initials and the date 1843, prevent the visitor from falling into error.

The smaller inns are almost too numerous to mention: yet I would like to pause a moment over the smallest. Barnard's Inn, Holborn, is entered from the street by a narrow doorway, and the visitor immediately and without notice finds himself transported into another century, and sees what might be the actual scenery of one of De Hooghe's pictures.* Very similar, but on a larger scale, was the old Furnival's Inn, the design of which was reasonably attributed to Inigo Jones.† But it has long perished. There is much to admire in Staples Inn, and there is a refreshment in plunging into its quiet courts from the din and bustle of Holborn Bars, which the tired Londoner can best enjoy. In the whole of this quarter, from Fetter Lane westward to Chancery Lane, and from Holborn to the Rolls, an observant saunterer will find innumerable fragments of ancient glory. Sometimes it is only a heavy cornice. Sometimes it is a red brick pilaster. Sometimes it is only a "shell" hall-door. But such relics are rapidly disappearing before the improving hands of connoisseur treasurers: and one mentions them almost with bated breath.‡

Most of these institutions, however small, have at one period or another claimed exemption from parochial rates. Some of these claims have been successful. In others the parish has triumphed. These exemptions must have been very numerous at one time. The district on which Ely Place once stood, made such a claim, as we shall see further on, and besides Lincoln's Inn and the Rolls,* and the Temple, we have the example of the Savoy, of Norton Folgate, of the Artillery Ground, of the Tower, of St. Katherine's, some of them furnished with chapels of their own, and some strictly speaking attached to parishes.† Few of them remain unassailed, but from the strictly historical point of view they are well worthy of notice.

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* There is a good view in Herbert, p. 349.

† See views in Wilkinson, ii. 15; Herbert, p. 324, &c.; and Ireland's 'Picturesque Views,' p. 163.

‡ See chap. viii. for brief notices of the Temple and the Rolls.

A large open space once existed between the southern side of Lincoln's Inn and the thoroughfare of the Strand. It was early known as Fickett's Field, and by its side close to the city boundary there was a blacksmith's, possibly an armourer's shop. Fickett's Field was the jousting ground of the Templars, and the forge was, no doubt, fully employed for shoeing horses and riveting mail. But the knights and their days passed away. The city took particular interest in this corner of its dominions. The boundary was somewhat indefinite and unprotected. The Inns of Court were a constant cause of strife as to jurisdiction, and so the forge, lest it should fall into other hands, was rented of the king, and is rented still, though the building, whatever it was, disappeared in the blaze of

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* It is said that a certain insurance office, erected in Chancery Lane, was found to be neither in London nor in Westminster, but in the Rolls, and had some difficulty with its license.

† The following are "unrepresented extra-parochial places," in schedule C of the map of the Metropolitan Board of Works:—Charter House, Gray's Inn, the Close of the Collegiate Church of St. Peter (Westminster Abbey), Inner Temple, Middle Temple, Lincoln's Inn, Staple Inn, and Furnival's Inn. The following "precincts" are represented:—Liberty of Saffron Hill (comprising Hatton Garden, Ely Rents, and Ely Place), Liberty of Glasshouse Yard, Liberty of the Rolls, Precinct of the Savoy, Liberty of Norton Folgate, Liberty of Old Artillery Ground, Liberty of St. Botolph without Aldgate, District of the Tower, and Precinct of St. Katharine.

Wat Tyler's rebellion. Year by year, when the sheriffs went to Westminster to be presented at the court of exchequer, six horseshoes and "sixty-one nails, good number," were presented for the rent of "the forge in the county of Middlesex." Within the past year the law courts have themselves migrated from Westminster to the new buildings provided for them, and, for aught we can tell to the contrary, the court of exchequer, or what answers to it now, may actually sit on this very site.* The whole of Fickett's Fields † having for centuries been covered with a labyrinth consisting of some of the most wretched tenements in London, was once more cleared in 1871, and is now covered anew with the magnificent palace of justice, the most complete result, in these kingdoms, at least, of the movement known as the gothic revival—a movement which has, on the whole, been wonderfully barren of fine buildings, and chiefly distinguished by the destruction of vestiges of antiquity under the false name of restoration. A survey of the main characteristics of the new law courts brings out two principal facts; one is that the architect's design was pruned by the authorities in a manner which would have ruined anything less meritorious; and the other, that lopped and limited as it is, we have here a building worthy of the nation.

The new law courts stand partially within the city boundary, a fact which renders it possible to transfer business to them from the Guildhall as well as from Westminster.

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* In accordance with an act termed "The Queen's Remembrancer's Act," passed in 1859, the service of this "jocular tenure" is performed by the city solicitor, who annually attends at the Remembrancer's office for the purpose.

† Among the local names were two Horse Shoe Courts. The new buildings are in St. Clement's parish and the Rolls precinct, and in the parish of St. Dunstan, which is within the city.

The Strand front in the original design was to have had a record tower, which, as the design is in existence, may yet possibly be built and which would have formed a very conspicuous and ornamental feature of the entrance to the city. This and many other parts of Mr. Street's original drawing were removed by superior authority, while the architect himself was wearied by contradictory orders, and by changes of site; for one minister was anxious to place the new building on the embankment and had a design prepared with that intention. In 1871, however, all obstacles were removed, and the ground of Fickett's Field was cleared. The front is 290 feet in width, its central feature being the gable of the great hall, 140 feet in height. This is recessed from the line of the roadway some 80 feet, a staircase turret being on either side. The hall is superior to that of Westminster in one respect for it is vaulted with stone. It is 230 feet in length, and only 48 in width, so that the appearance of length is greatly enhanced. There are sixteen windows at the sides, each 36 feet high. The eighteen courts all open from the hall. It is greatly to be regretted that when her majesty, in December 1882, opened this magnificent building, the artist who had conceived it was no more.*

I have mentioned in passing the parish of St. Mary, or the Holy Innocents, which in 1222 had already been severed from Westminster. It lay for the most part on the south side of the Strand, and comprised a small part of the manor of the Savoy—that part namely, which was outside the immediate precincts of the duke of Lancaster's palace. It is perhaps hardly correct to say that St. Mary's was taken out of St. Margaret's. It would be more correct to describe it as taken out of the Thames. The Savoy was put together by degrees, but the main part of it, there can be no doubt, was at some remote time foreshore. Remote as it was, that time may be fixed within certain limits. The Strand, and consequently the southern side of it, with its steep little lanes leading down to the water's edge, did not exist in 971. In the decree of 1222 the church is mentioned; and in 1246, Henry III. made a grant of the land lying between "la Strande" and the river's edge, to his wife's uncle, Peter of Savoy. The boundaries of the estate which comprised the parish of the Holy Innocents, were defined a little later. "To understand them now we must remember that west of Wych Street, then or soon afterwards known as the old Wych Road or Ald Wych Road, there was an open green with a maypole, and just beyond it a cemetery, which lay rather below the level of the present line of street, and on a part of the site now occupied by Somerset House."* The Innocents' church was very near the present chapel of King's College. It was eventually destroyed by the protector Somerset, to make way for his new palace, and the rapidly increasing population of the parish was left absolutely without any place of worship, After some delay the chapel of St. John in the Savoy was assigned to them, on certain terms, and it was not until 1717, when their new church in the Strand was built, that they ceased to be thus dependent.

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* I remember on one occasion standing with Mr. Street on the site of the porch, before a single stone had been laid. I asked him if he could see the building in his mind's eye. He said he could, distinctly: and pointing to a tall house on the opposite side of the Strand, he added, "That building is fifty-four feet high." Then he turned round, and looked up in the air, "My gable is more than twice as high." The anecdote is trivial but shows how clearly he had thought the matter out. I have no doubt he could have directed the building without any drawn design, as Wren directed St. Paul's.

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* 'Memorials of the Savoy,' p. 11, to which I must refer for a more complete account of the district.

It was owing to their tenancy that the chapel, now a chapel royal, became commonly known as St. Mary's. The parishioners brought with them their old church bell, and took it away again when they left; and there is no bell in the chapel tower to this day.

The artificial nature of the manor is apparent from the map,* for instead of being in any way conterminous with a parish it is partly in St. Clement's and partly in St. Mary's, resembling in this respect a city ward.† It was in fact made up by purchase as well as by the exercise of the king's not very scrupulous authority. By the bequest of Peter, the first owner, it went to the friars of Mountjoy, who sold it to queen Eleanor for 300 marks. She granted it in 1284 to her son Edmund, earl of Lancaster, and it went eventually to the first wife of John of Gaunt, who was created duke of Lancaster. His son settled the whole of the estates of the duchy on the Sovereign for the time being: and the manor of the Savoy is still the property of her majesty.

The house was burnt by Wat Tyler's followers, and never rebuilt: and the ground was made over by Henry VIII. to a hospital founded under his father's will and completed in 1517. But it never prospered. The estates were given away by Edward VI. to Bridewell, resumed by queen Mary, and finally frittered away by carelessness and mismanagement, until, in 1702, lord keeper Wright, by what authority I know not, dissolved and suppressed it finally. George III. made the chapel "royal," and it has been kept in good repair, a fire in 1864, by which the old roof was destroyed, having led to its thorough and satisfactory restoration. It is interesting apart from its associations as the only old church between

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* Memorials, p. 230.

† See Appendix E.

St. Margaret's and St. Olave's, Hart Street, with the exception of the renovated chapel of the Temple.

St. Mary-le-Strand is one of the prettiest of Gibbs's works. It is wholly wanting in dignity, and we cannot but wish the tower had been to one side, as it presents an extremely formal appearance facing the street. It has, of course, been objected to the design of the church that seeming outside to consist of two storeys, there is but one within: an objection which applies equally to Whitehall chapel and many other buildings in the style, including St. Paul's.

The front of Somerset House has been admired by many good judges of architecture. It is in part a copy of the old building which was designed by Inigo Jones: but both here, and on the south front towards Lancaster place, the effect is much marred by two storeys of windows showing through one order of columns or pilasters. Every one must agree that the river front is not quite worthy of its conspicuous situation. Sir William Chambers was not equal to the task he undertook. The almost adjoining Adelphi, called after the brothers Adam, is much better, though by no means so magnificent either in size or costliness. The "dark arches" of the Adelphi mark the site of old streets, some of which remain near them but at a lower level than that of Salisbury Street and Adam Street.

There is no part of London in which the local names are more significant than the Strand. They tell of the former existence of a row of river-side palaces, of which Somerset House only can be said in any sense to remain, and of which the Savoy chapel is the only contemporary relic. At first the great houses belonged to bishops. Nine are said to have lived in the Strand at one time, but very few are commemorated by street names. The Outer Temple was in the reign of Elizabeth the town house of the earl of Essex, and both Devereux Court, and Essex Street remain. But previously it had been the house, or one of the houses of the bishop of Exeter.* The adjoining site was occupied by the bishops of Bath, whose rights were usurped by Seymour, the brother of the protector Somerset. At his tragical death, Henry Fitz Alan, earl of Arundel, bought it for £41 6*s.* 8*d.*, and in 1579 it devolved on the Howard family, and the land has belonged, like Arundel Castle itself, to the dukes of Norfolk ever since. Their name and titles define the locality of their estate. The vast area of Somerset House covers the site of the residences of the bishops of Chester and of Worcester, as well as of the church and churchyard already mentioned, while the wall of the south front, but very little more, is in the precinct of the Savoy. The site of Beaufort House has already been noticed. Here the bishops of Carlisle had a house, spoken of in some of the documents connected with the Savoy, which is described as lying between the houses of this bishop, to the westward, and of the bishop of Worcester to the eastward. The bishops of Llandaff also lived in the Strand and on the Savoy estate, but I have failed to identify the place with certainty. It may have been the small plot on the north side which is now marked by Exeter Hall, and by Burleigh Street, where the great lord Burleigh lived in the reign of James I. It was close to the house of the junior branch of the Cecil family, and Cecil Street with Salisbury Street are on the ground, which still belongs to lord Salisbury. The houses at the lower end of Salisbury Street were built and decorated by Payne or the Adams, and some of the most charming rooms in London are in the last house on the right-hand side, now an hotel. This street is supported like the adjacent Adelphi on arches, and a miserable village of tumble-down houses remains between it and the Embankment gardens, at a lower level. The boundary between the Savoy and St. Martin's passes down the centre of Cecil Street. Before houses covered the spot a little brook ran here into the Thames, and no doubt marked the boundary. The roadway of the Strand crossed it by the Ivy Bridge.*

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* See above, chap. ix. Bishop Stapleton seems to have had two town houses, one here and one in Old Dean's Lane, now Warwick Lane, Newgate.

Of the ancient connection of the convent of Westminster with this part of London the most prominent modern evidence is afforded by the land on the slope north of the manor of the Savoy. Here a large district is still known as Covent Garden.† Long Acre was once the Seven Acres, and in 1612 a long pathway is mentioned as traversing them. A little parish, one of the smallest in London, lies between Long Acre and the Strand. The church of St. Paul is often, but rather vaguely said to have been the earliest specially built for Protestant worship. The parish was divided from St. Martin's by the first act of a local nature passed after the accession of Charles II. The whole parish belonged to the Russell family, having been granted in 1552 to John, earl of Bedford, whose descendant the duke of Bedford owns it now. Southampton Street marks the site of their house of residence, but until it was built they had the old house of the bishop of Carlisle, at the opposite side of the Strand, adjoining the Savoy. Francis, fourth earl, laid out 4500*l.* in building the church, and is said * to have told Inigo Jones he wished for nothing "much better than a barn." "Well then," said Jones, "you shall have the handsomest barn in the world." The church was of brick with a tiled roof, and must have differed much in appearance from the present church, which was built by Hardwick, after a fire in 1795. The general lines of the old design were followed, and with the help of a little imagination we can realise its original features.† "It is built in the Tuscan order as described by Vitruvius," says Brayley, who adds that "it may be regarded as the most complete specimen of that order in the world, as no ancient building of the kind is now remaining." The portico faces the flower market, and is one of the best known features of London: and it has often been cited as an example of the fact "that it is taste and not expense, which is the parent of beauty." The knowledge, or genius, or calculation by which Jones contrived even in such a plain building to obtain a picturesque effect is certainly a strong proof of the folly of architects who imagine that any amount of showy carving, or granite columns, will form a substitute for the study of proportion and the expenditure, not of money, but of thought. The rest of the square was also originally designed by Jones, of whose work but slight traces remain. He lived it is said close by in Chandos Street, and a modernised house there has still portions of a magnificently carved staircase which may well have been designed by him.

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* Described as Ulebrig in some of the Savoy records. "Ule" is Anglo-Saxon for "owl," which in itself tells a tale of the rural state of the district when the roadway was first made.

† There was another Covent Garden at Bishopsgate, probably that of St. Helen's priory.

I have abandoned for a moment the chronological arrangement in order to place Covent Garden in its topographical position with respect to the Strand. St. Paul's, as I have said, was taken out of St. Martin's. We have now to see how it was that the ground was in St. Martin's and not in St. Margaret's. When, in the oft-mentioned year 1222, the archbishop pronounced his award in the matter of the Westminster boundaries, he specially excepted a church and cemetery of St. Martin.* No parish appears to have been attached to it. A century later a vicar is mentioned. Before the end of the fourteenth century "the parish of St. Martin-in-the-Fields is described by name as being in the franchise of Westminster." It is not easy to decide what were its boundaries at this period, but it probably included what are now the separate parishes of St. James and St. George, while St. Anne, Soho, remained to St. Margaret's. When Henry VIII. had annexed St. James's Park to his new palace,† he issued a patent, dated in 1542, by which he transferred to St. Martin's all the district which remained to Westminster north and west of Whitehall.‡ He found it inconvenient that funerals should pass through the palace to the churchyard of St. Margaret's. Thenceforth a line was drawn at the northern gate of Whitehall, and only what lay to the south of it was to be included in St. Margaret's. Thus the old parish was once more diminished, but St. Martin's remains, like St. Clement's, and the other divisions, part of Westminster as respects parliamentary elections. In 1680 it was considered "the greatest cure in England," and Richard Baxter is reported to have complained that it contained forty thousand people more than could be accommodated in its church. In 1684 St. James's, Westminster—which we generally style St. James's, Piccadilly, —was taken out of it. Four years later St. Anne's, Soho, was also separated, and when in 1725 Sir Richard Grosvenor built his new quarter about Grosvenor Square, St. George's was also divided from it.

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* By Horace Walpole: see Cunningham, ii. 638.

† There is a very complete account of both parish and church in Britton and Pugin's 'Edifices,' i. 107, written by E. W. Brayley.

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* 'St. Martin's in the Fields,' by W. G. Humphry, B.D., vicar of the parish.

† See next chapter.

‡ This royal decree was read at the trial about the rates of St. Margaret's in 1833, reported by Walsh and printed by Nicholls in 1834.

St. Martin's may be looked upon as the centre of modern London. Charing Cross is in the parish, in fact one of the earliest notices of the church describes it as "juxta Charring"; this was in the reign of Edward I., who having been informed that treasure was buried in St. Martin's desired a search to be made for it. The result is unknown.* Edward erected Charing Cross, which was completed in 1296, and cost what must then have been thought a large sum, namely 450*l.* The statues were by an artist who is described as Alexander the Imaginator, of Abingdon.†

The site of the Eleanor Cross is marked by Le Sœur's fine statue of king Charles I., on a pedestal by Grinling Gibbons. Here the regicides were put to death with every detail of cruelty in 1660, and Pepys has recorded that it was his chance "to see the king beheaded at Whitehall, and to see the first blood shed in revenge for the king at Charing Cross." This expression, "in revenge," is curious as showing the ideas of the objects of punishment then current. At this time Charing Cross was a narrow spot where three streets met. Where the Nelson Column stands now there was a row of houses,

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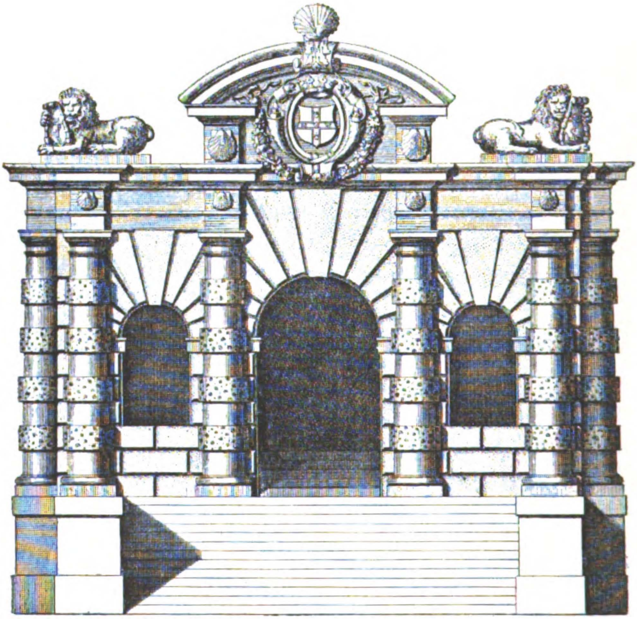
* Humphry, p. 10. This mention of "Charring" is the more interesting as this was the king who erected the cross. It is one of the three "ings" of Middlesex. See above, chap. xv. p. 2.

† 'Memorials of queen Eleanor,' by John Abel. Mr. Humphry puts the cost at 650*l.*



YORK GATE.

To face p. 87, *Vol. II.*

and the king's mews behind. On the south side stood Northumberland House, destroyed without much reason, but at an enormous cost, in 1874, the last of the great riverside palaces. York House, which had been just within the parish boundary, and next to Salisbury House, was the residence of those archbishops of York who succeeded Wolsey, having been bought for them, instead of an inconvenient house in Southwark, given by queen Mary. But only one archbishop seems to have actually lived in it, Heath, the first who held it, and who was Mary's chancellor. It became a kind of official residence for chancellors, several of whom, and keepers of the great seal, rented it successively,* and here the great Francis Bacon was born. The first duke of Buckingham persuaded James I. to give the archbishop other lands for York House, and having obtained possession began to build a new palace for himself. It never proceeded beyond the water gate, which was designed by Inigo Jones, and carved by Nicholas Stone, and which still remains in its old place, showing both where York House was, and the old level, before the embankment was made.† It bears his badge of an anchor, as lord high admiral. A temporary house was inhabited by the duke and his successor, and was furnished in a style which astonished contemporary writers.

Gibbs has gained more fame by St. Martin's church than by any other building he erected. It has one serious fault at least. The steeple rises from the portico, which, massive as it is, appears crushed in consequence.

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* Cunningham enumerates the lord keeper Bacon; the lord chancellor Bacon, his son; the lord keeper Pickering; and the lord chancellor Egerton.

† I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. John Ward, F.S.A., for the accompanying print, reduced from that in Campbell's 'Vitruvius Britannicus.'

The interior, which is very closely imitated in its chief features from Wren's St. James's, is extremely fine, and in spite of large galleries gives the visitor an impression of space very unusual in a London church. It has been well observed [*] that neither Gibbs nor his contemporary Hawksmoor understood the value of the mathematical proportion so much insisted upon by Wren. One consequence is here very apparent, for the east end, although it resembles more than one of Sir Christopher's, is yet a failure, heavy and dull, only for want of better proportions. To prove this we have only to remember St. Lawrence, Jewry. The portico is magnificent, and its splendid effect is set off to great advantage by the meanness of the neighbouring National Gallery. The church was consecrated in 1726, having cost the parishioners more than 36,000*l.* We can imagine Sir Christopher Wren, who was still alive, looking on and thinking what he might have done with such a sum of money at St. Stephen's or St. Mary-le-Bow, in the city, or at St. James's, in Piccadilly.

Of the National Gallery as a building, the less said is the better.[†] It is impossible to regard it as permanent. A time must come when we shall be ashamed to see it any longer. It was unfortunate for Wilkins that he was chosen to design it. His powers as an architect were remarkable. His design for the University of London in Gower Street has been only partially carried out, but we can judge of him by St. George's Hall, at Liverpool, one of the most beautiful modern buildings in Europe. At Trafalgar Square he was crippled by conditions incompatible with the possibility of doing anything good.

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[*] Gwilt in 'Edifices,' i. 44.

[†] I have waded through an appalling pile of pamphlets on the subject, without much result.

"The money allotted to the purpose was scarcely one-half of what was necessary; he was ordered to take and use the pillars of the portico of Carlton House; to set back the wings so as not to hide St. Martin's church; and lastly to allow two thoroughfares through it."* No wonder, then, that it is a miserable performance; and poor Wilkins, who could have done so much better and knew it, died of the ridicule his work excited.

If Englishmen have cause to feel ashamed of the exterior of the National Gallery, which has not been improved of late years by some incongruous additions, they have every reason to be proud of its contents. The rate of acquisition is amazing. It goes on by leaps and bounds. The number of pictures has doubled in twenty years, and much more than doubled in value. In the very beginnings of things we bought the Angerstein collection, consisting of thirty-eight pictures, several of them very poor, especially those which bore the greatest names, for 57,000*l.*, and lodged them in a house now absorbed by the War Office in Pall Mall. That was in 1824. Ten years later the first trustees were appointed, and six years were spent in the usual recriminations in which we always indulge on these occasions, and in building in Trafalgar Square. The number of pictures had meanwhile risen, partly by purchases, partly by the munificent gift of Sir George Beaumont, partly by bequests, to one hundred and sixty-six. Progress was slow till 1843, when only twenty more pictures had been added, but a few years later the Vernon collection was bequeathed, and doubled the numbers, or would have done so had it been possible to receive the new pictures in the old gallery. They were exhibited first at Marlborough House, and afterwards for many years at South

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* Fergusson, 'Modern Architecture,' 304.

Kensington. In 1856 Turner's paintings and water-colour sketches were bequeathed. Ten years later the number of works exhibited amounted to 750, and the purchase of the Garvagh Raffaelle for 9000*l.* was thought to have exhausted the buying power of the trustees for some time to come. But a much more astonishing, if scarcely so satisfactory a bargain was completed in 1866, when we gave 7000*l.* for the very doubtful picture of "Christ Blessing Little Children," attributed to Rembrandt. Sir Charles Eastlake's early Italian pictures were added in the following year, under an old arrangement; but very little else was bought until the autumn of 1868, when we acquired one of the most remarkable works in the gallery. We already possessed, as the best picture in the Angerstein Collection, the magnificent Sebastian del Piombo of the "Raising of Lazarus," for which Michael Angelo is known to have made the design, and on which he probably worked himself. But the new purchase professed to be an actual "holograph," so to speak, of the great Florentine—unfinished, it is true, but complete in composition, and most instructive in every way. At first there was no space to hang this treasure of art, and it was not exhibited publicly till the critics, and many besides, had seen it in private. The doubtful Rembrandt had a good pedigree, or it could never have fetched 7000*l.*; the undoubted Michael Angelo had comparatively no pedigree, and was only reckoned worth 2000*l.*, but the popular verdict leaves little question as to which of the two is best worth the higher sum. In 1869 the National Gallery obtained the old rooms of the Royal Academy at the southern end of the building, and signalised the occasion by the purchase of De Hooge's "Courtyard in Holland" for 1722*l.*, a price which no one grudged when once the picture had been seen, and by reclaiming, after some delay, the Vernon bequest from South Kensington. Many people, however, did grudge the purchase in the following year of the Peel Gallery, as it gave us only a few new names, and added but little to the completeness of the Collection. But many of the Dutch pictures it contained were masterpieces in their way. The "Avenue at Middelharnis" by Hobbema, and the "Velvet Hat" by Rubens, became popular favourites at once. The Peel Gallery consisted of seventy-seven pictures and some drawings, and the price came to nearly a thousand guineas each, a high average; but five years later we received a still larger number of fine works for nothing by the bequest of Mr. Wynn Ellis. His pictures do not reach the same high average as those of Sir Robert Peel, and some of the best had no pedigrees; but the strange Van Romerswale—at first attributed to Quentin Matsys, till the true artist's name was found inscribed on one of the parchments represented—and some landscapes by Claude, Ruysdael, and De Koninck, are a distinct gain. They were among the new pictures exhibited when the public were first admitted to the galleries built by Mr. Barry behind the eastern end of the old front. As at the first foundation of the building, much controversy among artists and architects preceded the completion of this great improvement; and, though few were enthusiastic as to the beauty of the new galleries, all were astonished at the rapidity with which they were filled, and at the enhanced value of pictures properly arranged and lighted, and hung where they were visible to the naked eye.

During the last few years many excellent works have been obtained by purchase. Lord Beaconsfield took a keen interest in the improvement of the collection, and several fine early Italian works were added during his premiership. But Mr. Gladstone's government has not been far behind, and during the past year the sale of the Hamilton gallery gave an opportunity which was eagerly seized. The new acquisitions, including those from Hamilton Palace, assuredly raise our National Gallery to a very high level indeed. We have not the Titians of Madrid, nor the Rubenses of the Louvre; we have not the Memlings of Bruges, nor the Van Eycks of Ghent. But we have some of the best examples of all these artists—Titian's "Ariosto," Rubens's "Château de Stein," Memling's "Holy Family," Van Eyck's "Arnolfini," for example, only to name a few; we have Raffaelles, Murillos, Solarios, Rembrandts, Hobbemas, Claudes, and, in short, all the great masters, with one conspicuous exception, which is, however, temporarily supplied by the duke of Norfolk's generous loan of Holbein's "Duchess of Milan." This was the lady of whom it is said that when Henry VIII. proposed to marry her, she replied that unfortunately she had only one head. That nevertheless she dallied with the offer is apparent from the existence in England of this picture, brought over by Henry's ambassador, and another at Windsor Castle.*

Among recent purchases are the Suffolk Leonardo which excellent judges prefer to the repetition of the same subject in the Louvre; examples from the Hamilton collection of Botticelli, Velasquez, Pontormo, Signorelli, Mantegna, and other great artists; together with the five little pictures of a lesser genius, Gonsalez Coques, which Mr. Burton recently obtained in Belgium. As a representative collection, therefore, the National Gallery is second to no other; and it is impossible not to look with pride on the successful efforts of a single generation to form in England a museum of art such as may compare with any other in Europe, even with some which are the result of long centuries of growth.

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* See Mr. Scharf's paper on the subject in 'Archæologia,' xl. 106.

At some not very distant day the barracks which occupy so much space at the back of the gallery must be removed, and an adequate building erected to house our treasures. The prints and drawings by great masters, of which we have a collection quite worthy of our pictures, should be brought and exhibited near the other works of the same artists. Designs have been made on several occasions, but they have never secured the approval of the critics. The fact is we have no Wren or Burlington, no Wilkins, not even a Gibbs among us now, and it will be better to wait a little longer rather than have a National Gallery in the style of the additions to Burlington House, or the stuccoed front of Buckingham Palace.

The rapid growth of buildings in the parish gave serious cause of uneasiness to the authorities. In 1634 a commission was appointed which reported that a man named Moor had built without license a row of no less than forty-two houses close to St. Martin's church. He was fined a thousand pounds, and the houses were pulled down by the sheriffs. Lord Bedford had special leave to build round Covent Garden, but did not avail himself of it at first, on account of the strong public feeling on the subject, a feeling stimulated by the ravages of the plague.* The western roads were beginning to be lined with houses. Dwellings for the families of the officials and menials of the court were erected in the mews, which occupied what is now the open space of Trafalgar Square. At the same time a number of houses were demolished in Piccadilly, by order of the committee sitting in the Star Chamber, on the ground that they fouled the water of the stream which, as we have seen, crossed the road into the Green Park, and supplied Whitehall. In the house of commons a few years later blame was thrown upon the city for refusing its freedom even "to rare artists," who were thereby driven to the western suburbs. But London was just recovering from the successive shocks of the plague and the fire, overcrowding was so much dreaded that the means taken to prevent it only added to the danger, and sanitary science was confined to empiricism and superstitious observances.

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* See above, chap. xi., and Southey's 'Common Place Book' in which there are numerous extracts relating to the extension of building in the suburbs.

St. James's, Piccadilly, was at last found to be a necessity. No efforts could stop the tide of building. Soho was already crowded and fashionable: but I postpone a notice of it to keep if possible to the chronological order in which the "hamlets" of Westminster were separated from the mother church.* The great western road may be said to have commenced with Wych Street, but the newly-built quarter of Covent Garden interrupted it, and the line of highway of which Piccadilly is the chief part, only becomes direct at the eastern end of Cranbourn Street where Long Acre and St. Martin's Lane meet. The increase of population took place at first about the palace of St. James's and Pall Mall. The square was built in 1665 and at once became, as it still continues, a centre of fashion, which has perhaps never been so constant to any other site. "Fashionable neighbourhoods are continually changing, but this square is an exception to the rule, as it has been for two centuries one of the most aristocratic places in London," says Mr. Wheatley.* The fields on which the new quarter was laid out immediately after the restoration of Charles II. were the leasehold property of Henry Jermyn, earl of St. Albans, who is always supposed to have been the second husband of queen Henrietta Maria. The square was at first called the Piazza, and had a large pond in the centre. The first tenants of the surrounding houses were all people of rank except two of the king's mistresses.† The act of parliament by virtue of which the parish was separated from St. Martin's, was passed in 1685, and the church was consecrated in July by Compton, bishop of London. Wren was the architect and as but little money—only 7000*l*, at first—was forthcoming he, as usual with him, spent as much as possible in one direction. Wren seems to have thought it best, and there is much to be said for his view, that in church building some part of the structure should be made as complete as possible, even though, through lack of funds the other parts might suffer. He acted on this principle at St. Mary-le-Bow, and St. Stephen's Wallbrook, as well as in many other city churches. At St. James's he lavished all his small resources on the interior, and succeeded in producing one of the most beautiful, convenient and satisfactory places of worship in London. Gibbs, in rebuilding St. Martin's, could not improve upon the design of St. James's. Wren's own account will show his opinions :—" I can hardly think it practicable to make a single room so capacious, with pews and galleries, as to hold above two thousand persons, and all to hear the service, and both to hear distinctly and see the preacher. I endeavoured to effect this in building the parish church of St. James, Westminster, which I presume is the most capacious with these qualifications that hath yet been built ; and yet at a solemn time, when the church was much crowded, I could not discern from a gallery that two thousand were present. In this church I mention, though very broad, and the nave arched, yet as there are no walls of a second order, nor lantherns, nor buttresses, but the whole roof rests upon the pillars, as do also the galleries; I think it may be found beautiful and convenient, and as such the cheapest of any form I could invent." * Mr. Fergusson says St. James's is after St. Stephen's Wallbrook, Wren's most successful interior.

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* The history of the parish of St. James is fully detailed in Mr. Wheatley's entertaining volume 'Round about Piccadilly and Pall Mall.'

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* P. 355.

† See lists in Cunningham, i. 440.

It does not come within the scope of this book to describe in detail the interesting features of this most interesting district. It is a curious fact that neither St. James's Palace nor St. James's Park is within the parish boundary, but St. James's Street with its modern clubs and shops, the time-worn towers of Henry VIII.'s palace looking out on them from beyond the mists of three hundred and fifty years; Marlborough and Schomberg Houses, with memories alternately warlike and artistic; Regent Street and the ingenious quadrant, or fourth part of a circle, with which Nash connected two thoroughfares, and created one of the few architectural street effects in London; the tall houses of Carlton Terrace, with the duke of York's column and glimpses of the park and the Westminster towers beyond, another happy inspiration, which like the quadrant deserved a better fate than to be made of plaster and paint; Burlington Gardens and Savile Row, the home till lately of classical architecture of the best type, of which only Vardy's Uxbridge House †

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* 'Parentalia,' p. 320, quoted by Mr. Wheatley, p. 103. I remember to have attended service in St. James's on one occasion when the Rev. Henry White preached, and both Mr. Disraeli and Mr. Gladstone were present with at least 1998 other people: and all could see and hear.

† Now the western branch of the Bank of England; judiciously added to lately. General Wade's house faced into Old Burlington Street, but is completely altered and is now a school.

remains; the Albany, where at the Savile Row end and in the topmost storey, Macaulay wrote the main part of his 'History'; all these things and more might well detain my pen. But many books have been written about them and I could add nothing to make it worth while to pause in the task of tracing the history of Westminster.

As early as 1675 it had been found necessary by the authorities of St. Martin's to make special arrangements for the collection of their rates in Soho, a district the name of which, like that of Piccadilly, is involved in obscurity. Piccadilly may be derived from the name of a house of entertainment nearly on the site of the modern Criterion: but this is only putting the difficulty a step further back. Pimlico, another strange name in the parish of St. Margaret, may be accounted for by the existence of a similarly named place in the West Indies, whence timber was imported. But Soho has entirely baffled inquirers. Cunningham quotes the rate books of St. Martin's to show that in 1636 people were living "at the brick kilns near Sohoe." In 1660 this spelling is reversed in the parish register, where the burial is recorded of a "child from Soeho."

Although a church on the site of St. Ann's was in existence as a chapel of ease from 1679 it was not until the beginning of the reign of James II. that the present church was built; and on its consecration the parish was formally separated in 1686. The old names of the Soho fields are preserved by Malcolm in noticing the grant of a lease from queen Henrietta Maria, by leave of her son, to lord St. Albans, who already, as we have seen, held St. James's. They were Bunche's Close, Coleman-hedge Field, and Doghouse Field, otherwise Brown's Close. Kemp's Field, where there had been a chapel for French refugees, was chosen as the site of the church. The Pest Field which lord Craven generously provided against the possible outbreak of another plague,* lay to the east of Carnaby Street. Crown Street was Hog Lane. Wardour Street was Old Soho. Princes Street was Hedge Lane.

The church of St. Anne incurs much ridicule from the very strange appearance of its steeple. "A monstrous copper globe, elevated within a few feet of the summit, contains the dial plates for the clock." † It was built at the end of the last century. The interior of the church is by no means what might be expected from the distant view of the tower, on the western face of which, and plainly visible from Princes Street—now incorporated with Wardour Street—is the tablet Horace Walpole put up, with his own epigram on it, to the memory of Theodore, king of Corsica, who died in 1756, and was buried at the expense of an oilman named Wright.

Soho Square, which contains about three acres, was for a while very fashionable, and only began to decline a hundred years ago. Few remember the name of Mrs. Theresa Cornelys. Yet she was once a central figure in the London world of fashion, which she left for a more retired sphere in 1785. Her house is now occupied by Messrs. Crosse and Blackwell, whose manufactory is close by, and fumes of strawberry jam, raspberry vinegar, and mixed pickles alternately pervade the neighbourhood. Her ball room is a chapel. It used to be the headquarters of extravagance and strange apparel. At one of her masquerades the beautiful daughter of a peer wore the costume of an Indian princess, three black girls bearing her train, a canopy held over her head by two negro boys, and her dress covered with jewels worth a hundred thousand pounds. It was at another that Adam was to be seen in flesh-coloured tights and an apron of artificial fig-leaves, in company with the duchess of Bolton as Diana. Death in a white shroud carried about his coffin and epitaph. The duke of Gloucester wore an old English costume with a star on his cloak, and the malicious said he was "disguised as a gentleman." All this pageantry passed through Mrs. Cornelys' rooms, yet before many years had gone by she was earning her living by selling asses' milk at Knightsbridge. Even this employment failed her eventually, and in 1797 she died in the Fleet Prison, forming schemes for retrieving her broken fortunes to the last.

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* See below, chap. xxi.

† Malcolm, ii. 344.

Long before Mrs. Cornelys was thought of, King's Square in Soho was connected with the fortunes of another and more famous adventurer. James, duke of Montrose and Buccleugh, lived on the south side, where there is now a hospital for women. Bateman's Buildings is on the site of his garden. The tottering statue of his father in the centre of the square was the only thing left that could have seen him here, and it also has disappeared. He gave "Soho" as his watchword the night before Sedgmoor, but he never saw his old home again.

It is more pleasant to recall some later memories: for there is still an old-world air about the place. If you dive down into the streets and lanes you see everywhere evidences of the greatness of former occupants. If a street door is open there is a vision of carved oak panelling, of fretted ceilings, of frescoed walls, of inlaid floors. Squalid as are some of the tenements, their inhabitants do not need to dream that they dwell in marble halls. Once on a time even Seven Dials was fashionable. Here and there, at the corners, a little bit of the quaint style now in vogue as queen Anne's allures the unwary passenger into a noisome alley, and Soho can boast of fully as many smells as Cologne. The paradoxes in which facts and statistics are so often connected may receive another example from this densely populated and still more densely perfumed region, for it has been found that children survive the struggles of infancy better in Soho than in many a high and airy country parish. Paintings by Sir James Thornhill and Angelica Kauffman are to be seen in some of the houses. Modern cast-iron railings may stand abashed before the finely-wrought work which incloses some of the filthiest areas. There are mantelpieces in marble, heavy with Corinthian columns, and elaborate entablatures in many an upper chamber let at so much a week. Visitors to the House of Mercy at the corner of Greek Street have an uncovenanted reward for their charity in seeing how the great alderman Beckford was lodged when he made the speech now inscribed on his monument in Guildhall.* Art still reigns in the house opposite, where the Royal Academy held its infant meetings, and it was close by, at the corner of Compton Street, that Johnson and Boswell, Reynolds and Burke, kept their literary evenings, and were derided by Goldsmith. The more purely scientific associations of the place are almost equally remarkable. On the south side of the square, in the corner near Frith Street, Sir Joseph Banks and Mr. Payne Knight successively flourished, and the Linnæan Society had here its headquarters before it was promoted to Burlington House. Since the whole of Soho was more or less fashionable, it is nothing remarkable to find Evelyn and Burnet and Dryden and Nell Gwyn residing within its bounds; but there is some interest in the lying in state there of Sir Cloudesley Shovel, when his body, recovered from the sea at Scilly, was on its way to Westminster Abbey. No doubt an effigy surmounted the pall, and the illustrious foundling appeared in the Roman armour and the full-bottomed wig in which he reposes upon his monument. Half the sites of curious scenes in Soho, half the residences of historical characters, have, however, been left without identification.

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* See above, chap. xiv.

We now come to the most important portion of the old abbey manor, St. George's, Hanover Square, the greater part of which, extensive as it is, belongs to a single estate, that of the duke of Westminster. It comprises the chief part of the identical manor of Eia which, as we saw in the last chapter, was given by Geoffrey Mandeville to the abbey. Eia, in Domesday, is said to have consisted of ten hides. The modern parish comprises, in round numbers, nearly 900 acres, so that the hides in question must have been 90 acres, or nearly, each, but there was a good deal of waste marshy land, and the size of the hide may be considerably reduced. The name of Eybury, or Ebury, would appear to denote that part of the manor which lay around the principal residence of the lord of the manor, which was almost certainly somewhere near Grosvenor Square. This portion, which stretches from the river's bank northward along the Tyburn to the Uxbridge Road and Oxford Street, forms the Grosvenor estate. A second portion, the sub-manor of Neate, or Neyte, is doubtless that part of Kensington Gardens and the adjoining land which is still in the parish of St. Margaret. A third portion, Hyde, gives its name to Hyde Park.*

There is very great difficulty in unravelling the history of this part of the possessions of St. Peter's abbey. The boundaries, where there was much open and common land, were not very clearly fixed. The abbot was lord of all, and in case of difficulty there could be no doubt of his ownership. He appears to have leased away Eybury, or a considerable part of it. A man named Barber, who was hanged in 1345 for murdering his brother, appears to have held it. A dispute arose as to the abbot's right to seize the land, and though no decision has been reported, we cannot hesitate to conclude that the abbot succeeded in his claim. No doubt, too, he leased it away again: and after the suppression it was in the hands of one Whashe.* It consisted of a farm of 430 acres, for which he paid 21*l.* a year, and he and his tenants appear from a complaint that was made against them to queen Elizabeth, to have inclosed the adjoining open and waste lands, including some in which the parish had an interest. These Lammas lands, as they were called, cannot now be identified. Some of them seem to have been near the Haymarket, and Leicester Square is described as being built on inclosed Lammas lands. But Ebury, Euberry, or Eybury was "towards Chelsea," and comprised all that part of the Grosvenor estate which lies south of the great west road from Hyde Park Corner, including Belgrave Square and Pimlico. A little later the farm and some other holdings came into the possession of a member of an obscure family named Davies. How he obtained them does not appear, but doubtless in much the same way as Hobson obtained the two manors of Tyburn and Lylleston on the other side of Oxford Street.† Davies, however, unlike Hobson, knew how to keep as well as to obtain a good estate. He, or his son, Alexander, had an only daughter, Mary. In 1676 Miss Mary Davies was married, at St. Clement

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* See next chapter.

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* Cunningham, i. 288.

† See below, chap. xxi.

Danes, to Sir Thomas Grosvenor, a Cheshire baronet of moderate fortune.

Another family of Davies, or the same, had about the same time that part of the parish on which the two Audley Streets were afterwards built. "Rich Audley," as he was called, who began the world with 200*l.* and died worth 400,000*l.*,* in 1662 left his land to his grand-nephew Sir Thomas Davies, who was lord mayor in 1677, a member of the drapers' company, and a bookseller by trade. He had four sons, but there is no Alexander amongst them. It would, however, be difficult to affirm that there is no connection between the families, or that Davies Street is called after the one or the other. The two estates are now in the same hands, but no record has been published as to how the union came about. In fact, considering the enormous value of the Grosvenor estate it is curious to remark that it has never found a historian, and that, though probably there are deeds in abundance existing on the subject, we do not know how it came to Alexander Davies and Hugh Audley.

In 1725 we find Sir Richard Grosvenor, the elder son of Mary Davies, in possession of the whole estate. In July of that year the land had been laid out and planned, and at a "splendid entertainment" Sir Richard assembled his intending tenants and named the new streets and squares. Grosvenor Square had been partly built as early as 1716: but covering the whole estate with houses was a work of time. The names chosen are easily accounted for: Brook Street is called after the Tyburn which forms the eastern boundary of the estate. Mount

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* Cunningham, and Le Neve's 'Knights,' Harl. Soc. p. 212. There are several other Davies families in Le Neve and in the London Visitations, but "Alexander" does not occur as a name in any of them.

Street obliterated "Oliver's Mount," one of the forts erected by the parliament in 1642.* Grosvenor, Davies and Audley Streets speak for themselves, as does Park Street.† The rectangularity of the Grosvenor estate distinguishes it on the map, and the line of the brook is clearly marked by the irregular course of South Molton Lane, Avery Row, Bruton Mews and Bolton Row.

But this great estate occupied less than half the lands of the Davies inheritance. The part south of Hyde Park Corner, though it was not so soon built over, is now even more valuable. George III. intended to have increased the gardens of Buckingham Palace westward and had even arranged with Sir Richard's nephew and successor, the first lord Grosvenor, to buy the ground on which Grosvenor Place now stands. But lord Grenville held the purse strings and the king's wishes were thwarted. The ground, like that indeed within the palace inclosure still, was low and damp. We have seen that here lay Pollenstock and Bulunga Fen and the "eald dic" or dyke of Edgar's charter. But lord Grosvenor enlisted the services of Mr. Cubitt. In 1826 he obtained special powers by act of parliament. The site was drained, levelled, laid out in roads and streets and squares, which, considering the unfavourable reputation of the place previously, were taken up eagerly by people of the first fashion. Belgravia, as it is often called, rivals even the older Grosvenor district, in its popularity with the highest classes, and the erection, on the failure of the first building leases, of the magnificent houses of Grosvenor Place, each of them a palace, has assisted to keep this part of the estate in the favour of people who can afford to be so expensively housed. Soon a third quarter arose on the

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* See chapter xi. There is an Oliver's Mount in Richmond Park.

† For Hyde Park see next chapter.

Westminster lands, and for a brief period Pimlico was as fashionable as Kensington is now. It very speedily declined, however, though one or two of the larger squares have continued to flourish. The local names almost all allude to the real or supposed history of the Grosvenor family, to the county and city of Chester, to Hugh Lupus, to Eccleston and Belgrave in Cheshire, to Eaton Hall and Halkin Castle. Strange to say we do not find a single allusion to the heiress who brought the estate into the Grosvenor family.

The mansion by the river side continued to be inhabited until Gloucester House in Grosvenor Street fell vacant by the death of the younger brother of George III It soon after became Grosvenor House, was greatly enlarged and improved, and a fine screen placed between it and the street. It is still somewhat irregular, but a fine addition has recently been made to its western end. The removal of an adjoining house in which lady Palmerston passed her declining years, has opened a view from Hyde Park and greatly improved the situation, but in most respects it is very inferior to Dorchester House, close by, where the utmost advantage was taken by Mr. Holford of the site. Dorchester House was, it is understood, designed by its owner, but the architect who carried out the plans was named Vulliamy. Grosvenor House presents no architectural features requiring notice. The older house was often described as at Millbank. It had been inhabited for a time by the eccentric earl of Peterborough and was called after him.* Peterborough house was pulled down in 1809, and now the Millbank Penitentiary occupies the site. It has been declared extra-parochial by act of parliament. But while the Grosvenors inhabited Peterborough House it was in the parish of St. John, Westminster, the last division of St. Margaret's which I have to notice. Before doing so, however, it will be well to state clearly that this house at Millbank was not the manor house of Eia, nor yet the farm house of Ebury. It was in a different parish, and in the original manor of the abbey of Westminster, and was purchased by the Grosvenor family on account of its convenient situation. It was described in 1800 as "a brick house with a pretty garden."* The house of Eybury was much more likely in or near Davies Street, where the estate office stands now.

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* Cunningham remarks briefly on the difficulties in Pennant's 'Account' relating to the history of this house. There is a plan in the supplement to Smith's 'Westminster,' from which it appears to have been almost surrounded by water.

St. George's, Hanover Square, is in the north-eastern corner of the parish, fully two miles from the river's bank. It was designed by John James, and being one of the fifty new churches erected at the beginning of the eighteenth century by virtue of an act of parliament, it was in its place before the parish became populous, and was consecrated in 1724. The portico is very handsome, but the rest of the building is dark and heavy. The east end is set off by two quaint and irregular brick buildings used as vestries, the architect having apparently omitted to provide any: a serious omission in a church which for many years was so fashionable for weddings that couples often put themselves to considerable inconvenience to acquire a domicile in St. George's. But the parish has been divided again and again since 1844, and a new marriage act has made matrimony lawful in almost any one of the many district chapels of the parish. The most important of these are St. Peter's, Eaton Square, the district attached to which includes all but the front

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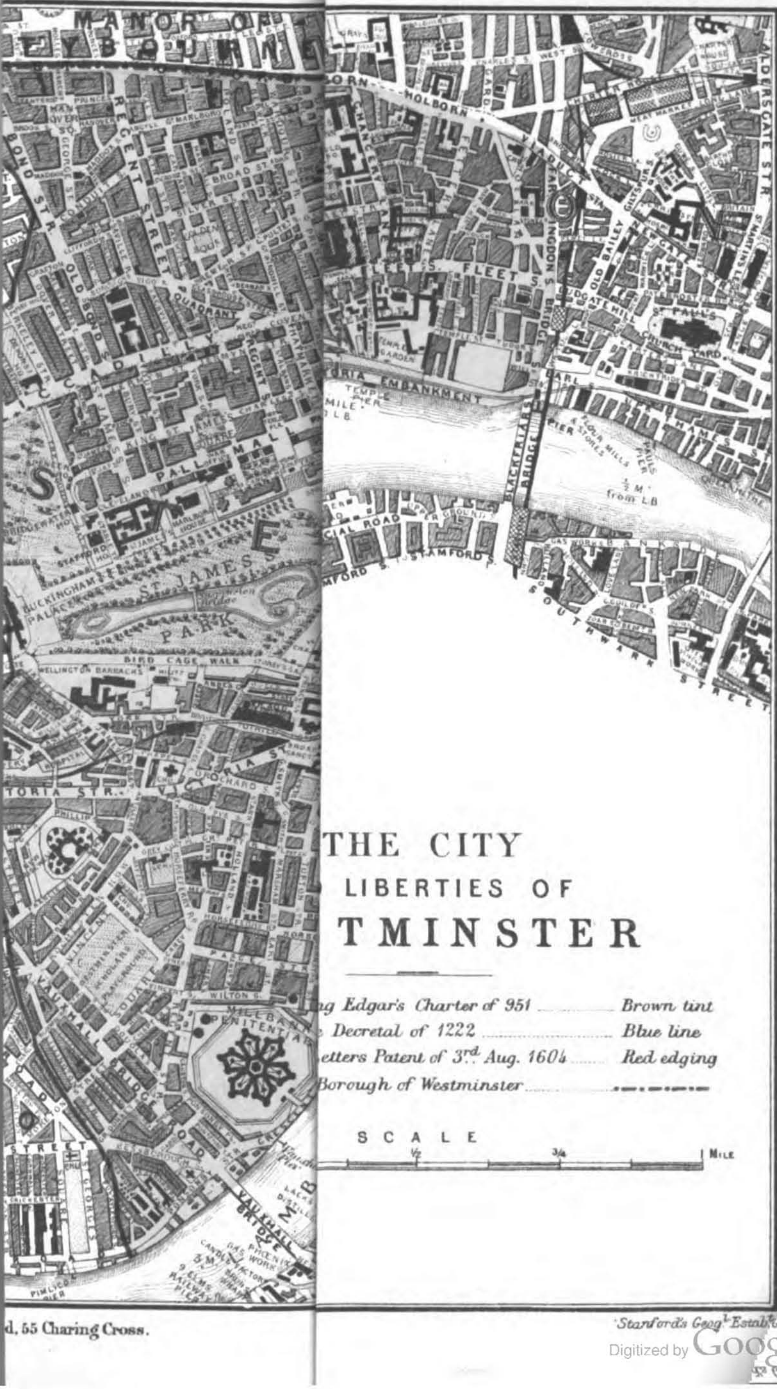
* Walcott, 338.


MANOR OF
EYBOURNE
HOLBORN
HOLBORN VIADUCT
REGENT STREET
OLD BOND STR
QUADRANT
PICCADILLY
PALL MALL
ST JAMES'S SQUARE
FLEET S.
FARRINGDON S.
NEW BRIDGE S.
OLD BAILEY
LUDGATE HILL
ST PAULS
CHURCH YARD
ALDERSGATE STR
ST MARTINS LE GRAND
SMITHFIELD
VICTORIA EMBANKMENT
TEMPLE PIER
BLACKFRIARS BRIDGE
STAMFORD S.
SOUTHWARK STREET
½ M. from L.B.
BUCKINGHAM PALACE
ST JAMES'S PARK
BIRD CAGE WALK
WELLINGTON BARRACKS
VICTORIA STR.
VAUXHALL BRIDGE ROAD
MILLBANK PENITENTIARY
VAUXHALL BRIDGE
PIMLICO PIER

THE CITY

LIBERTIES OF

TMINSTER

ng Edgar's Charter of 951 .... Brown tint

e Decretal of 1222 .... Blue line

etters Patent of 3rd. Aug. 1604 .... Red edging

Borough of Westminster .... ▬ ▪ ▬ ▪ ▬

SCALE ½ ¾ 1 MILE

d, 55 Charing Cross.

Stanford's Geog^l. Estab^t.

wall of Buckingham Palace, and the so-called Grosvenor Chapel, in South Audley Street, which perhaps boasts of the most aristocratic congregation in London. Attached to this chapel is an extensive cemetery, which was so rapidly filled that in forty years from the opening a new place of burial had to be found, and five acres of Tyburn Field, also now closed, were consecrated in 1764.*

The last parish formally separated from St. Margaret's was St. John's, Westminster. Its church is by Vanbrugh's pupil, Archer, and is in a most eccentric style. It resembles, according to one author, "a parlour table upset, with its legs in the air."† It was begun in 1721, and finished and consecrated in 1738. Archer built Cliefden, a handsome pile, and one or two other great houses; but his designs, some of which were engraved in the 'Vitruvius Britannicus,' do not entitle him to further notice. The parish is very densely populated, and has several district churches; but the visitor who seeks for anything of interest in it will probably be disappointed. St. Stephen's, built by Ferry for lady Burdett-Coutts, who endowed it, is a handsome gothic church, and was much needed in the parish. Blore built St. Mary's; and there are several others, but to most of them, architecturally speaking, the epitaph on a lady in Fulham churchyard will apply :—

> "Silence is best."

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* See chap. xxi.

† Cunningham, 446.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE PARKS AND PALACES.

IT has often been noted as a curious fact that all the royal palaces of London are in the original parish of St. Margaret. An exception being made of the Tower, the same remains true of the ancient residences of our kings. For Bridewell, Somerset House, the Savoy, and Whitehall are all in the district which in 951 was defined as the manor of the abbey. The more modern palaces are, however, situated in various divisions of the parish. St. James's is not in the parish of St. James, but in that of St. Martin. Buckingham Palace is partly in St. Martin's and partly in St. George's. The Houses of Parliament stand across the boundary-line of St. John's and St. Margaret's. Kensington Palace is altogether in St. Margaret's.

Whitehall, previously York Place, shows little trace of the magnificent house which cardinal Wolsey built for himself, and which Henry VIII. took from him, as he had before taken Hampton Court. The Treasury is on the site of Wolsey's great hall, and now replaces a smaller building which was adapted from Wolsey's, and cleverly altered from a gothic into a classical style by the simple expedient of making the buttresses into pilasters. Even this has disappeared, and except the Banqueting Hall, there is no building left which existed before the fire of 1698. It is now called Whitehall Chapel, though it has never been consecrated, except by the blood of the "blessed king Charles the martyr." Between Scotland Yard and the Embankment stands an old house, the foundations or lower storey of which appear to be of ancient masonry. How long this relic of palatial Whitehall may survive I know not.

Nowhere does the arbitrary and tyrannical turn of Henry's mind show itself more plainly than in the almost cynical disregard of the public convenience that prompted his arrangements at Whitehall. He found it convenient to speak of "our manor of Westminster," meaning the palace burnt in 1512, which had long been the headquarters of royalty. He now transferred this title to Whitehall. In 1536 an act was passed by which it was enacted "that the old and ancient palace of Westminster from henceforth be reputed, deemed and taken only as a member and parcel" of the new palace of Whitehall. The "king's palace at Westminster" was to mean no longer the old palace of Edward and William Rufus, of Henry III. and Edward IV., but the new residence just finished by the cardinal archbishop, and just appropriated by his unscrupulous sovereign. The addition of St. James's Park to the new palace completed the usurpation, and the abbot was wholly cut off from his possessions to the northward and eastward of Whitehall. Finally, he was forced to give the king that part of Mandeville's bequest which was distinguished from Eybury and Neyte as Hyde. Thus, then, in 1545, Henry was able to issue the extraordinary proclamation in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries.* "Forasmuch as the king's most royall majestie is most desirous to have the games of hare, partridge, pheasant, and heron, preserved in and about his honor att his palace of Westminster, for his owne disport and pastime;

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* "Ten copies printed for Islington Collectors.—Impensis J. H. Burn."

that is to saye, from his said palace of Westminster, to St. Gyles in the Fields; and from thence to Islington, to our Lady of the Oke; to Highgate; to Hornsey Park; to Hamsted Heath; and from thence to his said palace of Westminster, to be preserved and kept for his owne disport, pleasure and recreacion; his highnes therefore straightlie chargeth and comaundeth all and singuler his subjects, of what estate, degree or condicion soever they be, that they, nor any of them, do presume or attempt to hunt, or to hawke, or in any meanes to take, or kill, any of the said games, within the precincts aforesaid, as they tender his favor, and will estchue the imprisonment of their bodies, and further punishment at his majesties will and pleasure." This astonishing document was addressed to the mayor and sheriffs of London, and it is not upon record that they in any way remonstrated against its clear contravention of their charters. That the king had attained such a pitch of personal and irresponsible power that he could set aside the most cherished rights of the citizens for "his owne disport and pastime," made it easy for him to change the boundaries of Westminster and St. Martin's, as we saw in the last chapter, and to plant his park and palace right across the principal road from London to Westminster.

Henry added greatly to the house as Wolsey left it, and his works went on for seven years.* Two thousand five hundred loads of stone were used in making the walls of "an orchard," probably Whitehall Gardens, and in inclosing "the park directly against the said manor." A passage was made "through a certain ground named

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* In Smith's 'Westminster' there are views and plans of old Whitehall. The payments for Henry's additions are in the records of the Treasury in a volume labelled "Westminster Manor." See 'Report of Burrell versus Nicholson,' by Walsh.

Scotland," and a long gallery, frequently referred to in the memoirs of the Stuart dynasty, was constructed "towards Charing Cross."

At first Whitehall was distinguished as the "New Palace," and, in queen Elizabeth's reign, as the "Queen's Palace"; but the name of "Whitehall" became common soon after the accession of James, in whose time Sir Symonds Dewes distinguishes between Westminster and Whitehall. James, among many magnificent projects, set Inigo Jones to design him a new palace for Whitehall, and, like his ancestor Henry VIII., he did not consult the convenience of his subjects in the proposed arrangements. The "open street before Whitehall," in which his son was afterwards to be beheaded, but which at this time was commonly used in the passage from Charing Cross to Westminster, would have been almost closed, so small were the archways designed for the north and south fronts. The drawings of Jones have been frequently engraved and published: but the palace never existed except on paper. It would have been the largest in Europe, exceeding even Mafra, the gigantic building which is so conspicuous from the deck of passing steamers on the Portuguese coast, and which is generally looked upon as the largest in the world. But Jones made a second and smaller design,* of which one small portion only was built, a banqueting hall,† of stone, which was to have been balanced by a chapel, the connecting portions to be of Inigo's favourite material, red brick.

A little to the north of the Banqueting Hall was Scotland Yard, a locality said to have been so called from the "abiding there" of Margaret, queen of Scots, the sister of Henry VIII. Stow adds that the kings of Scotland lodged at the same place when they attended the English parliament: but as a rule, the Scots kings who visited London before the time of the Tudors inhabited more secure but less commodious apartments in the Tower. Queen Margaret, among queens, holds a position in one respect very like that of her brother among kings. Both were exceedingly addicted to marriage. Margaret lost her first husband, James IV., in 1513. He was killed at Flodden, fighting against the army of his wife's brother, in September of that year. His widow's second son was still unborn but she lost no time in looking out for a second husband, and married him eleven months after the king's tragical death. Angus, her bridegroom, was not yet of age, while she was twenty-six. In less than four years she made up her mind to divorce him; her sister-in-law, Katharine of Arragon, who did not know the fate in store for herself, endeavoured in vain to dissuade her. She had fallen in love with Albany, the regent, though he had a wife living. But ten years elapsed before the divorce was pronounced, and queen Margaret had changed her mind about Albany, and had lost her beauty from small-pox. Her third husband was Henry Stuart, Lord Methven, with whom she soon quarrelled, and when she died in 1541, she had begun to take steps for a reconciliation with Angus.

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* 'Vitruvius Britannicus,' i. 12, 13.

† See Cunningham, ii. 915. The Banqueting Hall cost 14,940*l.* 4*s.* 1*d.* It was finished in 1622.

There are many views of the so-called Scotland Yard,* and they are of interest chiefly as telling on the question of where Charles I. was beheaded. The real Scotland Yard was further north. For sóme reason a theory was started and plausibly maintained that the scaffold stood on the roof of a house which closely adjoined the northern end of the Banqueting Hall, and was in fact the gateway of the principal court of the palace. A view by Sandby, who erroneously calls it Scotland Yard, shows the gate as consisting of an arch, with a tall peaked roof surmounted by a ball, and flanked with two chimneys. It is impossible that a scaffold should have been erected here: but between it and the end of the hall are two other very irregular tiled roofs. Had the scaffold been placed on them, the taller gate would have prevented any but those people who were stationed directly in front from witnessing the execution. We know that it was plainly visible from the top of a house which stood where the Admiralty is now, because archbishop Ussher, who was on that roof, fainted when he saw the king's head fall. The local conditions therefore point to a different place, and the contemporary evidence, slight as it is, indicates the open space on the western side, or front of the Banqueting Hall.* The words of the death warrant are explicit. The execution is directed to take place "in the open street before Whitehall." The scaffold stood between the centre of the hall and the north end, and was approached by a platform which was erected in front of an aperture broken in the wall, at the level of the top of the lower windows. An exit might have been made by one of the windows, but Herbert, the king's personal attendant, mentions "a passage broken through the wall." "At the recent renovation of the Banqueting-House," writes Jesse, in 1840, "the author was invited to visit the spot, when the passage in question was plainly perceptible. For a space of about seven feet in height and four in breadth, the bricks presented a broken and jagged appearance, and the brickwork introduced was evidently of a more modern date." This should be conclusive. It was probably considered more difficult to reach the high level of the windows, than to make a new exit.

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* This name appears, after the fire of 1698, to have been applied indiscriminately to two courts of the palace, and to the two original Scotland Yards besides. See Smith's Plan.

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* See Jesse's 'Court of England under the Stuarts,' i. 466.

The necessity of opening a better approach to Westminster than could be obtained along King Street, led to the destruction of a building only second in interest to the Banqueting Hall. This was the southern gateway, a beautiful design always attributed to Holbein.[*] When it was removed, in the very year in which the Londoners removed their old gates, and took the houses off London Bridge, the duke of Cumberland had the bricks numbered and carried to Windsor: but they were never set up again, just as the screen of Burlington House and the stones of Temple Bar, and other numbered buildings one could name, have been ruined under a promise of restitution never fulfilled. When a dean and chapter, or an inn treasurer, or a board of works, or an over-zealous official of the woods and forests department, desire to carry out some special act of vandalism, the indignant section of the public is assured and pacified by the promise that the stones shall be numbered and set up again. They are accordingly numbered, which costs little, but they are not set up again.

At the opposite side of St. James's Park, when Henry first inclosed it, stood a large hospital or almshouse, the out-buildings of which reached as far as the crest of the hill and abutted on the western road.[†] On this institution Henry naturally cast an envious eye. He could not take his pleasure nor disport himself in his new park without seeing it: and at the dissolution of religious houses he hastened to take possession. There must have been but little accommodation for a court, but Henry added something, and it became a kind of villa or hunting lodge. The design of the new buildings is said by tradition to have been made by Thomas Cromwell, earl of Essex, which is not very likely. The old gateway or clock-tower which looks up St. James's Street is not very beautiful, and perhaps on account of its insignificant character has escaped when better buildings have been destroyed or "restored," but it is venerable, and, when it was taller than the surrounding houses, may have looked almost stately. On a chimney-piece in one of the chambers are still visible the initials of the king and his ill-fated victim Anne Boleyn. The chapel still shows something more than a trace of Tudor work, and is as quaint a little building of the kind as any in London.

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[*] There are engravings of it in many books.

[†] Some remains of the older buildings have lately been found in Arlington Street.

Though Mary lived—and indeed died—in St. James's Palace, it was not in much favour until it was appointed as a residence for the precocious and promising Henry, prince of Wales, elder son of James I. He too died in St. James's, of fever as was supposed, being only nineteen, and left no mark on the place, which, however, must have grown considerably since the days of Henry VIII., for the prince's household amounted to some four hundred persons. Charles I. made it the headquarters of his great collections, and especially of his books, many of his pictures being at Whitehall.* He slept here the night before his execution, and on the morning of the following day, at ten o'clock, walked through the park with colonel Hacker, attended by bishop Juxon, the way lined with troops, and guards of halberdiers before and behind with colours flying and drums beating. "Once during his walk, being apparently faint, he sat down and rested himself."[*] Perhaps it was then that he pointed out the tree his brother had planted. If so, his resting-place must have been near the spot where milch cows, by an ancient custom, are now stationed.

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* Pyne, 'Royal Residences,' iii. 16.

St. James's was also occupied the night before their execution by Hamilton, Holland, and Capel, who were similarly taken across the park to Sir Robert Cotton's house in Westminster, and then through Westminster Hall to the scaffold in New Palace Yard.

Charles II. did not make much use of St. James's; but James his brother occupied it as duke of York, and occasionally also after he ascended the throne. In 1688 Mary of Modena here gave birth to the son who was destined to become known in history as the Old Pretender;[†] but it was not until the great fire at Whitehall in 1698 that St. James's attained the honour of giving its name to the English court. The range of buildings facing Cleveland Row was made for Frederick, prince of Wales, on his marriage, and a few other additions of small importance, including a detached library for queen Caroline, were among the alterations; but St. James's Palace often excited the wonder of foreigners on account of its mean appearance. The south side of what used to be and is still called the Stable Yard, was built for the duke of York, the second son of George III., but never inhabited by him.[‡] His brother, the duke of Cambridge, had apartments at the other end of the palace, which were burnt in 1809. A little further east is the German Chapel, a relic of the old Hanoverian days; and behind it the residence of the great duke of Marlborough, now occupied by the prince of Wales. A modern roadway into the park has been made here. Still further east stood another royal residence, Carlton House, the ephemeral palace of George IV. To its situation we owe Regent Street.* To its wretched architecture and miserable colonnade we owe the front of the National Gallery. The whole site on which Marlborough and Carlton Houses stood was part of the royal garden belonging to St. James's Palace, and was leased away by queen Anne. It has all reverted to the Crown, and Carlton House Terrace and Gardens occupy the site, except that portion which immediately surrounds Marlborough House.

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[*] Jesse, i. 464.

[†] See Pyne, for view and account of the old bedchamber, the last room at the east end of the south front—"the properest place," as it was observed, for a cheat. See full discussion of the warming-pan story in Jesse, iii. 433, and Macaulay, chap. viii.

[‡] The house is now known as Stafford House, and was sold to the duke of Sutherland, the price, 72,000*l.*, being applied to the purchase of Victoria Park, Bethnal Green.

The park has changed as much as St. James's; but the old stream of the Tyburn still flows through it, though no longer tidal, and makes its way underground to Richmond Terrace, Whitehall, whence it escapes into the Thames. The ducks and other wild-fowl may be looked upon as the successors, perhaps in some cases the descendants, of those to which Charles II. devoted so much attention; but Rosamond's Pond, the favourite of suicides, has disappeared. A mulberry garden was planted by James I. on the site of Buckingham Palace, with a view to encourage the cultivation of silkworms; and a keeper of the mulberries flourished among the pensioners of the court till 1672.

Charles II. leased the grounds and the keeper's house to a member of the *cabal* ministry, Bennet, earl of Arlington, who is commemorated in the names of two streets at the top of St. James's Street, where he also had a house, on land given him by the same king. Arlington House, at the western extremity of St. James's Park, became Buckingham House in 1709, when Sheffield, duke of Buckingham, who had bought it six years previously, made many alterations, pulled down a long gallery, and laid out the quondam mulberry gardens anew. This eccentric but accomplished man has left a long and interesting account of his house, in a letter to the duke of Shrewsbury, which forms, in fact, a complete description of a great house in the real "Queen Anne" taste, of which we hear so much now.* He tells us of the goodly rows of elms and limes in St. James's Park as forming an avenue for him, and goes on to mention his forecourt with its iron railings and basin with statues and waterworks. A terrace was raised in front of the house, and the entrance-hall was spacious, "the walls thereof covered with a set of pictures done in the school of Raphael." His parlour was thirty-three feet by thirty-nine, and had a niche for a buffet fifteen feet wide, paved and lined with marble, and flanked by coloured pilasters. The staircase was painted with the story of Dido, and the roof, fifty-five feet from the ground, was "filled with the figures of gods and goddesses." The first room upstairs "has within it a closet, of original pictures, which yet are not so entertaining as the delightful prospect from the windows." In the garden there was a broad walk, at the end of which "you go up to a terrace four hundred paces long, with a large semicircle in the middle, from whence are beheld the queen's two parks, and a great part of Surry." Among the other attractions was "a canal six hundred yards long and seventeen broad," the Tyburn, no doubt, under altered circumstances; and on one side, presumably the western, a wall, purposely kept low, was covered with roses and jessamines, and afforded, over it, a "view of a meadow full of cattle just beneath—no disagreeable object in the midst of a great city." Finally, there was a "little wilderness, full of blackbirds and nightingales."

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* Pyne has elaborate views of Carlton House.

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* It is printed in Pyne, vol. ii., and summarised by Cunningham, i. 144.

There is a pretty little view of this house in an old volume* published a few years after the duke's death, from which it appears that the "basin" in the fore-court, mentioned above, had in the centre a figure of Neptune surrounded with sea-horses. The house was deeply recessed and had long wings, connected with the main building by colonnades.

In 1761 it was decided to give up Somerset House, which had previously been a dower house for the queens of England, to be turned into public offices, and Buckingham House was purchased in its stead from the duke's heirs, for 21,000*l.*, and settled in 1775 on queen Charlotte. Here George III. accumulated the splendid library which George IV. handed over to the nation, and which now forms the King's Library at the British Museum. The king erected a couple of large rooms for its reception,† and in one of them, in 1767, he had an interview with Dr. Johnson, of which many details are preserved by Boswell.‡ George IV. rebuilt the house, now become Buckingham Palace, but never inhabited it; and during the present reign it has been completely remodelled and much added to, the result being far from satisfactory. In fact, though it is one of the largest palaces in Europe, its poor architecture, and the tawdry style of the decoration, give it a meanness of appearance almost unaccountable. The only handsome thing about the old palace was the marble triumphal arch in front; but this was removed in 1851 to the north-eastern entrance of Hyde Park. The eastern façade of the palace is 360 feet in length.

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* 'A Character of John Sheffield, Duke of Buckinghamshire,' 1729.

† Shown in two views in Pyne, vol. ii.

‡ Life, ii. 36.

The gardens are beautifully laid out and have some fine trees, as well as a lake, and a pavilion or summer house decorated with frescoes, illustrating Milton's "Comus," by Landseer, Stanfield, Maclise, Eastlake, Dyce, Leslie, Uwins and Ross, an odd combination * of styles and artists. The low situation of the gardens along the ancient course of the Tyburn, is much to be deplored, and except in the finest weather they are damp and foggy. When Buckingham could look out on fields with cattle to the westward, they may have been more cheerful, but George III. failed to purchase these fields owing to a ministerial complication, and Grosvenor Place, much of which has recently been rebuilt in a palatial style, now looks over the gardens.

A road called Constitution Hill, now in process of rearrangement, leads along the eastern side of the royal gardens to Hyde Park Corner, where, until this year, the duke of Wellington in bronze looked down on Piccadilly, close to Apsley House. The Green Park of 56 acres connects St. James's and Hyde Parks, and has a pleasing and varied surface, through which the course of the brook can be traced by a winding depression. A large pond used to lie nearly in the centre, but was filled up in 1842, when the Ranger's Lodge,† which the gossip of the day attributed to George III., was pulled down, and the little park assumed its modern appearance. Some fine houses in the Stable Yard and Arlington

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* Landseer's original design, "The Masque of Comus," is in the National Gallery.

† The two stags on the gate pillars of the Lodge now adorn the Albert Gate, Knightsbridge. Larwood, 'London Parks,' 318.

Street look into it on the eastern side, the most remarkable of which are Spencer House, designed by Vardy, but believed to have been founded on a drawing by Inigo Jones, with the addition of a pediment which goes far to spoil it; and Bridgewater House, designed in a magnificent Italian style by Sir Charles Barry. Although some of the houses along Piccadilly which look on the Green Park have been built with very little regard to cost, not one of them presents any architectural features worth notice, or, indeed, worthy of the situation.

We enter Hyde Park by a gate beside Apsley House which strange to say has never received a name. The triple archway with the connecting screen of Ionic columns is extremely pleasing, and rescues the reputation of the designer, Decimus Burton, from the obscurity in which most of his other works would leave it. The park forms the central part of the great manor of Eia, being bounded on the east by Eybury and on the west by Neyte. Some portions of Eybury were added to Hyde in the last century to make a straight boundary, and in 1825 the wall along Park Lane was removed and an iron railing erected—the same which fell before the attack of a crowd of agitators a few years ago,—when opportunity was taken to set the fence further back, thus widening Park Lane, and improving its appearance and size.

A similar wall stretched along the northern side, and the road being at a somewhat higher level, especially at the corner, a private individual raised the soil of the park, and obtained leave to open a gate facing Great Cumberland Place.* This corner, close to the place of execution at Tyburn, is commemorated as the background of a scene in Hogarth's prints of the Apprentices. The Idle Apprentice is about to be hanged, and some of the spectators have climbed on the park wall for a better view. Within the wall at the corner military executions used to take place, and when the ground was raised a stone which marked the spot was buried where it stood. Here, in August 1716 two soldiers were flogged nearly to death for having worn oak branches on the 29th May: and the only gallows ever set up in Hyde Park were placed here in order to hang sergeant Smith, in 1747, for desertion to the Scots rebels two years before. He was attended from the military prison at the Savoy by the chaplain.

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* 'Hyde Park,' by Thomas Smith (p. 60); by far the best account of Hyde Park I have met with, but rather scarce, having been issued in paper covers at a shilling. It escaped the notice of Lowndes.

The northern boundary of Hyde Park was straightened like the eastern, by cutting off a portion of the manor of Paddington: this was done by Henry VIII., and similarly queen Elizabeth rectified the southern frontier by bringing it nearly up to the Knightsbridge Road, forty acres being thus added to the inclosure. The present appearance of the Serpentine is due to the care of queen Caroline, who in 1733 drained some unwholesome ponds along the course of the Westbourne, and formed the very fine sheet of water we now see. I have neither been able to ascertain the origin of its name nor that of the road along its southern bank. The Serpentine and Rotten Row are puzzles alike. The queen, while she thus improved the park with one hand, robbed it with the other, and the whole rising ground in Kensington Gardens between the Bayswater fountains and the sunk fence on the crest of the hill were originally in Hyde Park. A hundred years later the water of the Westbourne, being contaminated with sewage, and liable to inundations, was conducted into an underground drain, and fresh water supplied by one of the companies. The handsome bridge, across which the boundary runs, was built in 1826 by Rennie: and the latest alteration in Hyde Park has been the re-erection on the old site of the Knightsbridge Barracks, of which the only thing that can be said by way of commendation is that they are of red brick, and look best at a considerable distance. They cost 150,000*l.*, and were completed in 1880, some of the old stonework being used again, and the old Hanoverian arms replaced. The Ring of which we hear so much in memoirs of the Stuart period, and where Oliver Cromwell endangered his life by driving four-in-hand, was on the slope to the north of the Serpentine. A straight avenue of fine young trees on the eastern side leads from the ridiculous statue of Wellington naked as Achilles, to a round sunk garden, in the centre of which is a pretty fountain which never flows. Here was the reservoir often mentioned in books of the last century, and previously first the stables of Grosvenor House, and then a cavalry barrack. Hyde Park now covers nearly 400 acres.*

I have no hesitation in identifying Kensington Gardens with the manor of Neyte. The boundary between it and Hyde was formed by the Westbourne, and the bridge which carried the western road over the brook was Neyte-Bridge, or, vulgarly, Knightsbridge. Some confusion has arisen on the question, because in Pepys' and other contemporary books there are mentions of "neat houses," which are known to have been at Chelsea. But "neat houses," or in modern language, "cowhouses," though we still say "neat cattle," and occasionally "neat herd," might stand anywhere, and though part of Chelsea is isolated in Paddington,† we have no knowledge of any part of St. Margaret's being isolated in Chelsea. Moreover, allowing that Eia was divided into three portions, and that one was Eybury, and another Hyde, how can we otherwise identify the land which lay west of the brook, seeing we know it was neither part of Eybury nor yet of Hyde?

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* Mr. Nathan Cole, 'Royal Parks,' p. 20. It is sometimes erroneously asserted that Kensington Gardens are larger than Hyde Park, but they only cover 250 acres.

† See below, chapter xxi.

We are driven therefore to believe that the manor house of Neyte, where the great abbot Litlington and the still better known abbot Islip* died, was situated not very far from the site of Kensington Palace, if not actually upon it. Nottingham House,† as it was called in the reign of William III., was probably put on the ancient site, especially as it would not be easy to find a better. William III. bought it in 1690 for 20,000*l.*, and the old house was soon afterwards burnt. Sir Christopher Wren rebuilt it, but little trace of his hand can now be made out, except in the very handsome orangery, in the gardens to the north, which was begun for William but finished for Anne. There are massive and handsome gate-posts close by to the westward, and here probably was the roadway to Campden House, when all the hill was bare, except of a cottage or two among the gravel pits. Another possible relic of Wren is a charming semicircular alcove or summer house, which now stands in the further portion of the gardens beyond the Bayswater fountains, but which was originally close to Kensington High Street, where a wall hid the pleasure grounds from the passers-by. Parallel with the Broad Walk, which forms now the most pleasing feature of Kensington Gardens, is a new roadway which traverses what used to be known as the Moor, and is now called Palace Green. The second house on the left was built by Thackeray from his own designs, to be in harmony with the palace opposite, and with what may be called the local genius; and here he died in 1863. Close by there used to be a small pointed building containing an interesting chamber of considerable antiquity. It was probably built as a conduit to supply water to the house of Henry VIII. at Chelsea, and was sold with that house on several occasions. No respect was shown it when the royal vegetable garden was laid out afresh for villas in 1855, and one of the few little bits of genuine gothic perished from the west end of London. What the spirit was in which these hideous villas were erected may be judged when we hear that people who took building sites were forbidden to use red brick, though plaster and mud-coloured paint were allowed. A very curious tower was erected on the Moor for the water supply in queen Anne's reign, by Sir John Vanbrugh, to whom, whatever we think of his taste, must be allowed the merit of originality. This too has disappeared.

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* Litlington in 1386, and Islip in 1532.

† For further particulars as to Kensington Gardens I may refer to the notes I appended to Mr. Tristram Ellis's 'Six Etchings.'

Kensington Gardens have, however, been enriched by the erection of the Albert Memorial, an enormous Cross, in a style which may be termed Italian gothic. It rises 175 feet, and cost 132,000*l*. It is incrusted with precious stones and heavily gilt, and a bronze seated statue of the prince by Foley is also gilt. Four reliefs representing artists and poets are below, and as many groups emblematic of the four quarters of the globe, flank the central structure. The cross, taken altogether, has a sumptuous appearance which, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, is perhaps the best we can expect of it. Given an immense sum of money, gathered amid such an outburst of public feeling as has never been seen in England since the death of queen Elizabeth, and no great architect ready to take advantage of the opportunity, and we may be thankful that Sir Gilbert Scott, in a building every part of which is borrowed from something else, and which would not stand an hour except for a clever piece of internal mechanism which cannot be called architecture, succeeded first in raising a very conspicuous monument and also in spending the money at his disposal in so small a space.

There is a charm about old Kensington Palace * which eludes the ordinary grasp of artistic or architectural terms. Its red brick, its blue slates, its heavy cornice, its quaint clock turret, a certain fitness of proportion, are aided by the most charming situation in London, and perhaps by the historical associations, to produce an effect on the mind only second to that produced by Hampton Court. To those of us who have had the good fortune to be born and to live into middle age as the subjects of queen Victoria, her birth-place is in itself an object of interest. To all who have looked back with pride on the great days of a former queen, when most of the palace was built, while England's ascendancy abroad was being secured; to all who remember the career of the first Prime Minister, and reflect that these vistas and walks were laid out by that other queen who made office possible to him in the days of George II.; and finally to any one who has read of William III. and his gentle consort in the glowing pages of the great historian who lived and died close by on Campden Hill, Kensington Palace cannot fail to prove an object of the highest interest.

One ancient royal park remains to be noticed, although it is not and never was within the boundary of West-

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* There are several interiors and an interesting description of the palace in Pyne.

minster. We have seen that Henry VIII. was able to take his disport without interruption from St. James's to Highgate. The connecting link between these extremities was St. Marylebone, with its open common. When the manor was granted by king James to Edward Forset,* "Marybone Park" was specially reserved. Charles I. in his troubles mortgaged it to Sir George Strode and John Wandesforde, who had supplied him with arms and ammunition for the prosecution of the war. This hypothecation was of course disregarded when the royal cause was lost, and the park was assigned for the payment of the arrears due to colonel Thomas Harrison's dragoon regiment. It thus a second time in a few years was in danger of being broken up; but it survived some time longer, had its rangers, its lodge, its timber, until in 1765, we find it divided into twenty-four small holdings, chiefly laid out as farms, and in 1789 the duke of Portland bought up fifteen of them from a lessee, while the other nine accumulated in the hands of Peter Hinde, whose name still occurs on street corners near Manchester Square.†

Both leases, that of the duke of Portland and that of Peter Hinde, expired early in the present century, and the crown came into possession. The whole of the lands had been surveyed a few years previously, and a list of the farms and fields has been preserved, which contains many items of topographical interest.‡ There are three large farms and a number of smaller holdings. Mr. Thomas Willan holds 288 acres, and has several under-tenants, one of whom is employed as a maker of copal varnish. Mr. Richard Kendall holds 133 acres, and has some tenants, who appear to live in villas; for there is a

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* See below, chap. xxi.

† Smith's 'St. Marylebone,' p. 243.

‡ Smith, p. 244.

"garden let to Sir Richard Hill, bart.," and a house, two gardens, and a shed, let to George Stewart, esq. Among the inclosures is "Saltpetre Field," which name may refer to the operations of Strode and Wandesforde in the time of Charles I. There is also a "Rugg Moor and Lodge Field, in one," of 57 acres. The farm of Mr. Richard Mortimer comprised 117 acres, and had on it six cottages. One of Mr. Mortimer's fields was the "Nether Paddock," and another the "Pound Field."

In the year before this survey was made, 1793, an architect named White, who was employed on the Portland estate, formed a plan for the improvement of Marylebone Park. Ideas had been entertained of building over the whole space, but they were happily abandoned, and when the leases fell in, there was no difficulty in carrying out the great scheme which Nash had elaborated on the lines of White. There is no London improvement more satisfactory than that by which Regent Street, with its Quadrant, was made to connect Pall Mall and Marylebone Park. A labyrinth of miserable tenements had been allowed to grow up between Golden Square and Burlington Gardens. Even now, any one not very well acquainted with the region, who gets entangled in the lanes about Broad Street or Great Pulteney Street will find himself puzzled how to get out again, and will have to breathe many strange odours, and walk in not very select company. There is, in fact, within a stone's throw of the finest street in London a territory which looks as if it properly belonged to Whitechapel or Wapping. The maps of sixty years ago show in Piccadilly, just between Sackville Street on the west and Air Street on the east, a little lane called Swallow Street, and a court called Vine Street. Striking boldly through the continuation of these thoroughfares, Nash made Regent Street parallel with the upper course of Swallow Street, which was in great part obliterated, and he connected his new street with Waterloo Place by the Quadrant, already referred to, which occupies the site of a lane called Marybone Street. The Regent's Park had by this time been laid out, much as we still see it. The rows of stucco terraces called after the royal dukes had been built, and the Zoological and Botanic Gardens established.

Regent's Park is the largest of these "lungs of London," as it covers 470 acres. "The centre is to a great extent an open green plain, free almost from trees."* I have already† described the course of the Tyburn through it. An artificial lake has been made, compared sometimes in shape to the three legs on the shield of Man, and producing with its well-wooded banks a charming effect. Two or three private villas do not mar the view, though as they were all built as much in a "Grecian" style as stucco and paint would permit, they are not remarkable for picturesqueness. St. Dunstan's Villa was designed by Decimus Burton for the marquis of Hertford. It derives its name from a singular whim of that nobleman. When he was a child, and a good child, his nurse to reward him would take him to see the giants at St. Dunstan's, the old church in Fleet Street, where the hours were struck on a bell by two automatons. He used to say that when he grew to be a man he would buy those giants. "It happened when old St. Dunstan's was pulled down that the giants were put up to auction, and bought by the marquis out of old associations."‡ They still mark time in the Regent's Park.

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* Cole's 'Royal Parks,' p. 36.

† Vol. i., chap. i.

‡ Cunningham, ii. 696.

In 1863, an Italian garden was laid out in the park, by Mr. Nesfield, under the direction of lord Mount Temple, who was at that time chief commissioner of the Board of Works. Great pains have been taken to choose plants and flowers which will flourish in spite of London smoke, and the result is most satisfactory, the rhododendrons in particular, and some formal rows of poplars, bearing the trial admirably. In fact, it is curious to contrast the flourishing condition of the vegetable kingdom in this heavy clay with the effect produced on animal life. The situation of the Zoological Gardens is unfortunate. A large number of animals die annually, and others go blind, and suffer from various diseases on account of the unfavourable nature of the soil. It would be difficult to suggest a better place. The gardens are in so central a position that they may be and are daily visited both from the eastern and western extremities of London; but there can be little question that a saving, not only of money, but of suffering, would result if they could be removed to a sandy, or even a gravelly soil.

Very pretty views are to be had from the Zoological Gardens, and other places, where there are bridges up and down the Regent's Canal. It is now almost abandoned by traffic, and the long narrow reaches overhung with heavy foliage afford probably the most completely rural effects to be seen so near the great city. Little as is the traffic now, during the passage under one of the bridges of a gunpowder barge, in 1876, an explosion took place which shook all London. The scene on the following morning in the neighbourhood was not one to be easily forgotten. Houses were wrecked as if they had been built of playing cards. There was not a whole pane of glass left in some score of streets. Even trees and shrubs had been shattered. One trembles to think of what might have happened had the explosion taken place a little nearer to the menagerie; the animals killed and the animals let loose would alike have been the cause of dire loss and confusion.

New as it is, the Regent's Park boasts of the presence of one of the oldest charitable institutions in the kingdom. St. Katharine's Hospital formerly stood in a very different place. There was a small piece of low lying ground beyond the Tower of London, in the Portsoken, and therefore the property of the canons of Holy Trinity at Aldgate on the hill above. Here queen Matilda, the wife of king Stephen, who is not to be confused with Matilda or Maude, the wife of Henry I., and the founder of the Priory at Aldgate, in the year 1148, established on this spot a hospital, which was to consist of a master, certain brethren, and as many sisters, but how many does not clearly appear. Their chief duty was to pray for the queen's soul, and for the souls of her son and her daughter. She placed the hospital under the special care of the canons, whose lands she had obtained by an exchange, and all went well till 1255, when a most curious transaction took place. We know but little about the private character of Eleanor, the queen of Henry III., and that little does not prepossess us in her favour. She was hated in the city; owing to her neglect London Bridge was in danger of complete ruin;* and the slaughter of the citizens at Lewes by her son "Sir Edward le Fitzroy," did not, we may be sure, tend to endear her in their minds. Queen Eleanor, for some reason which history has failed to preserve, cast a covetous eye on the foundation of queen Matilda, and made a perfectly unfounded claim, through her chaplain, to the custody of the hospital. The canons of Aldgate had long declined from their pristine piety, and were now chiefly remarkable for their enormous wealth. One of them, on some complaint of drunkenness against the master of queen Matilda's hospital, had been appointed to supersede him; and that the prior and his canons had a right to make the appointment was upheld by the unanimous judgment of the barons of the exchequer.

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* See above, vol. i. p. 152.

Nothing daunted by this defeat, queen Eleanor went another way to work. She invoked the assistance of Fulk Basset, then bishop of London, and a warm partisan of the court faction. Bishop Basset inquired by what right the prior and the canons appointed to the mastership. They replied, of course, that the hospital stood on their land, that they had other and similar institutions to which they appointed, and that, moreover, they had received a gift of this hospital from the founder. The bishop took little notice of the validity of this claim. He appears wisely to have given no reasons for his decision, but he simply removed the canon-master, inhibited the brethren and sisters from obeying the prior, and appointed one of the brethren to be head of the hospital. Fulk Basset died in 1261, without having further arranged for the acknowledgment of queen Eleanor's preposterous aggression, but his successor, Wingham, compelled the prior and canons to make a formal act of resignation to the queen, threatening them with Henry's displeasure if they refused, and assuring them that the king's will was the law of the land.

After these high-handed proceedings, queen Eleanor entered on undisturbed possession, and held her Naboth's vineyard of St. Katharine's for twelve years, when, in spite of the entreaties of the pope, that she would restore it to the prior and canons, she absolutely suppressed and dissolved it, and in 1273, made an entirely new foundation on the site, appointing a master, and fixing the number of inmates at twenty-two; namely, three priests, three sisters, ten poor women, and six poor scholars. Queen Philippa augmented the charity, and so it remained, spared even at the reformation, on the intercession, it was said, of queen Anne Boleyn.*

In the reign of queen Elizabeth a layman, Thomas Wylson, her secretary, was appointed master, and it soon became evident that he proposed to deal with the estates very much as his contemporary, Thurland, was dealing with those of the Savoy. But the inhabitants of the precinct, who derived innumerable benefits from the presence among them of so wealthy and benevolent a body, petitioned Cecil strongly against Wylson's proposed dissipation of the revenues of the hospital, and succeeded in putting a stop to his negotiations with the lord mayor for a sale of the franchises of the precinct. Great numbers of foreigners, chiefly religious refugees, resided here at the time, Dutch, French, Danes, Poles, and Scots. The buildings can never have been very handsome, and in 1734 were much injured by a fire. In 1751, the old house of the masters, which was built of wood, was removed as threatening to become ruinous; and a few years later the cloisters and the houses of the brethren were likewise pulled down, so that in 1779, when Nichols's view was taken, little except the venerable chapel remained of the original buildings. Sir Julius Cæsar, who was master in the early part of the reign of James I., had repaired and beautified it, and had presented a pulpit which still exists at Regent's Park. It bears a quaint inscription from Nehemiah, "Ezra the scribe stood upon a pulpit of wood which he had made for the preacher."[*] The tomb of John Holland, duke of Exeter, and his two wives was removed at the same time, and a building erected in the Regent's Park in the style of gothic which might be expected from the date, 1827. A dock company envied the old site, and the brethren and sisters were removed from what might have been and had been a sphere of usefulness, to grace the new park and impart an air of antiquity and respectability to the pet scheme of George IV. The hospital has resisted all projects of reform, and cannot now be said to serve any very good purpose, except perhaps to enable the queen to pension off a meritorious servant or a superannuated foreign chaplain.

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* There is a very full account of old St. Katharine's in Nichols's 'Bibliotheca,' with a plan and several views.

To the north of Regent's Park, were Barrow Hill and Primrose Hill. Barrow Hill has disappeared, but its companion remains, the only example of the kind near London. It is kept open, and is laid out in walks. The view from the summit on a clear day is not only beautiful but interesting, and well repays one for the slight fatigue of making the ascent.

Of the other parks of London there is not very much to be said. I shall notice Battersea in its geographical position.[†] Hornsey Wood has somewhat absurdly been renamed Finsbury Park, although it is more than three miles from Moorgate. Victoria Park is an oasis in the squalor of the east end. It is all that remains of the open common of Stepney, and is in three modern parishes. The civic authorities have done much in the way of securing the preservation of open spaces, but Epping Forest, Wanstead Park, Burnham Beeches, West Ham

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[*] Nichols gives views and details of this pulpit in a series of eight plates.

[†] See below, chap. xxii.

Park, and the beautiful and breezy downs about Coulsdon, Keney, and Chaldon are beyond my limits. They have all been taken in hand by the corporation of London, who spent more than a hundred thousand pounds in one year, 1880, with this object.*

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* The total expenditure of the corporation in the ten years from 1872 to 1881, on "providing open spaces for the people" has been 308,985*l.* 11*s.* 10*d.*

CHAPTER XIX.

THE TOWER AND THE TOWER HAMLETS.

THE occasion which William the Conqueror seized for building the Tower has been already described.* The situation, close by the river's bank, favours the supposition that a part at least of the ground within the precinct was reckoned royal property as foreshore. But another part was undoubtedly taken from the citizens, and the circuit of the city walls was broken. It has recently been ascertained, not only that a considerable quantity of Roman brick was used in the buildings, but that the foundation of the White Tower itself overlies that of a great and solid bastion. When Gray therefore talked of the "towers of Julius," he was not so very far wrong as has sometimes been thought. Had he said "towers of Cæsar," there would have been little fault to find.

While the western half of the tower precinct thus belongs to the ancient circuit of the city, the eastern half belongs to the original parish of Stepney. It is perhaps on this account that the parliamentary borough which has been formed of the parish is called, not Stepney, but, somewhat absurdly, the "Tower Hamlets." The boundaries of the precinct are very sharply defined, and for many ages the city looked with great jealousy at any encroachment. When Edward IV., for example, set up the gallows on Tower Hill, the citizens immediately took alarm, and the jurisdiction of the sheriffs was acknowledged by the king.

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* See above, vol. i. chapter iv.

In the reign of James I. a similar question arose, but in this case the citizens were apparently the aggressors. The lord mayor in 1618 ordered "a prison or cage" to be constructed on Tower Hill. Sir Allen Apsley, who was then lieutenant of the Tower, remonstrated in a letter* in which he pointed out that if the new building could be removed a few yards it would stand within the City boundary. He uses the curious word "disburbance" with reference to the site chosen. It had too much disburbance. As far back as the time of Elizabeth a controversy sprung up between the lord mayor and the lieutenant as to the removal of a boundary stone, and as to the lord mayor's right to have the sword borne before him upright until a certain point was passed.†

The gradual growth of the buildings as we see them now may be briefly traced. When William died the works were far from complete. At the close of the reign of Stephen there was only the White Tower within its wall, forming what we now know as the inner ward, the royal palace being on the south-east side. "No doubt there was a ditch, but probably not a very formidable one."‡ The outer ward was the creation of Richard I. and his minister, William Longchamp, bishop of Ely.§ The bishop deepened and enlarged the ditch, hoping to fill it from the Thames, an object in which, however, he failed. In his excavations he encroached on the land of the priory of Holy Trinity, Aldgate, and on that of St. Katharine's Hospital. These trespasses were the cause of much complaint, which was not finally allayed until Edward I. made compensation. The "royal chapel in the Tower" is mentioned in the records of Longchamp's rule, and this may be the chapel of St. Peter. King John spent much money in buildings, and the chapel is distinctly mentioned in 1210, when Osmund, a knight bound for Poictou, received a gift of ten marks, and, to buy a horse, a hundred shillings from the king in the "church of St. Peter at the Tower of London."

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* 'Remembrancia,' p. 442.

† See 'Remembrancia,' *passim*.

‡ Clark, 'Old London,' 101.

§ See vol. i. chapter v.

But to Henry III. must be given the credit of having made of the Tower the extensive fortification we now see. At his accession the wall of the inner ward was complete, but the quay along the river's edge, and the water gate known as St. Thomas's Tower, had not been constructed. The wall probably abutted on the water, and the principal entrance was directly on the river. The palace, or "king's house," was built before 1222, and the Bell Tower probably soon after, work going on constantly. There are many entries as to the making of a chimney for the king's chamber, a piece of domestic engineering which seems to have taxed the ability of the builders. At this time the Wakefield Tower, which had formed part of the Norman work, was raised and completed, and the "Bloody Tower" adjoining. Close to it was the great hall of the palace, destroyed during the Commonwealth. It is in the Wakefield Tower that the modern visitor inspects the crown jewels, but it was long used for the storage of records. Unfortunately the old building has here been almost completely renewed, the chapel—the third which is known to have existed in the Tower of London—having been destroyed, not, indeed, under the Commonwealth, but under the direction of the

Office of Works. Here, in all probability, the unfortunate Henry VI. worshipped during a great part of his long reign, and one cannot but regret to see that the same want of consideration for ancient association is busy in every part of the venerable fortress.

In 1240, Henry III., the new-built Traitor's Gate, or Water Tower, fell down suddenly. It was rebuilt, and again fell. No doubt the foundation in the bed of the river was not sufficiently strong .or deep. But superstition accounted for the two occurrences in a much more satisfactory way. On the night of the second fall the great Archbishop Thomas appeared to a certain priest and told him that he resented these great works as prejudicial to the citizens. Nevertheless, the king had them renewed, and compounded with the saint by calling the new tower after him. On this his sympathies with the citizens ceased to agitate him. An oratory in the upper storey, the fourth building of the kind, was dedicated to St. Thomas of Canterbury.

A good many of Henry III.'s descendants passed through the archway, some of them under sad circumstances. We cannot forget the figure of the lady Elizabeth, who was sent to the Tower on the outbreak of Wyatt's rebellion. When the boat came to the stair the princess refused to land. The lord in charge of her peremptorily told her she had no choice. It rained, and he offered her his cloak, which she refused, "putting it from her with a good dash," * and as she set foot on the steps she cried with momentary spirit, "Here landeth as true a subject, being a prisoner, as ever landed at these stairs." But her courage forsook her again when she saw the guards drawn up to receive her. The soldiers kneeled down as she passed, and prayed God bless her,

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* 'The Tower of London,' by Lord de Ros, 71.

for which, it is said, they were all dismissed. The princess, unwilling to go further through the gloomy portals, sat down on a stone in the rain. The lieutenant entreated her to rise and go on. "Better sit here than in a worse place," she answered, significantly.*

The impression which St. Thomas's Tower used to make on the visitor is now much weakened. The upper storey consists of a new, nay, a novel building in the style of a country cottage; and the water is no longer permitted to approach the steps. Few of the stones, if any, that Elizabeth saw in 1553 are to be seen now. Everything has been "restored."

Perhaps the most curious commitment was that of the abbot of Westminster, who, with forty-eight monks and thirty-two other persons, was sent to the Tower by Edward I. on suspicion of having stolen the king's treasure. The crime was brought home at last, after a long trial, to the sub-prior and sacrist.† Their skins were nailed on the doors of the treasury and of the sacristy, where they still remain, a warning to evil-doers.

Edward III. did much for the Tower, which was the site of a powder factory in 1347, to the great danger of the buildings, though, in all probability, the quality of the explosive compound was not such as to make it very formidable. There are entries in the records for saltpetre and sulphur, "ad opus Regis pro gunnis."

In this reign, too, the Tower saw the first of a long line of royal prisoners. David, king of Scotland, taken at Neville's Cross, was brought here to linger out eleven years of captivity and ill-health. In 1358, the then large sum of *2l. 12s. 9d.* was paid for his medicines. John of France, Richard II., Henry VI., Edward V., queen Anne Boleyn, queen Katherine Howard, queen Jane, and queen Elizabeth, are among the royal personages in the sad procession, but Charles I. was never confined in the Tower.

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* Lord de Ros mentions a tradition to the effect that certain of the city church bells having been rung on Elizabeth's release, she afterwards presented those churches with silken bell-ropes. He goes on to say that silken ropes long existed in the vestry chest of "the church of Aldgate." This may refer to St. Botolph's.

† Stanley's 'Westminster Abbey,' chapter v.; and Scott's 'Gleanings,' p. 283, where will be found an account of the trial by the late Mr. Burtt.

When James I. came to the throne the palace within the Tower had fallen almost into ruin. According to one account, he removed the great hall. In 1663 Wren was commissioned to repair the White Tower, which he did in a way worthy of a modern restorer, and only a few traces remain of the old Norman windows.* In 1841 a fire destroyed the armoury which Wren had built for James II. and William III., and the painfully substantial Wellington Barracks in a gothic style, as gothic was then understood, were placed on the site. The Beauchamp Tower was "restored" in 1854, and all traces of antiquity carefully removed: the inscriptions on the walls were taken down and placed together in one room, so that they have lost half their interest and all their historical value. During the past few years other changes have taken place, of which it may safely be said that few of them are improvements. The curious building, dating from the reign of Edward III., which adjoined the eastern side of the White Tower, has been removed, as have the great stores which stood on the site of the old palace.†

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* I regret to hear that it is proposed to restore Wren's work. The authorities who have charge of the Tower have no more reverence for historical association than the dean and chapter of a gothic cathedral.

† It is understood that a further "falsification of the record" is to be carried out shortly by the erection of a building here which "will harmonise with its surroundings."

The interior of the White Tower still retains the fantastic arrangements of old arms, but we no longer enter it through a window, and "Queen Elizabeth's Armoury" has become what it was before, the crypt of St. John's Chapel. The chapel has been very thoroughly scraped, renewed, paved, and otherwise robbed of any appearance of age it had acquired in eight centuries. Something has also been done with the long-ruined towers along the quay. They were buried in modern buildings, and the process of extrication has, of course, been accompanied by great destructions. On the whole, however, this is the most satisfactory of all the modern operations, and the only one which has in any way added to our interest in the Tower of London.

The chapel of St. Peter's "ad Vincula" has suffered more from "restoration," than even the Beauchamp Tower. It only dates from 1512, when an older church was burnt, and was still new when interments were first made within its walls. Few churches have undergone greater vicissitudes than St. Peter's. It may be described as either a collegiate church, a parish church, a royal chapel, or a garrison chapel. The intentions of Edward III. to place it under a dean and three canons, were never carried out. A similar scheme formed by Edward IV. went further, but was eventually dropped. It has, however, been continually served by a "parson," whose office, instituted perhaps when the church was first built, has survived until now. Even when the arrangements for a college were in progress, the parson of St. Peter existed, and in 1419 gave very powerful proof of his existence when he slew a certain Friar Randolph, as Stow tells us without further comment. Philip and Mary found "no parson abyde to have cure sowle," and declared their royal pleasure "the same to be established into perfecyon."[*]

The position of the Tower parson is, nevertheless still anomalous. The bishop has no jurisdiction within the precincts, says one authority.[†] Godwin and Britton report that it is under the control of the bishop of London, which is probably correct; but Bayley calls it a chapelry, and in the next line speaks of "the chaplain or rector." archbishop Whitgift and his successor "would not meddle with it," but archbishop Abbot excommunicated "the rector and his son, the curate" for solemnising marriages without license. The reader turns with satisfaction to the precise statement of Newcourt.[‡] The chapel was formerly exempt from the jurisdiction of the bishop of London, but Edward VI., by letters patent dated 1 April, 1550, subjected it to the episcopal supervision, and this order was confirmed by queen Mary, on the 2nd March, 1554. "But," adds the judicious Newcourt, "whether ever any bishop of London, did by virtue of these letters exercise any jurisdiction within the Tower, I have not found."

We have all read and reread the affecting words in which Stow notices the chapel. "Here lieth before the high altar in St. Peter's church, two dukes between two queens, to wit, the duke of Somerset, and the duke of Northumberland, between queen Anne and queen Katherine, all four beheaded." We have also read Macaulay's comment. "Thither have been carried through successive ages, by the rude hands of gaolers, without one mourner following, the bleeding relics of men who had been the captains of armies, the leaders of parties, the oracles of senates, and the ornaments of courts." Nothing can add to the mournful interest of the place; and though we must sympathise in the indignation which Macaulay expressed against the "barbarous stupidity" which had transformed the chapel into "the likeness of a meeting house in a manufacturing town," it is not possible to approve of the works recently carried on. The only satisfactory restoration would have been one which removed the seats and galleries, and which left undisturbed the sacred ashes under the floor. The reredos was ugly, but it had seen the burial of the Scots lords, and perhaps of Monmouth. It was much more appropriate than the fine new one, which, if it was really what it pretends to be, of the fourteenth century, would be 200 years older than the church in which it stands. A church built in 1512 would almost certainly have had a renaissance reredos, if any.*

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[*] 'The Chapel in the Tower,' by D. C. Bell, p. 6. Mr. Bell carefully and approvingly details the vandalism and sacrilege which were perpetrated in 1876 and the following year.

[†] Mr. Bell.

[‡] i. 530. Mr. Bell's assertion that this arrangement was abrogated "upon the establishment of the Protestant succession in the following reign," is somewhat puzzling. What Protestant succession did Elizabeth establish? And what abrogation was ever formally made? There cannot, in short, be any reason for doubting that the chaplaincy is of the nature of a perpetual curacy in the diocese of London. The constable is the patron. The stipend is paid by the Exchequer.

But the alteration of the reredos was a small matter. There was not a more interesting piece of ground of its size in England than that which lay under the broken pavement of the chancel. It is almost incredible that a committee of government officials and military officers, unassisted by the advice or supervision of a single antiquary or historian, were permitted to dig over every part of it, to remove the ancient stones, to sift the earth, to re-arrange and classify the bones, and, in a word, to ruin the historical associations of this most sacred spot. A gaudy inlaid pavement bears the names, worked into ornamental patterns, of the nobles and ladies whose dust was so sacrilegiously disturbed; and the church itself, if it once resembled a Methodist now resembles much more a Congregational meeting house, and the "original condition" is as far away as ever.

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* Mr. Doyne Bell mentions the resolution of the committee who carried on this unfortunate work. It is so typical of the state of mind which makes this kind of "restoration" possible that I quote it: "The chapel should be as far as possible restored to its original condition, and also suitably arranged as a place of worship for the use of the inhabitants and garrison of the Tower." It did not strike anybody that the two objects were incompatible the one with the other.

Before the building of the Record Office in Fetter Lane, the national archives were deposited in the Tower. Latterly the accumulation was so great that not the chapel in the White Tower only, but several other buildings, as the Wakefield and Bloody Towers, for example, were filled with documents. The chancery records were kept here at a very early period.* In the reign of Elizabeth, the first attempt to reduce the records to order was made by William Bowyer,† but his digest is lost. His successor, William Lambard, usually called "the handsome man of Kent," compiled a calendar‡ of the records under his charge and intrusted it to the countess of Warwick to lay before the queen. But Elizabeth desired that Lambard should present it in person, saying, "If any subject of mine do me a service, I will thankfully accept it from his own hands."

In 1643, John Selden became keeper of the records.

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* The name of William Lamhith, clerk of the works, is on record as having been ordered to see to the repairs of the house in which they were kept in 1360. The spelling of his name is interesting in connection with the controversies mentioned in chapter xxii.

† Was Bowyer's Tower called after him?

‡ Brayley and Britton, 'The Tower of London,' p. 338.

He was succeeded by Prynne, who though he had suffered so much under Charles I., was a promoter of the restoration of Charles II. Astle, who wrote the history of writing, also held the office, but the greatest of the keepers was Samuel Lysons, to whom, and to his brother Daniel, modern topographers are so deeply indebted. Under his supervision the systematic calendaring was commenced, and the names of Sir Harris Nicolas and Sir Francis Palgrave may be mentioned among those who have carried on the great work inaugurated by Lysons.

A different kind of interest attaches to the Tower menagerie, the nucleus of the great collection now in the gardens of the Zoological Society in Regent's Park. "Seeing the lions in the Tower" has become a proverb. People who visit the ancient fortress now do not go to study natural history, but "seeing the lions" is still the phrase employed. The first wild beasts were kept in the Tower almost as soon as it was built.* Henry I. had a collection of lions, leopards, and other strange animals. Three leopards, in allusion perhaps to the royal heraldry, were presented to Henry III. by the emperor Frederick II. This king indulged his zoological tastes at the expense of the city, whose greatest oppressor he seems to have been in so many other respects. The sheriffs had to arrange in 1252 for the safe-keeping of a white bear from Norway. They "provided four pence daily, with a muzzle and iron chain, to keep him when 'extra aquam' and a stout cord to hold him when a-fishing in the Thames."† Two years later an elephant arrived from France. He landed at Sandwich and the sheriffs had to provide for him "a strong and suitable house," and to support him and his keeper. "At the time when the allowance for an esquire was one penny a day," remarks Mr. Clark, "a lion had a quarter of mutton, and three halfpence for the keeper; and afterwards sixpence was the lion's allowance; the same for a leopard, and three halfpence for the keeper." In the reign of Henry VI., the office of keeper was held by men of superior rank, and sometimes by the lieutenant of the Tower. In 1543 the collection consisted of four large lions and two leopards. In 1657 there were six lions in the Tower, and by 1708, the list of wild beasts had increased to eleven lions, two leopards or tigers, three eagles, two owls, two cats of the mountain and a jackal.* Fifty years later the menagerie attained very large dimensions. Maitland † gives us many curious particulars of the "wild beasts and other savage animals," and seems to have heard and believed some very extraordinary tales. The "man-tyger," which was probably an ape, specially interested him. It could throw stones with surprising strength and accuracy, and seems to have been deemed most valuable on account of its having killed a boy by throwing a cannon-ball at him. It had many other actions "nearly approaching to those of the human species." Among other wonderful animals was a golden eagle which had been in captivity more than ninety years. There was only one lion, Pompey, and one lioness, Helen. After this period the collection dwindled, and in 1822, when Mr. Cops became the keeper, he found nothing but a grizzly bear, an elephant, and some birds. Mr. Cops must be regarded as the true founder of the present "Zoo." Within a few years the collection grew too large for the Lion Tower, and it was transferred in 1834, to the Regent's Park, where a few animals had already been gathered by the Zoological Society.*

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* 'The Tower Menagerie,' with cuts, by William Harvey, published in 1829, a pretty book.

† Clark, 'Old London,' p. 96

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* 'Tower Menagerie,' p. xv.

† 'History of London,' i. 172. His list commences with "Two Egyptian night walkers," perhaps some species of monkey, or lemurs.

The Lion Tower was an outwork in advance of the Middle Tower, now the principal entrance for visitors. It stood on the site of the present ticket office, and had a smaller tower adjoining it, and a drawbridge of its own.† The whole of the outer space was called the Bulwark, and sometimes Spur Yard. Close to it was the sluice by which water was admitted to the Tower Ditch. During a visitation of cholera, in 1854, the death of lord Jocelyn, then on duty at the Tower with his regiment, called attention to the unwholesomeness of the great surface of stagnant water, and the duke of Wellington ordered it to be drained. The bottom was partially filled and levelled so as to form a parade ground, and the sloping sides, north and west, were laid out with shrubs and walks, and surrounded by a railing. A curious accident happened here some years later, but escaped public notice. A fire-engine driven at great speed to the succour of a conflagration at St. Katherine's Dock beyond the Tower, emerged from Tower Street, and in the darkness was dashed against the railings. Engine, horses, and men fell headlong into the ditch, yet, strange to say, the engine only was injured.

Of all the manors connected with St. Paul's, Stepney was the greatest, and we have now to tell the story of its alienation and disintegration. A little further on a similar story will be concerned with the estates of the

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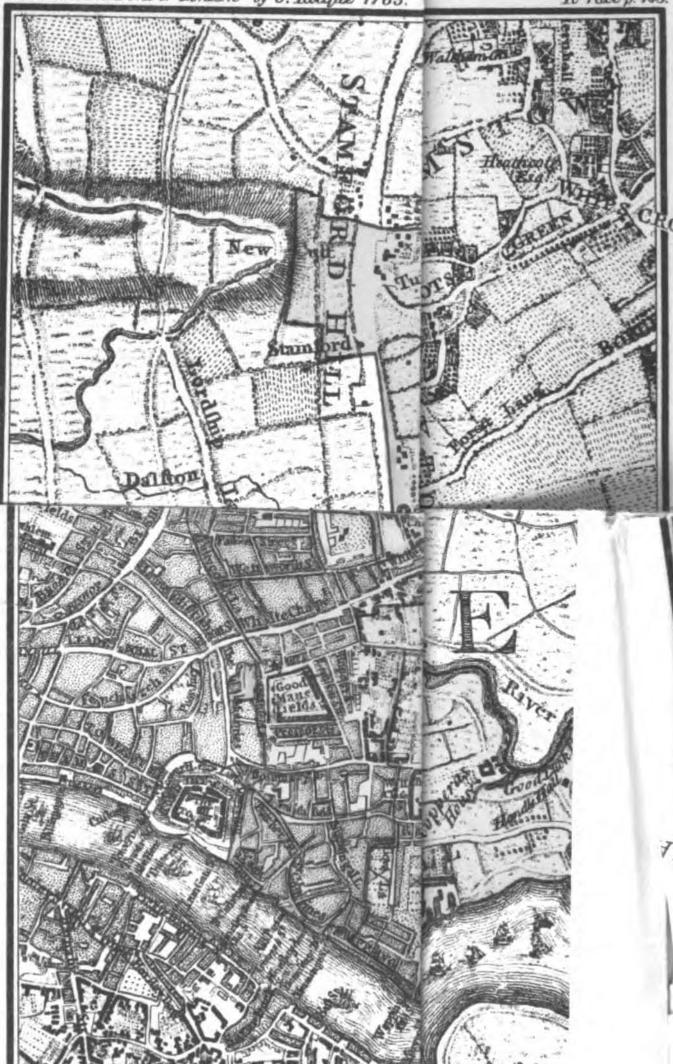
* 'Gardens and Menagerie,' with Harvey's cuts, 2 vols. 1831.

† It may be seen on the extreme left—or west—of the accompanying view.

From "The Environs of London" by J. Rocque 1763. *To face p. 149.*


STAMFORD HILL
New
Stamford
Lordship
Dalston
Walthamstow
Heathcote
WHITE CROSS
GREEN
Forest Lane
E
River
Whitechapel
Good Mans Fields
New Road
Stanfor
A SCALE OF 1 ENGLISH MILE.
0
1
2
3
4
5
6
7

prebendaries or canons of the cathedral church. If the abbot of Westminster had the manor of St. Margaret's, extending west from the wall to Chelsea, the bishop of London had a counter-balancing estate in the east: for Stepney extended from Aldgate to the Lea, and from the Thames to the northern hills. In Domesday the bishop's holding is set down at thirty-two hides, and he had besides eight tenants, some of whom held as much as five hides. One of them was Engelbric, a canon of St. Paul's, and another William, the chamberlain, presumably of the city, whom we have had occasion to notice more than once.

This great estate comprised at least seven different modern parishes and innumerable smaller ecclesiastical divisions, being in fact itself the district so often referred to as the great and terrible "east end." Whitechapel was the first district separated. An ancient church, whose name, "St. Mary Matfelon," has been the subject of some wild guessing, had subsisted here—as St. Clement Danes had subsisted on the manor of the abbot of Westminster—from time immemorial. The rector of Stepney had the gift of the living in the time of Stow, but since the beginning of the eighteenth century even this connection with the mother parish has been severed and the advowson is now held by an Oxford College. The church was recently pulled down, and a new one in a very florid style of gothic built, but almost immediately burnt. It is now being rebuilt.

Shadwell was separated in the reign of Charles II. by Act of Parliament, when the church, also probably an old chapel of ease, was consecrated as St. Paul's, the gift being in the dean and chapter of the cathedral. One by one after this, "Wapping in the Wash," Spitalfields, Limehurst, Stratford, and Bethnal Green have followed, and the mother church has now but a moderate district left.

The dedication to St. Dunstan is almost manifestly later than the church itself; and we find, accordingly, "All Saints" added to the English archbishop, and even in some authorities an assertion that to them alone the parish was originally assigned. The old church has been much molested, but is the old church still, and contains a fine series of ancient monuments. So far back as the beginning of the last century the fame of Stepney in this respect had penetrated westward, and we find its epitaphs quoted in both the 'Spectator' and the 'Tatler.' Built into the west porch is a stone carved with an inscription commencing, "Of Carthage wall I was a stone," and signed, "Thomas Hughes, 1663." It may very well have been brought by a traveller from the African ruins.* The fine houses which once surrounded the church have all perished; the neighbourhood is composed of very miserable tenements. Pace, who succeeded Colet, first at Stepney and afterwards at St. Paul's, was the well-known diplomatist, one of Wolsey's favourite tools, especially in his intrigues for the papal crown.†

Of the other churches in this vast parish it would be impossible to give a detailed account. With one exception, all were in the classical style, until St. Philip's was built in 1829, the first example of the gothic revival; but one old gothic church survived, namely, at Stratford, near the "Bow" or arched bridge over the Lea, a chapelry of

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* It was just twenty years after that Mr. Huntingdon brought home from Egypt to Oxford the oldest monument now in England. See 'Catalogue,' Ashmolean Museum, No. 794.

† See 'Handbook to St. Paul's,' pp. 156-168, for notices of Colet and Pace.

Stepney till 1719, when it was made parochial. It retains many pointed features, and is mainly as it was when built in the fifteenth century. It stands well in the middle of "the king's highway," on a site specially granted by bishop Baldock. St. George's-in-the-East has superseded the old name of Wapping, which now only belongs to a small riverside district, the church of which, perfectly modern, is dedicated to St. John. St. George's was designed by Hawksmoor, the pupil of Wren. It was one of the fifty parish churches of queen Anne's time, but was not finished and consecrated till 1729. Limehouse, formerly Limehurst, was made parochial in 1730, and the dedication of the church to St. Anne was probably intended as a compliment to the queen. It also was designed by Hawksmoor, but cannot be considered a favourable example of his powers. In St. George's and St. Anne's he appears in fact to have been trying experiments in a style already bound down by hard-and-fast rules. If we judge him by St. Mary Woolnoth, or St. George's Bloomsbury, we may think he approached very near to his master Wren: but these conspicuous riverside churches show that his genius was limited. Architects have been slow to learn, if indeed they have ever learnt, that eccentricity is not necessarily picturesque, while it is often unpleasing. Vanbrugh, who went even farther than Hawksmoor in this direction, succeeded more often, yet his best works are those in which he adhered most strictly to the conventional rules. Of St. George's-in-the-East there is not much to be said. Its tower is a monument of ugliness well known to any one who has occasion to go up or down the Thames below London. It is 160 ft. in height, and bears a little spire and weather-cock rising from among eight objectless columns. The interior is spacious, but insufficiently lighted, and the construction is so ingeniously concealed as to excite a feeling of insecurity very much out of place in ecclesiastical architecture.

Stepney, like Westminster, at the time of the Conquest and long after, was a centre of fashion. Domesday Book contains a list of the bishop's tenants, from which we gather that some great men of the court, some of the city, and some of the church lived here, though it would be difficult to identify their holdings. Ralf Flambard must have overshadowed the bishop himself. Hugh Berners was a Norman noble. William de Vere became the progenitor of the long and illustrious line of the earls of Oxford. Beside the bishop of Lisieux and several canons of St. Paul's, there were some eminent citizens—Roger, the sheriff,* for example, and William, the chamberlain. These great persons probably lived either about Bishopsgate, outside the wall, or at Stepney itself, near the church of St. Dunstan. One or two of the holdings may still be identified. In the same paragraph with the bishop's home manor the estate of a canon of St. Paul's is described. This was probably Holywell or Finsbury, since the bishop's house was north of the city and near Bethnal Green. Sired, a canon, held it in the days of king Edward, and could sell or lease it. Another prebendal manor is mentioned, and as it is in the same paragraph, it was presumably at the same place, and would answer to the modern stall of "Ealdland." † A third estate was the property of "Engelbric, a canon," presumably of St. Paul's. He could not sell it, and it was probably not one of the prebendal manors. In a humbler walk of life we find Doding, the miller, who held a "virgate" of the bishop's own manor, and who seems to be commemorated in the name of "Dodding Pond," in East Smithfield.*

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* He was probably sheriff of Middlesex, but he may have been sheriff of London. The Essex sheriff seems to have been Sweyn. On the whole it seems likely that "Rogerius, vicecomes," as he is described in the MS., was not the successor of Gosfrith, to whom the charter had been granted, as "the title of William the Chamberlain" seems to answer best to that of "Portreeve."

† See above, chapter i. p. 4. Neither Holywell nor Ealdland is mentioned by name in Domesday.

The bishop's manor house was at Bethnal Green. Its site, close to the western entrance of Victoria Park, is still indicated by some of the local names, such as Bishop's Road, Bonner's Road, and Hall Bridge. Names alone are ancient now in this quarter. All else is modern and moreover shabby. The Beggar's Daughter has multiplied a hundred thousand fold. Only public houses and pawnbrokers' shops seem to flourish, everything else has an air of poverty, which here and there puts on a still more melancholy look of gentility. There are a few private houses, surrounded by straggling gardens, and coarse weedy grass. There are great hospitals, one of which occupies part of the site of the bishop's manor house. There are some modern churches built in the early years of the gothic revival, and the handsome, if useless Columbia Market,† looks strange and out of place in all its finery of pinnacles. An occasional board school rises above the low roofs and looks pleasant and pretty by contrast.

There is an old Joe Miller about Bethnal Green which used to puzzle commentators. It related to some coarse joke made by Rochester or Charles II. as to a causeway constructed of the skulls and horns of cattle which here carried the Newmarket road across a marsh. The citizens it was said, laid their heads together to form the road. At the present day the marsh is drained, and there are many roads in the district and many streets, but very few breathing spaces.

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* 'Steven's Continuation of Dugdale,' p. 83.

† Intended by lady Burdett-Coutts for a local market, but, perhaps, too good for the place, and a failure. The architect was Mr. Darbishire, and the building cost about 200,000*l*.

In one of them stands the museum, conspicuous among the east end buildings as the only example of what future ages may call the South Kensington style of architecture. The pilgrim from the west end if he is not very young may see another memento of Brompton in the majolica fountain which was so conspicuous an object in the exhibition of 1862. The raw colours are as bright, as inharmonious as ever. Glazed pottery, indeed, enjoys perpetual youth. The interior of the museum is more pleasing: the specimens of manufacture of different kinds being well arranged, and loan collections of china and pictures being constantly on view.

Before bishop Ridley surrendered Stepney to Edward VI., or rather to the greedy courtier who coveted it, the manor house had seen some very fine company at times. There is not much to connect Bonner with it during his first incumbency of the see, but before him several bishops had made it an occasional residence. Braybrook, who was chancellor of England in the beginnings of troubles under Richard II., found it convenient to live for months together half-way as it were between town and country. The hunting grounds of Hornsey and Highgate with their woods stretched away over the hills towards the great forest on one side, the busy city that, literally, "kings and priests were plotting in," was close by on the other. Before Braybrook, another chancellor, Baldock, was much at Bethnal Green, and died here in 1313. Bishop Roger the Black *(cognomine Niger)* died here in 1241. But after the grant of Stepney to lord Wentworth the house declined. We seek in vain for any vestiges of it. A century ago it was divided into tenements. Hospitals, asylums, streets and squares cover all the bishop's land.

Near the church of St. Dunstan was another old house. In 1299 Edward I. held a parliament in Stepney at the house of the mayor of London, Henry le Waleys. The mayor's country villa must have been a palace. Its exact site is not certain, but it was probably the same as that occupied by mayor Pulteney in 1330. He was the representative of a great city family still commemorated in St. Lawrence "Pountney," one of whom at a much later period was an eminent statesman, and earl of Bath. Sir Henry Colet, the father of dean Colet, had a house here also, probably the same; it stood a little west of the church * and was known as the Great Place. Some fragments were still to be seen in the present century. The monument of Sir Henry Colet, repeatedly restored, is in the church. It is the special care of the Mercer's Company. The house which Sir Henry left to the company, was by them leased to the great vicar-general, Cromwell, earl of Essex. Colet's son, the celebrated dean, was vicar of the parish. It is seldom that so many great associations cluster round one such place. Here More and Erasmus must have visited Colet—whether in the vicarage, or at his father's house—and there are many allusions to the place in their letters. He died in 1519, and so did not witness the reign of terror under which More lost his head, nor did he see his father's house desecrated by the presence of Cromwell. When Cromwell in his turn was attainted the lease of Stepney was allowed to descend to his nephew, Sir Richard

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* Lysons, ii. 685.

Williams, who assuming the surname, became an ancestor of the Lord Protector.

Stepney was privileged to have both a rector and a vicar. The rectory was a sinecure, but the rector nominated the vicar who paid him the rent of a red rose for the vicarage house. Colet was not rector, as he is sometimes called, but vicar: he lived in a house of his own, which he bequeathed to St. Paul's School, as a villa for the "High Master." Its site is marked by Colet Place. Pace, the friend of Erasmus, succeeded Colet as vicar of Stepney, and after some years, also as dean of St. Paul's. Rectory and vicarage have long been united, and the living is now in private patronage.*

The greater part of the manor of Stepney must, however, have been very little better than a fen until a comparatively late period. We find a prioress of St. Helen's just before the Dissolution granting a lease of land in Stepney called Hare Marsh; and even so late as the time of Stow, much of the parish was completely open. There were fair hedges, he tells us, and long rows of elms and other trees. The name of Wapping may be that of a Saxon mark, but the old addition "in the Wose," or wash, sufficiently indicates its condition.† Nightingale Lane, Bramley, Ratcliffe (said to have been called from a bank of red clay), Limehurst, and other rural names occur by the river's edge. But already in the middle of the sixteenth century, the houses were springing up. The old place for the execution of pirates was at Wapping "at the low water mark, there to remain, till three tides had overflowed them."‡ Here, says Stow, there was never a house standing within these forty years. He is writing in 1603, and adds that since the gallows have been removed further off, there has been "a continual street, or filthy strait passage, with alleys of small tenements, or cottages, built, inhabited by sailors' victuallers, along by the river of Thames." This district, which began at the Tower with East Smithfield, was known as Ratcliffe Highway. Of late it has been called St. George Street, the name of Ratcliffe, except in the vulgar tongue, has disappeared, and Wapping is restricted to the corner cut off between the river's bank and the docks. These docks commence on the site of St. Katharine's Hospital, and are continued as London Dock, and Shadwell Basin right across the peninsula. To the north of them runs the highway so feelingly described by Stow; it is continued east until it becomes High Street Shadwell, and is finally lost near Limehouse Basin. Further inland is a vast thoroughfare, entirely modern, known as Commercial Road; and still further north, the old thoroughfare, leading to Stratford and its bridge over the Lea. The whole district is a labyrinth of small houses, and sustains an enormous population, almost entirely employed in docks, breweries, match factories, and other establishments of the kind. The efforts which have been made, by such institutions as the Bethnal Green Museum and the public libraries, to influence these people have had a fair measure of success, and deserve more than a passing mention, if only because of the amount of wholly disinterested labour which has been bestowed upon them by clergymen and employers in the district.

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* The gift is in the Tyssen-Amherst family.

† The "Wap Ing" may have been a meadow by the river.

‡ A similar custom existed in the liberty of Castle Baynard.

The bishop of London has still the gift of a majority of the livings in this immense parish, but he is no longer lord of the manor of Stepney. In 1550, Nicholas Ridley, then bishop, and afterwards martyr, surrendered it to Edward VI., and for the last time we may connect Stepney with Westminster. Both the abbot's house and the bishop's manor were conferred on lord Wentworth. He retained his hold on Stepney, even during queen Mary's reign, and his descendants till 1720 were reckoned lords of a manor which included all the modern Tower Hamlets, except the Tower itself, and a small portion of Hackney, which having been alienated during the Commonwealth was never restored. A wealthy merchant named Daniel bought much property in the parish. Another named Tyssen imitated his example, and by degrees the greater part of the original manor was acquired by one family or the other. A union took place between them by marriage, and their present representative may be looked upon as lord of the manor, since he has not only the land as the Wentworths had it, but also the advowson of the church. There is on record a curious protest of the Heralds College against the unauthorised pomp of the funeral of Mr. Francis Tyssen of Hackney in 1717. He was a goldsmith and his body lay in state at Goldsmiths' Hall, and was conveyed at night with a great torchlight procession to its last resting place. The heralds issued an advertisement in the *Gazette*, censuring "the manner in which the body was set forth," as being far above "the quality of the deceased."* Two or three days after this great ceremony Tyssen's widow was delivered of a son, who eventually inherited the estate.

Hackney, which forms the chief part of the Tyssen estate, lies at the northern extremity of the old manor of Stepney. In the marshes of the Lea there was from time immemorial a village named Hackney Wick. It was on an island or "ey" of the river named in all probability after some Danish Hacon who settled there. Various neighbouring landowners acquired tracts of marsh land, as the wide-spreading waters were gradually canalised or banked up, and eventually the bishops, the Knights Templars, the hospital of St. Mary, (called St. Mary Spital) outside Bishopsgate, and the priory of Clerkenwell, had all estates here, each of which was reputed a manor. In addition Hoxton, previously Hoggeston, and in Domesday Hochestone, was a manor of the canons of St. Paul's, really owned by the Aspale family in the fourteenth century ; and the Gernons held Hergotestane, now called Haggerston. These two last were long reckoned part of the parish of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, which also includes, or included, a manor named Norton Folgate, or perhaps, "Forth-the-Gate," which belonged to the dean and chapter of St. Paul's and lay, as its name denotes, north of the city and outside Bishopsgate.* It is mentioned, but not by name or as a manor, in Domesday, as containing ten cottages on nine acres, and being situated at the Bishopsgate.† Clapton, which lies on the way to Hackney, is remarkable as the birthplace and residence during the intervals of his long journeys, of John Howard the philanthropist. He sold his house in 1785, and it was pulled down before the end of the century.

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* See a similar case under "Battersea," chapter xxii.

At the dissolution of the monasteries, the Temple manor in Hackney was granted to the earl of Northumberland.‡ It is one of the historical puzzles of that puzzling period to know how this earl Henry kept his head on his shoulders and survived to die in his bed, "at his manor of Hackney, now the king's house, between two and three in the morning, on the 29th of June in 1537." He it was who, as lord Percy, was contracted to Anne Boleyn: and his name was freely used at the unfortunate queen's trial, when this precontract was among other things adduced against her. The engagement led to a very curious scene, detailed in Cavendish's life of Wolsey, where the cardinal by the king's secret order, endeavoured to detach Percy from the lady. His course was to disparage her, to call her a foolish girl and an unsuitable match for the heir of one of the greatest earldoms in the kingdom, and though Percy at first protested that she was of "right noble parentage, for her mother is high of the Norfolk blood, and her father descended of the earl of Ormond," he eventually yielded, and submitted himself to the will of the king and the cardinal. It is to be observed that his subsequent marriage with lady Mary Talbot, daughter of the earl of Shrewsbury, proved unhappy, and that he died childless little more than a year after the queen's execution. His monument which was formerly in Hackney church, has long disappeared.*

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* The prebend of Holywell was in both St. Giles' Cripplegate, and St. Leonard's Shoreditch. There is still a Holywell Street in Shoreditch.

† Riley ('Memorials,' p. 12) speaks of Fall-gate.

‡ Henry, 6th earl.

The manor reverted to the crown, the reversion having already been secured by a deed. It obtained, short as was the time it belonged to any sovereign, the name of kingshold, in contradistinction to "lordshold," the estate remaining to the bishop out of his original lordship. Kingsland and Kingsland Road still indicate the site, but there is little air of antiquity left in any part of Hackney. Here and there a "Queen Anne" or early Georgian house may be seen, with a heavy cornice and deep-set windows, and perhaps a wrought-iron garden gate, but gardens are themselves becoming every day more rare as the town creeps on. A little chapel once stood by the turnpike at Kingsland. It was only twenty-seven feet long, but sufficed for the wants of a small branch "Lazar House" attached to St. Bartholomew's. The "loke" was removed in the last century, but the chapel only disappeared in 1846. It stood actually within the boundary of Islington.*

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* His only brother, Thomas Percy, had been beheaded a few months before for participation in Aske's rebellion. The earldom became extinct, but was revived twenty years later in favour of a son of Thomas.

The bishop's land was termed "lord's hold," as the bishop was the original lord of the whole manor of Stepney. It went with Stepney to the Wentworths, but after the Commonwealth was not restored to them, and passed through the hands of various owners, chiefly as I have said, Daniels and Tyssens, many of whom were commemorated in Hackney church. Both came originally from Holland and were great in the city. There are still some fine old houses to be seen at Hackney, but most of those we read of in the last century have disappeared. Among them was Balmes or Baumes, now only commemorated by Balm Road. It was built about 1660 and had a high picturesque roof.† The estate on which it stood was sold to Richard Beauvoir in 1680, and belongs or lately belonged to his descendants the Benyon family. Balmes became eventually a madhouse, but has long disappeared, though the streets and squares of the neighbourhood preserve the names of some of its successive owners. A family named Perwich who kept a boarding school for young ladies at Hackney after the Restoration obtained celebrity on account of the beauty and accomplishments of Susanna Perwich, who was buried in the middle aisle of the church in 1661, having died "in the 25th year of her age, of a fever which she caught by sleeping in a damp bed." This paragon of perfection might have proved a rival to the lovely and clever Anne Killigrew, almost her contemporary, on whose death Dryden wrote an ode. But Miss Perwich's poet did not attain the lofty pitch of Dryden. His verses, indeed, have about them an echo of Hudibras which mars their elegiac character,* and he himself seems to have been aware of their deficiency as he offers an alternative narration in prose. A few couplets will suffice to show the character of Mr. Batchiler's poetry. He begins with "a description of her person," from which we learn that "mix'd curiously," it "gave great delight," and must conclude that "person" with him meant complexion or face, like the French "figure." He goes on, after an account of her hair and temples, which he compares to "alabaster rocks":—

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* Wilkinson's 'Londina Illustrata,' i. 121.

† Lysons, i. 320.

> "From her black jetty starry eye
> Ten thousand sparkling Lustres flie.
> Brave gen'rous spirits siderial
> Move quick about each nimble Ball"—

and so on. She was a great musician. Perhaps Samuel Pepys may have joined a chorus occasionally at Balmes, and seen "her handsom sitting at her musick:"—

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* The book is somewhat scarce, and most modern writers have been content to borrow the lines which Lysons copies. The title runs as follows:—"The Virgin's Pattern: in the exemplary life and lamented death of Mrs. Susanna Perwich, daughter of Mr. Robert Perwich, who departed this life, every way a rarely accomplished virgin, in the flower of her age, at her father's house in Hackney, near London, in the county of Middlesex, July 3, 1661. Published at the earnest request of divers that knew her well, for the use and benefit of others, by John Batchiler, a near relation, that occasionally had an intimate converse in the family with her, more or less, the greatest part of her life."

"No Antick gestures, or bold face,
No wriggling motions her disgrace.
While she's at play, nor eye, nor head,
Hither or thither wandered.
Nor nods, nor heaves in any part,
As taken with her own rare Art."

Several pages are occupied with an account of her religious state, from which we gather that Mr. Batchiler was probably a nonconformist preacher of the Calvinistic school, and we then reach her last illness and death. She went to stay a few days with a friend.

"—— Behold damp sheets
Cling close about her in the bed,
At which she waking said, *I'm dead:*
And so it prov'd, alas! for wo!
At thought on't I'm afflicted so!
That briniest tears drop from mine eyes
My heart with throbs and inward cryes,
All broken is! what shall I say?
She's thus untimely snatcht away!
Shall I the careless Maid go blame?
And tell her what a horrid shame,
It is, that by her negligence
So choice a one is lost from hence?"

She died of acute rheumatism, or rheumatic fever, to judge by Mr. Batchiler's account of her sufferings, and her father's scholars wept round her bier, the maid servants of the school, all dressed in white, carried her coffin covered with a white pall, to the church, and "a rich costly garland of gum work, adorned with banners and scutchions was borne immediately before the hearse, by two proper young ladies, that entirely loved her." The Reverend Dr. Spurston preached a funeral sermon on the text "Death is ours:"* and the coffin was let down into a grave in the centre of the church. The same grave already held the remains of "Mrs. Anne Carew, one of the greatest beauties of England in her time, and formerly a Gentlewoman of the School." Mr. Batchiler takes care to add an advertisement on the healthiness of Balmes: for Mrs. Anne Carew was "the second of those five Gentlewomen onely, which have dyed out of her Father's House, among those eight hundred, that have been educated there, within the compass of seventeen years." The moral is drawn in lines which remind us of Bunyan's introductory doggrel.

"Now you young Ladies of the School
Lest your affections grow too cool.
Sit down, consider well your case—"

are the opening lines of this "serious exhortation," and the poet ends with an allusion to Death:—

"Shall we not count it our best friend
That brings us to so brave an end."

Perhaps the quaintest thing in this quaint book, besides some acrostics, chronograms, and odes by the fair Susannah's school-fellows, is a long series of "Practical Queeries," with which her biographer, proposing to fill up the remainder of a sheet, "left void for want of matter," contrives to go on, or rather, cannot contrive to stop, for a hundred pages, the greater part filled with questions like this, from which the whole may be judged: "Whether he that affirms total and final falling away from special grace be not a downright Arminian, and Cozen-German to a Papist."

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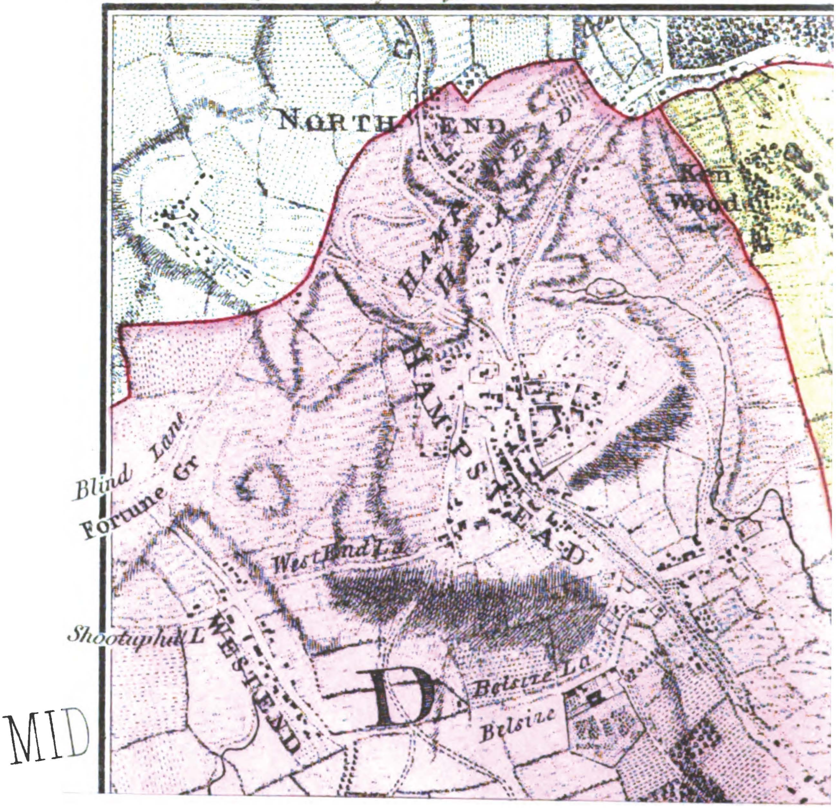
* 1 Cor. iii. 22.

From "The Environs of London" by J. Rocque 1763.


NORTH END
HAMPSTEAD HEATH
Ken Wood
HAMPSTEAD
Blind Lane
Fortune Gr
West End La
Shootuphill L
WEST END
D
Belsize La
Belsize
MID

CHAPTER XX.

THE NORTHERN SUBURBS.

WHEN we speak at the present day of "crown property," the phrase bears a very different meaning from that which it bore under the Tudors. The first effect of the suppression of the monasteries was to throw an enormous amount of land into the possession of the crown. If such an accession of wealth came, by any conceivable accident or arrangement, into the hands of the crown as things are now constituted, the result might be a lightening of public burdens, a relief of pauperism, a remission of taxation. We often hear an ignorant person complain when some rich man has died without heirs and intestate, that his money has "gone to the crown"; little thinking that "the crown," in this sense, means the grumbler himself, and all the other taxpayers who are benefited by an increase of the national income. But to Henry VIII., and to Somerset and Northumberland, his successors in power, a crown estate was as much the property of the king as the chain round his neck or the ring on his finger. Under queen Mary the tendency was not so much to treat the monastic estates as the private property of the sovereign as to regard them in the light of a trust to be returned to their ancient owners at the first opportunity. Under Elizabeth, again, something more like the modern view prevailed. When crown lands were given away it was for a consideration. Many of the existing private estates in the suburbs of

London were purchased from the government of this queen, and were paid for in sums commensurate at that time with their real value. Under James the old system revived, but even the thrifty Elizabeth had not left the crown property as large as it was when Henry VIII. died, and the grants made by the Stuarts were few, in London, at least.

The enormous extent of the ecclesiastical estates in the suburbs, and their seizure by the crown, have proved circumstances of the happiest kind for us of the time of queen Victoria. It is to them we owe the parks. All these "lungs of London" were at one time or another church or abbey land. In those parts of London where the church lands remained to the church no parks were made. St. Paul's, in name at least, still holds St. Giles's and St. George's; Gray's Inn and Tottenham Court are prebendal manors, as are Camden Town and Somers Town, and other over-populous districts with changed names. They were not alienated by king Henry, but by their ecclesiastical owners.*

Further west we have two manors in the parish of St. Marylebone, one of which belonged to the nuns of Barking, and the other to the knights of St. John. The next parish, Paddington, belonged to Westminster Abbey, and, having formed part of the endowment of the short-lived bishopric of Westminster, became, and still, in name, remains the property of the see of London. Next we have Westbourne, still the property of Westminster Abbey. Further west again we come to Kensington, the estate of the abbot of Abingdon. Half the great manor of Chelsea belonged to Westminster, and is still the property of the dean and chapter. Crossing the Thames we find a momentary break in this almost continuous ring of ecclesiastical land. Kennington was, and is, a crown manor, and annexed to the duchy of Cornwall, but Lambeth was the archbishop's, Walworth belonged to the cathedral church of Canterbury, and Bermondsey, on the south-east, to the abbey of St. Saviour, there established. Crossing the Thames again we find Stepney, the immense manor of the see of London; and so have completed a circuit, at a fairly uniform distance, of the ring of estates which at the present day are the site of the principal suburbs.

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* For a list of the prebendal manors, see Appendix E.

The gradual alienation of their estates by the canons of St. Paul's forms the subject of a curious chapter in ecclesiastical history. The present nominal arrangement of the stalls seems to have come into force about the middle of the twelfth century. A meeting was held at St. Paul's in 1150 as to "bread and beer,"* and apparently some manors which had been appropriated to the food of the canons were now divided into residential estates. There is a certain monotony in the subsequent history of these estates. They were leased away by the incumbents, who gradually ceased to have any interest in what is still nominally their property.

The Middlesex manors belonging to the prebends of St. Paul's are all to the north or north-west of the city.† It may be worth while to trace the history of some of them, though it is often hardly possible to identify them, so changed are the modern names, so entirely are the original lords forgotten. The prebendal manor of Holywell, for example, which comprised the great district now covered by Finsbury, was, in 1315, leased away by its incumbent* to the mayor and commonalty of the city for the annual rent of twenty shillings. The corporation have had to surrender it to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, the lease having run out and died a natural death in 1867. I do not know that the occupant of the stall now labelled "Finsbury" receives as much as his pound a year. Ealdstreet yields no income to its holder, though the manor, which evidently from its name was on the Roman road, may be identified with the parish of St. Leonard, Shoreditch. Old Street, St. Luke's, is probably called after the prebend. The Moor, at Moorgate, was a manor in the parish of St. Giles Cripplegate, as was Wenlakesbarn, or Wenlocksbarn. We must not suppose that these prebendal manors, though I have called them, for convenience, incumbencies, were in any sense parochial charges. They were merely, when they emerge upon the page of history, estates. It is possible that when they were first founded some spiritual charge was annexed to them: but in the twelfth century there is no trace of anything but the ownership of the land.

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* 'Newcourt, Repertorium,' i. 173. Oddly enough he spells *cervisio* as *servicio*; but the meaning is plain.

† They are Eald street, Holborn, Holywell, Cantlers, Mora, St. Pancras, Portpool, Ruggemere, Tottenhall, Wenlakesbarn, Newington, Willesden, Brondesbury, Brownswood, Chamberlainwood, Harlesden, Mapesbury, Neasdon, Oxgate, and Twyford.

These prebendal manors originally no doubt came up to the very walls of the city. But at a remote period, when land was not very valuable, and life insecure without special protection, a series of monasteries sprung up just outside the walls. St. Bartholomew, for instance, was built on waste ground, as we are told. But, waste or cultivated, the ground was stolen from a prebend, perhaps that of Holborn.† There is a notice in the

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* Robert de Baldok. "The lease, which has been renewed from time to time, will expire in the year 1867," says Mr. Aungier, 'French Chron.' (Cam. Soc.), p. 53.

† See account of the foundation, vol. i. chap. iv.

Domesday Book, of a small holding near Newgate, called "No man's land." This became part of the site of the Charterhouse,* and was anciently reckoned in the parish of St. Sepulchre, which was partly within and partly without the city boundary. The two modern parishes of St. Bartholomew, the Great, and the Less, were taken out of St. Sepulchre at the dissolution. But the site of the Charterhouse became, and continues, extra-parochial. Sir Walter Manny and bishop Northburgh united to found the Carthusian monastery, and its church was consecrated by bishop Stratford, Northburgh's successor. Several small holdings were united, and the names are interesting though it would be difficult to identify them. Pardon Churchyard was a burying ground belonging to the knights of Clerkenwell. Spittle Croft was a field belonging to the "spital" of St. Bartholomew. There was also Newchurch Haw, and further north lay Hervye's Croft. In 1429 William Rendre, citizen and barber, let to the monks for eighty years, at the rent of a red rose, an acre of land which contained a spring, and a map showing the sources of the water supply of the house is still extant.† Rendre's acre is very minutely described: it was pastureland, and lay in a field called "Conduit Shote," near "Trillemylle Brook," in the parish of "St. Andrew de Holborne," and was bounded on the north and west by the pasture of the Carthusians, on the south by that of the prior and convent of St. Bartholomew, and on the east by the king's highway leading "de Holborne versus Kentish town."

The Carthusians were, perhaps, more cruelly treated by Henry VIII. than any other monks. The number of their houses in England was only nine, but they claimed the credit of having numbered St. Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, among their ranks. They preserved to the last their reputation for consistent and Christian life; and we find Sir Thomas More living among them for two years, in order to give himself up to devotion and prayer.* They strongly opposed the new doctrine of the king's supremacy, and even their submission in 1535 was only followed by the arraignment of prior Houghton for having spoken too freely on the subject. Two of his monks were brought up with him, and a form of trial was gone through. Their old friend More saw them going to execution from his prison in the Tower, and remarked on their cheerful demeanour. The utmost barbarity then prescribed by the law was inflicted on them, and Houghton's mangled body was set up over the gate of his monastery. Three more of the monks were similarly treated after a month's respite. Even this second exhibition of severity left some of the brethren unconvinced. Cromwell's visitor, Fylott, recommended that it was "very necessarie to minysh the numbre" of the monks, at least by so many as will not give up the pope and accept the king's supremacy.† In 1537 a new prior was appointed to succeed Houghton, in reality that he might surrender the house to the king, and the oaths were offered to the remaining monks. Ten of their number absolutely refused. Their brethren surrendered and received pensions, but these ten were conveyed to Newgate, chained in an unwholesome dungeon, and so cruelly treated by Cromwell's agent, Thomas Bedyll, that in a few days half of them died. A letter from

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* Vol. i. chap. viii. There is a full and careful account of the foundation by Archdeacon Hale in the 'Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society,' iii. 309.

† In the Charterhouse. See Mr. Hale's paper, as above.

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* 1504 and 1595: see Sebohm's 'Oxford Reformers,' p. 146.

† 'Chronicles of the Charterhouse,' p. 26.

Bedyll to his master is extant. It reveals a depth of inhumanity unusual even under Henry VIII. "The monks," he says, "be almost despatched by the hand of God," which in this case meant misery and starvation purposely inflicted, and he adds a list of five who had died, of two who were "even at the point of death," of two who were sick, and says, "there be one hole." One of the two sick men was eventually the sole survivor, and after lying for four years in prison he was hanged. A portion of Bedyll's letter is taken up with commendations of the prior who had surrendered the house; and especially says of him "He is a man of such charity as I have not seen the like." Bedyll seems to have been a judge of charity. The other monks went to Bruges, and continued steadfast to their vows. On Mary's accession they returned, and at her death departed again, but Elizabeth evidently respected their consistent life, for she gave them a safe conduct.

The subsequent fate of the house was somewhat different from that of most of the London monasteries. It became, indeed, for a time the palace of a series of noblemen. The duke of Norfolk whom Mary Stuart lured to his death made it his headquarters, and built several commodious chambers, and a tennis court. The solitary cells of the Carthusians were unfit for ordinary life, but it is remarkable that so much old work remains. The chapel is mainly as it was built, and the cloisters may be easily recognised. The duke's eldest son, the earl of Arundel, held "Howard House" till his attainder in 1590, and it was afterwards granted to his brother the earl of Suffolk. In 1611 it was bought by Thomas Sutton, and made the central feature of the noble foundation with which he endowed his fellow-citizens. For reasons with which many people disagreed the Charterhouse school has lately been removed to Godalming, and one of Thomas Sutton's objects is thus defeated. The advantages of London for schools are obvious. To mention one of them—there is no other place where boys are so healthy, and there is no place where intellectual life is so powerfully awakened. Leech and Thackeray were educated at the Charterhouse, and hundreds of other men who have done credit to our country. The company of merchant taylors, wiser than the governors of the Charterhouse, when their old school in Suffolk Lane, Dowgate,* was destroyed by the Metropolitan Railway, took the discarded site of the Carthusians, and moved their scholars to it. It is difficult to say whether any of the old spirit was removed with the school to the Surrey hills, but the Merchant Taylors' School has naturally fallen heir to the greater part of it. The traditions of Addison and Wesley were too fragile to travel. Those of Thackeray are perhaps better preserved by the hospital than by the school, which he nicknames in some of his novels "the Slaughterhouse." There are about fifty pensioners, called "Poor Brethren" in the hospital, the maximum number allowed by the statutes being eighty. Many of them are military men, and Colonel Newcome has been identified with more than one.

The Hospitallers of Clerkenwell always kept up friendly relations with their more strictly monastic neighbours in the Charterhouse. There are many records of negotiations respecting the water supply, a question the importance of which in the middle ages cannot be overrated. The two priories of Clerkenwell had been so long in possession that it is difficult now to say to what parish the land originally belonged. On the whole it may be assumed as probably correct that the whole modern parish of St. James, Clerkenwell, was formerly in Islington, as was part of the parish of St. John, the rest having been taken from St. Sepulchre's.* For Clerkenwell as it is now constituted owes its existence entirely to the nunnery of St. Mary and the priory of St. John. Indeed an outlying estate of the nunnery at Muswell Hill used to be reckoned in the parish of St. James; and likewise the possessions of the knights in Hackney Marsh were claimed for St. John's.

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* See views of the old building in Mr. J. J. Stevenson's 'House Architecture,' i. 319.

In the Domesday Book there is no mention of Clerkenwell; but the canons of St. Paul's, Geoffrey de Mandeville, Ralph the brother of Algar and Deorman, or Derman, of London, hold all the lands in Islington. Deorman's estate has been identified as Highbury.† Ralph held Tolentone, or Tollington. The estate of Mandeville came in two portions to the knights of St. John, and may now be identified with Pentonville and with Clerkenwell itself, except what was taken out of St. Sepulchre's. The estate of Deorman came eventually to the nunnery, and so the only lay family which continued for any time to hold land near London was extinguished.

Both the nunnery and the house of the knights are usually said to have been founded by Jordan Briset in 1100. With regard to the priory this may be true. With regard to the house of the Hospitallers it is almost certainly an error. The order of St. John was only instituted on the capture of Jerusalem in the previous year. Jordan placed the nunnery on fourteen acres of land close to what we know as Clerkenwell Green; and the priory grew and prospered rapidly, obtaining gifts of land both in the immediate neighbourhood and in other parts of England. The prioresses had many transactions as to their estates with their wealthy neighbours the knights; and when the house was suppressed their income was 262*l.* 19*s.*[*] Their church stood where St. James's stands now, and was full of goodly monuments. It was granted to various private persons who let it to the people as a parish church, and at length in 1656 the parishioners purchased it and elected a "curate" to carry on the services. An act of parliament, passed in 1788, placed things on a more legal footing, and a new church, which is very conspicuous, especially from the Fleet valley and Farringdon Street, was built. The living is now termed a vicarage, but the householders of the parish elect the vicar, as of old.

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* Almost everything bearing on the question is printed by Mr. Tomlins in his 'Perambulation of Islington.' His conclusions seem sometimes incorrect, but as he gives all his proofs in full it is easy for the reader to reason for himself. O that there were more like him!

† See vol. i. page 86.

The site of the nunnery and the adjacent lands were granted away by the crown very soon after the dissolution. They came at length to the Cavendish family, and their representative, the duke of Newcastle, resided in his house here in the reign of Charles II. Two or three streets still commemorate the name. The Clerken Well was long identified with a pump in Ray Street, formerly Rag Street.[†] The fraternity of parish clerks are said to have resorted annually to this well to perform a miracle play, and the name of the place is commonly derived from the circumstance. Clerkenwell Close still indicates the place occupied by the domestic buildings of the Benedictine priory.

The modern church was consecrated in 1792, and stands as nearly as possible on the site of the nuns' chapel. In the vaults are buried the ex-lord prior Weston, who died of a broken heart, it was said, at the dissolution. though the unusually large pension of 1000*l.* a year had been granted to him. The last prioress, Isabella Sackville, also lies here. In the churchyard, among other eminent folk, rests Weever the antiquary. His grave cannot now be identified. He died in 1632. His epitaph said of him—

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[*] Malcolm, iii. 202.

[†] The pump is figured in Wilkinson, ii. 131.

> "He laboured in a learned strain
> To make men long since dead to live again."

It does not appear that the lines he wrote for his own epitaph were placed on his grave:—

> "Lancashire gave me breath,
> And Cambridge education,
> Middlesex gave me death,
> And this church my humation,
> And Christ to me hath given
> A place with Him in Heaven."

The society of antiquaries sought in vain for Weever's tomb when the church was rebuilt. It was near the west end. The preface to his 'Funeral Monuments' is dated from his house in Clerkenwell Close.

Immediately south of the precincts of the Benedictine nuns we enter by the narrow Jerusalem Passage into the spacious St. John's Square, which was once the courtyard of the house of the knights of the Hospital. There is something unaccountable in the fact that the date of the foundation of the house is unknown. It is usually given as 1100, and Jordan Briset is mentioned as the founder. We may safely reject both assertions. The confusion between the two priories of Clerkenwell is illustrated by the contradictions as to the burial of Jordan and his wife Muriel. Sometimes they are said to have been buried in St. John's, sometimes in St. James's; sometimes they are separated, and one is assigned to the church of the knights and the other to that of the nuns.* The only fact which can be relied on is that the church of the knights of St. John was consecrated in 1185 by Heraclius, patriarch of Jerusalem, who was in England at the time preaching a crusade. He had consecrated the church of St. Mary for the Templars in the previous month, and appears to have been exceedingly active in obtaining recruits, though the councillors of king Henry, greatly to the indignation of the patriarch, would not allow him to leave England. Richard, his son, assumed the cross. "I maye not wende out of my lond," said the king to Heraclius, according to Fabian, "for myn owne sonnes wyll aryse agayne me whan I were absent." "No wonder," answered the patriarch, "for of the devyll they come, and to the devyll they shall go," and so "departed from the kynge in great ire."

In a very short time the priory of the knights of St. John became enormously wealthy.† The lord prior was reckoned the premier baron of England.‡ Wat Tyler's rebels burnt the house in 1381, but it only rose more glorious from its ashes, the rebuilding going on till just before the dissolution, when Thomas Docwra, then lord prior, rebuilt the well-known southern gateway which still bears his shield of arms. He was succeeded by Weston, whose death and burial in the nuns' church, I have mentioned above. The revenues of the house were reckoned to amount to 2385*l.* 12*s.* 8*d.* Queen Mary restored the knights to their ancient house, and Sir Thomas Tresham became the last lord prior. The house had been retained by the crown, and during the reigns of Henry VIII. and his successors it was sometimes used as a royal residence. But the church was half ruined by the protector Somerset to obtain materials for the great house he projected in the Strand: and in the beginning of king James's reign it belonged to lord Burghley, afterwards second earl of Exeter. In 1706 it was bought by Simon Michell, who repaired it, and, in 1723, sold it to the Commissioners for Fifty New Churches, who made it a parish church, and in December of the same year it was formally consecrated, and is now a rectory in private patronage.

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* The register of St. John claimed them both (Malcome, iii. 201). Weever and Stow agree that they were buried in the chapterhouse of the nuns. Dugdale separates them. See Newcourt, i. 657.

† The well-known volume edited by Mr. Larking for the Camden Society gives an account of their possessions in England.

‡ In the 'Roll of Arms of the Peers' in 1515, printed by Willement, "the lord off Saint John's, lord Thomas Docwra," comes immediately after the junior earl.

There are few relics of antiquity apparent in the exterior of St. John's church. But the ancient crypt remains and is a most interesting example of mixed Norman and Early English architecture. It was formerly filled with coffins, but they have been removed to the side aisles and bricked in, and the central vaulting is to be seen without interruption.

Many eminent people have lived in St. John's Square since the dissolution, but it is now the headquarters of the clock and watch manufacture, and also largely occupied by printing houses. Burnet resided long in a house on the west side opposite the church. John Wilkes was born in the square, where his father was a distiller: but his house was pulled down in 1812. The earls and marquises of Northampton have long been reckoned lords of the manor, and the site of their house, Northampton Square, lies to the north-east, near Goswell Street.

The Gate is famous as the residence of Edward Cave, who published here the first number of the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' in 1731. There is a handsome chamber over the archway, and the whole of what remains of the old building has of late years been rescued from destruction and the desecration of a tavern, and put in good repair by a benevolent society of gentlemen, who call themselves the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, and claim to represent, it is difficult to understand on what grounds, the English branch of the order.

Near the southern end of St. John's Street, and close to the great meat market lately made for the convenience of London by the public spirit of the corporation, is the site of Hicks Hall, a sessions house built in 1612, for the use of the Middlesex magistrates, by Sir Baptist Hicks, afterwards lord Campden.* The miles on the northern road were measured from Hicks Hall, which was a commodious but not very magnificent place of meeting, and a great improvement on the chance taverns in which the magistrates had previously been obliged to hold the sessions. The trial of the regicides took place here at the restoration of Charles II., and here also William, lord Russell, was condemned, "in defiance oı law and justice."† Hicks Hall became very ruinous about the middle of the eighteenth century, and was pulled down in 1782 when a fine new building, still in use, was erected on Clerkenwell Green. The portrait of Sir Baptist was removed to the new house, as well as a chimney piece and some other relics.‡

The great prebendal manor of Islington § has been frequently referred to in these notes on Clerkenwell. A sketch of its history will not be out of place here, the more so as of late years it has become an integral part of the great "metropolitan area." Islington is one of the largest parishes in Middlesex, being, says Lysons, three miles and one furlong in length, two miles and one furlong in breadth, and ten miles and a half in circumference, reaching from Highgate on the north-west to Pentonville on the south-east and including both, as well as Upper and Lower Holloway, Canonbury, Highbury, Barnsbury, Stroud Green, and many other "hamlets." At the earliest period of which we have any account a comparatively small portion remained in the possession of the canons of St. Paul. Domesday Book mentions three separate estates belonging to them comprising in all eight hides, to only one of which is any special name given. This is Stanestaple, which may be identified with that part of the parish known as Stapleton Hall, near Stroud Green. Another portion, from having been let to the Berners or Barnes family, became known as Barnsbury. Another part having it is supposed been leased to the Mounteney family, came to Jordan Briset with his wife, Muriel de Munteigni, or Mounteney, and was given to the priory of St. Mary at Clerkenwell. Some other smaller holdings came to the knights of St. John, and in the end the church of St. Paul had very little of Islington left. Even Canonbury, which might be supposed prebendal, if anything, was the property of the prior of St. Bartholomew, having been given by Ralph de Berners before the middle of the thirteenth century. The prebendal manor, indeed, dwindled to very small dimensions before 1850 when it was ordered to be sold by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. It was situated on the east side of Lower Street.

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* See chap. xxi. under Kensington.

† Macaulay, chap. ii.

‡ There is a very full and well illustrated account of Clerkenwell as it now is in 'Old and New London,' vol. ii., by the late Mr. Thornbury.

§ Mr. Tomlins's 'Perambulation' is the best of several histories of Islington.

The local names which survive in Islington are very interesting. Highbury marks the site of the "castle" of Deorman and his descendants. One of his sons was prebendary of Islington. Barnsbury similarly shows us where the Berners family lived, a family whose name still exists in the peerage. They held in Islington the half of one knight's fee from the bishop of London "as of his castle of Stortford." The learned and literary lord Berners,* who translated Froissart and Marcus Aurelius, sold his manor of "Bernersbury" to Sir Reginald Bray, in whose family it remained till lord Sandys sold it in 1539 to Robert Fowler, whose descendants in the female line possess it still. Canonbury, sometimes contracted into Canbury, is called after the canons, not of St. Paul's, but of St. Bartholomew's. It was surrendered to Henry VIII. in 1539, and then belonged successively to Cromwell, to Northumberland, and to queen Mary's nurse, the wife of David Broke, a baron of the Exchequer.† Eventually it came to the "Rich Sir John Spencer," who also had Crosby Hall, and still belongs, or lately belonged, to his descendants, the Comptons, marquises of Northampton. The scene of lord Compton's elopement with Spencer's heiress is laid at Canonbury. He is said to have carried the fair Elizabeth away in a baker's basket. The wealth which came to him on the death of his father-in-law literally turned his head. "That poor lord," says a contemporary letter,‡ "is not like (if God do not help him) to carry it away for nothing, or to grow very rich thereby, being in great danger to lose his witts for the same." He recovered eventually, but not till he had for a time been "somewhat distracted." There is another curious letter extant in which lady Compton describes the kind of state with which her household was to be ordered, the number of gentlewomen, maid-servants, laundresses, gentlemen, footmen, coaches and horses, she thought necessary to support her dignity, including 600*l.* a year for the performance of charitable works. The great lord Bacon rented Canonbury House in 1616, and after him the lord keeper Coventry. A portion of the house, well-known as Canonbury Tower, is still standing.

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* He is called on the titlepage of his 'Golden Boke,' John Bourchier, Knyghte Lord Barners.

† The Brokes are omitted in Nichols's 'History of Canonbury,' published in 1788. Mr. Tomlins adds many particulars I have found in no other books.

‡ Nichols, p. 21.

Islington still contains some old houses and retains the names of "the upper street," and "the lower street," now written with capital letters and without the article. The church stands in Upper Street, and is dedicated, almost as a matter of course, to St. Mary. It was rebuilt in the eighteenth century and cannot be called beautiful, though its steeple is imitated from that of Bow Church in Cheapside. The patronage was long in the hands of the nuns of Bromley-by-Bow, and afterwards passed into the possession of a number of private persons, but is now vested in trustees. There are a few monuments of interest in the church including two brasses of the sixteenth century.

Stoke Newington is another of the prebendal manors north of London. The parish is comparatively small, and very irregular in outline, some portions being completely detached.* The prebendaries very early leased it away, and a very small income seems now to be attached to the stall in St. Paul's. In fact, a private landowner is called lord of the manor. The old manor house was pulled down in 1695. It had been inhabited in the early part of the seventeenth century by Thomas Sutton, the munificent founder of the Charterhouse School and Hospital. The old church of St. Mary is a quaint gothic structure, "restored" not very successfully by the late Sir Charles Barry, in 1829: but a new church has been erected near it, from the designs of Sir Gilbert Scott, the parishioners very wisely declining to have the old church pulled down, as has been done in so many other places near London. It contains many curious monuments, including one to the memory of John Dudley, whose widow married Thomas Sutton. Dudley belonged to the same family as the great duke of Northumberland, and a magnificent shield of quarterings is on his tomb. In the churchyard is the burial-place of Mrs. Barbauld and Dr. Aitkin and a curious monument of the Pickett family, one of whom, Elizabeth Pickett, in 1781, was accidentally burnt to death at the early age of twenty-three by her clothes taking fire while she was ironing. Her epitaph contains a sensible warning:—"Reader, if you should ever witness such an afflicting scene, recollect that the only method to extinguish the flame, is to stifle it by an immediate covering."* The parish remained rural till very lately, but is now occupied by the better class of villas, and presents a comparatively pleasant appearance from the number and size of well-planted open spaces, among them Abney Park Cemetery, which is called after the late lessees. Isaac Watts came to Stoke Newington as a guest of the Abneys and having lived with them for many years, died here and lies buried in the dissenters' burial ground at Bunhill Fields, but a statue in Abney Park represents him.

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* A coloured map of Newington is in Johnson's 'History and Antiquities of the Parish,' published in 1820.

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* Johnson's 'History of Stoke Newington,' p. 176.

West of the city were the manors of Portpool, on the north side of the Holborn road, and St. Andrew's on the south. The Honourable Society of Gray's Inn are owners if not lords of the manor of Portpool. St. Andrew's is cut up into small holdings, having in the time of Richard II. been the property of John, lord Strange of Knockyn,* who had here "a great tenement, with garden and sixteen shops annexed to the same."

The parish church of St. Andrew's, Holborn, is very ancient. It is mentioned in a document which sets forth the boundaries of Westminster as early as 971.† But it seldom afterwards figures in history. In 1686 it became ruinous, and a new building was erected by Wren, who, however, preserved what he could of the tower which shows some gothic arches. The interior is judiciously described by Cunningham as "a bad St. James's, Westminster."‡ Dr. Sacheverell, who contrived to make himself so notorious in the reign of queen Anne, was incumbent of St. Andrew's, and lies buried in the chancel. The name of Chatterton is in the register, but he was buried in an outlying cemetery in Fetter Lane. Among the baptisms is that of Benjamin Disraeli.

The Holborn Viaduct has spoiled whatever there was to admire in St. Andrew's, which having stood half-way down the hill is now in a kind of pit: while, with very questionable taste, a dissenters' meeting-house has been built almost against it at the higher level. When age has worn the Viaduct and the so-called City Temple, they will perhaps form with St. Andrew's a strange and picturesque group. At present they are strange, indeed, in their juxtaposition, but are not otherwise attractive.

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* 'Lond. and Midd. Archæo. Transactions,' i. 124. It is a pity that this society has not printed more documents like the "Grant of the Manor of Holborn."

† See above, chapter xvi.

‡ Chapter xvii.

Besides the prebendal manor, there was also a smaller estate, which requires something more than a passing mention. Ely Place still exists on the north side of Holborn, and in it the chapel for which William of Louth, bishop of Ely, in 1298, made provision in his will. This is all that remains of a residence given to the see by John Kirkby,* de Louth's predecessor, after a quarrel with the Templars as to the bishop's right to lodge in their house when he came to London. The master of the Temple resented the intrusion of the bishop, who had, however, some legal claim, and in the end recovered damages for the refusal to admit him. Three centuries later a similar intrusion drove the bishop into a corner of his palace, and the case of Sir Christopher Hatton and Bishop Cox is very like that of bishop Balsham and the master of the Temple. Queen Elizabeth's famous letter* to the "proud prelate" brought the bishop to reason, but even the romantic rent of twenty bushels of roses from "Hatton Garden" did not compensate him.

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* Miss Phillimore says, in her life of 'Sir Christopher Wren,' that "Ely House was an ancient possession of the see, the gift of William de Ludd, who in the reign of Edward I. gave the house and endowed it with his manor of Ouldbourne, a name which soon grew into Holbourn," p. 118. As the authority for this statement, 'Newcourt,' ii. 273, is cited; but this page contains the conclusion of an account of Foulness in Essex. As, however, I have great faith in Newcourt, I looked in his account of St. Andrew's Holborn, where I found some justification for Miss Phillimore's curious statement:—"Ely House, belonging to the Bishops of Ely, and given to them by William de Luda, Bishop of that see, in the reign of Edward I., by the name of his Mannor of Ouldbourne, with the appurtenances." For this information Newcourt refers to Stow. I have also great faith in Stow, while I could hardly believe Newcourt to have misquoted him; but on turning to his account of Holborn, or Oldborne, as he prefers to call it, I find the innocent cause of all this tissue of errors:—"William de Luda, Bishop of Elye, deceased 1297, gave this house by the name of his manor, with the appurtenances, in Oldborne," &c. &c. The manor of William and the appurtenances of the manor in Holborn is a somewhat different thing from the house, "endowed with his manor of Ouldbourne," of which Miss Phillimore writes. I must apologise for making so large a note on so small a matter, but this is a typical example of the way in which London history is too often compiled.

Ely Place, although it was the "inn" or town-house of the bishops, seems to have been always at the service of any one who wanted a large and commodious hall for entertainment or ceremony. Archbishop Arundel, while he held the see of Ely, did much to improve it, and Stow remembered to have seen his arms over a great "port, gate-house, or front, towards the street or highway."† This was the palace in which John of Gaunt spent the later years of his life. It was nine years after Arundel came to Ely that the rebels burnt the Savoy. The duke of Lancaster took refuge with his kinsman the bishop,‡ and probably the house was large enough for both. Here, in the reign of Edward IV., the serjeants at law held their feast, when a curious contest for precedence occurred. Among the invited was Sir Matthew Philip, mayor of London, a member of the goldsmiths' company, and distinguished by his military prowess, as he had been knighted on the field of battle during the wars of the Roses. Another of the guests was the lord treasurer, lord Grey de Ruthyn, who insisted on taking the first place, whereupon the mayor and aldermen left the feast and went back into the city, "and the new serjeants and others were right sorry therefore."§ The mayor consoled his aldermen by a feast at his own house, "howbeit he and all the citizens were wonderfully displeased." It may be a question whether the mayor had a right to sit above the lord treasurer, and whether Ely House lies within or without the city liberties. Possibly, as Stow hints, he considered it within them, but the police reckon it without at the present day. The gardens of Ely House must have been remarkably productive. In addition to bushels of roses we read of strawberries, and a famous passage in Shakespeare's 'Richard III.' is a quotation, more or less accurate, of an anecdote in Hollingshead :—

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* The authenticity of this letter is doubtful.

† The gate and the garden are clearly seen in Newcourt and Faithorne's 'Delineation of London and Westminster,' recently reprinted.

‡ They descended in the same degree from Henry III., and John of Gaunt's first duchess was Arundel's first cousin.

§ The story is told at some length by Stow, p. 144, together with details of other feasts here.

> "My Lord of Ely, when I was last in Holborn,
> I saw good strawberries in your garden there."

As an episcopal residence, Ely Place must have been rather an encumbrance to the see. To judge from the magnificence of the chapel, together with what we read of royal entertainments in the hall, of courts and cloisters and colonnades, it must have been one of the most magnificent private houses in London. Perhaps it was to help in keeping it up that it was so often lent. We can easily believe that some of the bishops gave up the state apartments without leaving their own. Henry Ratcliffe, earl of Sussex, was staying here at the time of Henry VIII.'s death. Here John Dudley was living in 1549, and here the combination was formed against Somerset which led Dudley along the regular path of ambitious statesmen under the Tudors—to the protectorship, a dukedom, and the scaffold upon Tower Hill. At length this hospitality of the bishops was carried too far. Sir Christopher Hatton * was not satis-

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* The story is in all the books, but best in Malcolm's 'Londinium Redivivum.'

fied to take the house for a term. Bishop Cox died in 1581, and the see was vacant for eighteen years, during which Sir Christopher got a firm hold, and bishop Heton in vain opposed the grant. There were too many examples all around of similar grants. Where were the manors of Portpoole, of Holborn itself, of Rugmere? Were they still in ecclesiastical hands? Why should this stately mansion be an exception? Besides, Sir Christopher was prepared to improve the property. The bishop was poor, and did not want so great a house; he might retain his lodgings by the chapel. The roofs were very extensive, the gardens were enormous, there was a constant outlay needed, and Sir Christopher was willing to spend his money freely. He soon ran up a debt to the queen which he could not pay. Queen Elizabeth's heartless demand for the money, her subsequent repentance, her strange visit to Ely Place, when Hatton lay sick and sorrowful, and, as it turned out, actually dying, are all duly recorded, with circumstantial minuteness, in many books: but we find Sir Christopher's nephew and heir here in the following reign; and are told of the performance of a mystery play, the last in England, in the hall before Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, the same ambassador who pursued Raleigh to his death.

It was Gondomar who, with his bait of a Spanish marriage, sent prince Charles on his celebrated expedition. The party was carefully organised; the prince was to be royally attended. His spiritual as well as his bodily wants were to be provided for, and Dr. Maw, afterwards bishop of Bath, and Dr. Matthew Wren were designated to accompany him and guard him from the assaults of Popery. But Charles and Buckingham started by themselves, and the whole nation was "persuaded that the prince's faith would be tampered with," and his person endangered. The chaplains were speedily despatched, but had James's subjects seen the instructions with which he furnished them they would not have been so well satisfied of his safety from the ghostly enemy. The chaplains were provided with vestments, with ornaments and hangings for the altar, with altar lights and Latin prayer books, and were directed to hold frequent services and to order their behaviour "so near the Roman form as can lawfully be done"; and the king added, "It hath ever been my way to go with the Church of Rome *usque ad aras.*" With a characteristic quotation James dismissed them, and they reached Madrid in safety, but the apartments assigned to the prince in the palace were not furnished with a chapel, and so there was "no public service, only bed-chamber prayers." *

After Wren's return he received some preferment at once: but, though he continued in favour with the prince, he did not rise very high till the new reign commenced. Charles took him with him to Scotland when he went to be crowned at Scone, and soon afterwards made him dean of Windsor and registrar of the Garter. When Matthew Wren went up higher his brother, Christopher, the father of the architect, succeeded him at Windsor; a happy event, as it turned out, since in the troublous times of the great civil war the new registrar buried the records of the illustrious order, and so preserved them for posterity when the jewels were lost. In 1634 Matthew Wren became bishop of Hereford, and was soon after translated or promoted to Norwich and Ely successively. Bishop Heton had been succeeded by Lancelot Andrewes, Wren's old tutor, and he by three other bishops, none of whom had managed to oust the

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* Miss Phillimore's 'Wren,' p. 8.

Hattons from Ely Place. Bishop White was deep in the lawsuit when he died. The same difficulty had delayed the proceedings in every case. The bishops were poor men. The Hattons had laid out money on the house. How were they to be repaid? The new bishop was not a man to be deterred from what he considered his public duty by any hesitation as to his private purse. He brought his action into the Court of Requests, and produced the money. Lady Elizabeth Hatton, seeing now which way the decision must go, commenced to pull down the lead-work and to cut down the trees. Wren obtained an injunction against her. But the blood of the Nevils and Cecils was up. She had defied her husband and turned him out of doors, though he was a chief justice. A mere bishop was nothing to her. She disobeyed the injunction. But bishop Wren was not a man to be trifled with. Lady Elizabeth very speedily found herself actually arrested and committed to the Fleet. We should like to have particulars, but none have come down to us. Was she really incarcerated, or did a payment of fees and the observance of certain formalities suffice? We may be sure that whatever was the strictest course of the law was followed; and the reader might expect to hear immediately of the restoration of their old manor-house to the bishops, and the triumph of right over usurpation. But it was otherwise ordained. The bishop had offended the Parliament by proceedings of much greater public importance than the ejectment of lady Elizabeth Hatton* from Ely House. In July, 1641, he was accused of setting up altar-rails, ordering the reading of the Book of Sports, turning out nonconformist ministers, preaching in a surplice, and other "innovations," and very soon not lady Elizabeth but her opponent went to prison. Bishop Wren was sent to the Tower, and with a brief interval, in 1642, he continued there till Ely Place had been almost destroyed, till lady Elizabeth Hatton was long dead, till Charles and Laud had been beheaded; in short, till all he most venerated and best loved had disappeared, including his own wife and the Church itself for which he suffered.

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* She seems never to have assumed her second husband's name. He was not a knight when she married him. Most writers who mention her call her simply lady Hatton.

In spite of his retrograde views on some subjects, Wren remains one of the most interesting figures in the long tragedy of the Great Rebellion. When release came at last, and the son of the king he had loved perhaps too well was restored to the throne, he quietly began again his episcopal work where he had left off twenty years before; and one of his first acts was to "exhibit his bill in Chancery (as he had done before the war in the Court of Requests) against the Lord Hatton and others for the redemption" of Ely House. Everything had changed except the stout-hearted bishop. It was hard for bishop Heton to contend against the chancellor, or for bishop White to contend against Sir Edward Coke, who had married lady Elizabeth,* and become chief justice in 1613. But the chief justice was dead: lady Elizabeth, who, in 1638, had gone to prison rather than yield to his order of the court, and who enjoyed a brief triumph in the early days of the Rebellion, followed her husbands in 1646.

During the Commonwealth the house was made first into a prison and then into a hospital for wounded soldiers and their families. It was connected a second time with the Savoy, when, in 1660, just before the restoration, a sum of money was voted to both. But lord Hatton was at least nominally still in possession, and, when the bishop's bill came before the Court of Chancery, he was actually engaged in converting the noble garden into streets. Lady Elizabeth, before the Commonwealth and the imprisonment of bishop Wren, had commenced to dilapidate the house, and had cut down the fruit trees. The whole district, now densely populated, was first built over at this time; for Chancery proceedings were proverbially slow, and the bishop found little except the chapel and his own apartments intact. Even the gate-house was pulled down—though the gate still remains, or its successor—and, no doubt, those parts of the domestic buildings which had been occupied by the Hattons shared its fate, including the splendid hall, where John of Gaunt had feasted, where queen Elizabeth had danced, and where Gondomar had intrigued.

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* She was the daughter of the earl of Exeter. Her pride, quarrelsome temper, and marriages, are the subject of many pleasant passages in the memoirs of the time: most of them may be found summarised in Thornbury's 'Old and New London,' vol. ii.

Wren's temper may be judged by an anecdote recorded in Miss Phillimore's life of his more famous nephew. During the Commonwealth, and while Matthew Wren, the bishop, was in the Tower, expecting the fate of Laud, young Christopher Wren, the philosopher, became acquainted with Richard Claypole. He was the husband of Elizabeth Cromwell, the Protector's favourite daughter. Wren frequently dined with the Claypoles, and on one occasion met Oliver himself at their table. "Your uncle," said Cromwell to the young man, "has been long confined in the Tower." "He has so, sir," said Wren, "but he bears his affliction with great patience and resignation." "He may come out an' he will," said the Protector. "Will your Highness permit me to take him this from your own mouth?" asked the nephew. Cromwell assented briefly, and Christopher hastened with the good news to the Tower. But the bishop would make no terms with "that miscreant." He refused to submit in any way to the "detestable tyranny" of the Protector, and remained in his prison till the arrival of Monk. Two days after the Parliament had voted £1700 for the maimed soldiers in Ely House and the Savoy, and for providing them with "a preaching minister," the gates of the Tower were opened, and "Dr. Wren, Bishop of Ely, was discharged from his imprisonment," which had lasted more than eighteen years. In the following February Evelyn went to service in the old chapel and records that "after the sermon the Bishop of Ely gave us the blessing very pontifically."

Ely House and the Savoy were once more associated in the conferences which led to the revision of the Book of Common Prayer, and in which bishop Wren took a prominent part. The general drift of his suggestions may easily be surmised, and many of them were adopted. The bishop survived to see the new book in general use. A tradition at the Savoy, of which Sheldon was then master, asserts that the revised Common Prayer was first read there; but St. Etheldreda's was not far behind, we may be sure. Bishop Wren constantly resided in the house, and there are numerous references to the chapel in contemporary memoirs. Three episcopal consecrations took place in it during bishop Wren's lifetime, one immediately after his death,* and two more down to 1731. John Evelyn records the marriage of his daughter here to a Mr. Draper somewhat more quaintly than is the wont in his diary; for he says he gave her a portion of £4000, and "prays God Almighty to give her his blessing." The one is evidently considered the complement of the other.

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* Stubbs, 'Episcopal Succession.' The dates are 1661, 1662, 1662, 1668, 1675, 1731.

But before Susanna Evelyn, with £4000 and a blessing, became Mrs. Draper, a new bishop was in Matthew Wren's room. When he emerged from the Tower his first care had been to build a chapel at Pembroke College, Cambridge, where he had been a scholar under Lancelot Andrewes. In choosing the architect to carry out his work, bishop Wren's nepotism has conferred a benefit on posterity. Christopher Wren's first architectural work should have been respected even in this "restoring" age. But the lengthening of the chapel of Pembroke, so as to destroy Wren's proportions, and the stripping of the walls, are, after all, but small things in comparison with what the most ancient, but now, also, alas! the newest of Cambridge colleges, has undergone amid the boasted light and taste of our own day. The bishop of Ely appropriately consecrated his chapel in 1665, on St. Matthew's Day. He was then seventy-nine, but had still two years' work left in him. He survived the plague, and witnessed the fire which was to afford his nephew such fame, and dying at last in his house in Holborn, in April, 1667, his body was conveyed to Cambridge, and was buried in his new chapel there with great pomp. He had never been able to shake off the Hattons. They covered the garden with wretched buildings under his very eyes. The law moved very slowly in those days, the bishop had many things of greater importance on his hands, and the contest was one in which time and close attention were most required. The death of bishop Wren may be said to have settled the question, for though his successors protested they did little else.

At length, in 1772, an act was obtained, enabling the see to dispose of its claims and possessions. The remains of the house and the reserved grounds were conveyed to the crown for £6500 and an annuity of £200 to the Bishop of Ely; and Clarendon House, in Dover Street, Piccadilly, was bought for the see. It may easily be distinguished by its stone front and the mitre carved above the door, and is now one of the few official episcopal residences left in London.

A "very eminent architect and builder," whose name was Cole, bought the site, and pulled away everything except the chapel. Ely Place, sacred now to lawyers and diamond merchants, was built, and the chapel was let, according to the custom of the day. At the beginning of the present century it was held on lease by a lady, the widow of a clergyman called Faulkner. She provided a weekly preacher, and made what she could out of the chapel. There is an amusing reference in Cowper's 'Task'* to the way in which the services were carried on. It is evident that the clerk, probably the only permanent official, had an inordinate influence.

In 1781 the question arose, to which I have already referred, as to whether Ely Place was in St. Andrew's or not. In a trial before lord Mansfield about poor rates, the judge thus stated it to the jury:—"The question for you to try is simply, whether the palace of the Bishop of Ely, in Holborn, sold to the public and by them to the plaintiff (Mr. Cole), lies within the parish of St. Andrew, Holborn, or is extra-parochial." The jury found for Mr. Cole, and, though poor rates were soon after enforced, the latest maps leave Ely Place and Hatton Garden outside the city boundaries.*

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* Quoted in a volume by an anonymous author, 'A Notice of Ely Chapel, Holborn,' published by Parker in 1840, in which a good deal of original information may be found.

In 1814 the tenancy of Mrs. Britannia Faulkner expired, and a new lease of the chapel was granted to a Mr. Wilcox, but, in 1815, the representatives of the National Society for the Education of the Poor, then in its infancy, made it their headquarters, and Mr. Coleridge, afterwards bishop of Barbadoes, became chaplain. When the society removed to Westminster the chapel was closed, after a brief struggle for existence. In 1843 it was assigned to a Welsh congregation, which dwindled and flickered for thirty years before it was finally extinguished. In 1874 a committee of eminent Roman Catholics set churchmen an example and put them to the blush by buying it and by laying out a considerable sum in what cannot be considered an injudicious attempt at restoration. Many features of interest were of course lost, but, except for a certain tawdriness which seems inseparable from a Romanist chapel, the general effect is good, and by no means devoid of the appearance of age. The ten side windows are very large and handsome, but the stained glass with which some of them and the large east window are filled leaves much to be desired, and some modern statues on the ancient brackets look strangely out of place.† The crypt, long desecrated as a wine vault, has been cleared and converted into a chapel, or series of chapels and confessionals. The curious row of pillars—all rebuilt—down the centre and the still more curious timber-work they support are well worth seeing.

The densely-populated district still retains some names which remind us of the long preservation of its rural character. Saffron Hill is one of the streets on the site of the garden, which, as it lay behind the house, cannot have been wholly in the place occupied by the present street called Hatton Garden. To judge by Faithorne's view or map, Kirby Street* would appear to be, so to speak, the middle walk of the garden. Field Lane outside led down to the Fleet.

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* See Collingridge's 'City of London Directory,' 1882.

† The chapel is 91 feet long and 39 feet wide.

It is a question whether the little manor of the bishops of Ely lay within the manor of Holborn or that of Portpool. Both were within the original parish of St. Andrew, and it seems likely that the highway, as in other cases, formed the later boundary. The manor of Portpool very early lost its prebendal character. In 1241 there was a controversy between the monastery of St. Bartholomew's, Smithfield, and Roger Orset, who had the stall of Portpool, and was precentor of St. Paul's. They claimed a piece of land which he alleged, and proved, to be in his manor. It is called in the record by the puzzling name of Alfrichebun, which may be in modern language All-freshburn, and refer to one of the numerous little streams which ran into the Fleet. Sixty-three years later Portpool is spoken of as the property of the Greys, one of whom, Reginald, let it or part of it for a "hospitium" or inn, early in the reign of Edward III. Gray's Inn has ever since been on the same site. This Grey or Gray family seems to have been that of Wilton. In the reign of Henry VII. they conveyed the manor of Portpool to the fellows and students of the honourable society.

At the western extremity of the old parish is the modern district of St. George the Martyr, Queen Square.†

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* Was Kirby Street called after Bishop Kirkby?

† A history of this little parish has recently been compiled by Mr. J. Lewis Miller.

It is sometimes, but very erroneously, described as in Bloomsbury; and reckoned a chapel of ease to St. George's in Hart Street. But it is a rectory taken out of St. Andrew's, Holborn, and is in a different manor and parish altogether. It contains some interesting relics of old architecture, dear especially to the lovers of the so-called "Queen Anne" style. In 1742 the writer of a 'Survey of London' observes that "this parish being of a modern erection, it has few or no antiquities therein." A hundred and fifty years have transformed it into one of the older relics of western London; and the antiquary may often be met prowling about the street corners and peering into the archways to find wrought-iron railings, bold brick cornices, shell-shaped doorways, pedimented windows, and all the other signs of the kind of building in fashion while Wren was yet alive. Queen Square was left open on the north side, it is said, in order that the inhabitants might enjoy the view of the Hampstead heights, and the open country between. Red Lion Square, which is also in this parish, is called from its having been the paddock of an inn, the *Red Lion*, still commemorated in a neighbouring signboard. At the *Blue Boar*, where now the Inns of Court Hotel has risen on the south side of the street, which is nearly opposite, Oliver Cromwell is said to have discovered, sewed up in a saddle, the documents compromising Charles I., which were used to bring him to the scaffold; and at the *Red Lion* the body of the same Oliver was deposited in its cerecloth the night before it was dragged to Tyburn to undergo the pitiful spite of the triumphant Royalists. The story has been frequently repeated that the body never got further from Holborn than the Red Lion Paddock, and a large and handsome obelisk in the centre of the square "was pretended to have covered the bones of Oliver Cromwell, whereas the whole embellishment was promoted by a subscription of the inhabitants, at the suggestion of Mr. Dillingham, a neighbouring apothecary," says Malcolm.* But Mr. Dillingham's suggestion does not in itself refute the tradition which certainly obtained at one time considerable credit.

Among the newer buildings in the district should be mentioned the very handsome church in Red Lion Square, built through the exertions of a private clergyman, Mr. Webber; and the very conspicuous but hideous Hospital for Children, near Great Ormond Street: an institution whose excellence as a charity is no excuse for the remarkable and disfiguring ugliness which makes its presence a misfortune to the neighbourhood. With the admirable examples of a simple and picturesque style with which the whole parish of St. George abounds before his eyes, the architect of the hospital has achieved a feat very similar to that which has placed St. Thomas's Hospital opposite the Houses of Parliament and beside Lambeth Palace.

Great Ormond Street is dated by its name. In the reign of George II. it was pronounced "one of the finest situations about town," on account of its north side looking upon the open fields. Lamb, the charitable individual, who, in 1577, conducted water in a leaden pipe from these fields to Snow Hill, has left his name in Lamb's Conduit Street. Theobald's Road and Kingsgate Street recall the frequent journeys of James I. to his hunting seat in Hertfordshire and the race course at Newmarket. Powis Place in Great Ormond Street is on the site of a house built by William Herbert, marquis of Powis, the head of an eminent Jacobite family. It was the centre of intrigues for the restoration of the

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* Vol. ii. 306.

Stuarts during the reigns of William and Anne. In 1714 it was burnt while in the occupation of the French ambassador. In the popular belief he was engaged in making the arrangements to be carried out on the demise of the queen, which, in fact, occurred that same year. The historian may reckon the fire at Powis House among the political causes of the time. Louis XIV. magnificently rebuilt the house, as his dignity "would not suffer a fire office to pay for the neglect of the domestic of his representative." There is not much of this kind of dignity left in the world now. Powis House was pulled down a hundred years ago.* The site is a perfect nest of hospitals—the Homœopathic standing also where, in No. 50, Great Ormond Street, the Macaulay family long resided, of which there is a touching reminiscence recorded in the great historian's diary. In August 1857, he writes: "I sent the carriage home and walked to the Museum: passing through Great Ormond Street, I saw a bill upon No. 50; I knocked, was let in, and went over the house with a strange mixture of feelings. It is more than twenty-six years since I was in it. The dining-room, and the adjoining room in which I once slept, are scarcely changed; the same colouring on the wall, but more dingy. My father's study much the same; the drawing-rooms, too, except the papering; my bedroom just what it was. My mother's bedroom—I had never been in it since her death. I went away sad."

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* See Miller's 'Church and Parish of St. George the Martyr, Holborn.' for further particulars. A view of the house is in 'Vitruvius Britannicus.'

CHAPTER XXI.

THE WESTERN SUBURBS.

THE modern west end of London may be said to commence with Rugmere: yet few, probably, of the sixty thousand inhabitants of that great prebendal manor have the slightest idea where it lies, or that they are in it. We have all sorts of pretty stories about the name of Bloomsbury. The wildest guesses are made as to its origin and meaning. Some say it was Lomesbury at first; others would connect it with some tradition of gardens and flowers. That St. Giles's belonged to it; that it was all comprised in an estate attached to a stall in the cathedral of St. Paul's; that its name of Rugmere probably referred to a pond, or pool, or marsh, on the summit of the hill* or ridge which separated the valley of the Fleet from that of the Tyburn; that the name Bloomsbury is evidently of personal origin, and must refer to an owner or occupier—all these are facts, plain enough, indeed, but never referred to in the pleasant collections of anecdotes which sometimes do duty for histories of London.

Rugmere, in Domesday, is described as a manor in Ossulston, belonging to Ralph, a canon of St. Paul's. It was assessed for two hides. It was worth thirty-five shillings (a year), and had been worth forty in the time of king Edward the Confessor. It was then, and had been, in the demesne of the canons of St. Paul's. There is

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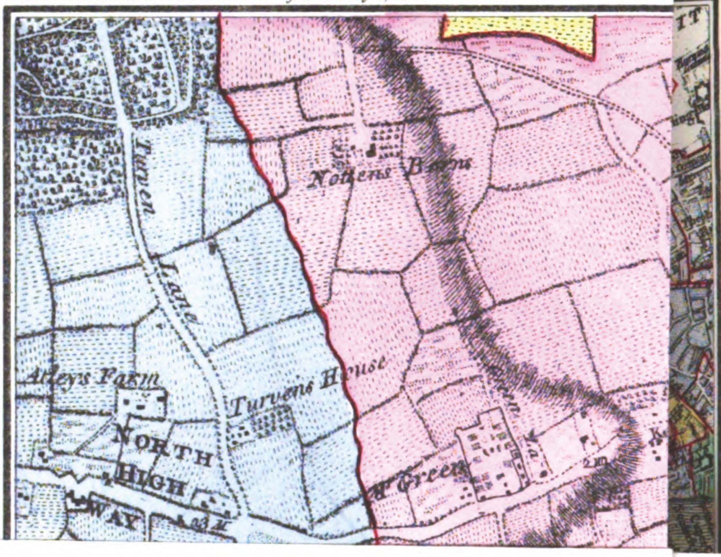
* Already described in chap. i.

p. 201.

From "The Environs of London" by J. Rocque, 1763.


Turven Lane
Nottens Barn
Arleys Farm
Turvens House
NORTH HIGH WAY
3 M
Green
2 M

not a word as to any sub-manor, nor mention of a division between Bloomsbury and St. Giles's. When, a few years ago, an eminent clergyman was appointed to the prebendal stall of Rugmere, a question as to where Rugmere might be went unanswered round the papers. There was a Ralph, called Fitz Algod, canon of Rugmere in 1132, probably not the same as the Ralph of Domesday. Fitz Algod was succeeded by his son William,* and he by another Ralph, of Chilton, archdeacon of Middlesex, who was alive in 1192. Another canon of Rugmere, John de Crachale, a chaplain to the good Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, was one of those privileged to hear the outburst of heavenly music, near Buckden, on the night of the [illegible]op's death.†

we look at any old map of London—any map, that
ade before the beginning of the present century—
ay observe that the old road, diverted, as I have
here shown, from the line of the Watling Street at
arble Arch, runs in an eastward direction towards
ate. It was a Roman road, and was, as usual with
omans, made as nearly straight as possible. That
m the Marble Arch, whence, as I have endeavoured
ow, it used to run straight to the Thames at
minster, it now runs straight to the Thames at
on Bridge. But on examining the course of the
with care, we see that at a certain point it made a
circuit to the south. We have long been accustomed
e straight, or nearly straight line of Oxford Street,
orget that it was only in the present reign that "New
rd Street"—the piece connecting the old street,

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ewcourt, i. 206.

Roberti Grossteste Epistolæ,' edited by Mr. Luard for the Rolls Series,
xiii.

which ran to the Tottenham Court Road, with Holborn—was made; and that, previously, on reaching a place where there was a pond and a pound, and at one time a gibbet, it would have turned a little to the right into High Street, St. Giles's; and at High Holborn, after describing a semicircle, have returned into the straight Roman line of road again.

The reason for this deflection is not known; but it is not speculating too deeply to suggest that here, where St. Giles's Pond remained almost till our own day, was the Rugmere which gave its name to the prebendal manor, and that the road made a circuit to avoid it. We know for certain that there was a "mere" at this place, or very near it. We know that it was on the ridge, and we know that the ridge is highest just here. It is but reasonable to seek for some cause to account for the bend in the usually inflexible course of a Roman road; and no reason seems so good as this.

But we may go further, and ask, What has become of the mere? The first fact we have in the history of Bloomsbury answers the question. Bloom, whose Bury may be said still to exist, was one William Blemund, or de Bleomund, or Blemot—the name occurs in all these forms—who made a great fosse, called Blemund's Dyke, or ditch, which drained the mere. This long-forgotten worthy lived in the reign of king John, and his name occurs in the deeds and charters connected with the hospital of St. Giles, to which I shall have occasion to refer a little further on. Blemund's Dyke divided the northern half of Rugmere from the southern; but Bloomsbury and St. Giles's are both parts of the original manor of the prebendary of St. Paul's.

This great estate was bounded on the south by the manor of the Savoy, on the west by St. Marylebone, on the north by Tottenhall, on the east by Portpoole and St. Andrew's, Holborn. When the hospital at St. Giles's corner was founded in 1117, a "Manor of St. Giles" was apparently separated for its benefit. Before the passing of the Act "Quia emptores" such a separation was easy. In a hundred years the rest of the original manor, that part namely, which lay to the north of the high road, now Oxford Street, was apparently alienated like the southern part. Blemund's ditch, referred to above, passed behind the northern row of houses in Holborn, but is now forgotten. The name survives in "Bloomsbury." The manor house of Rugmere was isolated in the parish of St. Pancras.*

The sub-manor of Bloomsbury passed through the hands of many owners before it came in 1617 to Henry Wriothesley, earl of Southampton, for the price of 600*l.* In 1668, the treasurer, Thomas, fourth earl, died, leaving Bloomsbury to his co-heiress, the justly famous lady Rachel, widow of lord Vaughan son of the earl of Carbery, who, by her marriage with William, lord Russell, conveyed to the Bedford family an estate of which the value at the present day can only be reckoned in millions.

The original church was apparently at the place occupied in the twelfth century by the hospital of St. Giles, the same site on which the modern church stands. It was rebuilt in 1734. Other parochial institutions were to be found near the same place. At the corner of the Tyburn Road, now Oxford Street, was the pound. Near the pound was the "cage,"† apparently a lock-up for disorderly persons.* In 1413 between the wall of the hospital and the pound, a gibbet was erected for the execution of criminals. It had previously stood in Smithfield, though a double execution took place far westward, at the afterwards famous Tyburn, more than five-and-twenty years earlier.† The modern church was built in 1734, but stands on the site of the hospital chapel, which probably included an aisle for parochial worshippers, as in other cases. It was succeeded by a second church built in 1623: in fact there can have been but a scanty congregation at first, and the church had to be enlarged to suit the gradual growth of the population.

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* It is probably on this account that most writers make Rugmere a manor in St. Pancras, like Tottenhall.

† At this corner a tavern bore the sign of the "Hog in Pound," till 1881. A bank has been built upon the site.

The manor was granted, together with the buildings of the Hospital of St. Giles or Lazar House, by Henry VIII., in 1545, to John Dudley, who was then known as lord Lisle, and afterwards as duke of Northumberland, and Protector of the Realm in the minority of Edward VI. Dudley fitted up the old buildings for his own residence, but shortly after conveyed the whole of the premises to Sir Wymond Carew, who, however, seems to have been merely a trustee, and reconveyed or let it to the Dudley family. The duchess of Dudley, the widow of an illegitimate son of queen Elizabeth's earl of Leicester, resided in it till her death, at the age of ninety, in 1669. She was a great benefactor to the parish, and her monument is still to be seen in the church. Meanwhile, the whole manor was divided amongst various owners. Drury Lane commemorates the Drury family, whose town house was at the Strand end of that thoroughfare. Great Wild Street bears a name corrupted from that of the family of Weld of Lulworth, who had long a residence here, in what was called the Aldwych, or Oldwick, an open space. Part of the name still survives in Wych Street. The south-eastern corner of the parish abutted on Temple Bar, and comprised what was known as Ficket's Field, the jousting ground of the Templars. It is now the so-called "Carey Street site" of the New Law Courts.

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* "1641. Paid to a poor woman that was brought to bed in the Cage *2s.* For a shroud for a poor woman that died in the Cage *2s. 6d.*" Dobie, p. 126.

† See vol. i., chap. vii.

Lincoln's Inn Fields were also in the manor, and chiefly claim notice here because the "square," though an oblong, is said to equal the area covered by the Great Pyramid of Geezeh. It was laid out, and one side, the western, built by Inigo Jones, parts of whose buildings still remain. The most beautiful of his houses which are now to be seen in St. Giles's form two shops on the southern side of Great Queen Street, near the Freemasons' Tavern—probably part of a residence he is known to have built here for lord Herbert of Cherbury, about the year 1610.* The area of Lincoln's Inn Fields is always sacred to the memory of William, lord Russell, who was beheaded there in 1683. Other executions of state criminals had taken place here, as that of Babington and his six companions, in the reign of queen Elizabeth; and, probably, lord Cobham, two hundred and fifty years before.

The parcelling out of a manor among a number of owners has always led to the same bad results. St. Giles's was long and is still, to some extent, another word for an assembly of miserable tenements and poverty-stricken tenants. Lisson Grove, which we shall shortly have occasion to notice more at length, though situated between four of the most wealthy and fashionable of our western suburbs, offers another example. It is interesting to contrast the history of St. George's, the northern half of the prebendal manor of Rugmere, with that of its less fortunate if more interesting neighbour. Much has been done of late years to purge St. Giles's, but only with the result of driving the lowest class into other and remoter dens. Changing the names of streets will not of itself improve their character, yet, until the Peabody Gift, little attention was paid by those in authority to the necessity of providing the poor with suitable houses. In St. Giles's, what with the continuation of "New" Oxford Street east from Tottenham Court Road to Holborn, the widening of Old Belton Street, and its change into Endell Street, connecting Broad Street and Long Acre; what with the change of Queen Street into Museum Street, and Dyott Street into George Street, and Brewer Street into Thorney Street, and many other alterations of the kind, it would puzzle any one who knew it at the beginning of the present reign to recognise it now. Its local associations are in many places obliterated; but Bowl Alley yet preserves the memory of the convict's last drink as he went up the long hill to Tyburn. The grave is still pointed out where Derwentwater's headless body reposed for a time before its removal to Dilston;* and the register reminds us that it was in the parish of St. Giles that the Great Plague of 1665 originated.

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* There are views of these houses and others in Parton's 'St. Giles,' as well as some highly fanciful bird's-eye views and maps of the parish. See curious notice of Parton in Smith's 'Book for a Rainy Day,' p. 180.

The contrast between the fates of Bloomsbury and St. Giles is like that which Hood draws between Margaret and Peggy.* At first, for a short time, Bloomsbury was a "noble" suburb, then it became "respectable," and respectable it has remained. While it was "noble," a few great mansions with extensive pleasure grounds, connected by country lanes, and separated by dairy farms and tile-roofed cottages, existed, instead of the squalid lanes and courts with which already St. Giles's was filled. Nearest to the great western thoroughfare was Montagu House, erected by Hooke for the first Duke of Montagu, "after the French manner." It was burnt down in 1686, when, as lady Rachel Russell relates in one of her delightful letters, the westerly wind carried sparks and flames to the neighbouring Southampton House, and endangered its inmates, lady Rachel herself and her son, the second duke of Bedford, then a child. Montagu House was rebuilt, but only partially inhabited, and the duke's coheirs joined in selling it to the nation at the moderate price of 10,000*l.*, for the reception of the Sloane collection. The last remains of the old house, with its pointed roofs, its deep cornices, its double lodges, and other quaint and picturesque appendages, "after the French manner," were removed in 1845. Two years later the portico of the new museum was finished.

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* It has lately been removed to Thorndon in Essex.

The growth of the collections in the British Museum has been very rapid. Montagu House was first employed in 1753, when room had to be found for the library and curiosities of Sir Hans Sloane, who directed his executors to ask the merely nominal price of 20,000*l.* for them. This sum was raised by a lottery, and a member of Sir Hans Sloane's family has ever since sat on the board of trustees. In fact the museum is, like most institutions of the kind in England, more or less a private enterprise: but a large number of public functionaries are trustees by virtue of their office. The purchase of the Harleian manuscripts, also for a nominal sum, and the gift by George II. of the library which successive kings of England had accumulated, to the number of about twenty-eight thousand printed or written volumes, raised the library to a position of great importance. The new buildings were commenced soon after the beginning of the present century, and the acquisition of the Elgin marbles for so small a sum as 35,000*l.* drew popular attention to the museum, which immediately became an object of pride to every Englishman. Yet with characteristic parsimony, the authorities have never seen fit to provide these matchless sculptures with any better pedestals than the wooden cases in which they came from Greece.

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* "While Margaret charmed by the bulbul rare in a garden of Gul reposes—
Poor Peggy hawks nosegays from street to street
Till—think of it ye who find life so sweet!—
She hates the smell of roses!"
('Miss Kilmansegg and her Golden Leg,' p. 6.)

The first great Egyptian acquisition consisted in the objects taken with the French army in 1801. A grant was obtained from Parliament to provide accommodation for them, and in 1804 the Rosetta stone and several great sarcophagi were exhibited. Naturally, the French Egyptologists * not only ignore the fact that the Rosetta stone is in the British Museum, but also forget that the earliest success in reading the hieroglyphic characters was obtained by a London physician named Young, who made out some of the proper names on the stone, but owing to the pressure of professional duties, did not pursue his studies further. The researches of Sir Gardiner Wilkinson, a little later, if they did not add much to our knowledge, at least added largely to the number of Egyptian objects, many of them, no doubt, worthless, since we do not know whence they came, or, consequently, to what period they belong. But undoubtedly, except in monuments of the early or pyramid period, the British Museum ranks high as regards its Egyptian collections, and especially papyrus rolls. The Assyrian and Babylonian, and the coin and Greek vase collections are unquestionably the best in any contemporary museum, but owing to faults of system or of management, or of economy, there are several departments still sadly deficient. Among these must be mentioned that of ancient jewelry, and that of medieval and oriental armour.

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* M. Pierret, in his 'Dictionnaire Archæologique,' for example, and later, M. Fontane, in 'Les Egyptes,' are prominent examples of this silly jealousy, so unworthy of a great nation.

The zoological section has hitherto been most ridiculously mixed up with the various departments of antiquities. The stuffed beasts and birds and other objects of the kind are shortly to migrate to a building erected for them, unfortunately on a very remote and in many respects inconvenient site. Some of the most important parts of the collection will then for the first time become visible to such of the general public as have leisure to visit this distant suburb by daylight. An adequate print-room, and an exhibition of drawings by the great masters are still badly wanted. It is not generally known that the British nation is possessed of the finest collection in the world of these priceless works: and certainly, as a recent writer observes, no other nation would keep them concealed.

The present building is imposing in character: but where space was of such value, it was ridiculous both to set it so far back from the street front, and to spend space and money on a perfectly useless peristyle. The Ionic columns are so tall that they do not protect the passenger from the rain, nor are they ever wanted to shield him from the sunshine, but they were erected in the height of the Grecian fashion, and give the building a certain dignity wanting both to the National Gallery, the South Kensington Museum, and the New Museum of Natural History, with which they obviously compete. It is a pity that the offer at a moderate price said to have been made by the duke of Bedford of the day, of the houses between the Museum and Oxford Street, was not accepted. It would certainly be interesting, to say the least, to be able to get Hawksmoor's church and Smirke's portico into one view.

Southampton House, with its great garden, stood where now the northern side of Bloomsbury Square gives entrance to Bedford Place. It was built when Bedford House in the Strand was removed, and stood not quite a hundred years, for in 1800 it was pulled down, dismantled, and the contents sold. Evelyn says it contained a pretty cedar chapel, but was too low, and the garden too bare. Between the northern end of the garden and the distant hills of Hampstead and Highgate there was, in those days, but little to catch the eye, and that little not of a very attractive kind. A few hundred yards off was a chimney-sweeper's cottage, and where is now Little Guildford Street, Baltimore House, the residence of a nobleman, whose character was such that when, in 1768, he was tried for the forcible abduction and ill-treatment of an unfortunate young milliner named Woodcock, he only escaped owing to "an informality in Miss Woodcock's deposition, arising evidently from the agitation of her mind." The surroundings of this amiable earl's residence were not incongruous. The Long Fields, as they were called, which stretched away to the northward and westward, were famous as a meeting-place for duellists, and a "resort of depraved wretches, whose amusements consisted chiefly in fighting pitched battles and other disorderly sports, especially on the Sabbath day."* At the north-east end of what is now Upper Montagu Street was the "Forty Footsteps Field," celebrated by Miss Porter as the scene of a sanguinary encounter between two brothers in whose tracks no grass would grow. This superstition is frequently alluded to by writers of the end of the eighteenth century, and one of them records regretfully his last visit, in 1800, before bricks and mortar finally covered the haunted site.

The tide of bricks and mortar overwhelmed Bloomsbury with remarkable rapidity. Though the north side of Queen Square is said to have been left open, in order that the distant view of the hills might not be interrupted, the building speculators,† who, about 1792, commenced operations here, contrived within a period of eleven years to add no fewer than 1198 houses to the parish, for Bloomsbury had now become a parish of itself, being furnished with one of the fifty new churches built under the Act of 1710. There was already a chapel in Queen Square—distinguished as St. George the Martyr; the greater part of the parish afterwards annexed to it being taken not out of St. Giles's, but St. Andrew's, Holborn.

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* Dobie, p. 176. He adds some interesting particulars of "The former residence of the illustrious martyr of liberty, Lord William Russell" (*sic*). His account is quoted without acknowledgment by almost every writer on Bloomsbury and its associations.

† The greatest of these speculators was James Burton, whose villa in the Regent's Park is figured in Britton and Pugin (p. 88, vol. i.), and who from small beginnings acquired an immense fortune while still comparatively young. He devoted the remainder of his life to getting rid of it, his prudence not having been nourished by success, and in various schemes more or less hazardous he contrived to reduce himself to a competence. He is commemorated in Burton Crescent; but to his son, Decimus, who survived till 1881, modern London is indebted for some of its best, as well as some of its worst, architectural effects.

The new church of St. George, Bloomsbury, was built on a site granted or sold by lady Rachel Russell, and known as Plough Yard. Hawksmoor's design has been ridiculed so long that even now, when the lions and unicorns have descended from their giddy perch at the feet of King George near the summit of the steeple, it requires some hardihood to praise it. Yet, since some houses on the north and east sides have been pulled down, and a view opened of the body of the church, I must confess that to my eyes it is exceedingly picturesque; while the magnificent portico, and the quaint spire, an avowed copy from the classical descriptions of the Mausoleum, form a group only rivalled by St. Martin's in the Fields. Had St. Martin's a steeple at the side, instead of over the portico, it might compete more successfully with St. George's. The statue of the king on the summit is undoubtedly an absurdity, and gave rise to many an epigram and scornful jest. Walpole "wonders how the devil they got there," speaking of the now deposed supporters. "The king of Great Britain," said another rhymer, "was reckoned the head of the Church by all Protestants, but in Bloomsbury he was head of the steeple as well"; and a variation, quoted by Cunningham, alludes to Henry VIII., who "left the pope in the lurch."

Unlike St. Giles's, the parochial history of St. George's is of the most uneventful kind, but it would be easy to compile long lists of eminent inhabitants: literary, legal, and artistic people have crowded its precincts. Lord Mansfield lived in Southampton Square when his library was burnt by the Gordon rioters in 1780. Charles Dickens had a house in Tavistock Square for many years. Sir Antonio Panizzi lived almost in sight of his beloved museum. Among the very earliest tenants of the district as it was seen by Evelyn, when he called it a noble piazza and a little town, was Richard Baxter, whose wife "entered into the saints' everlasting rest" here in 1681. Dr. Dodd, celebrated for his sermons and his forgery, was an "eminent inhabitant," as was the victim of his fraud, Lord Chesterfield. Bloomsbury retains its respectability to the present day. Rugmere has vanished; St. Giles's has lost caste; but Bloomsbury is prebendal still.

The fate of the other prebendal manors was very similar. In St. Pancras there was, at the time of the Domesday survey, a separate manor, held, like St. Pancras itself, by a canon of St. Paul's. This was, in all probability, the same which, passing into the hands of the Cantlo or Cantilupe family, acquired its name, and as Cantlers, with the further corruption of Kentish Town, subsists still. It is now subject, it is said, to a nominal rent to the prebendary, but is practically the property of the Pratt family, having come to Charles Pratt, earl Camden, by his marriage with the daughter and coheir of Nicholas Jeffreys, about the middle of the last century. Somers Town, another "hamlet" of St. Pancras, is, similarly, the property of the family of which earl Somers is the head.

The old church of St. Pancras was one of the most typical of Middlesex churches—small, low, mean, but ancient: built originally, no doubt, of wood, mended and patched with a little freestone begged from the builders of St. Paul's, added to when there came to be a few more parishioners, discarded for a mock Grecian temple in the City Road, and finally rebuilt in 1848 in an absurd Norman style under the name of restoration. It is now almost surrounded with a vast network of railways, and its churchyard and the adjoining cemetery belonging to St. Giles's are turned into an ornamental garden; yet a visit to Old St. Pancras is not without interest. There is a tradition which should not be passed by without notice, that St. Pancras was the mother church of St. Paul's: a reference probably to the old chapel of St. Pancras at Canterbury, in which the first Christian mass in England was celebrated by St. Austin.* There is another tradition to the effect that the mass was sung here later than in any other church after its abolition by Henry VIII., and the lonely situation of the church then and later favours its truth. Writing soon after, Norden says, "Pancras Church standeth all alone, as utterly forsaken, old and weatherbeaten." He adds that folks from Kennistonne (Kentish Town) now and then visit it, but not often, having a chapel of their own. Till very lately, service was only performed in the old church once a month, and on other days at the Kentish Town chapel.

The church contains few monuments of interest, but a broken canopy remains of the tombs of the Greys, lords of Portpoole, who are also commemorated in the name of Gray's Inn. The churchyard was long a favourite burial-place for Roman Catholics, for which several reasons were assigned, one being that at a church dedicated to the same saint in France, masses were celebrated for the repose of the dead buried here. Three of the monuments may be noticed. One marks the grave of Mary Woolstonecraft Godwin, who died in Somers Town in 1797. Another, dated 1805, is sacred to the memory of Walker, author of the 'Pronouncing Dictionary.' It has been "restored" at the expense of lady Burdett Coutts, and stands in a distant part of the ground, approached under a railway arch. In a prominent situation is the entrance to the vault of Sir John Soane, his wife and his son.*

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* See Britton and Pugin, 'Edifices of London,' i. 146. The chapel of St. Pancras at Canterbury was a pig-stye when I last visited its venerable and sacred ruins.

The new parish church is in the Euston Road, and was extravagantly admired when it was built in 1822. It was one of the first results of the acquisition of the Elgin Marbles in 1816. The world of taste was absorbed in imitating Greek art. The publication of several books on the ruins of Athens, and especially the magnificent folios of Stuart and Revett, fired the ardour of architects. Wren was discarded as completely as gothic, and the new church of St. Pancras was designed as a gigantic imitation—with improvements—of a little building on the hill of the Acropolis. The improvements consisted in making the design uniform, in adding a tower, and in projecting a semicircular apse from the eastern end. The futility of attempting to use a Greek temple for modern religious purposes is perhaps better exemplified in this than in any other of the numerous designs of the kind which sprung up in all directions. The Inwoods, who furnished the design, made the tower to consist of a series of circular temples set one above the other, without meaning or purpose, except to attain an elevation of 200 feet. A caryatid portico exactly balanced by another, and neither having any use, complete a church as absurdly unsuitable as any in London for the ordinary purposes of Protestant worship. No one thinks of using Greek temples as churches now, but we still try to build in the gothic of the thirteenth century. The new parish church at Kensington is another example of failure, and for the same reason as the new church of St. Pancras. Sooner or later reflecting and painstaking architects will have to fall back on the principles of Wren, if not upon the style he preferred: but so far they have found it easier to take some classical building for abject reproduction, or else to try, in the nineteenth century, and with all the conditions altered, to imitate the comparative irregularity of the middle ages. The new church of St. Pancras, in short, is only a degree more instructive than the still newer old church, because the gothic architect has put no mind into his work, while the imitators of the Erechtheum at least did what was thought the best at the time.

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* 'Epitaphs of Middlesex,' by F. T. Cansick.

Tottenhall, the manor house of which was at the head of Tottenham Court Road, where the entrance-gate posts are still visible, is mentioned as Totehele in Domesday; and has been leased and re-leased till the original owner is forgotten. The first lessee whose name I have met is John de Caleton, in 1343. Charles II., to whom the lease had come, gave it, in satisfaction of a debt, to Sir Henry Wood, in 1661. Soon after, it was the property of lady Arlington, whose daughter, the duchess of Grafton, next held it.* Her descendant, lord Southampton, is the present owner; and his family and titles are commemorated by Fitzroy Square and other local names well known to artists.

Fitzroy Square seems to lie out of the usual thoroughfares, and is forgotten by the regular sightseer. It was begun in or about 1790, and the two sides completed are a very happy example of the skill and taste of the Adam brothers. The north and west sides were not finished when the peace came, and with it a reaction in prices which put a stop to many schemes more ambitious than the building of Fitzroy Square; it retains a strangely double aspect of squalor and magnificence. Tottenhall, or Tottenham Court, long a noted tavern, with tea-gardens of doubtful repute adjoining, was, until the middle of the last century, quite as suburban as Fulham is now; and another public-house, at the next corner beyond the Tabernacle, was reputed even sixty or seventy years ago "the last house in London."* The neighbourhood has not profited so much as some others from being the property of a noble family, and cannot be said ever to have been in fashion, though Whitefield, the preacher, drew great people out of town to hear him, and Tottenham Court Chapel, which he built, remained for many years a very prominent memorial of the success of his ministry. In it were buried two men remarkable in their several ways, Toplady, the author of "Rock of Ages," and Bacon, the sculptor. But the restless vulgarity which has modernised, be-plastered and be-stuccoed Whitefield's simple and picturesque octagon is sad as well as disgusting.

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* Henry Bennet, earl of Arlington, one of the Cabal ministry, had an only daughter, lady Isabella, who married the first duke of Grafton, the son of Barbara, duchess of Cleveland, by, as was reputed, king Charles II.

It would be easy to fill a volume with the history of the prebendal manors of St. Paul's; but we may pass on now to notice the next parish westward of Tottenhall. Here we have no longer the canons of St. Paul's, but do not find that other owners managed much better. There is probably no district of suburban London which has undergone greater vicissitudes of condition, ownership, and even name, than Tyburn.

As we drive along the crowded and busy Oxford Street, leaving on our left the end of Bond Street, we descend a slight slope before we pass Stratford Place on our right. The slope, it is easy to see, was not always so slight, and the lanes on either hand lead down at a steep incline. At two corners, on the north side, we perceive the same name, Marylebone Lane. It seems to be divided into two branches, embracing a triangular piece of ground. It is not easy at the present day to realise that once a lonely road between grass meadows here dipped into a hollow, and crossed a brawling brook by a bridge under the shadow of a little country church. Whether or no the division of the double lane betokens a similar division of the brook, along whose banks it ran, and so gives us a clue to the name, it is at least certain that at the end of the fourteenth century Tyburn already bore an evil reputation, a reputation not, we may be sure, improved when "gentle Mortimer" and his companion were brought for execution to the bleak heath on the hill beyond in 1330. The little church was St. John's, Tyburn. Twice over it was robbed by marauders, who escaped in security owing to the remoteness of the situation: and, in 1400, Robert Braybrook, bishop of London, gave leave to have it removed and a new church, nearer the village, and half-a-mile higher up the bourne, built and consecrated as St. Mary's, so-called, of course, from the abbey of St. Mary of Barking, by which the manor was owned. There were already close by the churches of St. Mary Abbots, St. Mary, Islington, and others; so this was distinguished as St. Mary "le bourne." The vestry-room still remains near the site of St. John's. When the present parochial offices were erected in 1829, on a spot which had formerly been the parish pound, bones and other signs of interment were erroneously attributed, not to the former existence of the graveyard, but to that of the gibbet.

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* Hone, 'Year Book;' Thackeray's 'Virginians,' ii. 228.

The name Tyburn has not been explained. I have hazarded a guess above as to its possible origin, but am far from thinking it more than a possibility. In an ancient charter at Westminster we find the earliest form of the word. This is a deed of gift or confirmation to the Abbey, and though not contemporary, may contain a correct copy of the boundaries of St. Margaret's. It purports to be dated in 951, and to confirm a grant made by Offa. Tyburn is called in it "Teoburne." Mr. Waller derives the name from the division of its later course into two streams.* In Domesday it is Tiburne, and "always lay, and lies, in the church of Barking"; that is, it belonged from time immemorial to the abbey at that place. It was then, and long after, wholly agricultural. There was pasture for cattle, and woods of beech or oak for the feeding of pigs. In the time of the Confessor it had been worth a hundred shillings, but was now valued at fifty.

Such was Tyburn at the Norman Conquest. The brook from which the name was derived divided it from the manor of Lylleston, or Lisson, the second portion of the same parish. Its course may easily be traced still in the windings of Marylebone Lane, which probably marks the site of an ancient village on the left, or eastern bank. I have already endeavoured, with the help of Mr. Waller's map and description, to show what that course was with respect to the modern conditions.†

When St. John's church was removed and St. Mary's built, the village, so to speak, turned its back on the *Via Dolorosa* of the gallows, and dropping the old name became known by that of the new church, a name it has borne ever since. Henceforth Tyburn was identified with the gallows, and moved with them further and further west, until at length they rested finally near the modern site of the Marble Arch, while the thoroughfare we call Oxford Street was the Tyburn Road, and Park Lane, which led up from Westminster, was Tyburn Lane.

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* J. G. Waller, 'The Tybourne and the Westbourne,' read before the London and Middlesex Archæological Society.

† See vol. i. chap. i.

The corporation of London acquired, by lease or otherwise, some fields on either side of the brook, near the spot at which Oxford Street is crossed. As early as 1237 leave was obtained by Gilbert Sandford to convey water to the city from Tyburn in leaden pipes.* Here, in 1239, water-pipes were laid down, and as many as nine "conduits" or reservoirs † were dotted about on the neighbouring slopes. At an annual visit the mayor and aldermen inspected their springs, and a dinner, without which no civic occasion would have been complete, was eaten in a banqueting-house erected on the site of Stratford Place. On the 18th September, 1562, for example, we read in Strype that the lord mayor, aldermen, and many worshipful persons attended to see the conduit heads; then, turning aside into the wild woodland of Marylebone, they hunted a hare; next they dined, and after dinner hunted a fox, when "there was great cry for a mile, and at length the hounds killed him at the end of St. Giles's, with great hollowing and blowing of horns at his death."

The introduction of the New River in 1620 rendered Tyburn water unnecessary to the city, and before the middle of the century the conduits were leased away. The suburbs north of the Strand had by this time grown large enough to require a regular supply, and a comparatively large reservoir for the districts about Covent

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* Waller, *ut supra*.

† It is often stated that Conduit Street takes its name from one of these reservoirs. This must be an error. Water does not usually run up hill. If there was a conduit and a conduit mead here they must have belonged to a different system—perhaps for the supply of St. James's or Westminster.

Garden was established on the site afterwards covered by Portland Chapel.* The old cisterns, in 1737, were no longer wanted, and were arched over. The banqueting-house was pulled down, and its site let on lease. Edward Stratford, afterwards earl of Aldborough, took the ground and projected a magnificent architectural scheme: but only Stratford Place itself was built, and even that was not completed for many years. The banqueting-house stood near the highway in Mill Hill Field,† and we hear of a lonely tavern, where now Welbeck Street joins Wigmore Street, at which pedestrians stopped to look to their pistols before crossing the fields to the village of "Lisson Green." Stratford Place, commenced in 1744, was not finished for about half a century. General Strode, an eccentric soldier who set a statue of the duke of Cumberland in Cavendish Square, placed a column opposite Aldborough House to "commemorate the naval victories of Great Britain," with a magniloquent inscription, in which a hope is expressed that the column may stand for ever, "in secula stet," and the glory of Britain increase. In 1805 the foundations gave way and the perennial monument was removed, having stood just six years.

The building of Stratford Place, which stands partly across the brook, caused various complications: and to this day Henrietta Street, Cavendish Square, runs up to the back of the houses on the east side, and begins again to the west.

When Pennant‡ speaks of a certain Mr. St. John

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* Built in 1766, but not consecrated until 1831.

† There is still a Mill Hill Place, a lane off Wimpole Street; the real conduit mead was on the other side of the brook in Lylleston, and will be noticed further on.

‡ Pennant's 'Account,' p. 126.

Mildmay, who remembered having shot a woodcock on the site of Conduit Street, he is probably mistaken in referring to the neighbourhood of Bond Street, but there is little now to remind us of green fields or running water in either place. Every few years one of the walled-up cisterns is discovered under the foundations of old houses. A stone used to mark the site of one near the point at which Marylebone Lane crosses Wigmore Street; another was found as far off as the top of North Audley Street in 1875, and was pronounced Roman by the wiseacres of the "silly season." A third was found in Davies Street not long ago, and two are said to exist still in the cellars of Aldborough House.

The abbess of Barking emulated the prebendaries of St. Paul's in her care to lease away her estate. Early in the thirteenth century we find Robert de Vere in possession of Tyburn. His daughter carried it to the earls of Warren and Surrey, from whom it passed to their heirs, the earls of Arundel. On the death of Richard Fitzalan, fourth earl, in 1397, it was partitioned among his coheirs. Some of the best families in England seem to have had a share in the newly-named St. Marylebone. Berkeleys, Neviles, and Howards divided three-quarters of it, and one quarter seems to have gone to Henry V., as heir of the earls of Derby. About the end of the fifteenth century, however, three of the four were united by Thomas Hobson, who bought them up one by one.

I should like to know something more about Thomas Hobson. When I come to speak of the adjoining manor of Lylleston I shall have occasion to mention him or his son and namesake again. At one time he seems to have owned an estate which stretched from the Edgware Road to Rathbone Place, an estate which, at the present day, would have made him one of the richest subjects in

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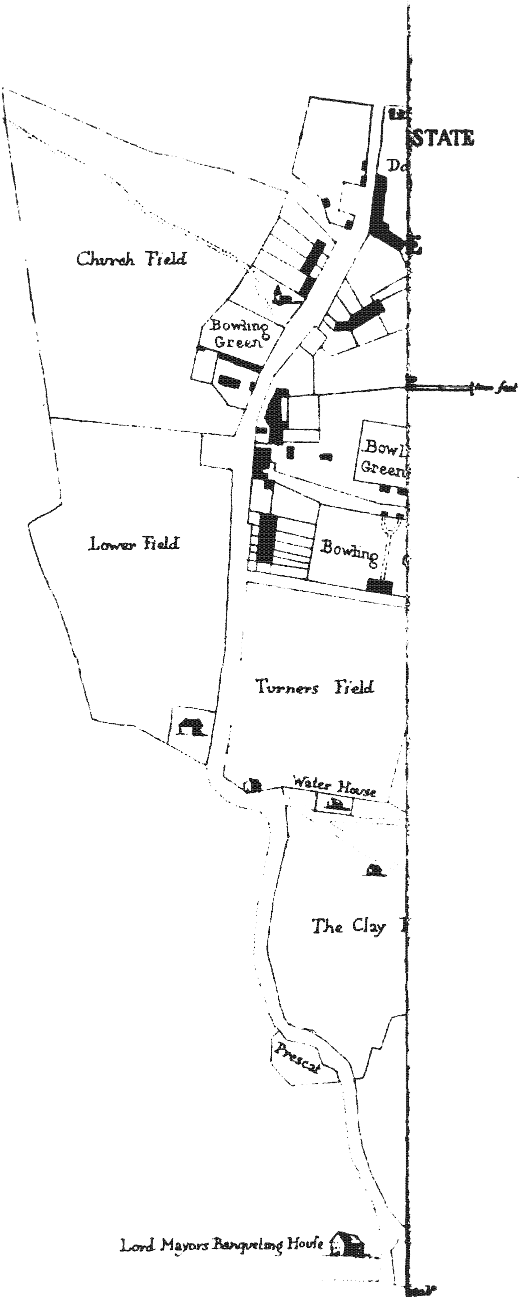

STATE
Do
E
Church Field
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feet
Bowl Green
Bowling
Lower Field
Turners Field
Water House
The Clay
Prescat
Lord Mayors Banqueting Houſe

From a manuscript map in

Europe. He might have founded a great ducal family. I dare say his descendants are still extant. Perhaps one of them was the Cambridge carrier whose dog is celebrated for his pride. Perhaps another, or the same, offered undergraduates Hobson's choice of horses. The name is not more ignoble than that of Smithson, and might have been improved. It is nearly as good as Ogle, or Holles. It is full as old as Cavendish. We shall meet with several of these names among the ducal owners of Tyburn: but not with that of Hobson, for his son, in 1544, exchanged the manor with Henry VIII. for lands elsewhere, and the Hobson family sank once more into its pristine obscurity.

Queen Elizabeth let the lands of Tyburn, first to one lessee then to another, at a rental of 16*l.* 11*s.* 8*d.*, and in 1611, James I. sold them to Edward Forset, one of queen Elizabeth's tenants, for 829*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* Forset's daughter and coheiress was Arabella, wife of Thomas Austen, and in 1710 Sir John Austen, her son, sold Tyburn, or Marylebone, to John Holles, duke of Newcastle, for 17,500*l.* The rental had by this time increased to 900*l.* a year: being about the rental of a single house in Cavendish Square at the present day. In all these transactions Marylebone Park was specially reserved by the crown. A number of sub-leases fell in about the end of the last century, and the suggestion of John White, the architect of the Portland estate, that the park, which was then half farm, half village-common, subject to encroachments and all the usual forms of ill-usage, should be taken up and properly laid out, was acted upon, with the fine expanse of the Regent's Park as a result. Some of the minor leaseholders are commemorated by street names, as Peter Hinde, who farmed the park in 1754. There were three separate farms, and the last of the leases, which had been purchased by the duke of Portland, did not fall in till 1811. Foley House, the residence of lord Foley, who projected a mansion on such a scale that the two stone houses on the north side of Cavendish Square are said to have been intended for lodges, stopped the way from Regent Street to the new park, and caused the laying out of Portland Place at its present extravagant width of 120 feet in order not to interrupt the view. The Langham Hotel, built on the site of Foley House, has fallen heir to this advantageous situation. Foley Street, originally Ogle Street, having fallen into disrepute, has become Langham Street.

But by far the largest part of the old manor is that which Sir John Austen sold to the duke of Newcastle. Here and there the duke's successors made additional purchases, and at the beginning of the present century the estate extended from Primrose Hill to Oxford Street; and from the brook, at Marylebone Lane, with the short interruption of the city conduit estate, eastward to Hanway Court. In shape, therefore, it is something like a T reversed, and comprises almost every possible variety of town residence, from palaces to tenements.

The duke of Newcastle was illustrious chiefly for his wealth in days when wealth meant political power and social advancement. He is buried in the statesmen's transept in Westminster Abbey, under a cenotaph by Gibbs which is well worthy of his architectural fame. Gibbs himself, who better deserved Westminster Abbey, is buried in the little church which was then deemed sufficient for the inhabitants of the duke's great manor. The duke's titles and offices are set forth at considerable length on his monument, but the cause of them all is only alluded to—"His personal merit gave a lustre that needed not the addition of the great wealth he possessed." Burnet calls him "the richest subject that had been in the kingdom for some ages," and it must be allowed that his daughter, "the lady Henrietta Cavendish Holles Harley," as she describes herself, spared no expense on the sculpture.

Lady Henrietta was his only child, and on his death, in 1711, inherited Tyburn. The same year her husband, by the elevation of his father, Robert Harley, to the earldoms of Oxford and Mortimer, became lord Harley, and in 1724 succeeded him in the higher titles.

Within the last few years a quaint if not very beautiful memorial of this second earl, Edward, and his rich wife, has been removed. The vane of the central building of Oxford Market bore their initials, and the date 1721. Oxford Mansion, a series of flats, occupies the site now. The northern row of houses in the Tyburn Road was completed the year after lord Oxford succeeded to his father's title, and the new thoroughfare was named in his honour, Oxford Street. It then extended from Marylebone Lane to Tottenham Court Road, or exactly from one end to the other of the manor of Tyburn. "New" Oxford Street was made through the "rookeries" thirty years ago, but in Bloomsbury, and serves to connect the older part of the road with Holborn by a more direct course than that through High Street, St. Giles's. Finally, the western part of the street —from Marylebone Lane to the foot of Edgware Road—leading through the manor of Lylleston, was completed, and after having long been Oxford Road, became a street also.*

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* Rathbone Place was built by Captain Rathbone, a lessee, in 1718: and is so dated on a stone at the south-eastern corner.

Like his father, earl Edward was a great collector of old books. The Harleian MSS. seem never to have been kept in the manor-house of St. Marylebone, as some have asserted. In fact, I do not think the Holles or Harley family ever lived in the manor-house. It stood near the top of High Street, and was occupied by the lessee for the time being of the park farms. The gardens were celebrated for their beauty, and formed a public resort as early as the time of Pepys, who praises them; but in the time of Gay they had already acquired a doubtful reputation. Yet here some of Handel's music was performed for the first time. A letter, quoted by Thomas Smith,* contains an amusing anecdote, in which the great composer appears in a more amiable light than usual. He was walking in the gardens with an old clergyman named Fountayne, who lived at that time in the manor-house, when the band struck up a new piece. "Come," said Handel, "let us sit down and listen to this piece, I want to know your opinion of it." After some time Mr. Fountayne observed, "It is not worth listening to; it's very poor stuff." "You are right, Mr. Fountayne," said Handel, "it is very poor stuff—I thought so myself when I had finished it." On the site of the gardens stands Beaumont Street, and near it, in High Street, is a large furniture repository. This was the library of the Harley family.

This celebrated collection was the result of perseverance and liberality exerted by the two first earls during a long series of years. The second earl, in particular, spared neither pains nor expense in its formation, and that he was no mere collector of the kind fashionable a century later may be judged from his letters to the agents adroad and at home who found him treasures, as well as from the notes which still remain in so many of the books. Great as the collection was, and priceless as it would be now, the trustees of the British Museum acquired it for 10,000*l.*, and the arms of the Harleys, with their angelic supporters, are familiar to thousands who have cause to remember gratefully the husband of the heiress of St. Marylebone.

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* Smith's 'Parish of St. Marylebone,' p. 33.

Her only daughter, Margaret, married William Bentinck, second duke of Portland, and the present duke is the owner of the estate.

The wife of John Holles, duke of Newcastle, was an heiress of the Cavendishes of Welbeck. The Harleys were originally of Wigmore Castle. We are thus furnished with a clue to the names of the streets in the eastern part of the parish. Henrietta and Margaret Streets are called after the successive heiresses; Welbeck and Wigmore Streets after their country seats; Harley and Holles Streets after their fortunate husbands. Oxford Square has become Cavendish Square.

One street, the least and latest named of all, deserves a separate notice. Edward Gibbon's house, in 1776, was in Bentinck Street: he dates the preface to the 'Decline and Fall' June 1st, in that year, from No. 7, which, in a letter to his friend, lord Sheffield, he calls "the best house in the world." His library was at the back, as we gather from an expression in another letter. Writing from Lausanne, he says his books have been arranged in a room "full as good as that in Bentinck Street, with this difference, indeed, that instead of looking on a stone court twelve feet square, I command an unbounded prospect."

The western manor of this great parish, like the eastern, was, at the time of the Domesday Survey, in religious hands. It is enumerated among lands given in alms, "in elemosina data," when it was held by a lady named Eideva. It had belonged T.R.E. to Edward, the son of Suain, a vassal of the king. As early as 1338 it was in the possession of the Knights of St. John at Clerkenwell, and contained, as we are told,* twenty acres of meadow and a hundred acres of wood, the rest, we may infer, being barren heath or furze. Even so late as two centuries ago it was almost bare of houses, except near the middle, where Lisson—properly Lylleston—Green closely adjoined Paddington, and both formed a kind of village on the Edgware Road. Sir William of Clyf held it from the Hospitallers, and paid 10*l.* a year rent. He had a villa on it, and probably hawked and hunted, and drew the long bow in the forest, as freely as if St. John's Wood was a hundred miles from London. His house was probably on the spot centuries later covered by the manor-house, now converted into Queen Charlotte's Hospital. We hear no more of Lylleston for a century and a half; but in the meantime the gallows had travelled out from Tyburn and were probably well established at the south-western corner of the estate, or opposite the modern site of the Marble Arch; for in 1512, when the lord prior Thomas Docwra, granted a lease for fifty years to John and Johan Blennerhasset, at least two gibbets are mentioned. The farm thus granted for fifty years was exactly conterminous with the present Portman estate. Lisson Green, Lisson Grove, and St. John's Wood were not included in it: but we have a list of the fields which is very interesting to the modern topographer.* These lands had been in the occupation of Thomas Hobson, and were let for 8*l.* a year. The names of the fields are most valuable. From them we learn not only that people were hanged here, but that they were hanged in chains: that the district was used for field sports: that much of it was under wood, and some of it bushy. Such was the corner farm on which many of the best streets in London now stand. .It comprised in all about 270 acres, and may be reckoned one of the wealthiest estates in England. The exact situation of the six fields can no longer be ascertained, but we cannot be far wrong in supposing that the gibbets stood near the highway, perhaps between Quebec Street and Orchard Street, and the "Furzes" and "Haws," near a depression, formerly, perhaps, almost a ravine, which crosses behind Montagu House, and runs parallel to Upper Berkeley Street, a little to the northward.

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* Hospitallers, Camden Soc., 1857, by Lambert B. Larking. So completely had the name of Lylleston fallen into oblivion, that Mr. Larking, in his index, adds "query Littleton?" and makes no attempt to identify it with Tyburn.

As we have seen already Thomas Hobson missed his chances of founding a great family but they were eagerly seized on by chief justice Portman, who, in 1532, bought from the executors of the Blennerhassets the reversion of their house, and afterwards, in the reign of queen Mary, obtained the land in fee simple.

To trace the further descent to the present owners would be but tedious, except in so far as it explains the street nomenclature of the district. The male line terminated with a grandson of Sir William Portman, and the estate went to one of the Seymours, a descendant of the great Protector. It reverted, however, eventually, to William Berkeley, whose mother, a Speke, had been a niece of the last Portman. Thus we have Berkeley Street, Seymour Street, and Portman Square. From Orchard Portman, in Somerset, and Bryanstone, in Dorset, we get another batch of names, while two Quebec Streets and two Adam Streets* furnish us with the general date of the buildings (1759), and the name of the architects.

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* Among them were Great Gibbet Field, Little Gibbet Field, Hawkfield, Brockstand, Tassal Croft, Boys Croft, Furze Croft, and Shepcott Haws. Each of these names has its meaning. Hawkfield and Tassel Croft refer to falconry. Boys is, of course, the French *bois*, a wood. Shepcott is a fold. Brockstand is the badger's stane or stone. The rest are obvious.

The farm in the occupation of Sir William of Clyf was at least double the size of that which was rented by Thomas Hobson, who, in fact, had only the south-western corner, which was all he transmitted to his successors the Portmans. The rest of Clyf's leasehold comprised at least four later holdings, all of which must be mentioned. The Eyre estate, partly on the slope of Hampstead Hill, but chiefly within the manor of Lylleston, consisting of 340 acres, was granted by Charles II. in satisfaction of a debt to lord Wotton. Another estate, lying along the Edgware Road, was bequeathed by John Lyon to Harrow School. A third was that portion of the City Conduit estate, which lay on the western side of the brook. This was the real "Conduit Mead," to which I referred above. It was long the property of a family named Edwardes, and from its interrupting the communication east and west between the Cavendish Square and Portman Square districts is frequently mentioned in the parish annals. By the threat of an Act of Parliament, the tenant was eventually brought to reason, and Wigmore Street was continued as Edwardes Street,† Lower Seymour Street, the south side of Portman Square, and Upper Seymour Street to

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* One now re-named Seymour Place.

† Now merged in Lower Seymour Street.

Edgware Road. This was about 1780, and the neighbouring Manchester Square was completed about the same time. The Spanish chapel close by was built for the accommodation of the Spanish ambassador, who rented Manchester House;* and the spiritual wants of the parishioners of all denominations are well supplied, so far as church room is concerned.

The church of the whole parish of St. Marylebone, removed from the lonely corner at Tyburn, was planted in High Street, and still, substantially, stands, though more or less completely rebuilt at different times, as "the parish chapel." There is not much of the picturesque left in it, but the interior has been immortalised by Hogarth as the scene of the Rake's Marriage. The living went through all the usual vicissitudes, but the abbey of Barking does not seem ever to have held the advowson. At one time it belonged to cardinal Wolsey, at another to Thomas Hobson—who, by the way, paid the clergyman 13 shillings a year—and having eventually come to the Forsets, went at last to the dukes of Portland, and was bought, under an Act of Parliament, by the government in 1821. In 1650 the minister had 15*l.* a year; but as the population increased it is to be hoped the emoluments were higher. A manuscript diary, which occurs appropriately enough among the Harleian Collection, contains a notice of Mr. Randolph Ford, who served the parish between 1711 and 1724, from which it appears that on a single day his duties were as follows:—He began the day by marrying six couples—perhaps Hogarth's Rake among them—then he read service and preached, churching six women afterwards. In the afternoon he read and preached again, but it was not till then that the real work of the day can be said to have commenced, for we are told that he christened thirty-two children, six of them at home, and proceeded to bury thirteen corpses, reading the whole service over each of them separately. From his address in the register book it appears that this indefatigable clergyman lived "at the Highlander, Little Suffolk Street, Charing Cross," and had probably, therefore, a long walk before and after his day's labours.

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* Now Hertford House, the residence of Sir Richard Wallace.

In Hogarth's print a spider has spun a web over the poor-box, and that his view is probably accurate may be judged from his reproduction of the lines by which Edward Forset, whom I have mentioned already more than once, pointed out his burial-place:—

"THESE : PEWES : VNSCRVD : AND : TAN : IN : SVNDER
IN : STONE : THERS : GRAVEN : WHAT : IS : VNDER
TO : WIT : A : VALT : FOR : BVRIAL : THERE : IS
WHICH : EDWARD : FORSET : MADE : FOR : HIM : AND : HIS."

The new church was built in 1817, after many delays, and though one contemporary writer calls it "one of the handsomest structures of the kind in the metropolis," it is eminently commonplace, and not worthy to compare for a moment with Hawksmoor's long-despised St. George's. In a century architectural taste had not greatly improved; but the chapels of ease of this parish, which are older, are not more beautiful. St. Peter's, Vere Street, formerly Oxford Chapel, had the advantage of Gibbs for its architect, but is a very poor specimen of the "Queen Anne" style; and is chiefly remarkable now as the scene, for many years, of the labours of Frederick Denison Maurice. The interior has recently been "restored" in the so-called queen Anne style.* The other chapels in the eastern part of the parish are St. James's, in Westmorland Street, formerly Welbeck Chapel; and St. Paul's, of which I have spoken above. There are modern district churches also, built about the same time as the new St. Marylebone; and a small chapel situated in Margaret Street, first used in 1789, was on the site of a church now celebrated as one of the most magnificent buildings of its kind in London.

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* This is, I believe, the first application of this style to a purpose for which gothic has so long been used. Quebec Chapel and Brunswick Chapel have been gothicised.

The church of All Souls, Langham Place, has been alternately admired and criticised, till all that can now be said about it is that the design suits the situation admirably, and that if it is absolutely necessary to fit a gothic spire to a heathen temple in order to make a Christian church of it, Nash's very original device will do as well as another. The church was consecrated in 1824.

In the western half of the parish is also a large number of new churches, of which very few require notice. The old chapels, in Baker Street (Portman Chapel), Upper Berkeley Street (Brunswick Chapel), and Quebec Street (Quebec Chapel), are chiefly remarkable for the way in which the interiors have been modernised without undue interference with the original fabric. At Quebec Chapel the overflowing congregations brought together by the late dean Alford and the present bishop (Magee) of Peterborough, are still remembered. St. Thomas's, Orchard Street, is a new and handsome gothic structure, and so is the church in Nutford Place, erected on the site of a cholera hospital, which during the great epidemic of 1849 was never required for the parish, there not having been a single case in St. Marylebone. It is appropriately dedicated to "St. Luke, the beloved physician."

St. Mary's, Bryanston Square, which is now the mother church of this division of the parish, was built by Smirke in 1824, and shows how, with Nash's round temple for a portico, a handsome tower or spire of suitable style may be erected. "Froggy Dibdin," the bibliographer, was the first incumbent.

It would be impossible to make anything like a complete list of the eminent inhabitants of the parish of St. Marylebone. I have already spoken of Gibbon, but he is only one of a large number of literary men who have lived in it at one time or another. Sir Arthur Helps died in Lower Berkeley Street, where he was on a visit, in 1875. Talleyrand once lived in Manchester Square. Mrs. Siddons died in Upper Baker Street, in the last house on the east side, almost facing into Regent's Park. "George Eliot" lived for many years at South Bank. Landseer died at his house in St. John's Wood Road, in 1873. Sir Thomas Picton, who fell at Waterloo, had a house in Edwardes Street.

Of the illustrious dead buried in the old church, I may mention besides James Gibbs, the architect, who died in 1754, Humphrey Wanley, the Harley librarian (d. 1726). Dr. Johnson's friend Baretti (d. 1789), and Charles Wesley, the hymn-writer (d. 1788). In the parish cemetery, Paddington Street, a large number of remarkable people were buried before its final closure: from Canning's father; Hoyle, who wrote on games; and "the gallant, good Riou," one of Nelson's captains, killed at Copenhagen; down to Mr. Rawlinson, "First Master Cook to his most beloved and revered Royal Master, George III.," and Mr. John Castles, "late of the Great Grotto, whose great ingenuity in shell-work gained him universal applause."

If the name of Tyburn can be said to survive at all, it is in a district far west of the original manor, as I have endeavoured to show. Tyburnia at the present day is the city of palaces north of the park, along the Bayswater Road, and is all within the parish of Paddington. An iron tablet in the park railing facing Edgware Road marks the site of a turnpike, and dates its removal:—"Here stood Tyburn Gate, 1829."

It is difficult, even with the help of the prints, maps, and drawings of the Crace and other collections to form an idea of the aspect of this corner a hundred years ago, or to recall the scenes of horror which took place at executions on the bare hill to the westward. But, instead of the great street of Edgware Road, with its double row of large shops, instead of the tall houses of Connaught Place, instead of the seemingly endless vista of terraces and gardens facing the park there were no houses on the left hand, looking along Edgware Road, and none on the right, looking along the Uxbridge Road. There was a wall, by no means uniform or regular, dividing the park from the road; and about half-way to Kensington Gardens was the ranger's lodge, opening with a pair of gates nearly opposite the modern Albion Street. The inclosure for the burial-ground of St. George's stood out as a prominent feature in the landscape—a landscape which showed, here and there a farmhouse or a strawyard; here and there a lonely tavern with a swinging sign and a water-trough; and for the rest was made up of a long slope down to the Bayswater, or Westbourne, with, in the foreground, crossed by footpaths, a bare triangular space decorated only by the awful presence of the gallows.

This space can hardly be defined now, the local landmarks having been carefully erased in the laying out of the streets and roads. A house at the corner of Connaught Square and Stanhope Place is often asserted to be actually on the site occupied by the gallows—an idle tradition, as the gallows were not always on the same spot, and were certainly, during the last few years, only erected for each execution, and then on the roadway itself. Another idle story is, that remains indicating the burial of bodies under the gallows were found at the corner of Connaught Place. In one publication it was asserted that a cartload of bones was removed and buried in a pit dug in the mews; and that this cartload "doubtless" contained the bones of Cromwell.* As a matter of fact no such discovery was ever made. When the houses in Connaught Place were built, a careful search was instituted lest any such fragments should exist. A single bone, which may be a portion of the lower jaw of a human being, was found, and is carefully preserved. But that was all. There are few parts of London, especially along the course of an ancient Roman road, where remains of some kind, and generally sepulchral, may not be found.

This corner, and the inclosing sides, north-west by Edgware Road to Kensal Green, and west by the Uxbridge or Bayswater Road to the boundaries of Kensington, near what used to be the Gravel Pits, but has now become Notting Hill Gate, is the parish of Paddington, and includes the two manors of Paddington and Westbourne. They were divided by the little stream which was the original source of the Serpentine, but is now lost to sight in an underground sewer. Brook Mews marks the spot where it was last seen. In tracing the history of Westminster, we have had occasion to show how Westbourne was probably at a very early period separated from the original "manor of the church of St. Peter," and that it may be identified with the holding of Bainiard. Of Paddington we only know that if it was separated from the manor of Westminster at some time between the Domesday survey and the middle of the twelfth century, it was restored to its original owners through the care of abbot Walter, who in 1191, bought it from Richard and William de Padinton, and left it to the abbey for the good of his soul, and to provide "fine manchets, cakes, crumpets, cracknells, and wafers," with a gallon of wine for each monk, and other indulgences, on the anniversary of his death.*

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* I followed this tradition implicitly in my 'In and Out of London'; and was kindly set right by the best authority, the owner and occupier of Arklow House itself. The words "numerous bones" were used by a writer in 'Notes and Queries,' 9th May, 1860, p. 400.

By what means the manor of Westbourne came to belong to the abbey of Westminster I have not been able to ascertain. In 1222, a decree was made in order to terminate a dispute between the abbey and the see of London. In this decree Westburne and Padyngtoun are named together among the possessions of the abbey, or to speak more exactly, are said to "belong to the parish of St. Margaret."

When the religious houses were suppressed Henry VIII. made Paddington part of the endowment of the new see of Westminster.† This was in 1541, and the manors, though now both in ecclesiastical hands, were never united again, as, when the new bishopric was abolished, Paddington went towards the endowment of the see of London, while Westbourne remained to the dean and chapter of Westminster, who had received it from Henry VIII. and have retained it ever since.

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* There is a doubtful charter in Kemble's 'Codex Diplomaticus, (mccxxiii.), in which St. Dunstan has the credit of adding Paddington to the possessions of the Abbey. The two statements are not inconsistent, as Richard and William may have been leaseholders, but it is improbable.

† See chap. xvi.

The bishops now exercise their rights through the Ecclesiastical Commissioners; but a very determined attempt was made by a dignitary, no less respectable than archbishop Sheldon, to alienate Paddington, as the canons of St. Paul's had alienated their estates. At the time of the Commonwealth, Paddington, like other church estates, was sold; but at the Restoration, Sheldon, then bishop of London, claimed it for his use, and obtaining it, gave it on a long lease to his sons, Joseph and Daniel. His family are said to have enjoyed the revenues of the manor for above eighty years. Although holding under so unjust an arrangement, the Sheldons deserved well of the place, and when the old church, a kind of chapel, originally, to St. Margaret's, became ruinous, they built a new one. This new church, which was consecrated in 1678, was dedicated to St. James. The older one is sometimes supposed to have been dedicated to St. Katherine, but on insufficient evidence.* The existing church of St. Mary, Paddington Green, was built by local subscription in 1788, and is described shortly afterwards as "seated on an eminence, finely embosomed in venerable elms." After some years, even this new church became too small for the rapidly growing parish; and there are now not only some half-dozen district churches, but the church at Paddington

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* The history of Paddington, little as there is to tell, is unusually involved, owing to the carelessness of the historians. Timbs says the Sheldons built their church in the reign of Charles I.; but this statement is capped by another writer, who, after assigning the right date to St. James's, goes on to say it was decorated in accordance with the wishes of queen Elizabeth, and confounds the burial-ground with that in Paddington Street, St. Marylebone, and Paddington Green with Westbourne Green.

Green has been deposed from its ascendancy. The parish for the fourth time changed its patron and reverted to its former saint, when the new and handsome but terribly stiff perpendicular church of St. James was erected in 1845, and made parochial. This revival or awakening of religious enthusiasm in Paddington took place at an unfortunate moment in the history of architecture. The least objectionable of the new churches is that in the square known as Lancaster Gate. It is absurdly and incongruously placed among stucco palaces of an Italian style, but from the Serpentine bridge, where the spire alone can be seen reflected in the water, through a vista of trees, it forms a pleasing feature of one of the few "bits" of landscape in London. On the whole, I am inclined to prefer the quaint classicality of old St. Mary's to the mock gothic of any of its successors.

Until lately Paddington has had few eminent inhabitants—nay, few inhabitants of any kind. The bishops, after whom so many of the streets and roads are called, never lived in their manor-house on the east side of the green; and a few years ago the house itself was pulled down. By a curious chance, however, though many of the great folk of the world did not affect Paddington in their lives, it has been the burial-place of more remarkable people than even Westminster Abbey itself. In 1764, the churchwardens of St. George's, Hanover Square, lord Boston and Mr. Long of Rood Ashton, in Wiltshire, bought for their newly-established parish a plot of land for a burial-ground. It was situated a long way out of town on the bare hillside, westward of the place of execution, at the corner of Edgware Road. It must have presented a sufficiently forbidding aspect when first inclosed. Now it looks rather pleasant, and green with trees and flower-beds, when viewed from the backs of the houses on the west side of Connaught Square, or the south side of Connaught Street.* Here were buried some whom the world will not easily forget, though they may never even have seen their last resting-place in the time of their mortal lives. In 1768, Laurence Sterne's body was brought to it from the lodging-house† in Bond Street, where he died; and was buried without so much as a gravestone. Some years later two Freemasons, out of admiration for his genius, set up a stone against the western wall with a long inscription; but it would be rash to say it stands at the actual place of his interment. In the "reserved portion" of the ground, where rich people were able to protect their bodies from contamination with meaner mould, are some interesting monuments; and among them the urn of a lady who was cremated in accordance with the provisions of her will in 1808. The cemetery is entered under an archway which passes between a chapel and the house of the keeper. In the chapel are some curious tablets, including that of the famous Mrs. Molony (d. 1839), who "was cousin to Burke, commonly called the sublime," who was "a superb drawer in water-colours, which was much admired in the exhibition," and of whom Mr. Edward Molony, of Castle Molony, her husband, asserts that "of such are the kingdom of heaven."‡ Here is also a tablet to the memory of Sir Thomas Picton, whose body, having lain in state at his house in Edwardes

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* Formerly Upper Berkeley Street West. The churchwardens took it from Sir Thomas Frederick, who had a lease for three lives from the bishop. It is described as "five acres in Tyburn field." 'Malcolm,' iv. 236.

† No. 41, "a silk-bag shop," now Agnew & Co.'s, the picture dealers.

‡ The whole inscription may be found in Mr. Ravenshaw's 'Antiente Epitaphes,' p. 184.

Street, was buried in the little vault under this chapel. After the death and funeral of the duke of Wellington, it was removed to St. Paul's Cathedral.

At the most distant spot that can possibly be found within the limits of the parish is the great cemetery of Kensal Green, the bleakest, dampest, most melancholy of all the burial-grounds of London. Many a body brought here to the grave has been the cause of other deaths. The mourners at one funeral have been the mourned at another. It would be impossible to enumerate the names of all the memorable dead who sleep in this heavy clay; but here are Sydney Smith and Thackeray, Mulready and John Leech, cardinal Wiseman and the duke of Sussex. Two other names only will I mention. Who that has read the 'Tales of a Grandfather' can forget "Hugh Littlejohn, Esq.," to whom they are dedicated? Who that has felt himself no nearer to heaven "than when he was a boy" can fail to look with interest on the grave of Thomas Hood? The line on his monument was suggested by Mark Lemon—

> "He sang the Song of the Shirt."

The West Bourne, or as we sometimes find it written Wesborn, divided the manor from that of Paddington, both lying originally, as we have seen, in the same parish. The extension of building over the western manor has only taken place within living memory, although an old village or two stood on the slope between the brook and the boundary of Kensington parish, near the top of the hill. Westbourne Green is now wholly obliterated by railways, the great Paddington station, properly in Westbourne, and the numberless lines running into it or from it, to the city and to

Addison Road, meeting on the very spot which was so long the village common. At the beginning of the present century, and long after, it was remarkable for its rural appearance. Westbourne Farm was the country residence of Mrs. Siddons, and Westbourne Place was a villa built for a city merchant by Isaac Ware, of whom a contemporary declares that though originally only a sweep, he was a born architect. Be this as it may, both villa and farm have long been destroyed, and Westbourne Green is *consumpta per ferro*, razed literally with the level ground, and covered with hundreds of lines of iron railway. Westbourne Green Lane survives, but is now known as Queen's Road, Bayswater. A few trees and a nursery garden or two remain, but all the rest is railway station, shops, and taverns. To judge from the changes the lane has undergone in a few years, it will soon form a line of street as continuous and unbroken as Edgware Road, or Westbourne Grove itself. The whole district has grown up in a short time round one or two older centres, such as Orme Square, built in 1815, or the original Bayswater, a hamlet near what is now Gloucester Terrace. The site of St. Stephen's church was, till 1842, a racing ground, known as the Hippodrome; and Christ Church, Lancaster Gate, stands as nearly as possible where the old ponds of Baynard's Watering became successively Bear's Watering, Bayswater, and Hopwood's nursery. A little further west was the villa of lord Craven, inaccurately described as "at the Gravel Pits," which has given its name to a round dozen of modern streets, squares, gardens, places, and terraces. The ground is marked in old maps as the "Pest Field." The good earl of Craven, in the time of the Great Plague, had given a site in Soho both for a burial ground and for a kind of cottage hospital, as we should call it, for the use of the suburbs. The pest field was situated between Golden Square and the "Tyburn Road," now Oxford Street; but some time about the beginning of the last century it was decided to close the burial ground and build over the whole area. The then remote and desolate Upton Farm, "near the Kensington Gravel Pits," was accordingly purchased for the representative of lord Craven, in lieu of any rights or contingent rights he might have over the Pest Field; but according to the terms of the exchange, the new Pest Field, previously Upton Farm, was, in case of plague, to be given up for the burial of victims from the parish of St. Anne. In some old maps Pest Field stands on the Bayswater Road, a little to the west of the old Bayswater Conduit.

When the princess Anne gave birth to the little son whose story has been so quaintly told by Jenkin Lewis, his servant,* "her Highness sought after a house near town fit for his nursery; and, pitching upon Kensington as a place of good air, she chose my lord Craven's house, at Kensington gravel pits, which his lordship readily lent her for that purpose. The young prince continued there about twelve months, thriving apace; and went out every day when dry, in the afternoon, in his little coach which the duchess of Ormond presented him with, and often times in the forenoon; nor was the severity of the winter's cold a pretence for his staying within. The horses, which were no larger than a good mastiff, were under the guidance of Dick Drury, his coachman." Lord Craven's house proving too small for the prince and princess with their attendants, after a year's residence they removed to Campden Hill.

There is something touching in the glimpse here given us of the stout old earl. He had fought for the daughter of James; he had seen one king beheaded and another exiled; he had lost an estate under the commonwealth, and gained an earldom at the Restoration; he was universally believed to have married the widowed queen of Bohemia, and to have comforted her declining years in a princely retirement at Hampton in Berkshire, while the mention of the Pest Field reminds us that he, with the duke of Albemarle, remained in town during the Great Plague of 1665, succouring and directing when every one else had fled or become crazy with fear. And now in his old age we see him stooping over the cradle of the poor decrepit child in whom the hopes of the nation and the dynasty were so fallaciously centered. When the little prince died, in 1700, the good earl had already gone to his well-earned repose; but if he had lived three years longer he would have seen the succession to the English throne settled on the daughter of the beloved queen, whose widower he remained for six and thirty years.

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* Reprint, 1881 (Stanford), p. 36.

The name of "Dick Drury," the prince's coachman, may point to the earl's connection with Drury Lane, or may be accidental; but his liberality in offering his house rent free to the princess, whom, in truth, he may have looked on as a niece, was not imitated by the owner of Campden House, to which the child was removed in 1691.

From Craven Hill and its gardens to Orme Square the ground rises gradually, so that when the border of the parish of Kensington is reached, we are ninety-five feet above the mean sea level. Naturally, this slope facing Kensington Gardens is looked upon as one of the best situations for fine houses, and is accordingly by degrees assuming an appearance to be compared only with that of Park Lane. But many small houses, shops two storey villas, and taverns still remain; and it is a question how far really substantial buildings can be erected unless upon longer leases than are at present granted by the dean and chapter.

Bark Place, like Orme Square, takes its name from an old lessee, while Petersburgh Place and Moscow Road are said to commemorate the visit of the czar after the conclusion of peace in 1815, when this district was first covered with houses.

High as is the ground of Orme Square, it is overtopped by the neighbouring hill on whose north side is Notting Hill Gate, and at whose southern foot is the ancient village of Kensington.*

It is customary to speak of Kensington as "the old court suburb," and if the name is correctly derived from the Anglo-Saxon *Conning*, or *Cyning*, there may be good ground for connecting it with royalty. But so far back as direct history goes, Kensington has had nothing to do with kings and queens. Swift talks of "kingly Kensington"; and other writers innumerable have followed him. In the Domesday Book, however, we find no mention of kings among the owners, except when we are told that Edwin, a vassal of king Edward the Confessor, owned the manor and could sell it, showing that it was his absolute freehold. At the time of the survey it was held by Aubrey de Ver, not of the king, but of the bishop of Coutances. It would thus appear that this manor was singularly independent of royalty at the earliest* period at which we have any mention of it; and it may be added that Kensington has maintained to the present day its ancient condition in this respect.

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* The meaning and derivation of "Kensington" are not easily discovered. It is usual to speak as if *Kensing* was a corruption of *Cyning*, and as if Kensington means *King's Town*. But the *Chenesit* of Domesday is against this interpretation; and there is no parallel, so far as I know, for turning *Cyning* into *Kensing*. On the whole I am inclined to see in Kensington the name of a mark, and there are *Kemsings* in other places, which afford a better derivation than can be made from *Cyning*.

Aubrey "de Ver," as he is called in the Domesday Book, became the ancestor of the Veres, earls of Oxford, and the manor of Kensington remained theirs for many generations, although Edward IV. gave it to his brother Richard, and it was held for a time by Sir Reginald Bray. But a very large slice of the manor was granted about 1107 to the abbot of Abingdon, near Oxford, by the first Aubrey, "for the soul's health" of his eldest son, and as the church was included in the gift, and actually stands on this part of the land, the parish obtained the name it has ever since borne of St. Mary Abbot's.† The Abingdon estate became itself a sub-manor, and perhaps the manor house, now known as Holland House, is the most celebrated building in Kensington. The earl's manor house was, as the name imports, in Earl's Court Road, and we shall probably not go far wrong if we identify it with the house long occupied by the great John Hunter, and lately standing near Earl's Court Station.

Of the other, or Holland House, we have heard almost too much of late years. To believe Macaulay no house ever contained within its walls so many eminent men at the same time. Certainly, one of the most influential of the many mutual-admiration societies, which are to be found mentioned in English history, occasionally met in its dining-room. But though Wilkie may here have gazed at a picture by Reynolds, and Mackintosh have "turned over Thomas Aquinas," and Talleyrand have related an adventure with Lannes,[*] there have been greater men assembled together under one roof than Wilkie, Mackintosh, and Talleyrand, even if we throw in Macaulay, with Marshall Lannes, Reynolds, and the saint. Many of us, looking back through a longer perspective, may think some of the club meetings in Soho, such as that lashed by Goldsmith in his "Retaliation," would bear comparison with the best party ever assembled at Holland House, though among them were several eminent Whigs, together with Sydney Smith, Byron, Thomas Moore, and Thomas Campbell. Lady Holland appears to have been a very disagreeable person, of character so questionable that ladies could not appear at her table; and though she was the great and typical "Mrs. Leo Hunter" of her day—hospitable, clever, and managing—it is impossible to admire her.

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* There is a *Chenestun* in a charter (Kemble, 992) of the reign of Caedwalla of Wessex, but it has not been identified.

† Oddly enough, one of the most voluminous and ambitious of modern London historians devotes three long chapters to Kensington without a mention of the abbot of Abingdon.

There are fortunately older and better memories about Holland House. The third lord Holland, Macaulay's contemporary, was the son of Stephen, second lord, who died early, and nephew of Charles James Fox. When Fox was young, his lovely aunt, lady Sarah Lennox, here received her many admirers, made hay upon the lawn, petted her squirrel, grieved over the birds her nephew killed,[†] nearly broke a king's heart, and cried for the loss of a crown as if it had been a plaything. It would be easy to linger over this charming figure.[‡]

Casting our eyes a little further back still we come to another remarkable name. Before the time of Henry

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[*] 'Macaulay's Essays,' ii. 180.

[†] According to the picture by Reynolds.

[‡] There is a chapter on lady Sarah in my 'In and Out of London.'

Fox, the first baron, who having bought the house took his title from it, the family of Rich, earls of Warwick and Holland, had owned it. The last earl but two left a widow, Charlotte, the daughter of a Welsh baronet. In 1716 she married Joseph Addison, and in Holland House, three years later, the *Spectator* looked his last on the world. Here he is said to have shown his stepson how a Christian can die, and we may hope the young earl took advantage of the example, for he only outlived Addison a couple of years.

The Rich family boasted of a martyr in the royal cause. The earl of Holland obtained the house by a fortunate marriage and had been concerned with "Steenie" in the Spanish project. He had first defied Charles, who imprisoned him, and afterwards Cromwell by whose orders he was beheaded. He took his minor title from Kensington, and his earldom from the "parts of Holland," in Lincolnshire. He died before Westminster Hall in a satin doublet and silver lace, at the very place where thirty years before Raleigh had met the same fate. He enjoyed good company to the last, for the duke of Hamilton preceded him to the block, and lord Capel followed him. He was the least worthy of the three, and his family do not seem to have mourned for him long, for we find Holland House mentioned soon after as one of the places in which private theatricals were performed during the mirthless days of the protectorate.

Sir Walter Cope had obtained from James I. all the abbot's manor, and there is every reason to suppose that he built his new house on the old site. On the other hand, while manorial customs prevailed, it was to a house near the present vicarage that the inhabitants of St. Mary Abbot's resorted to do suit and service; and it is not impossible that the abbot of Abingdon did not live very far from the church. Be this as it may, Sir Walter spared neither money nor good taste, and the result is a house of which it can only be said that it is among the most picturesque of London suburban dwellings. It is said that Thorpe was the architect, but Inigo Jones and Nicholas Stone also left their mark on it, and though there have been modern alterations, even to the extent of changing the face of the house, it remains substantially as it was in the reign of the first Stuart.

Among Sir Walter Cope's associates was a rich city merchant, of obscure birth, named Hicks. To this worthy, so runs the tale, Sir Walter lost at the gaming table a few acres of the hill which rose between his own house and the church. Sir Baptist Hicks took advantage of the site to erect a villa by no means unworthy of its great neighbour, and planting an avenue of elms from his hall-door to the village High Street, finished it with a pair of brick gate-posts, surmounted by the hounds which on his elevation to a peerage formed his supporters. Like Sir Walter Sir Baptist had no son, and Campden House, as he named it, went to his elder daughter, on whose husband, Edward Noel, the title was entailed, together with the manor of Chipping Campden, in Gloucestershire, from which it was derived.

The Noels lived at Campden House after the death of Sir Baptist in 1629. His will contains so many charitable bequests that Stow's continuator devotes a whole chapter to it, and to "an epitaph made in his Memoriall," which commences with

Faith true
Hope firm,
Charity free,
Baptist, Lord Campden,
Was these three,

five lines from which the tenor of the rest may be easily inferred. His bequest to Kensington consisted of a sum of 200*l.* "to be yearly employed for the good and benefit of the poor." This legacy was invested in the purchase of "two closes, containing fourteen acres, called Chare Crofts, situated near Sheppard's Bush Green, in the parish of Fulham." Chare Crofts bring in now 480*l.* a year, and the trustees have some 10,000*l.* in consols. Lady Campden, the widow of the second viscount, also left a legacy to the parish, with which the authorities bought, in 1644, "a close, called Butt's Field, containing 5 acres, 2 roods, and 30 perches, and also 3 roods to be taken out of Middle Quayle Field."* These lands adjoined Hogmore, or Hogmire Lane, now Gloucester Road and Palace Gate, and bring in some 360*l.*, while about 40,000*l.* have accumulated.

The Noels became extinct, in the male line, early in the eighteenth century, but the trustee of the last of them, a Mr. Bertie, is said to have asked the princess Anne such a rent for Campden House "that it was imagined any other person might have purchased it for less."† Yet the house was too small for the princess and her son, and a building now known as Little Campden House was added on the western side.

The poor little prince is carefully described by his faithful servant; even his height and weight and the size of his head are recorded. We read of his medicines, his blisters, his very mild birchings, his new clothes and stiff waistcoat, his tumbles, and his refusal to say his prayers. William III. appears in a new and amiable light, caressing his little nephew. He named him duke of Gloucester, a title never formally used, and when he was six years of age, "as a Garter was vacant by the death of Lord Stafford, the King came to Campden House and told the princess she should have St. James's Palace to reside in, and that he would bestow the Order of the Garter on the Duke: he also informed her Highness why he had not done it before. Accordingly on the 4th of January, 1696, the Bishop of Salisbury came to tell the Duke that he should have the Garter within two days; and asked him if the thoughts of it did not make him glad? 'I am gladder of the King's favour to me,' he said without being prompted to it."*

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* Report of the Vestry, 1810, p. 41.

† Lewis, p. 36 (reprint).

The child was devoted to military pursuits. Every one has heard of his boy regiment. His attendants made him fortifications in the grounds of Campden House, and when the king visited him he fired a salute from real guns with real powder. His boy regiment was partly recruited from London. Kensington was not yet perhaps sufficiently populous to furnish more than a couple of score or so. They assembled on holidays and were put through their exercises by the little duke, who enforced strict discipline and administered the military punishments in vogue at that date. Yet we hear of complaints of their insolence when dismissed from parade. When they were coming from London, or going home, they were often very rude and would "fall on many people." It was a proud day for the little duke when William came to review them. "My dear King,". he exclaimed, "you shall have both my companies with you to Flanders."

The duke died in 1700 at Windsor, and Campden House was next occupied by the dowager countess of Burlington † and her clever son, afterwards known as the "Architect Earl." He may have imbibed some of his architectural taste from contemplating the beauties of the old house, with its mullioned windows richly dight in stained glass, and its magnificent oak carvings.

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* Lewis, p. 97.

† She was the daughter of Henry Noel, second son of the third Viscount Campden, and widow of Charles Boyle, Earl of Burlington, who died in 1704.

In 1719 it was sold to Nicholas Lechmere, who became a peer in 1721, and died childless in 1727, being now chiefly remembered for a lampoon of Swift's* which he provoked. The house went into Chancery and appears to have been unoccupied till 1735, when it was decreed by the Court to Edmund Lechmere, M.P. for Worcestershire. He did not keep it long; and the next owner, Stephen Pitt, a relation in all probability of the Chatham family,† lived in Little Campden House, and let the older building to some ladies who kept an "eminent boarding school for young ladies."

Pitt married the daughter and heiress of a man named Orbell who would probably be forgotten by posterity but for the fact that the great Sir Isaac Newton used to come to Kensington for change of air, and died at last in Orbell's Buildings in 1727. Orbell's Buildings are now called Bullingham House, and a tablet let into the wall records Newton's name.‡ The Bullinghams were an old Kensington family, one of whom was bishop of Gloucester in the reign of queen Elizabeth, and was buried in the old church. When Orbell died in 1734, Pitt inherited or already possessed a considerable estate on the hill, and to him we may attribute many alterations, such as the shortening of the old avenue, the removal of "The Dogs," and perhaps the building of a mock ruin at the corner of the wall next Sheffield Terrace. When the underground railway was made, a tunnel ran through the garden, which is not however, apparently much injured by it. In 1862, being at the time in the occupation of a Mr. Woolley, the house was completely gutted by fire,* but rebuilt immediately. It now belongs to Mr. Elder, by whom the grounds are well kept up, and materially help Campden Hill to retain its ancient look of umbrageous verdure. In the east wall is the old gateway, now built up, which opened towards Kensington Palace, when William III. lived there, and when there was nothing but a gardener's cottage between the two houses. The wall now faces Sheffield Gardens, which with other local names reminds us of the existence of a villa on this hill belonging to lord Sheffield, the friend of Gibbon.

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* "Duke upon Duke."

† Anne Pitt died at her house in Pitt Place, Kensington Gravel Pits, in 1780. ('Old and New London,' v. 139.)

‡ Some confusion as to the exact place of Newton's death was resolved by a letter from Mr. Jopling in 'Notes and Queries,' 3rd Series, i. 29.

The Pratts, from whom the marquis Camden is descended, were an old Kensington family. The great Chancellor may have had Campden Hill, or as it was then usually spelled Camden Hill, in his mind, when he chose that name for his peerage, though it is always attributed to his veneration for Camden, the antiquary, whose house at Chislehurst he had bought.†

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* There is some account of this fire in the amusing memoirs of Serjeant Ballantine, i. 270.

† In my edition of Jenkyn Lewis there is mention of a Mr. Prat, who was tutor to the duke of Gloucester (p. 9), and I have endeavoured to connect him with the Pratts of Kensington. I have since discovered, through the kindness of Mrs. Wilkinson, a descendant of his, that I was mistaken. Samuel Prat, in whom I have another cause for interest because he was chaplain of the Savoy, always spelled the name with one T, as did his descendants to the present day. He is buried in St. George's Chapel at Windsor. He was created D.D. at Cambridge, by the king's desire, in 1697. He wrote a Latin Grammar and published some sermons. He was born at Stratford in Essex, and died in 1723, having been vicar of Kensington (resigned 1693), Goudhurst (resigned 1713), Tottenham and Twickenham, chaplain of the Savoy, canon of Windsor, and in 1697, dean of Rochester. A memorial ring for the little duke and a prayer book which belonged to queen Anne are still in possession of the Prat family.

The north-western and south-eastern extremities of Kensington have so little to do with the central village that it is sometimes difficult to remember that Notting Hill and Brompton are equally within the old parochial boundary; though the palace is within that of St. Margaret, Westminster. The Notting Hill extremity presents few features of interest. It is for the most part cut up into small holdings, some free, some leased. Ladbroke Grove commemorates its builder, and Ladbroke Square has somewhat absurdly been renamed Kensington Park. St. John's Church stands on the site of the Notting Hill farmhouse, described by Faulkner in 1820 as an ancient brick building, surrounded by spacious barns. This church, which is in a poor style of gothic, was for a brief period the incumbency of the lamented Craufurd Tait, only son of the late archbishop of Canterbury.

The summit of Campden Hill is very conspicuous from St. John's Church, as it rises 120 feet above the sea-level and is crowned with a chimney 200 feet high, belonging to the Grand Junction Water Works. Close to the chimney is a cluster of villas, including a ridiculous plastered tower in "the Norman style," and some plain old-fashioned houses locally known as the Dukeries. In one of them, Holly Lodge, lord Macaulay died in 1859.

In Church Street, and also in Lower Phillimore Place (called after its builder, who died in 1819), Sir David Wilkie long resided. John Leech died in a house on what is called The Terrace. In fact, to attempt any enumeration of the eminent inhabitants would be absurd. As we pass towards Brompton, however, two at least should be noticed. If we turn out of High Street by Young Street (called also after one Young, who built it), we reach Kensington Square. The last house but one in the street, now unfortunately and purposelessly re-numbered, on the right hand, was long the residence of Thackeray, whose later years were passed in a new house within the avenue of Palace Gardens. The square was built as a speculation when king William first came to reside at the palace, and contains still some charming little "bits" of the Wren period, one of the best being a now divided tenement at the south-eastern corner. Through a narrow lane leading from this corner we reach a labyrinth of small streets, some of them old, some new, and crossing it as best we can emerge in Cornwall Gardens. Here, covering the ground now occupied by the gardens, and by Gloucester Road Station, was Glo'ster or Onslow Villa, in which lived George Canning, and here his son, the future governor-general, was born, and another son, who lies buried in Kensington Churchyard with a touching epitaph by the great statesman.

We thus reach Brompton, famous once upon a time for its gardens, but now covered with a new quarter of fashionable houses, even its own name being suppressed as vulgar and "South Kensington" substituted. It is not necessary here to describe the ever-changing glories of the famous local institutions, the three museums, the portrait gallery, and the Hall of Science and Art, all of which, as some believe, might better have been placed where they would be accessible to the general public.

It will be sufficient to say that the science and art museum is under the control of the Education Department, and, since its establishment, in 1857, has proved a serious rival to both the British Museum and the National Gallery. It is understood that the unseemly spectacle of rival public galleries bidding each other up in an art sale is not to be witnessed again, but it is unquestionable that the early managers of the institution did much not only to bring it into disfavour with many people, but, by the way in which they sheltered themselves behind the lamented Prince Consort, added greatly to the unpopularity of his efforts to further culture in this country. Meanwhile a new town has grown up round the Albert Hall and the South Kensington Museum. They are still inaccessible to a large number of the class for whose benefit they were opened, but on the whole it must be conceded that, in general arrangements, in careful cataloguing, in the provision of comfortable reading and refreshment rooms, and many other particulars, they set a good example to older museums.

Two houses designed by Mr. Norman Shaw, and so contrived, unfortunately, that like two negatives they destroy one another, are at the corner of Exhibition Road, facing the park. In old times this corner was Kensington Gore, and very lately the remains of lady Blessington's house were still to be seen. Here Wilberforce resided for many years, and here, if I mistake not, his son the bishop of Oxford was born.

There is something more than tradition to connect the name of Cromwell with Kensington, but only tradition to connect it with Brompton. It is true Kensington was much affected by Cromwell's friends. General Lambert is mentioned in the parish register as lord Lambert, and there is also the name of Sir William Strickland, another of Oliver's peers, and of Sir Thomas Foot, a third, as well as of Sir Edward Dering, the eccentric Kentish baronet, whose precise political position at any particular time it would be difficult to assign. The register contains one entry which refers directly to the family of the protector. In 1653 "Mr. Henry Cromwell" was married to Elizabeth Russell. The entry proves nothing. It points to the probability that the family of Elizabeth Russell lived in the parish. But tradition will have it that he, and also that his father, the great Oliver, lived in a house near what is now the South Kensington Museum, and accordingly a street, one of the longest and widest in London, Cromwell Road, is called after them. In an enumeration of the Kensington parochial charities [*] is an account of a "deed of feoffment," dated June 18th, 1651, by which Thomas Coppin in consideration of 45*l.* conveyed to Sir John Thorowgood, and eleven others, and their heirs, "all that land with the appurtenances at the Gravel Pitts in Kensington, containing two acres in the occupation of Richard Barton." No trust was declared in the deed, nor was it said how the 45*l.* was obtained, nor for what purpose, but the land, on which are now some houses in High Street, Notting Hill Gate, has long been called Cromwell's Gift.

This is not very clear or satisfactory evidence; nor have we much more respecting another "eminent inhabitant." Lord Burleigh is sometimes reckoned among Kensington worthies. The fourth earl of Exeter, "John Cecill, son and heir apparent" of John, lord Burleigh, was born at Mr. Sheffield's, and baptised in the parish church in 1674. But the great lord Burleigh is known to have lived at Brompton Hall, and his house was still pointed out, but doubtfully, fifty years ago. The Brompton part of the parish has, in fact, been so long broken up into small holdings that a mere enumeration of the successive owners of estates would include some very remarkable names.[†]

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[*] 'Vestry Report,' 1810, p. 92.

[†] For such an enumeration see Croker's 'Walk from London to Fulham.' Curran died at Amelia Place, in 1817; Mme. Guizot at Pelham Crescent, in 1848; Shaftesbury, the author of the 'Characteristics,' lived in Little Chelsea, 1710; and so on.

Kensington Church, as I remember it in my boyhood, was one of the few really picturesque buildings of the kind near London. It was, of course, by no means worthy of a parish which can boast of such aristocratic residents and neighbours as the Kensington of to-day, but it harmonised well with what is left of old Kensington Square; and the cupola on the palace, and the old vestry-hall and its blue-coat children, now sent in disgrace to the back entrance; and with Colby House, and Kensington House, formerly known as Little Bedlam. Almost all these relics have disappeared. One of the most hideous buildings in Europe occupies the site of Colby House. No lunatic in the old house could have imagined, in his wildest dreams, the pretentious ugliness of the mansion fitly called "Grant's Folly."* It is now being pulled down, but that will not replace Colby House and its companion. The town hall is new and commonplace, the officials having unfortunately refused a "Queen Anne" design for it. The old church, with its quaint curved gable to the street corner, and its well weathered red brick, has also disappeared. Why the parish authorities did not follow the good example of St. Marylebone, and build their new church on a new site, say at the top of the hill, the finest situation in the world for such a building, and now occupied by the little tower and spire of St. George's, I cannot but wonder. However, all is gone, the reading desk and pulpit, with the initials of William and Mary, and the royal pew with its curtain, and the seat occupied by Macaulay, and the rails where the duchess of Kent was churched after the birth of queen Victoria.

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* Kensington House is said, truly or falsely, to have been erected for a Mr. Grant, a London merchant, who, however, has not that I am aware ever resided in it.

The new church is very handsome, and boasts of the highest spire in London; indeed, it is said, the highest pointed spire on any parish church in England. Including the metal cross on the top it is within an inch or two of measuring 300 feet, and is not only a very conspicuous but a very pleasing object when seen from Kensington Gardens, reflected, perhaps, in the Round Pond, and with the glow of a sunset behind it. Sir Gilbert Scott who designed the church did not live to see the spire completed.

There are many churches in different parts of the parish. Holy Trinity, Brompton, has long been reckoned a parish church. It was designed "in a neat gothic style," and built in 1829. Close to it, overshadowing it, in fact, is the rising dome of a new church for the Oratorians of St. Philip Neri, of which the Oratory at Birmingham, over which cardinal Newman has so long presided, is the head. Faber, the hymn writer, was before his death the superior of the Brompton establishment. The new church will be a very prominent example of the Italian style when it is completed. The Roman Catholics have many other churches in Kensington, the largest being the so-called Pro-Cathedral in a court off High Street. It is too short for its great height, owing to its lofty clerestory, and is very conspicuous from the exterior; but the interior is unsatisfactory. The late Dr. Rock was priest of this church, and is remembered with regret by all who knew him, and especially by those who had occasion to test his unrivalled knowledge of some of the more obscure departments of mediæval art.

Divided from southern Kensington, or Brompton, only by the width of the Fulham Road, and bounded on the other side by the course of the Thames, Chelsea has long been a very urban suburb. The manor is called *Chelched* in "Domesday," with an alternative reading, *Cercehede*. It belonged to Edward de Sarisberie, and before the Conquest to Wlwene, "a vassal of king Edward," who "could sell it to whom he pleased." The further descent of the manor is involved in obscurity for some centuries, but, in 1368, Robert de Heyle leased it to the abbey of Westminster for his own life. In the reign of Henry VII. it belonged to the great Sir Reginald Bray, the architect of St. George's Chapel at Windsor. His niece, lady Sandys, inherited it; but had to exchange it for other lands with Henry VIII. The king settled it on Katherine Parr, his sixth wife. She was succeeded by her sister-in-law, the widow of the protector Somerset, who was a Stanhope; and through her mother, a Bourchier, descended from Thomas of Woodstock, one of the sons of Edward III. On her children, to the prejudice of her stepson, Sir Edward Seymour, the dukedom of Somerset was settled when the protector conferred that honour upon himself in 1547. It thus came to pass that a later Sir Edward Seymour could tell William of Orange that the duke of Somerset belonged to his family, when the prince, at his landing, had asked him if he belonged to the duke's family.

The manor was also held by a relative of the duchess, the first lord Stanhope of Harrington, and by Katharine, lady Howard; but in the time of Charles I. it had reverted to the Crown, and was granted to that duke of Hamilton, or Duke Hamilton, as his contemporaries called him, whom we have already seen accompanying the lord of the adjoining manor of Kensington to the scaffold at Westminster. In the Hamilton family the manor remained for a time, till it was bought by lord Newhaven, whose surname survives in Cheyne Walk and

Cheyne Row, lately so celebrated as the residence of Thomas Carlyle.*

In 1712 Sir Hans Sloane bought the manor of Chelsea from the Cheyne family; and his daughter and coheiress, Elizabeth, married the famous general Cadogan, a colonel of horse guards in Marlborough's wars, whose descendant, earl Cadogan, is now lord of the manor and viscount "Chelsey." Sir Hans is commemorated in Hans Place and Sloane Square; the Cadogans in Cadogan Place and Cadogan Square; and the Lawrences, who lived in the old manor house, by grant from Henry VIII., in Lawrence Street, near the old church.

Such is the written history of the manor. It would be interesting if we might identify it with Chalk-hythe, or *Cealchythe*, a place of which the Saxon Chronicle makes mention under 785 or 787—the exact date is variously given—"This year there was a contentious synod at Cealchythe." A similar name occurs in several early charters,† but the judicious Kemble has failed, or refused, to identify them, and there are many reasons to the contrary.

The situation of Chelsea on the river's bank, and its proximity to London, made it early a suitable site for suburban villas. When the chancellorship left Lambeth, and a layman instead of an archbishop became keeper of the king's conscience, no more convenient place could have been found for Sir Thomas More's residence. It was, no doubt, when visiting More at Chelsea that Henry VIII. cast his covetous eyes on the manor. He gave the old manor house to the Lawrences, as I have said, and built another close to the water's edge.* Adjoining it was long a residence of the bishop of Winchester. Both have now disappeared. Cheyne Walk is on their site. More's house was partially rebuilt by Sir John Danvers in the reign of Charles I., and was wholly removed in 1696, when Danvers Street was built on the site. Beaufort Street commemorates Beaufort House, once a residence of the dukes of Beaufort; the Cremorne Gardens, so long a nuisance to the neighbours, occupied the grounds of Chelsea farm, the residence of an old viscountess Cremorne for many years; Lindsey House was the villa of the Berties, earls of Lindsey, and has given place to streets called after them; and, in short, it may be said of Chelsea in the seventeenth century, that it was to the London of that day what the Strand had been in the reign of Richard II.

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* He died at 5 Great Cheyne Row in 1881.

† See Kemble, *passim*. Mr. Rupert Jones, F.R.S., who has made a special study of the subject, is strongly of opinion that Chels-ey has the same origin as Chels-field and other names which refer to flints, the best known example being that of "Chesil Beach," and seems to signify "the gravelly island or eyot." Cealchytte, or Chalkhythe, is high up the Thames on the Oxfordshire side, and derives its name from the chalk. I have to thank Mr. Jones for leave to use his note on the subject.

All the figures which pass and repass along the bank of the river at Chelsea are less distinct and less interesting than that of Sir Thomas More. Had his jealous master but allowed him, he might here have ended his days in peace. We see him one day walking in his garden with Erasmus, or sitting to Holbein, another bearing the heavy honour of Henry's arm about his neck. On Sunday he goes into the choir and sings in a surplice, "like a parish clerk," as the duke of Norfolk observed contemptuously. When he has resigned his office, it is his wife that suffers, as so often in such cases,* and the attendant no longer goes to her pew to announce the departure of "My Lord." In everything he is simple and unaffected to the verge of affectation, but when we come to read an anecdote of More, which we do not chance to know already, we somehow always feel sure, however he may approach that boundary, he will never pass it. His charities are described as being cut after the plainest gospel pattern. He seldom feasted the rich, but his poor neighbours often; and when he was a practising lawyer, "he took no fees of poor folks, widows, or pupils."

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* Anne of Cleves died in 1557, at the "King and Queen's majesty's palace of Chelsey beside London." Some have absurdly supposed this was More's house.

In the old parish church, near the river, More's monument still stands. The church is an interesting building of the most mixed character; so far, happily, not very much hurt by restorers. More made a chapel for his family tomb at the east end of the south aisle, and put up a black slab to record the fact. It has been twice "improved," and is said to have originally contained a reference to his persecution of heresy, for which a blank is now left in the renewed inscription, just the kind of evasion one can imagine the straightforward chancellor would himself have particularly disliked.† The architectural ornaments of the monument are in what was then the new Italian style. It is uncertain where More is buried; some say here; some say in the Tower chapel. His head is certainly in the church of

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* One is tempted to refer to Sir Cloudesly Shovel's proposal that the king should knight his wife.

† Was it in anticipation of his own fate that More concluded his wife's epitaph with these lines?

"O simul, O juncti poteramus vivere nostros
Quam bene, si fatum religioque sinant.
At societ tumulus, societ nos, obsecro, cælum!
Sic mors, non potuit quod dare vita, dabit."

St. Dunstan, at Canterbury,* having been rescued by Margaret Roper, his daughter, from London Bridge. There are several members of his family buried at Chelsea, including both his wives. Some of the other monuments are curious. One of them commemorates Jane, duchess of Northumberland, widow of the protector, mother of queen Elizabeth's favourite, Leicester, and grandmother of Sir Philip Sydney. Another is that of her daughter, lady Huntingdon, and there are many tablets to the Lawrences, Cheynes, and other residents in the parish, including one to Mrs. Anne Spragge, who having fought the Dutch in boy's clothes on board the ship of her brother, Captain Chamberlayne, died in child-bed, in 1692. The epitaph laments that she should have failed to become the mother of a line of heroes. Sir Hans Sloane and Magdalen Herbert, mother of George Herbert, the poet, are buried in the churchyard.

The newer church of St. Luke stands much further inland, and is in the style of gothic that might be expected from its date. It was consecrated in 1824.

Chelsea Hospital for old and disabled soldiers has always been a very popular institution, especially with artists. Wilkie painted the Chelsea pensioners exulting over the news of Waterloo, for the duke of Wellington, and in our own day a picture of the veterans in chapel engaged the attention of the crowd at Burlington House. It owes its foundation to Charles II., who, at the instigation, it was supposed, of Eleanor Gwynn, authorised for the purpose the purchase, from the Royal Society, of the site of a theological college, founded under the halfhearted patronage of James I., by dean Sutcliffe, of Exeter. Laud's influence was all against the college, as stirring up controversy with the Roman Catholics. The story of the college buildings, their presentation to the Royal Society, their resumption, after payment, by the crown, and, finally, the slow progress of the hospital are detailed by Evelyn. Sir Christopher Wren was the architect, but, though the cost is believed to have amounted to 150,000*l.*, and though the buildings were not finished till 1690, there are none of the magnificent features of the same architect's sister hospital at Greenwich. Yet Chelsea Hospital is, like all Sir Christopher's work, full of the beauty which proportion and fitness can give a plain design.

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* It was found many years ago in the vaults, and is preserved behind an iron grill. My late friend, Thomas Godfrey Faussett, told me of having seen it, and of having no doubt of its authenticity.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE SOUTHERN SUBURBS.

THE manors and estates which form the southern suburbs have, with one exception, very little of the historical interest which still hangs round Marylebone and Tyburn, Kensington and Chelsea. They lie for the most part on land which has always been suited for villa building. Had it not been for a peculiarity of the position opposite London, even suburbs would hardly have been made on ground which can only be called dry because the incursions of flood tides are kept out by artificial means, if they are kept out at all. As we had occasion to see in going over the geographical aspect of the so-called "Metropolitan Area,"* the ground opposite London and Westminster is a kind of peninsula, half surrounded by the river. Before reaching London the Thames makes a great bend to the north at Chelsea Reach. It bends again, this time to the south, after London is passed, at Limehouse Reach. The space thus inclosed, some four miles in width from Lambeth to Greenwich, is bounded on the south by low hills, of which the best known is crowned by the Crystal Palace. The peninsula bears evident traces of having but recently emerged, and we have a kind of historical evidence as to part of it, as "royal foreshore," and a more tangible proof in the frequent floods which alarm the inhabitants. In short, we are constantly reminded, as well by local the land of the manor was not more than a quarter [illegible]

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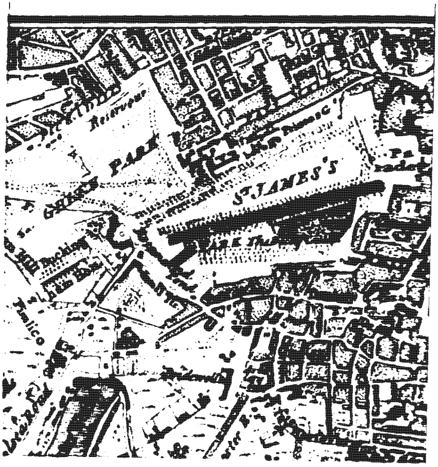
* See chap. i. vol. i.


Reservoir
GREEN PARK
ST. JAMES'S
PARK
Pimlico

Chap. I. Vol. I.

names, such as Lambeth Marsh and Newington Causeway, as by such outbursts of the tide as that of 1850, that the greater part of the district is only a few feet above, and a considerable part of it is actually below high water mark.

But if we look for a moment at a map we shall see that Southwark forms, as it were, the handle of a fan, with London and its suburbs spreading all round it. We also observe that the Thames, which is more than 1200 feet wide at Westminster, is only 900 feet between the extreme north point of the peninsula and the opposite shore at Billingsgate. Even before the bridge was built, the spot at which it spans the river must have been of importance, for it is nearer the city than any other point on the southern or right bank for several miles above or below.

Confining our attention for the present to the outer ring of the southern suburbs, we find early evidence as to the lowness and dampness of the site of Lambeth, Kennington, and Bermondsey. It will not do to press too far the argument that Kennington was always the king's property, because it was "foreshore," and was occasionally submerged at high tides. But a considerable number of acres in the manor must have been under water before the river bank was raised; and it is certain that kings did claim foreshore at a very early period.

There is also another point which, though like the former one, it must not be pressed too far, is yet worth mentioning. In the 'Domesday Survey' we read that Kennington—there spelled Chenintun—was assessed in the reign of the Confessor for five hides, but that it now contains only a hide and three virgates; in other words, the land of the manor was not more than a quarter after the Conquest of what it had been in the peaceful times of Edward. We find precisely the same state of things in the adjoining manor of Lambeth, which had declined from ten hides to two and a half. Even if we did not know of the probability of a great irruption of the river to cause this discrepancy, a flood of some kind would be one of the most obvious explanations.

If we suppose, therefore, that after long occupation and cultivation by the hard-working churls of the little "Suther Rige," or Southern Kingdom, the land had gradually been won for the king; that great embankments had been made, and annual labour bestowed to keep them in repair; but that, under the oppressions of the Normans the land was allowed again to fall a prey to the restless tide, we may, it is more than probable, have formed a good working theory for the early history of the southern suburbs.

Kennington and Lambeth are both in the same great parish of St. Mary. It would almost seem, when we remember all the St. Mary's we have enumerated on the northern and western sides of London, as if it had been determined to surround the city with a circle of churches dedicated to the Blessed Virgin. The name of Lambeth—almost obviously Lamb-hithe—has given rise to the most amazing guesses. In Domesday it is oddly spelled *Lanchei*, probably by a mistake of the scribe.*

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* Allen, 'History of Lambeth,' 1827, says of the name: "In the ancient historians it is spelt Lamhee, Lamheth, Lambyth, Lamedh, and several other variations, the principal of which were probably occasioned by the errors of transcribers. Most etymologists derive the name from lam, *dirt*; and hyd or hyde, *a haven*. Dr. Ducarel differs with this explanation of the name, and considers that it is derived from lamb, *a lamb*; and hyd, *a haven*; but that eminent antiquary, Dr. Gale, derives it from the circumstance of its contiguity to a Roman road, or *leman*, which is generally supposed to have terminated at the river at Stangate, from whence was a passage over the Thames."

But in a charter of king Edward (1062) it is Lambehith,* and the name seems very suitable in this form to the circumstances of the situation, an embarking place for agricultural produce, whence easy access could be obtained by ferry to the more densely populated districts of the left bank. King Edward's charter, which seems to relate to a portion only of Lambeth—that now known as Stockwell—and speaks of the fields, pastures, meadows, woods, and waters belonging to it, grants them all to the abbey of Waltham.

This was but four years before the Conquest, and the charter took effect under Harold, but Edward's sister, "the Countess Goda," seems to have been in possession of the original manor, and before her death she and her husband, Eustace of Boulogne, joined to give it to the bishop and monastery of Rochester. This gift seems to have failed; but it is impossible to unravel the confusion which exists between the different statements ancient and modern, the more so as we can seldom feel quite sure which manor is referred to, until William Rufus,† by one of the few acts of the kind recorded of him, gave Lambeth to the convent at Rochester, in avowed reparation of the injuries he had done the church there in his siege of the place. This gift may have been merely a confirmation of the previous gift of Goda; but from it as certain, we may date the connection of Rochester and Lambeth.

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* 'Codex Diplom.' No. 813. One William Lamhith was clerk of the works in the Tower in 1360. See Britton and Brayley, 337, and 'Close Rolls,' 34 Edw. III. m. 15.

† We may dismiss altogether a notion supported by some writers that Harold ever held Lambeth. Mr. Freeman has shown the improbability of the story that he placed the crown on his own head at Lambeth. The countess Goda held it till the Conquest, and gave it, perhaps ineffectually, to Rochester. William Rufus makes a new grant, which is perhaps to be taken as in reality a confirmation. His charter is in the British Museum. It is signed with a cross, but is undated.

The first exercise of the new authority is characteristic at once of the times and of the condition of the manor. Bishop Gundulf ordered his vassals to supply him annually with "half a thousand" of those lamprey-eels, to which we have so many references in medieval history, for the better exercise of episcopal hospitality. Ernulf, the next bishop but one, added a salmon to the requirements of the monastery, for the anniversary of bishop Gundulf. Ascelin claimed too much personal interest in Lambeth, and the higher authorities determined that the bishop had only his share of the manor with the monks, although, when business required his attendance in London, he had a lodging assigned him in the manor-house, with forage and fuel.

The convenient situation of this manor-house at Lambeth with regard to the court at Westminster is thus already indicated. Very soon the archbishop of Canterbury began to see that what was convenient for the bishop of Rochester was convenient also for him. He rented the house from the bishop, and at a synod here in 1100 the lawfulness of the marriage of Henry II. with Maud of Scotland was determined. A consecration took place at Lambeth in 1121, when archbishop Ralph was assisted by five bishops, his own successor in the see of Rochester, which he had held between 1108 and 1114, being among them. This identity of the primate with the late bishop of Rochester may have given rise to the archbishop's regular residence in the suburban manor-house. The archbishop continued to live where he had lived when he was only bishop. To judge by the frequency of Lambeth consecrations* in the succeeding years, not only Ralph, but William of Corbeuil, and Theobald, his successors in the primacy, habitually resided here.

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* See Stubbs, 'Episcopal Succession,' p. 26, &c.

Of Thomas Becket two consecrations only are recorded, and they are both at Canterbury. There is, in fact, nothing to connect the great martyr of the twelfth century with Lambeth, though by one of those curious coincidences which history so constantly offers, the sole institution dedicated to St. Thomas of Canterbury which has survived the zeal of Henry VIII. is now, so to speak, next door to the manor-house of Lambeth. A house belonging to Geoffrey Becket, the saint's father, at Southwark, where, according to some accounts, the saint himself was born, had been made, in the reign of Henry III., into a hospital. At the dissolution, St. Thomas's Hospital, purchased by the citizens, became an infirmary for the poor. In 1871 it was removed [*] to its present situation, over against the Houses of Parliament, where the fragment of an embankment protects it, and the archbishop's house beside it, from the incursions of the tide. Strange that the hideous redness of its ungraceful pavilions should spoil the best views of the time-worn towers of St. Thomas's successor at Lambeth!

Many public ceremonials took place at Lambeth during the primacies of Richard and Baldwin. The place gradually became identified with the archbishops; so much so, indeed, that Baldwin, during his quarrel with the priory at Canterbury, actually proposed to remove the bones of St. Thomas and to found a church in his honour, some say at Lambeth itself, some say at Southwark close by. A church of St. Thomas "in the Green" is spoken of about this time as being among the possessions of the canons of Rochester. It may be the same with the church of St. Thomas "in the hospital." When Hubert Fitzwalter had been three or four years seated in the chair of St. Thomas, a negotiation was begun and partly completed, by which, in exchange for the manor and advowson of Darenth, in Kent, the bishop and monastery at Rochester gave Lambeth, manor and church, pastures and woods, salmon and lampreys, absolutely to the archbishop and his successors, by whom it was speedily annexed to the see of Canterbury.

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[*] To make room for the railway from Charing Cross to London Bridge and Cannon Street.

The manor-house of Lambeth has continued ever since the chief residence of the archbishops.* Archbishop Potter (1715—1737) was the first to call it a palace, but official documents are still dated *apud domum*, "at our house," at Lambeth. When Addington was bought, Lambeth had been for some years the only remaining residence of a prelate who, in the middle ages, had been able to travel from Harrow to Canterbury and from Canterbury far into Sussex without resting a night in any but his own houses. The difference between an episcopal palace and a "house" seems to have been correctly drawn in the definition of a palace as "a term appropriated to the mansion of the bishop in the city that gave name to the see." † If it be so, the archbishop of Canterbury has no palace; and the bishop of London is in the same predicament unless London House, in St. James's Square, "in the city of Westminster," can in any sense be described as "in the city that gives name to the see."

The great state kept here in old times and down almost to the present by the archbishops is often noticed in contemporary accounts. When Laud was appointed, in 1633, the king expressly ordered him to carry himself with the same state and dignity as his predecessors had before used and enjoyed; an injunction which he took, as it was probably meant, to refer not to his immediate predecessors, but to the great archbishops before the Reformation, when, to speak of the hospitality alone, there were generally three tables spread in the hall—one for the archbishop and his guests, persons only of the upper nobility or high in office; the second, at which sat the upper clergy, such as bishops and abbots, under the chairmanship of the almoner; and the steward's table, at which sat ordinary people, such as mere gentlemen. It was thought very condescending of Cranmer that he admitted his suffragan, Thornden, bishop of Dover, to his own table. Parker had a table set at the lower end of the hall, "whereat was dailie entertained eight or ten of the poor of the town by turns." This archbishop dined in state three times a week, when he would invite, among others, the state prisoners whom queen Elizabeth had quartered on him, such as Essex, before he was sent to the Tower, and Sussex, his friend, and a brother of the duke of Norfolk. Melancholy parties they must often have been, with Westminster Hall in sight and Tower Hill in a not very distant perspective. The archbishop lodged them handsomely and charged them nothing, "saving at their deths he had from them some part of their libraries that thei had thar." *

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* A very interesting account of archiepiscopal Lambeth, in its political aspects more particularly, may be found in Mr. Green's 'Stray Studies.'

† Denne. quoted by Allen, 'History of Lambeth,' p. 183.

The collection of a library by other means than the impounding of the books of poor noblemen who had lost their heads was the care of many archbishops. At the great rebellion, when the manor-house was sold for *7000l.* to Scott and Hardy, who speedily quarrelled over their bargain, the books were with difficulty saved. Selden claimed them for the University of Cambridge, under some forgotten provision in archbishop Bancroft's will, and though they had already gone to Sion College, and many had been lost, a fair number survived to return after the Restoration and remain still at Lambeth. One volume only bears the arms of the unfortunate Laud,* and one those of Parker, but many must have belonged to both, being sometimes religious works of doubtful orthodoxy retained by the archbishop when they were sent for his imprimatur. Among them are of course books which occur nowhere else, and are for that reason, if for no other, very valuable. Old accounts of the library always notice a volume† among the manuscripts which was supposed to contain a portrait of Caxton, the first English printer, though how his likeness could come to be in an unprinted book written by another person was not explained. Another book which bore a false character was only identified a few years ago as a portion—the New Testament—of the famous Bible, undated, which is believed to have been the first book printed with movable type. After passing for centuries as a manuscript, for it is printed on vellum and beautifully illuminated, it was found to be a printed book in 1871.‡

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* Parker, quoted by Allen, p. 239.

The chapel is probably the oldest of the existing buildings, being always attributed to Boniface of Savoy, who is sometimes said to have built it as a reparation for the scandal he had caused by his assault on the prior of St. Bartholomew. It is difficult to see how a chapel at Lambeth could atone for an injury at Smithfield, and it is very possible that Boniface only completed what others had begun. At Canterbury his contribution to the rebuilding of the palace was the payment of the expenses left him by his predecessors: "I seem, indeed," he complained, with some reason, "to be truly the builder of this hall, because I paid their debts."

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* I have seen at a sale a folio prayer-book with the arms of Laud quite visibly impressed on pasteboard covers from which the leather had been stripped.

† 'The Dictes and Sayings of the Philosophers,' translated by earl Rivers, who is represented introducing his scribe or illuminator to Edward IV. Dated 1476.

‡ 'Arch. Journ.,' 1872. It was a complete copy of this book which fetched 3600*l*. in the Perkins sale in 1873. For a full description of the MSS., see Kershaw's 'Art Treasures of Lambeth Library.'

Laud found the old windows very much broken, and set himself, with the help of his secretary, to make out the story of each and repair them. The Commons, at his trial, alleged against him that he had taken the pictures out of a mass book. They contained the whole history of the world from the Creation to the Day of Judgment, with types and antitypes, and must have closely resembled the windows which still in part remain at Canterbury of a slightly earlier date. All were destroyed in 1643, when, as one historian quaintly says in the words of Scripture, the Reformers "under pretence of abhorring idols, made no scruple of committing sacrilege." They were not content with this desecration, but Hardy, the first purchaser of the house, dug up the body of archbishop Parker, which had been buried at "that part of the chapel where he used to pray," and selling the coffin for old lead, deposited the remains in the stable yard, whence they were afterwards recovered by the care of Sir William Dugdale, under the orders of Juxon, and are now buried under a plain altar tomb at the south side of the western end.

A complete history of the archbishops' residence at Lambeth would be a history of England. Many ancient chambers perished when archbishop Howley rebuilt the domestic part of what must have been a very inconvenient dwelling-house. But we can still identify the court into which More looked down from a window while the clergy pressed to take the new oath of allegiance,* though the chamber, in which he assured Cranmer of his own final refusal, is gone. It was probably from the same gallery that queen Elizabeth heard a sermon when a movable pulpit was placed in the court for the preacher. The gate is much as it was left by cardinal Morton, the Chancellor of Henry VII., but it has recently been scraped and pointed by way of "restoration." The hall is Juxon's, and now contains the library, but in the original building Pole's body must have lain in state for the forty days before it was removed to Canterbury; and here, long before, the duke of Brittany did homage to Edward III., and the rebels of 1381 drank the archbishop's wine.

Of the memorable scenes at Lambeth in later times it would be impossible to make even a catalogue here. But it is not easy to pass the corner by the gate and the church tower and not remember the winter night in 1688 when queen Mary of Modena cowered with her infant beneath the old walls, while the rain beat on her head for an hour before even a common coach could be procured to take her to Gravesend; or that June evening, three years later, when Dr. Sancroft, sometime archbishop, walked out from under Morton's archway, and took a boat for the Temple, on his way into the retirement of his native village; or the strange scene presented by the appearance of czar Peter in the chapel at the ordination of a priest by archbishop Tenison.

In Lambeth church were buried archbishops Bancroft, Tenison, Secker, Hutton, and Cornwallis, as well as bishops Thurlby and Tunstall, who had been prisoners in charge of archbishop Parker. Ashmole, the antiquary, was buried in the church, and Tradescant, whose collections went to augment those of Ashmole at Oxford, in the churchyard.

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* Green's 'History,' vol. ii. p. 168.

Stockwell and Vauxhall are ancient manors in the parish, which extends uphill from the river's bank to the Crystal Palace, and is a good example of the long, narrow pattern after which so many old parishes were modelled, comprising a piece of high ground, a belt of forest, and a meadow in the valley. A third manor is more interesting. Kennington has undergone greater vicissitudes than Lambeth. In its earlier history it is usually connected with the death of Harthacnut in 1042, and sometimes with the coronation of Harold. But it is quite certain that Harold was crowned across the water at Westminster, and it may be considered more than probable that Harthacnut died at the house of Osgod Clapa, perhaps in the adjoining manor of Clapham.* At the wedding feast of Gytha, Osgod's daughter, with Tovi, a noble Dane, he fell down and died suddenly, after an excessive draught of wine. The chronicle places the event at Lambeth.

At the time of the survey Kennington belonged to Teodric, the king's goldsmith,† who held of the king, as he had held in the time of the Confessor. In the reign of Richard I. the king had possession of it, and made Robert Percy his steward. Henry III.‡ gave the office to Richard Freemantell. Edward I. sometimes resided at Kennington, which must have been one of the most convenient hunting grounds within easy reach of Westminster. It belonged a few years later to the king's cousin, the earl of Surrey; but Edward II. obtained it from the earl in 1316, and gave it shortly after to one of his foreign favourites. Three years later he granted it away again, it having probably reverted to the crown at one of the periodical banishments of aliens, and in 1322, having a third time resumed it, he gave the manor to the Despencers. The heiress of one of the previous grantees obtained it on the attainder of the Despencers, and it came back to the crown for the last time when Edward III. exchanged for it some lands in Suffolk. He made it a portion of the endowment of the duke of Cornwall, and it still belongs to the lands of the duchy.

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* It has been objected to this derivation of Clapham, Clapa's home or ham, that in the register of Chertsey Abbey a gift of 200 pence from lands at Clappeham in the time of king Alfred, is recorded. But the register is of a date many centuries later than the gift, and the name may have been used, in reciting it, for convenience.

† 'Teodricus aurifaber tenet de rege Chenintune.'

‡ This king is said to have held a Parliament at Kennington (Wilkinson, i. 149), but it was probably only a council or conference.

After the death of the Black Prince, the young Richard and his mother lived at Kennington, and here, just before the old king, his grandfather died, a strange scene, recorded by several annalists, took place in the manor-house. It was early in the year, in Lent. The duke of Lancaster, Richard's uncle, had been at a feast in the city at the house of William de Ypres,* a Flemish merchant of great wealth. As they were about to sit down to eat oysters, we are told, a soldier burst in with the news that the mob, incensed at the duke for his behaviour to bishop Courtenay in St. Paul's at a Synod to which Wycliffe had been cited,† were assembled at the gates of his house at the Savoy, clamouring for his blood. Leaving their oysters untasted, the duke and his companion lord Percy, who had also made himself unpopular, rushed to the river-side, and took a boat for

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* In Great St. Thomas Apostle, City.

† See above, vol. i., chap. viii.

Kennington, on the opposite bank. Arrived there they threw themselves on the protection of the princess and her son, who, young as he was, had a few days before been commissioned to open Parliament in his grandfather's name, and who was already a personage of consideration. The princess comforted them as best she could, "promittens," says one chronicler, in very English Latin, "se facturum talem finem de hiis omnibus, qui foret eis satis accommodus." And she appears to have been as good as her word.

A little before this event Kennington had seen a more cheerful sight. A hundred and thirty of the principal citizens rode out on Candlemas night disguised as mummers "to Kennington, besides Lambeth," and made presents to the prince and his mother, who was still "the Fair Maid of Kent" in their eyes, though a few years later her popularity had waned. The maskers had provided themselves with loaded dice, and having by dumb show indicated their desire to throw on the table with the prince, they so arranged that he "did alwais winne when he came to cast at them. Then the mummers set to the prince three jewels, one after another, which were a boule of gold, a cup of gold, and a ring of gold, which the prince wonne at three casts." Richard, to the end of his life, seems to have thought the dice were always loaded in his favour.

Though Wat Tyler's rebels four years later sacked Lambeth they spared Kennington, and we do not hear much of it until Henry VII. rested there just before his coronation. Queen Elizabeth on her way to Greenwich does not seem to have honoured Kennington with a visit, but stayed with the archbishop at Lambeth; and the house probably fell into decay, for in the next reign it was completely rebuilt by James I. for Henry, Prince of

Wales. A few years later we find a survey made of the manor of Kennington, with the rights, members, and appurtenances thereof lying and being in the county of Surrey, "late parcel of the possessions of Charles Stuart, eldest son of Charles Stuart, late King of England, as part of his Duchy of Cornwall." The house was probably pulled down at this time, and we hear no more of Kennington as a royal residence, though as late as 1786 two large vaults were discovered; "but whether of Saxon or Gothic architecture is out of the power of any person living to determine," says Allen, writing in 1827, when he should have known better. A long barn and a few other outbuildings remained almost down to our own day, but rows of houses, terraces and villas, taverns, shops and churches, have obliterated even the ground plans.* The house stood near what are now Park Street and Park Place.

The Vauxhall Gardens, mentioned by Addison as having been visited by Sir Roger de Coverley, were situated close to the foot of Vauxhall Bridge, and had a longer lease of life than is usual with suburban places of amusement, as they subsisted until a few years ago from the reign of Charles II. Hogarth in his day, was employed on the decorations, and designed the tickets, which, cast or chased in precious metals, are still sought after by collectors of curiosities.

Kennington Common has been kept tolerably open, and the Oval is celebrated now for cricket matches. The church, St. Mark's, is said to stand on the old place of public execution for the county, the scene of Shenstone's coarse but affecting ballad, "Jemmy Dawson."

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* Mr. Henry MacLauchlan published a map of the old roads and boundaries and an interesting paper on the last remains of the manor-house in the 'Archæological Journal' in 1872.

Opposite Chelsea, and a little higher up the river than Lambeth, is Battersea. The name has been almost as much the subject of guesswork as that of Lambeth. It is given in the Domesday Book as Patricesy, for which reason Aubrey derives it from St. Patrick. But the church is dedicated to St. Mary. A much more probable derivation therefore, is that offered by Lysons: "as the same record which calls it Patricesy, mentions that it was given to St. Peter, it is not improbable that it was so called in consequence of that donation."* This is not, however, quite satisfactory, because it must have had a name before it was "given to St. Peter," and that name appears even then to have been Battersea, or Peter's Ey. But the name may have been that of an ancient owner, Peter; or it may have arisen from the fact that at a much earlier period than the date of the compilation of the Domesday Book, a considerable portion of the parish belonged to another abbey of St. Peter, that, namely, of Chertsey. But by a curious coincidence the most eminent in the list of vicars was the famous bishop Patrick, who held Battersea from 1657 to 1675, and was vicar here when he and Dr. Jane had a conference in the presence of James II. with two priests of the Church of Rome. The Protestant divines got so much the better of their opponents, that the king "retired in disgust, saying, that he never heard a good cause so ill defended, or a bad one so well."

The parish of Battersea in its original state reached to Penge, and was bounded on the east by Lambeth, and on the west by Wandsworth: a part of Clapham

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* 'Environs,' i. 19. A recent writer contrives to sum up both derivations in a single ambiguous sentence;—"Battersea, or Patrick's-eye, is said to have taken its name from St. Patrick or St. Peter, because in ancient days it belonged to the Abbey of St. Peter at Westminster."

Common belonging to the inhabitants. Penge Common, of which but little now remains, was once two miles in circumference, and joined Battersea on that side to Beckenham. Here we are only concerned with that part of the old parish which is near the river-side. Strange to say, though it is so much nearer London, it has retained its rural appearance better than the more distant Penge. Battersea Park, which lies along the Thames bank from the Chelsea Suspension Bridge to the Albert Bridge, which crosses at Cheyne Walk, is very accessible to the inhabitants of both banks, and is admirably laid out. It was formed in 1858, after some six years of delay and preparation, and occupies 185 acres of what was previously in great part low marshy ground. The colonnade which once adorned the courtyard of Burlington House, in Piccadilly, was removed to Battersea Park, but by some strange neglect on the part of the authorities, the numbered stones lie there to suffer decay from damp and frost, and have never been set up.

A little way south-west from Battersea Park formerly stood the mansion of the St. Johns: and here Henry St. John, the statesman, lived and died in retirement, after his return from abroad. He had been living at Dawley, near Harlington, in Middlesex,* for ten years or more, when, after a few years in France, on the death of his father, he became possessed of Battersea, being already sixty-four years of age. The St. Johns were a long-lived race. Bolingbroke's father lived to be almost ninety. His story was even more strange than that of his son: for he was under sentence of death for upwards of half a century. During an after-supper quarrel at the Globe Tavern, in which he and several other young gentlemen took part with drawn swords, Sir William

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* There is an interesting account of Dawley in Thorne, i. 138.

Estcourt* was killed. It was, and always remained, a question who had killed him, but Henry St. John, as he was then, and another youth were accused. Finally, as proof was weak, St. John was advised to confess, and promised lenient treatment if he did so. He complied, was convicted, and sentenced to die. It was then found that by some legal technicality the king could not pardon him. He was, however, indefinitely reprieved, but his estates were forfeited, and he had to pay 16,000*l.* for their redemption. There is a proverb about threatened lives, and certainly lord St. John's was no exception. In 1712 his son Henry, the statesman, was made viscount Bolingbroke, with remainder to his father. In 1714, the viscount was attainted, and his title forfeited during his lifetime at least: but in 1716 old Sir Henry was himself made a viscount as lord St. John, and the son, after losing the title he had acquired for himself, inherited that of his father in 1742. Both are still extant, and are held by a descendant of his brother, for the attainder did not affect the Bolingbroke peerage after its original grantee was dead, owing to the clause of remainder. There would be something more than usually strange in the whole story, even if the people concerned were of the most ordinary character. But, stranger still, it seems as if it was at one time the normal state of the St. John family to be put under sentence of death and afterwards to attain a viscountcy: for in the reign of Elizabeth Oliver St. John killed one Best, of the queen's bodyguard, and had to fly. He joined the army in Ireland, performed prodigies of valour, was given the manor of Battersea by James I., and was made viscount Grandison.

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* He was the third baronet of Newton, Wilts, and at his death the title, created in 1627, became extinct. His elder brother, Sir Giles, had been killed in Italy.

He left no children, and bequeathed Battersea to a nephew, whose grandson was also in trouble with the authorities, but not till after his death, for his funeral at Battersea was conducted with so much state and solemnity, that the heralds prosecuted his executor.* Magnificent as the ceremony was, more becoming a duke than a baronet, there is no entry of the burial in the parish register.

Battersea church was rebuilt in 1777, but the monuments of the St. Johns and others were carefully preserved, an example to the professing restorers of our own day Among them is one to lord Grandison; and one to Sir Edward Wynter, who died in 1686, having performed some remarkable feats of strength, which are carved on his tomb, and celebrated in his epitaph :—†

> "Alone, unarm'd a tyger he oppress'd,
> And crush'd to death the monster of a beast;
> Twice twenty mounted Moors he overthrew,
> Singly on foot; some wounded, some he slew,
> Dispers'd the rest.—What more could Sampson do?"

But the visitor will look with most interest at the monument of queen Anne's great minister and its untruthful inscription. If he wrote it himself, as is probable, it cannot be considered a good specimen of his celebrated style :—

"Here lies Henry St. John, in the reign of Queen Anne, Secretary of War, Secretary of State, and Viscount Bolingbroke: in the days of King George the First and King George the Second, something more and better. His attachment to Queen Anne exposed him to a long and severe persecution; he bore it with firmness of mind, the enemy of no national party, the friend of no faction; distinguished (under the cloud of a proscription, which had not been entirely taken off) by zeal to maintain the liberty, and to restore the ancient prosperity of Great Britain."

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* Lysons, 29. A similar prosecution is mentioned in chap. xix.

† Cunningham, i. 65.

Some fragments of Battersea house remained in the occupation of a miller till very lately. The estate was sold soon after Henry St. John's death to the Spensers, who had already inherited the almost adjoining manor of Wimbledon. The archbishops of York had for some centuries a villa at Battersea, the site of which is still pointed out.

East of Lambeth and Kennington, and occupying the centre of the peninsula, is Newington. A farm or settlement outside the walls of Southwark was very early known as Wal-worth, a name sufficiently indicative of the situation. It is called Waleorde in Domesday Book, and having been given by king Edmund to his jester, "Nithardus," perhaps Neatherd, in English, was by him, on his repentance, and on the eve of a pilgrimage to Rome, given to the church of Canterbury, to which, or to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, it still belongs. Walworth was the only manor in Newington, which, indeed, seems to have sprung into a separate existence since the Conquest. It is not mentioned in Domesday, and the name may signify "new town." In 1066 the land on which "Neweton," or "Newenton," as it seems to have been called at first, was actually under water. It still lies very low, though it has been greatly banked up, but such a name as that of Newington Causeway, which still belongs to one of the streets, is enough to betoken the nature of the site.* The parish is often called Newington Butts, to distinguish it from Newington, or Stoke

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* Lysons mentions a flood in 1755, during which people were conveyed from the church to St. George's church in boats.

Newington, at the other side of London. The butts were used by archers when Walworth and Newington were open fields. They are first mentioned in 1558.

The eastern side of the peninsula, which I have described as being formed by the great bend of the Thames at London, was occupied by a monastic manor, now covered by, perhaps, the most noisome and unsavoury corner of the suburbs. There are no offensive smells in any other town which may not be matched or surpassed in Bermondsey, among the tanners, the floorcloth makers, the soap-boilers, the candle-moulders, and a hundred others, some of whose trades are too offensive for mention, yet here a few centuries ago invalids came on account of the purity of the air, and one king, at least, with several queens, may be named as having resorted to Bermondsey and Rotherhithe for health.

Who was the Bermond* that gave his name to the "ey," or "ait"? What is the meaning of Rotherhithe? Was there an island here, a refuge of rowers, or an archipelago or a peninsula? It is evident from the map that the Roman road to Dover passed by Bermondsey and left it well to the east. There was, therefore, less embanking of the Thames shore here than at Southwark, and the ground must have naturally stood higher to have been reclaimed at all. No doubt the monks did much to improve their rich lands and to let in no more water than was good for their crops. The vinegar-makers profit by their labours, but Bermondsey must always have lain very low and been very damp.†

Bermondsey belonged before the Conquest to Harold, and has special mention in Domesday Book for its "new and handsome church."[*] It continued to be a royal demesne till 1094,[†] and when William Rufus gave it to the priory of St. Mary, he retained that part which is now Rotherhithe, though in his charter there is no special exception made; "Rodereyam" goes to "Bermondesia" as well as "Dilewich," and a hide in Southwark. Camberwell was also in the estate, and Henry I. formally added Rotherhithe, so that the priory of St. Saviour, which had been founded in 1082, became extremely wealthy, and its early importance is shown by its selection as his retreat from the world by the earl of Mortaign, whose name occurs so frequently in Domesday. He had a hide of land and a house worth 8*s.* in Bermondsey at the time of the survey. Another great noble, Robert Marmion, in 1113, gave the monks a piece of ground named Withifleet; and in 1434 we can identify it with the mills of Widfleet and "a certain garden called Paris Garden."

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* Bermond has a Danish sound. Rotherhithe would seem to be the ancient form of the second name, and to point very directly to *redhra*, a rower, or mariner in general.

† See Chapter i. for some remarks on the levels.

The Cluniac monks at Bermondsey remained subject to the abbey in Normandy, from which Aylwin Child,[‡] a rich citizen of London, had brought them, until at the request of Richard II., in 1390, John Attilburgh was made first abbot by Boniface IX. The pope, however, did not leave him long at Bermondsey, for towards the end of the same year he was promoted to a bishopric in Germany.[§] The abbey was surrendered to Henry VIII. in 1538,[‖] but some of the monastic buildings were still standing at the beginning of this century, and the last vestiges only disappeared within living memory.

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[*] "Nova et pulchra ecclesia."

[†] The charter is undated, but must be of that year.

[‡] Aylwin Child is sometimes supposed to be the father of Henry Fitz Aylwin or Eylwin, first mayor of London.

[§] Of Athelfelden?

[‖] 1st January, 1537-8

That Bermondsey should have been selected as a health resort is one of the strangest facts in the history of mediæval medical practice. Its reputation was, however, established by the accidental residence in the abbey of a monk who was supposed to understand the art of healing in an eminent degree.

The princess of France, whom Henry V. had married so shortly before his death, and whose little son was already king of England and France, died at Bermondsey Abbey in 1437. Her husband, Owen Tudor, the progenitor of the great dynasty of that name, is one of the most mysterious personages in English history. He was a prisoner in Newgate while his wife lay dying at Bermondsey.* We can only suppose that Katharine must either have gone to Bermondsey to consult a physician, and of her own free will, or because she was sent there by the government of her brother-in-law and placed in a kind of mild captivity. She left her three little sons to the charity of their half-brother the king, himself then only a boy of sixteen.

Half a century later another queen came here to die. Elizabeth Wydvile, already the widow of a simple knight, had married a king, as Katherine, the widow of a king, had married a soldier. Owen Tudor's grandson, the son of one of the orphan boys bequeathed to Henry VI. by his mother, was now on the throne of the Plantagenets,† and Elizabeth Wydvile's daughter was his wife. So had the world gone round. But neither physicians nor the Redriff air could cure her malady, and in 1492 her body was conveyed with sumptuous ceremonies from Bermondsey to the grave of Edward IV. at Windsor.

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* See above, vol. i. chap. ix.

† I use this name here for convenience and in contradistinction to Tudor, though it would be easy to prove that none of the Angevin kings called themselves by it. Edward IV. gave it as a surname to his illegitimate son, Arthur, Lord Lisle.

The abbey church was taken down very soon after the suppression by Sir Thomas Pope. He bought the lease, at 10*s.* a year rent, which Sir Robert Southwell, Master of the Rolls, had obtained, with the advowson of the parish, from Henry VIII. Pope made himself a noble mansion out of the relics of the monastic buildings. After ten years, however, Southwell, longing perhaps for the fine air of Bermondsey, persuaded Pope to let him have the house back. Eventually Pope sold the manor and advowson to one Robert Trapps, a person whom history has not distinguished except as the ancestor of a family which retained the estate for a century and a half. Sir Thomas Pope's house was afterwards the property of the Ratcliffes, earls of Sussex, of one of whom, the father of Shakespeare's friend, who died here in 1583, we read that he directed his executors to spend 150*l.* in keeping his house open to all for twenty-one days after his death. They actually spent 159*l.* 8*s.* 2*d.*

The parish church, another St. Mary, but this time St. Mary Magdalene, has been so repeatedly altered and rebuilt and restored, that it retains nothing of its ancient features. The parish register contains some curious entries, as of the re-marriage in 1604 of a couple who had long been separated, presumably by the sea, and the woman married to another man.

The unpleasant sights and smells of the district, the crowd of small and miserable houses, and the general fogginess of the situation are such that even enthusiastic antiquaries hesitate to visit Bermondsey, though, from the passage through it of the great modern highway, the railroad to the south coast, its general features are but too familiar to most of us; and the local names may occasionally be studied from a carriage window. Neckinger Road,* for example, recalls the creek which connected the abbey with the Thames, and which was said to have been made by a great flood in 1294. It occurred on the 18th of October, and is commemorated in various chronicles as "Le Breche." Maze Pond was probably in the garden of the abbot of Battle, whose town house was on a site in the track of the railway, and was long commemorated by Battle Bridge. Sellenger Wharf recalls the residence at Bermondsey of Sir Anthony St. Leger, the lord deputy of Ireland in the reign of Henry VIII., who had a grant of the town-house here of the abbot of St. Augustine's, Canterbury. Abbey Road and Grange Road lead to the little court known as Bermondsey Square, which was once surrounded by monastic buildings second in magnificence only to those of Westminster.†

Rotherhithe had a short separate existence when Edward III. gave his land here to the abbey of St. Mary of Grace on Tower Hill; but the grant was probably disputed by the abbot of Bermondsey, as the land was eventually given to him, perhaps we might say given back to him. Up to the dissolution there is constantly some confusion as to abbot's land and king's land; and a grant from Henry VIII. to one Gerard Danett was cancelled by an amicable agreement with the abbot in 1516. Henry IV. resided at Rotherhithe for the benefit of his health, and two of his charters are dated there in July 1412. The church is not remarkable. It is, almost as a matter of course, dedicated to St. Mary, and was built in 1714, when Rotherhithe became a parish. Here lies buried a hero of our nursery legends, Prince Lee Boo, the son of Aba Thulle, King of Goo-roo-raa, in the South Pacific. He died in Paradise Row in 1784, and his epitaph is in the turgid style of the day:—

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* Some ridiculous suggestions have been made as to the meaning of this name: thus in 'Notes and Queries' (11 s. vol. 3, p. 417) it is derived from "The Devil's Neckerchief," a dangerous narrow road between two ditches.

† See Wilkinson's 'Londina Illustrata,' vol. i., for a series of views of the abbey as it appeared sixty years since.

> "Stop, Reader, Stop! Let Nature claim a tear,
> A prince of *mine*, Lee Boo, lies buried here."

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE "METROPOLITAN AREA."

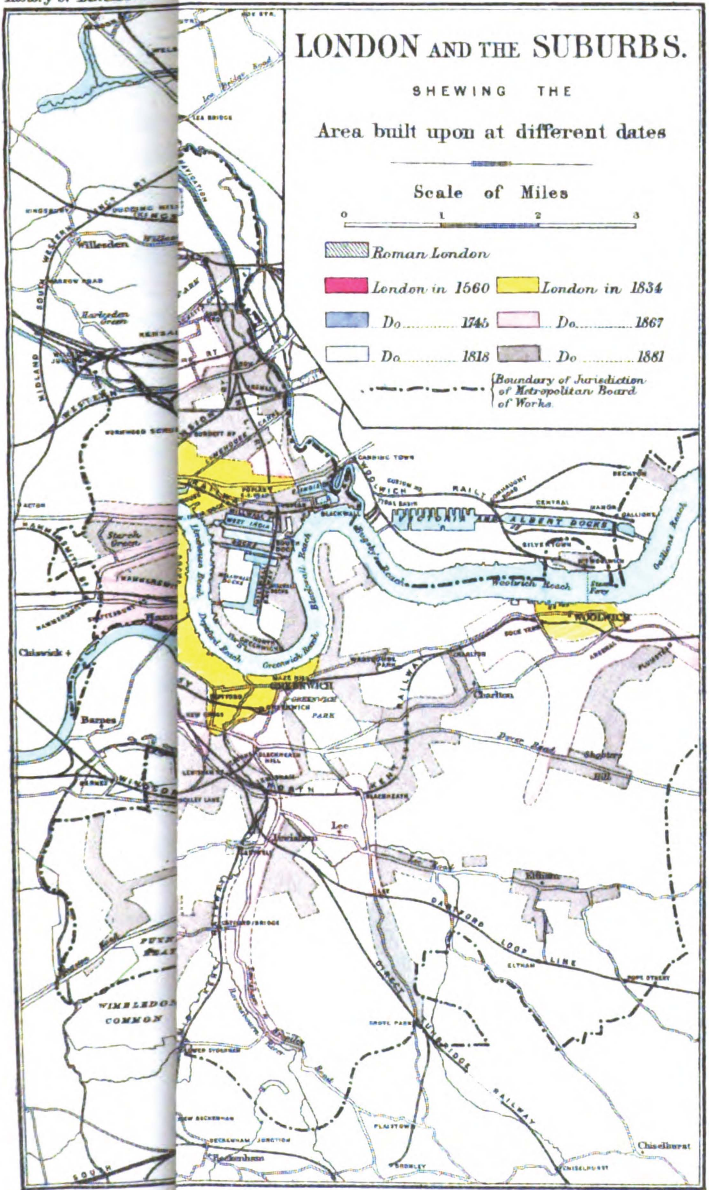
THE rapid growth of the suburbs of London, combined with the fact that since 1855 they have been under what may be called a central government in certain particulars, has rendered necessary the adoption of a name. The largest city in the world was anonymous. Its constituent parts had names, but as a whole it had none. The interference of parliament was invoked, and unfortunately for accuracy a phrase was suggested which in the wisdom of our rulers at that day sufficiently described the great city. It was labelled the "Metropolitan Area."

The use of the word "metropolis" as applied to London is of some antiquity. Howell coined a better name as the title of his 'Londinopolis,' published in 1657. In De Laune's 'Present State of London,' published after the Great Fire, though the author himself does not use the term, an admirer who sends him an "Acrostick" does not hesitate to turn a rhyme with it; but the character of his authority may be judged by the opening triplet of the poem :—

"This is the City which the Papal Crew
Have by their Damn'd Devices overthrew,
Erected on her old Foundations, New."

The poet goes on to praise the book :—

"The Grandeur of this fam'd Metropolis,
Arts, Laws, and Customs thou hast shewn in this."



LONDON AND THE SUBURBS.
SHEWING THE
Area built upon at different dates

Scale of Miles
0
1
2
3
▨ Roman London
London in 1560
London in 1834
Do 1745
Do 1867
Do 1818
Do 1881
Boundary of Jurisdiction of Metropolitan Board of Works
Willesden
Harlesden Green
Starch Green
Chiswick
Barnes
WIMBLEDON COMMON
GREENWICH
GREENWICH PARK
WOOLWICH
Charlton
Shooters Hill
Lee
Eltham
Beckenham
Chislehurst
ROYAL ALBERT DOCKS
VICTORIA
WEST INDIA
Limehouse Reach
Greenwich Reach
Blackwall Reach
Woolwich Reach
Gallions Reach
Dover Road
DARTFORD LOOP LINE
DIRECT TUNBRIDGE RAILWAY

Stanford's Geog! Estab!

Cross.

When the Board of Works was formed in 1855, under Sir Benjamin Hall's Act, the name was boldly assumed; and the Board is appointed "for the purpose of diverting the sewage of the metropolis." Thenceforth this, so to speak, diverting use of the word has been usual; and the Board now deals with the whole Hundred of Ossulston, the Hundred of Isleworth, certain districts on the southern side of the Thames in the counties of Kent and Surrey, and part of Essex. This constitutes the "Metropolitan Area"; but London, which probably the framers of the Act contemplated under the name of the metropolis, is itself manifestly excepted.

The "Metropolitan Area" has been thus defined.* It is the "Metropolis" within the new tables of mortality, as constituted for all registration, census and poor law matters, and the term is further used for the district over which the Metropolitan Board of Works has jurisdiction. This district does not quite coincide with that concerning which the Registrar-General is busied: since the hamlet of Penge† is excluded, and the hamlet of Mottingham is included. There is again a third district called the "Metropolitan Area" of the Police: it is much more extensive than the "Metropolitan Area" of the Registrar-General or the "Metropolitan Area" of the Board of Works, and extends over the whole of Middlesex‡ and "the surrounding parishes in the counties of Surrey, Kent, Essex, and Hertford of which any part is within twelve miles from Charing Cross, and those also of which any part is not more than fifteen miles in a straight line from the same point. The police circle round Charing Cross contains all that can be reckoned as properly within the limits of London, and is too extensive for a natural boundary. For many of the parishes within the police district are entirely rural, and are quite sequestered from the great city, while at several points are large towns, of which Croydon is an example, chiefly bound to London by the daily intercourse of their population."

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* By Mr. Lewis in his 'Digest of the Census of 1871,' p. 29.

† Penge is, parochially or manorially, in Battersea.

‡ Mr. Lewis adds in a bracket, "exclusive of the city of London": but London is not and never was in Middlesex. It would be almost as sensible to talk of the whole of Norfolk, exclusive of the city of London. It is this misuse of names on the part of officials that has given us the bewildering term "Metropolitan area," which really means, if it means anything, Canterbury.

Yet again, there is the Metropolitan Postal District, and it includes city and suburbs alike, consisting of the following divisions:—the E.C. lying close around the General Post Office in St. Martin's-le-Grand; the E. extending to Walthamstow, Leytonstone and North Woolwich; the N. division reaching north from Pentonville nearly to Enfield and Barnet; the N.W. division taking in Hendon and Willesden; the S.E. division reaching from Vauxhall Bridge to Erith, and including Norwood, Penge, and Lewisham; the S.W. division extending westward along the Fulham Road, from Charing Cross to Fulham, and southward as far as Merton and Wimbledon; the W. division stretching out to Acton, Ealing, and Hanwell; and the W.C. division, lying between the City and Charing Cross.

This Postal District, therefore covers an area as large as that of the Metropolitan Board of Works, but is not nearly so extensive as that controlled by the police.

The immense size of this area is denoted by some of the figures mentioned in the annual report of the board. The money spent during a year is two and a half millions. Besides the nine parliamentary boroughs, each sending two members to the house of commons, no fewer than sixty distinct "villages have in course of time become constituent parts of London." The area is occupied by several thousand streets, "which, if laid end to end, would form a line 1,600 miles long." There are more than half a million different buildings and eleven hundred churches. Within the police district the population is fully four millions. "There are in London more Scotchmen than in Edinburgh, more Irish than in Dublin, more Jews than in Palestine, and more Roman Catholics than in Rome." Compared with the Metropolitan Area, even New York and Paris, the two cities of the world which come nearest to it, are so far behind that both put together would only equal it. The six cities of Great Britain which come nearest to it are Glasgow, Liverpool, Manchester with Salford, Birmingham, Leeds, and Sheffield; but the population of all put together does not equal that of the Metropolitan Area, even if the city of London be taken out. The rateable value is reckoned to amount to upwards of twenty-five million sterling. The whole valuation of the six English cities which come nearest to the "Metropolitan Area" in population is, in the aggregate, about ten millions and a half, so that the value of the "Metropolis" is more than double. Great sums expressed in numbers often convey a clearer idea than any other form of statement, and certainly the statistics offered by London and its suburbs are almost appalling. Since it came into being the board has made 65 miles of main sewers, besides making or renewing 195 miles of smaller drains. The immense cost of works in the Area, the gigantic scale on which everything has to be done, may be gathered from some of the figures given in the annual reports. The Embankments cost three millions of money. The Fire Brigade numbers more than five hundred men; and there were more than one thousand eight hundred fires in 1880. In the same time about a quarter of a million has been paid for freeing bridges; and nearly 40,000*l.* for property through which new streets are to pass. No fewer than one hundred Acts of Parliament referring to the work of the board have been passed in the twenty-six years of its existence. The main drainage system cost four and a half millions, and a few of the statistics have been thus summed-up:—"There are annually consumed about 2,000,000 quarters of wheat, 400,000 oxen, 1,500,000 sheep, 130,000 calves, 250,000 swine, 8 million head of poultry and game, 400 million pounds of fish, 500 million oysters, 1,200,000 lobsters, and 3,000,000 salmon. The butcher's meat alone is valued at 50,000,000*l.* The Londoners wash down this vast annual repast by 180 million quarts of porter and ale, 8 million quarts of spirits, and 31 million quarts of wine, not to speak of the 180 million gallons of water supplied every day by the nine water companies. About 1000 collier-vessels yearly bring 3,500,000 tons of coal into London by the river, while the railways supply about 3,000,000 tons more."*

The most extraordinary thing about this vast Area is the looseness of its governing system. That it is well governed no one can deny. Light and water are provided. Crime is punished. Life is tolerably secure as well from assassins as from pestilence. If dwellers in the Area are robbed of their property it is at least under legalised forms. Yet perhaps one of the most puzzling questions a foreigner could put to an "Arean," if I may invent a name, would be involved in any inquiry as to how these satisfactory results are attained. We have no prefects, no mayors, no governors, no syndics. There are divisional police magistrates, but few of us have ever seen one, and many of us live for years in a district without learning the way to the nearest police court. There are vestries, too, and we see their initials on watercarts, and occasionally receive voting papers, from which we infer that they are elected by the people. But, as a matter of fact, nine-tenths of the dwellers in the "Metropolitan Area" know very little more, and cannot distinguish between the Metropolitan Board of Works, and the Board of Works, which is a department of the government of the country and used to be known as "the Woods and Forests," a title too picturesque for the present age.

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* Baedeker's 'Handbook." p. 60. These statistics are five years old, and all the figures have been increased since they were compiled.

The "Metropolitan Board" is annually elected and consists of forty-six members, whose business it is to see to the imposition and laying out of certain taxes, or rates, or, as they would have been called in the 13th century, tallages. The board has no magisterial jurisdiction. It is not a governing body. It does not concern itself with parochial matters. It waters no streets and supplies no gas; but it sees that certain conditions are fulfilled which make watering and lighting possible. Its members project new streets, and obtain parliamentary authority from time to time to contract heavy loans on the security of their rates. They have thus been enabled to make roads more direct in many places, to relieve local traffic, to free bridges. Their greatest and in some senses their best work is the Embankment along the shores of the Thames from Blackfriars to Westminster, with shorter pieces at Chelsea and Lambeth, which cost two millions sterling, and covers all the foreshore where twice a day there used to be an unsightly mud flat. They also carried out a drainage scheme, which according to some authorities will have to be done over again. The sewage question is, even more than the cemetery question, of deep importance, and cannot be considered as in any sense solved.

This is not the place to go into full particulars of the works projected or completed by the Metropolitan Board. Nor need I describe the Underground Railway, or the great stations, or electric lighting, or asphalte pavement, or, in short, any of the wonders which a single generation has seen springing into existence in our Area. My object has rather been to trace those causes in the past which are acting on us now, and, by piecing together into a continuous narrative, so far as it was possible, the many scattered circumstances which have contributed to make London what it is, to enable the student of history to understand and explain things that may often seem to be anomalous in our civic condition.

In conclusion I would wish to point out one example of the effect of ancient circumstances on our modern life. It is common to talk as if the city had refused to take in "wards without," and that the orderly confusion, if I may so term it, of our present parochial system arises from a jealousy or indisposition on the part of the central and ancient nucleus of London, to trouble itself about suburbs. I hope I have shown that this is a mistaken view. The city was never in demesne: the suburbs were on land which belonged to various lords and was parcelled out into various manors, each of which had its courts and its manorial officers, as we have them to this day in Westminster. The citizens could not make way against these forces. I have shown how the Fleet valley was annexed, and with what difficulty. Had other great merchants followed the example of Nicholas Farringdon and bought manors close to the walls, a few more exceptions might have arisen: but, as we have seen, the greater part of the land was held by the dead hand of the church against which even the wealthiest alderman was powerless. The upstart nobles of the Tudor period were not at all anxious to part with their newly acquired dignity as lords of manors. To them, therefore, and before them to the church, but not to the city, we must ascribe the present condition of the "Metropolitan Area."

APPENDIX A.

A Calendar of the Mayors and Sheriffs of London from 1189 *to* 1882.*

1189. Henry FitzAylwin.
Henry de Corenhell.
Richard FitzReyner.

1190. Henry FitzAylwin.
John Herlison.
Roger le Duc.

1191. Henry FitzAylwin.
William de Haverille.
John Bokointe.

1192. Henry FitzAylwin.
Nicholas Duket.
Peter Newlay.

1193. Henry FitzAylwin.
Roger le Duc.
Roger FitzAlan.

1194. Henry FitzAylwin.
William FitzYzabel.
William FitzAthulf

1195. Henry FitzAylwin.
Robert Besaunt.
Jukel Alderman.

1196. Henry FitzAylwin.
Gerard de Antioch.
Robert FitzDuraunt.

1197. Henry FitzAylwin.
Robert Blund.
Nicholas Duket.

1198. Henry FitzAylwin.
Constantine FitzAthulf.
Robert le Bel.

1199. Henry FitzAylwin.
Arnold FitzAthulf.
Richard FitzBarthelmeu.

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* The early part of this list mainly follows the 'Chronicle of Mayors and Sheriffs, but, as far as 1206, the date is that of the year of service.

1200. Henry FitzAylwin.
Roger de Desert.
Jacob Alderman, (or Bartilmew.)

1201. Henry FitzAylwin.
Simon de Aldermanebyri.
William FitzAliz.

1202. Henry FitzAylwin.
Norman Blund.
John de Kaye.

1203. Henry FitzAylwin.
Walter Brun.
William Chamberleyn.

1204. Henry FitzAylwin.
Thomas de Haverille.
Hamo Brond.

1205. Henry FitzAylwin.
John Walraven.
Richard de Wincestre.

1206. Henry FitzAylwin.
John Heliland.
Eadmund de la Hale.*

1207. Henry FitzAylwin.
Roger de Wincestre.
William Hardel.

1208. Henry FitzAylwin.
Thomas FitzNeal.
Peter le Duc.

1209. Henry FitzAylwin.
Peter le Juvene.
William Wite.

1210. Henry FitzAylwin.
Stephen le Gros.
Adam de Wyteby.

1211. Henry FitzAylwin.
Joce FitzPeter.
John Garlaund.

1212. Henry FitzAylwin.
Constantine le Juvene.
Ralph Helyland.

1213. Roger FitzAylwin.
Martin FitzAliz.
Peter Bath.

1214. Serle le Mercer.
Salomon de Basinges.
Hugh de Basinges.

1215. William Hardel.
Andrew Nevelun.
John Travers.

1216. Jacob Alderman, for part, and Salomon de Basinges, for part.
Benedict le Seynter.
William Blund.

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* For 1206 the 'Chronicle of Mayors and Sheriffs' gives the names of Serlo le Mercer and Henry de St. Auban. There is a serious discrepancy between the various lists at this point, owing possibly to some change in the date of the election.

1217. SERLO LE MERCER.
Ralph Helylaunde.
Thomas Bukerel.

1218. SERLO LE MERCER.
Joce le Pesur.*
John Vyel.

1219. SERLO LE MERCER.
John Vyel.
Richard Wymbledon.

1220. SERLO LE MERCER.
Richard Rynger.
Joce le Juvene.

1221. SERLO LE MERCER.
Richard Renger.
Thomas Laumbert.

1222. SERLO LE MERCER.
Thomas Laumbert.
William Joyner.

1223. RICHARD RENGER.
John Travers.
Andrew Bukerel.

1224. RICHARD RENGER.
Andrew Bukerel.
John Travers.

1225. RICHARD RENGER.
Martin FitzWilliam.
Roger le Duc.

1226. RICHARD RENGER.
Martin FitzWilliam.
Roger le Duc.

1227. ROGER LE DUC.
Henry de Cokam.
Stephen Bukerel.

1228. ROGER LE DUC.
Stephen Bukerel.
Henry de Cokam.

1229. ROGER LE DUC.
William de Wincestre.
Robert FitzJohn.

1230. ROGER LE DUC.
John de Wouborne.
Richard FitzWalter.

1231. ANDREW BUKEREL.
Walter le Bufle.
Michael de St. Heleyne.

1232. ANDREW BUKEREL.
Henry de Edelmeton.
Gerard Bat.

1233. ANDREW BUKEREL.
Roger Blund.
Symon FitzMary.

1234. ANDREW BUKEREL.
Raphe Eswy.
John Norman.

1235. ANDREW BUKEREL.
Gerard Bat.
Robert Hardel.

1236. ANDREW BUKEREL.
Henry Cokham.
Jordan de Coventre.

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* Pesur, bell maker.

1237. Andrew Bukerel,*
Richard Renger.
John Tuleson.
Gervais Chamberleyn, or of Walebroc.

1238. Richard Renger.†
John de Wilehale.
John de Koudres.

1239. William Joynier.
Ralph Eswy.
Reginald de Bungeye.

1240. Gerard Bat.
John de Geseorz.
Michael Thovy.

1241. Reginald de Bungeye.
John Vyel.
Thomas de Dureme.

1242. Ralph Eswy.
John FitzJohn.
Ralph Eswy.

1243. Ralph Eswy.
Hugh Blund.
Adam de Giseburne.

1244. Michael Thovy.
Nicholas Bat.
Ralph de Bow.

1245. John Gyseorz.
Robert de Corenhelle.
Adam de Benetleye

1246. John Gisors.
Symon FitzMary.
Lawrence de Frowyk.

1247. Peter FitzAlan.
William Vyel.
Nicholas Bat.

1248. Michael Thovy.
Nicholas FitzJocey.
Geoffrey de Wyncestre.

1249. Roger FitzRoger.
John Tulesan.
Ralph Hardel.

1250. John Norman.
William FitzRichard.
Humfrey le Fevre.

1251. Adam Basing.
Nicolas Bat.
Lawrence de Frowyk.

1252. John Tulesan.
William de Duresme.
Thomas de Wymburne.

1253. Nicholas Bat.
Richard Pikard.
John de Northampton.

1254. Ralph Hardel.
William Eswy.
Robert de Linton.

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* Bukerel died in office.

† Renger died in office, and was succeeded towards the close of the year by Joynier.

‡ So Chron., p. 10. Stow makes Bungeye mayor.

1255. RALPH HARDEL.
Matthew Bukerel.*
John le Mynur.

1256. RALPH HARDEL.
William Eswy.
Richard Ewell.

1257. RALPH HARDEL.
Thomas FitzThomas.
William Grapefige.†

1258. WILLIAM FITZRICHARD.
John Addrien.
Robert de Corenhelle.

1259. WILLIAM FITZRICHARD.
Adam Bruning.
Henry de Coventre.

1260. WILLIAM FITZRICHARD.
John de Norhampton.
Richard Pikard.

1261. THOMAS FITZTHOMAS.
Philip le Taillour.
Richard de Walebroc.

1262. THOMAS FITZTHOMAS.
Osbert de Suthfolch.
Robert de Munpelers.

1263. THOMAS FITZTHOMAS.
Thomas de Ford.
Gregory de Rokesle.

1264. THOMAS FITZTHOMAS.
Edward Blund.
Peter FitzAuger.

1265. THOMAS FITZTHOMAS.
Gregory de Rokesle.
Simon de Hadestok.
Sir HUGH FITZOTES, *Warden.*
John Addrien,
Walter Hervi, *bailiffs.*

1266. WILLIAM FITZRICHARD, *Warden.*
John Addrien.
Luke de Battencourt, *bailiffs.*

1267. ALAN DE LA SOUCHE, *Warden.*
John Addrien.
Luke de Battencourt.

1268. Sir STEPHEN DE EDDEWORTHE, *Warden.*
Walter Harvy.
William de Dureham.

1269. Sir HUGH FITZOTES, *Warden.*
Thomas de Basinges.
Robert de Corenhelle.
JOHN ADDRIEN.
Philip le Taillour.
Walter le Poter.

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* For part of 1254 new sheriffs were elected, Doo, or Oystergate and Waleraunde, as Eswy and Linton were in the Tower.

† The sheriffs were twice changed in 1257.

1270. John Addrien.
Gregory de Rokesle.
Henry Waleys.

1271. Walter Harvy.
Richard de Paris.
John de Buddele.

1272. Walter Harvy.
John Horn.
Walter le Poter.

1273. Henry le Waleys.
Henry de Coventre.
Nicolas FitzGeoffrey of Winchester.

1274. Gregory de Rokesle.
Luke de Batencourt.
Henry de Frowick.

1275. Gregory de Rokesle.
John Horne.
Ralph de Blount.

1276. Gregory de Rokesle.
Ralph d'Arras.
Raphe le Fevre.

1277. Gregory de Rokesle.
John Adrian.
Walter Lengleys.

1278. Gregory de Rokesle.
William le Mazerier.
Robert de Basinge.

1279. Gregory de Rokesle.
Thomas Box.
Ralph De la More.

1280. Gregory de Rokesle.
William de Farendon.
Nicolas de Winchester.

1281. Henry Waleis.
William Mazerier.
Richard de Chikewel.

1282. Henry Waleis.
Walter le Blount.
Anketin de Betevil.

1283. Henry Waleis.
Martyn Box.
Jordan Godchep.

1284. Gregory Rokesley.
Stephen de Cornhill.
Robert de Rokesle.

1285. Sir Ralph de Sandwich, *Warden.*
Walter le Blount.
John Wade.

1286. Sir Ralph de Sandwich, *Warden.*
Thomas Crosse.
Walter Hawtein.

1287. Sir Ralph de Sandwich, *Warden.*
William de Hereford.
Thomas de Stanes.

1288. Sir John de Bretton, *Warden.*
William de Betaigne.
John de Caunterbury.

1289. Sir Ralph de Sandwich, *Warden.*
Fulke de St. Edmund.
Salamon le Coteller.

1290. Sir Ralph de Sandwich, *Warden*.
Thomas Rumeyne.
William de Leyre.

1291. Sir John de Bretton, *Warden*.
Ralph le Blount.
Hamond Box.

1292. Sir Ralph de Sandwich, *Warden*.
Henry le Bole.
Elias Russel.

1293. Sir John le Breton, *Warden*.
Robert de Rokesle.
Martyn Aumesberry.

1294. Sir John le Breton, *Warden*.
Richard de Glocester.
Henry Box.

1295. Sir John le Breton, *Warden*.
John de Dunstaple.
Adam de Hallingbury.

1296. Sir John le Breton, *Warden*.
Adam de Fulham.
Thomas de Suffolk.

1297. Henry Waleis.*
John de Storteforde.
William de Storteforde.

1298. Henry Waleis.
Richer de Reſham.
Thomas Saly.

1299. Elias Russel.
John d'Armentiers.
Henry de Fingry.

1300. Elias Russel.
Lucas de Haverin.
Richard de Chaumpes.

1301. John le Blount.
Peter de Bosenho.
Robert le Caller.

1302. John le Blount.
Simon de Paris.
Hugh Pourte.

1303. John le Blount.†
William Coumbemartin.
John de Boreford.

1304. John le Blount.
John de Nicole.
Roger de Paris.

1305. John le Blount.
Reginald de Tunderle.
William Cosyn.

1306. Sir John Blount.‡
Edmond Bolet.
Geoffrey at the Conduit.

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* Stow omits this first year of Waleis. See 'French Chron.,' 244.

† Stow calls le Blount *custos* this year.

‡ He appears to have been knighted this year, and to be the first mayor who obtained this rank: but Stow gives it to several before him.

1307. Sir JOHN BLOUNT.
Nicolas Pycot.
Neel Druerye.

1308. NICHOLAS DE FARNDON.
James Botiller.
William de Basinge.

1309. THOMAS ROMEYN.
Roger Palmere.
James Fouke.

1310. RICHER DE REFHAM.
Symon Corp.
Peter de Blakeneye.

1311. JOHN GISORS.
Richard de Welford.
Simon Mereworthe.

1312. JOHN GISORS.
Adam Lucekyn.
John Lambyn.

1313. NICOLAS DE FARNDON.
Hugh de Barton.[*]
Robert de Burdeyn.

1314. JOHN GISORS.
Stephen de Abingdone.
Hamond de Chikewel.

1315. STEPHEN DE ABINGDON.
William Bodeleyhg.[†]
Hamod Godchep.

1316. JOHN DE WENGRAVE.
William Caustone.
Ralph la Balaunce.

1317. JOHN DE WENGRAVE.
William de Furneaux.
John Prior.

1318. JOHN WENGRAVE.
John Poyntel.
John Dallingge.

1319. HAMO DE CHIGWELL.
John de Prestone.
Symonde Abingdone.

1320. NICOLAS DE FARNDON.
William Prudhomme.
Reginald at Conduit.

1321. HAMO DE CHIGWELL.
Richard Constantin.
Richard Hakeneye.

1322. HAMO DE CHIGWELL.
John de Grantham.
Roger de Ely.

1323. NICHOLAS DE FARNDONE.
Adam de Salesbury.
John de Oxenford.

1324. HAMO DE CHIGWELL.
Benit de Folsham.
John de Caustone.

1325. HAMO DE CHIGWELL.
Gilbert de Mordone.
John Cotoun.

1326. HAMO DE CHIGWELL.
RICHARD DE BETAIGNE.[‡]
Richard de Rothing.
Roger Chaunceler.

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[*] Or Garton.

[†] Or Bodley.

[‡] Chigwell was implicated with the party of Edward II. Betoyne or Betaigne was an adherent of Queen Isabella.

1327. Hamo de Chigwell.
Henry Darcy.
John Hauteyn.

1328. John de Grantham.
Simon Fraunceis.
Henry Combemartin.

1329. Simon Swanlond.
Richard Lacer.
William Gisors.

1330. Sir John Pountney or de Polteneye.
Robert de Ely.
Thomas Horewod.

1331. Sir John de Polteneye.
John de Mokkinge.
Andrew Aubri.

1332. John de Prestone.
Nicolas Pike.
John Husbonde.

1333. Sir John Polteneye.
John Hamond.
William Haunsard.

1334. Reginald del Conduyt.
John de Hinggestone.
Walter Turke.

1335. Nicolas Wotton.[*]
Walter de Mordone.
Richard de Uptone.

1336. Sir John de Polteneye.
William Brikalesworthe.
John de Northall.[†]

1337. Henry Darcy.
Walter Nele.
Nicholas Crane.

1338. Henry Darcy.
William Pountfreit.
Hugh Marberer.

1339. Andrew Aubry.
William de Thorneye.
Roger de Forsham.

1340. Andrew Aubry.
Adam Lucas.
Bartholomew Denmars.

1341. John of Oxenford (died); and Simon Fraunceis.
Richard de Berking.
John de la Rokele.

1342. Simon Fraunceis.
John Lovekyn.
Richard de Keslingbury.[‡]

1343. John Hamond.
John Syward.
John Aylesham.

1344. John Hamond.
Geffrey Whityngham.
Thomas Legge.

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[*] The Fr. Chron. says Reginaldo del Conduyt, p. 271.

[†] Stow says John Clarke and William Curtis were sheriffs. These are perhaps other names for the same men. (See Fr. Chron., by Riley, p. 271, note.)

[‡] This is the last entry in Fr. Chron. The next authority is the Chron. by Tyrrell, usually called that of Nicholas.

1345. RICHARD LACERE.
Edmund Hempenale.
John Gloucester.

1346. GEFFREY WHYTING.
William Clopton.
John Croydon.

1347. THOMAS LEGGE.
Adam Brakson.
Richard Basynstoke.

1348. JOHN LOVEKYN.
Henry Picard.
Simon Dolcelle.

1349. WALTER TURK.
Adam of Bery.
Rauf Lynne.

1350. RICHARD KYLSYNGBY.
John Notte.
William of Worcester.

1351. ANDREW AUBREY.
John Wroth.
Gilbert of Steynethorp.

1352. ADAM FRAUNCEYS.
John Pecche.
John Stodye.

1353. ADAM FRAUNCEYS.
William Welde.
John Lytele.

1354. THOMAS LEGGE.
William Totenham.
Richard Smelte.

1355. SIMON FRAUNCEYS.
Thomas Forster.
Walter Brandon.

1356. HENRY PICARD.
Richard Notyngham.
Thomas Dolcell.

1357. JOHN STODEYE.
Stephen Caundyssh.
Bartholomew Freling.

1358. JOHN LOVEKYN.
John Bures.
John Bernes.

1359. SIMON DOLCELLE.
Simon Bedyngton.
John of Chichestre.

1360. Sir JOHN WROTH.
John Deynes.
Walter Berneye.

1361. JOHN PECCHE.
William Holbeche.
James Tame.

1362. STEPHEN CAUNDYSSH.
John of St. Albons.
Jacob Andrewe.

1363. JOHN NOTTE.
Richard Croydon.
John Hiltoft, or Hyktost.

1364. ADAM OF BERY.
Simon Mordon.
John Medford.

1365. ADAM OF BERY.
JOHN LOVEKYN.
John Bukylsworth.
Thomas Ireland.

1366. JOHN LOVEKYN.
John Warde.
Thomas atte Lee.

1367. JAMES ANDREW.
John Thorgold.
William Dykeman.

1368. SIMON MORDON.
Adam Wymondham.
Robert Girdelere.

1369. JOHN CHICHESTER.
John Pyell.
Hugh Holbech.

1370. JOHN BERNES.
William Walworth.
Robert of Gayton.

1371. JOHN BERNES.
Robert Hatfeld.
Adam Stable.

1372. JOHN PYELL.
John Philpot.
Nicholas Brembre.

1373. ADAM OF BERY.
John Aubray.
John Fyfhede.

1374. WILLIAM WALWORTH.
Richard Lyons.
William Wodehous.

1375. JOHN WARDE.
John Hadley.
William Newport.

1376. ADAM STABLE.*
NICHOLAS BREMBRE.
John North.
Robert Launde.

1377. NICHOLAS BREMBRE.
Andrew Pykeman.
Nicolas Twyford.

1378. JOHN PHILPOT.
John Boseham.
Thomas Cornwayle.

1379. JOHN HADLEY.
John Heyleston.
William Baret.

1380. WILLIAM WALWORTH.
Walter Coket.
William Knyghtcote.

1381. JOHN NORTHAMPTON.
John Hende.
John Roote.

1382. JOHN NORTHAMPTON.
Adam Bamme.
John Cely.

1383. NICHOLAS BREMBRE.
John Moore.
Simon Wynchecombe.

1384. NICHOLAS BREMBRE.
Nicholas Exton.
John Frosshe.

1385. NICHOLAS BREMBRE.
John Oghgon.
John Chircheman.

1386. NICOLAS EXTON.
William More.
William Staundon.

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* "P' p'ceptu regis amotus." Chron. pp. 66, 70.

1387. Nicolas Exton.
William Venor.
Hugh Fastolf.

1388. Nicolas Twyford.
Adam Karlyll.
Thomas Austyn.

1389. William Venor.
John Loveye.
John Walcote.

1390. Adam Bamme.
Thomas Vyvent.
John Fraunceys.

1391. John Hende.
John Schadworth.
Henry Vaune.

1392. William Staundon.
Gilbert Maunfeld.
Thomas Neweaton.

1393. John Hadley.
Richard Whityngton.
Drew Barentyn.

1394. John Frossh.
Thomas Knolles.
William Brampton.

1395. William More.
Roger Elys.*
William Scheryngham.

1396. A. Bamme (died).
R. Whityngton.
Thomas Welford.
William Parkere.

1397. Richard Whytyngton.
William Askham.
John Wodecok.

1398. Drew Barentyn.
John Wade.
John Warnar.†

1399. Thomas Knolles.
William Waldern.
William Hyde.‡

1400. John Fraunceys.
William Cnote.
John Wakeley.

1401. John Schadworth
William Venor.
John Fremyngham.

1402. John Walcote.
Robert Chichelegh.
Richard Merlawe.

1403. William Askham.
Thomas Faulconer.
Thomas Polle.

1404. John Hende.
William Louthe.
Stephen Spylman.

1405. John Wodecok.
William Crowmere.
Henry Barton.

1406. Richard Whytyngton.
Nicolas Wotton.
Geffrey Brook.

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* Stow says Sevenoke.

† Stow. "Warv'" in Chron. Perhaps Warwick.

‡ Hende, Stow.

1407. WILLIAM STAUNDON.
Henry Pounfreyt.
Henry Halton.

1408. DREW BARANTYN.
William Norton.
Thomas Duke.

1409. RICHARD MERLAWE.
John Lane.
William Chichele.

1410. THOMAS KNOLLES.
Thomas Pyke.
John Penne.

1411. ROBERT CHICHELEY.
William Reynwell.*
Walter Cotton.

1412. WILLIAM WALDERN.
Ralph Lobenham.
William Sevenok.†

1413. WILLIAM CROWMERE.
John Nicholl.
John Sutton.

1414. THOMAS FAUCONER.
John Michell.
Thomas Aleyn.

1415. NICHOLAS WOTTON.
Alan Everard.
William Caumbregg.

1416. HENRY BARTON.
Robert Whydyngton.
John Coventry.

1417. RICHARD MERLAWE.
Henry Rede.
John Gedeney.

1418. WILLIAM SEVENOK.
John Bryan.
Ralph Barton.
John Perveys.‡

1419. RICHARD WHYTYNGTON.
John Boteler.
Robert Whytyngton.

1420. WILLIAM CAMBREGGE.
John Boteller.
John Welles.

1421. ROBERT CHYCHELEY.
John Weston.
Richard Gosselyn.

1422. WILLIAM WALDERN.
William Estfeld.
Robert Tatersale.

1423. WILLIAM CROWMERE.
Thomas Wandesford.
Nicolas Jamys.

1424. JOHN MICHELL.
Simon Seman.
John be the Water.

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* John Rainewell, Stow.

† Sevenok's father was William Rumsched, of Sevenoaks, Kent. Stow, p. 191.

‡ Bryan was drowned, 10th Oct.; Perveys, or Perneys, was chosen in his place.

1425. JOHN COVENTRY.
William Milred.
John Brokle.

1426. JOHN REYNWELL.
Robert Arnold.
John Heigham.

1427. JOHN GEDENEY.
Robert Ottele.
Henry Frowyk.

1428. HENRY BARTON.
John Abbot.
Thomas Dufhous.

1429. WILLIAM ESTFELD.
Raphe Holand.
William Russe.

1430. NICOLAS WOTTON.
Robert Large.
Walter Chertesey.

1431. JOHN WELLES.
John Atherley.
Stephen Broun.

1432. JOHN PARVEYS.
John Olneye.
John Pattesley.

1433. JOHN BROKLE.
Thomas Chalton.
John Lynge.

1434. ROGER OTLE.
Thomas Bernewell.
Simon Eyre.

1435. HENRY FROWYK.
Thomas Catworth.
Robert Clopton.

1436. JOHN MICHELL.
William Gregory.
Thomas Morstede.

1437. WILLIAM ESTFELD.
William Hales.
William Chapman.

1438. STEPHEN BROUN.
Nicolas Yeo.
Hugh Dyke.

1439. ROBERT LARGE.
Robert Marchall.
Philip Malpas.

1440. JOHN PADDISLE.
William Whetenale.
John Sutton.

1441. ROBERT CLOPTON.
William Combe.
Richard Riche.

1442. JOHN HATHERLE.
Thomas Beaumond.
Richard Nordon.

1443. THOMAS CATWORTH.
Nicolas Wifelde.
John Norman.

1444. HENRY FROWIK.
Stephen Forster.
Hugh Wich.

1445. SIMON EYRE.*
John Derby.
Godfrey Feldyng.

1446. JOHN OLNEY.
Robert Horne.
Geffrey Boleyne.

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* "Gyr" in Chron. p. 134.

1447. JOHN GIDNEY.[*]
Thomas Scot.
William Habraham.

1448. STEPHEN BROUNE.
William Calowe.
William Marowe.

1449. THOMAS CHALTON.
Thomas Canyng.
William Hewlyn.

1450. RICHARD WIFOLD.[†]
William Dere.
John Middilton.

1451. WILLIAM GREGORY.
Matthew Philip.
Christopher Water.

1452. GODFREY FELDYNG.
Richard Alley.
Richard Lee.

1453. JOHN NORMAN.
John Waldeyne.
Thomas Coke.

1454. STEPHEN FORSTER.
John Felde.
William Tailor.

1455. WILLIAM MARCHE.[‡]
John Yong.
Thomas Holgrave.

1456. THOMAS CANYNGE.
John Steward.
Ralph Verney.

1457. GEFFREY BOLEYNE.
William Edward.
Thomas Reyner.

1458. THOMAS SCOT.
Ralph Joslyn.
Richard Nedeham.

1459. WILLIAM HEWLYN.
John Stokker.
John Plumer.

1460. RICHARD LEE.
John Lumbard.
Richard Flemyng.

1461. HUGH WICH.
George Irland.
John Lok.

1462. THOMAS COKE.
William Hampton.
Bartholomew Jamys.

1463. MATTHEW PHILIP.
Thomas Muschamp.
Robert Basset.

1464. RALPH JOSLYN.
John Tate.
John Stone.

1465. RALPH VERNEY.
Henry Waver.
William Constantyne.

1466. Sir JOHN YONG.
John Broun.
Thomas Brice.
John Stokton.[§]

[*] Sidney in Stow.

[†] Should be "Nicolas," as above.

[‡] Marrow, Stow.

[§] Nicolas' Chron. mentions these three sheriffs. It ends with 1482.

1467. THOMAS HOLGRAVE.
Humphrey Hayford.
Thomas Stalbroke.

1468. WILLIAM TAILOR.
Symkyn Smyth.
William Hariot.

1469. RICHARD LEE.
Richard Gardener.
Robert Drope.

1470. Sir JOHN STOKTON.
Sir John Crosby.
Sir John Ward.

1471. WILLIAM EDWARD.
John Aleyne.
John Shelley.

1472. Sir WILLIAM HAMPTON.
Thomas Bledlowe.
John Browne.

1473. JOHN TATE.
Robert Billisdon.
Sir William Stokker.

1474. Sir ROBERT DROPE.
Thomas Hille.
Edmond Shaa, or Shaw.

1475. ROBERT BASSET.
Hugh Brice.
Robert Colwich.

1476. Sir RALPH JOSLYN.
William Horne.
Richard Rason.

1477. HUMPHREY HAYFORD.
John Stokkes.
Henry Colet.

1478. RICHARD GARDENER.
Robert Hardyng.
Robert Bifeld.

1479. Sir BARTHOLOMEW JAMYS.
Thomas Ilam.
John Ward.

1480. JOHN BROWNE.
Thomas Danyel.
William Bacon.

1481. WILLIAM HERIET.
Robert Tate.
William Wikyng.
Richard Chaury.[*]

1482. Sir EDMUND SHAA.
William White.
John Mathewe.

1483. Sir ROBERT BILLESDON.
Thomas Newland.
William Martin.

1484. Sir THOMAS HILL.
Sir WILLIAM STOCKER.
JOHN WARD.[†]
Richard Chester.
Thomas Brittaine.
Raphe Austrie.

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[*] Nicolas' Chron. mentions these three sheriffs. It ends with 1482.

[†] The year of the Sweating Sickness. From 1483 Stow is our authority. He fails us in 1602.

1485. Hugh Brice.
John Tate, the younger.
John Swan, or Swans.

1486. Henry Colet.*
John Percivall.
Hugh Clopton.

1487. Sir William Horne.
John Fenkel.
William Remington.

1488. Robert Tate.
William Isaack.
Ralph Tilney.

1489. William White.
William Caple.
John Brocke.

1490. John Mathew.
Henry Cote.
Robert Revell.
Hugh Pemberton.

1491. Hugh Clopton.
Thomas Wood.
William Browne.

1492. William Martin.
William Purchase.
William Welbeck.

1493. Sir Raph Astrie.
Robert Fabian.
John Winger.

1494. Richard Chawry.
Nicholas Alwine.
John Warner.

1495. Henry Colet.
Thomas Knesworth.
Henry Somer.

1496. Sir John Tate, the younger.
Sir John Shaa.
Sir Richard Haddon.

1497. William Purchase.
Bartholomew Read.
Thomas Windout.

1498. Sir John Percevall.
Thomas Bradbury.
Stephen Jeninges.

1499. Nicholas Aldwine.
James Wilford.
Thomas Brond.

1500. William Rennington.
John Hawes.
William Steed.

1501. Sir John Shaa.
Lawrence Ailmer.
Henry Hede.

1502. Bartholomew Rede.
Henry Kebel.
Nicolas Nines.

1503. Sir William Capell.
Christopher Hawes.
Robert Watts.

1504. Sir John Winger.
Roger Acheley.
William Browne.

1505. Sir Thomas Kniesworth.
Richard Shoare.
Roger Grove.

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* Thoms's Stow, p. 103, Henry Cellet.

1506. Sir Richard Haddon.
William Copinger.
Thomas Johnson.
William FitzWilliams.

1507. William Browne in part, and Lawrence Aylmer in part.
William Butler.
John Kyrkby.

1508. Sir Stephen Jennings.
Thomas Exmewe.
Richard Smith.

1509. Thomas Bradbury; and Sir Wm. Capell.
George Monox.
John Doget.

1510. Sir Henry Kebble.
John Milborne.
John Rest.

1511. Sir Roger Acheley.
Nicolas Shelton.
Thomas Mirfine.

1512. Sir William Copinger in part; and Sir Richard Haddon, for the rest.
Robert Aldernes.
Robert Fenrother.

1513. Sir William Browne.
John Dawes.
John Bruges.
Roger Basford.

1514. Sir George Monox.
James Yarford.
John Mundy.

1515. Sir William Butler.
Henry Warley.
Richard Grey.
William Bailey.

1516. Sir John Rest.
Thomas Seymer.
John Thurstone.

1517. Sir Thomas Exmewe.
Thomas Baldrie.
Ralph Simons.

1518. Sir Thomas Mirfine.
John Allen.
James Spencer.

1519. Sir James Yardford.
John Wilkinson.
Nicholas Partrich.

1520. Sir John Brug, or Bruges.
John Skevington.
John Kyme.

1521. Sir John Milborne.
John Breton.
Thomas Pargitor.

1522. Sir John Mundy.
John Rudstone.
John Champneis.

1523. Sir Thomas Baldrie.
Michael English.
Nicholas Jennings.

1524. Sir William Bailey.
Raphe Dodmere.
William Roche.

1525. Sir John Allen.
John Caunton.
Christopher Askew.

1526. Sir Thomas Seymer.
Stephen Peacock.
Nicolas Lambert.

1527. Sir James Spencer.
John Hardy.
William Holleis.

1528. Sir John Rudstone.
Raphe Warren.
John Long.

1529. Sir Ralph Dodmer.
Michael Dormer.
Walter Champion.

1530. Sir Thomas Pargitor.
William Dauntsey.
Richard Champion.

1531. Sir Nicholas Lambert.
Richard Gresham.
Edward Altham.

1532. Sir Stephen Peacock.
Richard Reynolds.
John Martin.
Nicholas Pinchon.
John Priest.

1533. Sir Christopher Askew.
William Forman.
Thomas Kitson.

1534. Sir John Champneis.
Nicolas Leveson.
William Denham.

1535. Sir John Allen.*
Humfrey Monmouth.
John Cotes.

1536. Sir Ralph Warren.
Robert or Richard Paget.
William Bowyer.

1537. Sir Richard Gresham.
John Gresham.
Thomas Lewin.

1538. Sir William Forman.
William Wilkinson.
Nicolas Gibson.

1539. Sir William Holleis.
Thomas Ferrer.
Thomas Huntlow.

1540. Sir William Roche.
William Laxstone.
Martin Bowes.

1541. Sir Michael Dormer.
Rowland Hill.
Henry Suckley.

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* "A privie Counsellor, for his great Wisedome." Stow.

1542. John Cotes.
Henry Hobberthorne.
Henry Amcoates.

1543. Sir William Bowyer for part, and Sir Ralph Warren for the rest.
John Tholouse.
Richard Dobbes.

1544. Sir William Laxton.
John Wilford.
Andrew Jud.

1545. Sir Martin Bowes.
George Barne.
Ralph Alley.

1546. Sir Henry Hobberthorne.
Richard Jarveis.
Thomas Curteis.

1547. Sir John Gresham.
Thomas White.
Robert Chertsey.

1548. Henry Amcoates.
William Lock.
Sir John Ayleph.

1549. Sir Rowland Hill.
John Yorke.
Richard Turke.

1550. Sir Andrew Jud.
Augustine Hind.
John Lion.

1551. Sir Richard Dobbes.
John Lambert.
John Cowper.

1552. Sir George Barne.
William Gerard.
John Maynard.

1553. Sir Thomas White.
Thomas Offley.
William Hewet.

1554. Sir John Lyon.
David Woodroffe.
William Chester.

1555. Sir William Garret, or Garrard.
Thomas Leigh.
John Machel.

1556. Sir Thomas Offley.
William Harper.
John White.

1557. Sir Thomas Curteis.
Richard Mallory.
James Altham.

1558. Sir Thomas Leigh.
John Halsey.
Richard Champion.

1559. Sir William Hewet.
Thomas Lodge.
Roger Martin.

1560. Sir William Chester.
Christopher Draper.
Thomas Rowe.

1561. Sir William Harper.
Alexander Avenon.
Humfrey Baskerville.

1562. Sir Thomas Lodge.
William Allen.
Richard Chamberlaine.

1563. Sir JOHN WHITE.
Edward Bankes.
Rowland Heyward.

1564. Sir RICHARD MALLORY.
Edward Jackman.
Lionel Ducket.

1565. Sir RICHARD CHAMPION.
John Rivers.
James Hawes.

1566. Sir CHRISTOPHER DRAPER.
Richard Lambert.
Ambrose Nicholas.
John Langley.

1567. Sir ROGER MARTIN.
Thomas Ramsey.
John Bond.

1568. Sir THOMAS ROWE.
John Oleph.
Robert Harding.
James Bacon.

1569. Sir ALEXANDER AVENON.
Henry Beecher.
William Dane.

1570. Sir ROWLAND HEYWARD.
Francis Barneham.
William Boxe.

1571. Sir WILLIAM ALLEN.
Henry Milles.
John Branche.

1572. Sir LIONELL DUCKET.
Richard Pipe.
Nicholas Woodroffe.

1573. Sir JOHN RIVERS.
James Harvey.
Thomas Pullison, or Pulloccel.

1574. JAMES HAWES.
Thomas Blanke.
Anthony Gamage.

1575. AMBROSE NICHOLAS.
Edward Osborne.
Wolstane Dixie.

1576. Sir JOHN LANGLEY.
William Kimpton.
George Barne.

1577. Sir THOMAS RAMSEY.
Nicholas Backhouse.
Francis Bowyer.

1578. Sir RICHARD PIPE.
George Bond.
Thomas Starkie.

1579. Sir NICHOLAS WOODROFE.
Martin Calthrope.
John Hart.

1580. Sir JOHN BRANCH.
Ralph Woodcock.
John Alate.

1581. Sir JAMES HARVIE.
Richard Martin.
William Webbe.

1582. Sir THOMAS BLANCKE.
William Roe.
John Hayden.
Cuthbert Buckle.

1583. Edward Osborne.
William Masham.
John Spencer.

1584. Sir Thomas Pullison.
Stephen Slany.
Henry Billingsley.

1585. Sir Wolstane Dixie.
Anthony Radclife.
Henry Pranell.

1586. Sir George Barne.
Robert House.
William Elkin.

1587. Sir George Bond.
Thomas Skinner.
John Katcher.

1588. Sir Martin Calthrop for part, and Sir Richard Martin for the rest.
Hugh Offley.
Richard Saltenstall.

1589. Sir John Hart.
Richard Gurney.
Stephen Some.

1590. Sir John Allot for part, and Sir Rowland Heyward for the rest.
Nicholas Moseley.
Robert Broke.

1591. Sir William Webb.
William Rider.
Benet Barnham.

1592. Sir William Roe.
John Garrard.
Robert Taylor.

1593. Sir Cuthbert Buckle for part, and Sir Richard Martin for the rest.
Paule Banning.
Peter Hauton.

1594. Sir John Spencer.
Robert Lee.
Thomas Benet.

1595. Sir Stephen Slany.
Thomas Lowe.
Leonard Holiday.

1596. Sir Thomas Skinner for part, and Sir Henry Billingsley for the rest.
John Wattes.
Richard Godard.

1597. Sir Richard Saltenstall.
Henry Roe.
John More.

1598. Sir Stephen Some.
Edward Holmeden.
Robert Hampson.

1599. Sir Nicholas Mosley.
Humphrey Welde.
Roger Clarke.

1600. Sir WILLIAM RIDER.
Thomas Cambell.
Thomas Smith.
William Craven.

1601. Sir JOHN GARRARD.
Henry Anderson.
William Glover.

1602. ROBERT LEE.
James Pemberton.
John Swinerton.

1603. Sir THOMAS BENNET.
Sir William Rumney.
Sir Thomas Middleton.

1604. Sir THOMAS LOWE.
Sir Thomas Hayes.
Sir Roger Jones.

1605. Sir LEONARD HALLIDAY.
Sir Clement Scudamore.
Sir John Jolles.

1606. Sir JOHN WATS.
William Walthall.
John Lemon.

1607. Sir HENRY ROWE.
Geffrey Elwes.
Nicholas Style.

1608. Sir HUMPHREY WELD.
George Bolles.
Richard Farrington.

1609. Sir THOMAS CAMBELL.
Sebastian Harvey.
William Cockaine.

1610. Sir WILLIAM CRAVON.
Richard Pyat.
Francis Jones.

1611. Sir JAMES PEMBERTON.
Edward Barkham.
George Smithes.

1612. Sir JOHN SWINNERTON.
Edward Rotherham.
Alexander Prescot.

1613. Sir THOMAS MIDDLETON.
Thomas Bennet.
Henry Jaye.

1614. Sir THOMAS HAYES.
Peter Proby.
Martin Lumley.

1615. Sir JOHN JOLLES.
William Goare.
John Goare.

1616. Sir JOHN LEMAN.
Allen Cotton.
Cuthbert Hacket.

1617. GEORGE BOLLES.
William Hollyday.
Robert Johnson.

1618. Sir SEBASTIAN HARVEY.
Richard Harne.
Hugh Hamersley.

1619. Sir WILLIAM COCKAIN.
Richard Deane.
James Cambell.

1620. Sir Francis Jones.
Edward Allen.
Robert Ducie.

1621. Sir Edward Barkham.
George Whitmore.
Nicolas Rainton.

1622. Sir Peter Proby.
John Hodges.
Sir Humfrey Hanford.

1623. Sir Martin Lumley.
Ralph Freeman.
Thomas Moulson.

1624. Sir John Goare.
Rowland Heilin.
Robert Parkhurst.

1625. Sir Allen Cotton.
Thomas Westray.
Ellis Crispe.
John Poole.
Christopher Cletherow.

1626. Sir Cuthbert Hacket, or Aket.
Edward Bromfield.
Richard Fenne.

1627. Sir Hugh Hammersley.
Maurice Abbott.
Henry Garway.

1628. Sir Richard Deane.
Rowland Backhouse.
Sir William Acton, Knight and Baronet.

1629. Sir James Cambell.
Humfrey Smith.
Edmund Wright.

1630. Sir Robert Ducy.
Arthur Abdy.
Robert Cambell.

1631. Sir George Whitmore.
Samuel Cranmer.
Henry Prat.

1632. Sir Nicholas Raynton.
Hugh Perry.
Henry Andrews.

1633. Sir Ralph Freeman for part, Sir Thomas Moulson for the rest.
Gil. Harrison.
Richard Gurney.*

1634. Sir Robert Parkhurst.
John Highlord.
John Cordall.

1635. Sir Christopher Cletherow.
Thomas Soame.
John Gayer.

* Here Stow's continuators fail us. There are very curious discrepancies between Strype, Seymour, Maitland and others. Seymour dates all the mayors a year later than Strype. The year here given is that of the election.

1636. Sir Edward Bromfield.
William Abell.
Jacob Gerrard.

1637. Sir Richard Fenn.
Thomas Atkyn.
Edward Rudge.

1638. Sir Maurice Abbott.
Isaac Pennington.
John Woollaston.

1639. Sir Henry Garway,
Thomas Adams.
John Warner.

1640. Sir William Acton, Knight and Baronet, discharged by the House of Commons, and Sir Edmund Wright, substituted.
John Towse.
Abraham Reynardson.

1641. Sir Richard Gurney, Knight and Baronet, discharged by Parliament 12th August, and succeeded by Isaac Pennington.
George Garret.
George Clarke.

1642. Sir Isaac Pennington.
John Langham.
Thomas Andrews.

1643. Sir John Woollaston.
John Fowke.
James Bunce.

1644. Sir Thomas Atkin.
William Gibbs.
Richard Chambers.

1645. Sir Thomas Adams, Knight and Baronet.
John Kendrick.
Thomas Foot.

1646. Sir John Gayer.
Thomas Cullum.
Simon Edmonds.

1647. Sir John Warner.
Samuel Avery.
John Bide.

1648. Sir Abraham Reynardson, imprisoned, Thomas Andrews for rest of the year.
Thomas Vyner.
Richard Browne.

1649. Thomas Foot.
Christopher Packe.
Rowland Wilson.
John Dethick.

1650. Thomas Andrews.
Robert Titchborne.
Richard Chiverton.

1651. John Kendrick.
John Ireton.
Andrew Rycard.

1652. JOHN FOWKE.
Stephen Eastwick.
William Underwood.

1653. THOMAS VYNER.
James Philips.
Walter Biggs.

1654. CHRISTOPHER PACK.
Edmund Sleigh.
Thomas Alleyne.

1655. JOHN DETHICK.
William Thompson.
John Frederick.

1656. ROBERT TITCHBORNE.
Tempest Milner.
Nathanael Temse.

1657. RICHARD CHIVERTON.
John Robinson.
Thomas Chandler.
Richard King.

1658. Sir JOHN IRETON.
Anthony Bateman.
John Lawrence.

1659. Sir THOMAS ALLEYNE, Knight and Baronet.
Francis Warner.
William Love.

1660. Sir RICHARD BROWN, Baronet.
William Bolton.
William Peake.

1661. Sir JOHN FREDERICK.
Francis Menhil.
Samuel Starling.

1662. Sir JOHN ROBINSON, Knight and Baronet.
Sir Thomas Bludworth.
Sir William Turner.

1663. Sir ANTHONY BATEMAN.
Sir Richard Ford.
Sir Richard Rives.

1664. Sir JOHN LAWRENCE,
George Waterman.
Charles Doe.

1665. Sir THOMAS BLUDWORTH.
Sir Robert Hanson.
Sir William Hooker.

1666. Sir WILLIAM BOLTON.
Sir Robert Vyner, Knight and Baronet.
Sir Joseph Sheldon.

1667. SIR WILLIAM PEAKE.
Sir Dennis Gauden.
Sir Thomas Davies.

1668. WILLIAM TURNER.
John Forth.
Francis Chaplin.

1669. Sir SAMUEL STARLING.
John Smith.
James Edwards.

1670. Sir Richard Ford.
Dannet Forth.
William Gomeldon.
Patience Ward.

1671. Sir George Waterman.
Robert Clayton.
Jonathan Dawes.
John Moore

1672. Sir Robert Hanson.
Sir William Pritchard.
Sir James Smith.

1673. Sir William Hooker.
Sir Henry Tulse.
Sir Robert Geffery.

1674. Sir Robert Vyner, Knight and Baronet.
Sir Nathaniel Herne.
John Lethieullier.

1675. Sir Joseph Sheldon.
Thomas Gold.
John Shorter.

1676. Sir Thomas Davies.
John Peake.
Thomas Stampe.

1677. Sir Francis Chaplin.
William Rawstorne.
Thomas Beckford.

1678. Sir James Edwards.
Richard How.
John Chapman.

1679. Sir Robert Clayton.
Jonathan Raymond.
Simon Lewis.

1680. Sir Patience Ward.
Slingsby Bethell.
Henry Cornish.

1681. Sir John Moore.
Thomas Pilkington.
Samuel Shute.

1682. Sir William Pritchard.
Dudley North.
Peter Rich.

1683. Sir Henry Tulse.
Peter Daniel.
Samuel Dashwood.

1684. Sir James Smith.
William Gosling.
Peter Vandeput.

1685. Sir Robert Geffery.
Benjamin Thorowgood.
Thomas Kensey.

1686. Sir John Peake.
Thomas Rawlinson.
Thomas Fowles.

1687. Sir John Shorter, died, Sir John Eyles appointed by the crown.
Basil Firebrace.
John Parsons.

1688. Sir John Chapman, died 17th March, 1689.
Sir Thomas Pilkington.
Humphrey Edwin.
John Fleet.

1689. Sir Thomas Pilkington.
Christopher Lethieullier.
John Houblon.

1690. Sir Thomas Pilkington.
Edward Clarke.
Francis Child.

1691. Sir Thomas Stampe.
William Ashurst.
Richard Levett.

1692. Sir John Fleet.
Thomas Lane.
Thomas Cooke.

1693. Sir William Ashurst.
Thomas Abney.
William Hedges.

1694. Sir Thomas Lane.
John Sweetapple.
William Cole.

1695. Sir John Houblon.
Edward Mills.
Owen Buckingham.

1696. Sir Edward Clarke.
John Wolfe.
Samuel Blewitt.

1697. Sir Humphrey Edwin.
Bartholomew Gracedieu.
James Collett.

1698. Sir Francis Child.
Sir William Gore.
Sir Joseph Smart.

1699. Sir Richard Levet.
Charles Duncombe.
Jeffery Jefferies.

1700. Sir Thomas Abney.
Robert Beachcroft.
Henry Furnese.

1701. Sir William Gore.
William Withers.
Peter Floyer.
James Bateman.

1702. Sir Samuel Dashwood.
Robert Bedingfield.
Samuel Garrard.

1703. Sir John Parsons.
Sir Gilbert Heathcote.
Sir Joseph Woolfe.

1704. Sir Owen Buckingham.
Sir John Buckworth. Knight and Baronet,
Sir William Humphreys.

1705. Sir Thomas Rawlinson.
Sir Charles Thorold.
Sir Samuel Stanier.

1706. Sir ROBERT BEDINGFIELD.
Sir William Benson.
Sir Ambrose Crawley.

1707. Sir WILLIAM WITHERS.
Benjamin Green.
Sir Charles Peers.

1708. Sir CHARLES DUNCOMBE.
Charles Hopton.
Richard Guy.

1709. Sir SAMUEL GARRARD, Baronet.
Sir Richard Hoare.
Thomas Dunk.

1710. Sir GILBERT HEATHCOTE, Baronet.
Sir George Thorold, Knight and Baronet.
Francis Eyles.

1711. Sir ROBERT BEACHCROFT.
John Cass.
William Stewart.

1712. Sir RICHARD HOARE.
William Lewen.
Sir Samuel Clarke.

1713. Sir SAMUEL STAINER.
Francis Forbes.
Joshua Sharpe.

1714. Sir WILLIAM HUMPHREYS, Knight and Baronet.
Robert Breedon.
Sir Randolph Knipe.

1715. Sir CHARLES PEERS.
Sir John Ward.
Sir John Fryer, Baronet.

1716. Sir JAMES BATEMAN.
Sir Gerard Conyers.
Charles Cook.

1717. Sir WILLIAM LEWEN.
Sir Peter Delmé.
Sir Harcourt Masters.

1718. Sir JOHN WARD.
Sir John Bull
Sir Thomas Ambrose.

1719. Sir GEORGE THOROLD. Knight and Baronet.
Sir John Eyles, Baronet.
Sir John Tash.

1720. Sir JOHN FRYER, Bart.
Sir George Caswall.
Sir Wm. Billers.

1721. Sir WILLIAM STEWART.
Sir George Merttins.
Sir Edward Becher.

1722. Sir GERARD CONYERS.
Humphry Parsons.
Sir Fr. Child.

1723. Sir PETER DELMÉ.
Sir R. Hopkins.
Sir Felix Feast.
Sir E. Bellamy.

1724. Sir GEORGE MERTTINS.
Robert Baylis.
Joseph Eyles.

1725. Sir Francis Forbes.
Francis Porteen.
Jeremiah Murden.
John Thompson.

1726. Sir John Eyles, Baronet.
Sir John Lock.
William Ogborn.

1727. Sir Edward Becher.
Sir John Grosvenor.
Sir Thomas Lombe.

1728. Sir Robert Baylis.
Richard Brocas.
Richard Levett.

1729. Sir Richard Brocas.
Sir John Williams.
John Barber.

1730. Humphry Parsons.
John Fuller.
Sir Isaac Shard.

1731. Sir Francis Child.
Samuel Russell.
Thomas Pindar.

1732. John Barber.
Robert Alsop.
Sir Henry Hankey.

1733. Sir William Billers.
Robert Westley.
Daniel Lambert.

1734. Sir Edward Bellamy.
Micajah Perry.
Sir John Salter.

1735. Sir John Williams.
Sir John Barnard.
Sir Robert Godschall.

1736. Sir John Thompson.
Sir Wm. Rous.
Benj. Rawlings.

1737. Sir John Barnard.
Sir George Champion.
Thos. Russell (died).
Sir Robert Kendal Cater.

1738. Micajah Perry.
Jas. Brooke.
W. Westbrook.

1739. Sir John Salter.
Geo. Heathcote.
Sir John Lequesne.

1740. Humphry Parsons. Died 21st March.
Daniel Lambert.
Henry Marshall.
Richard Hoare.

1741. Sir Robert Godschall. Died 26th June, 1742.
George Heathcote.
Robert Willmot.
William Smith.

1742. Robert Willmot.
William Benn.
Charles Egleton.

1743. Sir Robert Westley.
Sir Robert Ladbroke.
Sir Wm. Calvert.

1744. Sir HENRY MARSHALL.
Walter Bernard.
Sir Samuel Pennant.

1745. Sir RICHARD HOARE.
John Blachford.
Francis Cokayne.

1746. WILLIAM BENN.
Thos. Winterbottom.
Robert Alsop.

1747. Sir ROBERT LADBROKE.
Sir Crisp Gascoyne.
Edward Davies.

1748. Sir WILLIAM CALVERT.
Edward Ironside.
Thomas Rawlinson.

1749. Sir SAMUEL PENNANT. Died 20th May, 1750.
JOHN BLACHFORD.
W. Whitaker.
Stephen Theodore Janssen.

1750. FRANCIS COKAYNE.
William Alexander.
Robert Scott.

1751. THOMAS WINTERBOTTOM. Died 4th June, 1752.
ROBERT ALSOP.
Slingsby Bethell.
Marshe Dickinson.

1752. Sir CRISP GASCOYNE.
Sir Charles Asgill.
Sir Richard Glyn.

1753. EDWARD IRONSIDE. Died 27th Nov., 1753.
THOMAS RAWLINSON.
Sir Thomas Chitty.
Sir Matthew Blakiston.

1754. STEPHEN THEODORE JANSSEN.
Sir Samuel Fludyer.
Sir John Torriano.

1755. SLINGSBY BETHELL.
William Beckford.
Ive Whitbread.

1756. MARSHE DICKINSON.
William Bridgen.
William Stephenson.

1757. Sir CHARLES ASGILL, Baronet.
George Nelson.
Francis Gosling.

1758. Sir RICHARD GLYN, Knight and Baronet.
James Dandridge.
Alexander Masters.

1759. Sir THOMAS CHITTY.
George Errington.
Paul Vaillant.

1760. Sir MATTHEW BLAKISTON.
Sir Robert Kite.
Sir William Hart.

1761. Sir SAMUEL FLUDYER, Knight and Baronet.
Sir Nathaniel Nash.
Sir John Cartwright.

1762. William Beckford.
Sir Thomas Challenor.
Sir Henry Bankes.

1763. William Bridgen.
Hon. Thomas Harley.*
Richard Blunt.
Samuel Turner.

1764. Sir William Stephenson.
Sir Thomas Harris.
Brass Crosby.

1765. George Nelson.
Brackley Kennett.
B. Charlewood.
Barlow Trecothick.

1766. Sir Robert Kite.
Sir Robert Darling.
Sir James Esdaile.

1767. Hon. Thomas Harley.
Richard Peers.
William Nash.

1768. Samuel Turner.
Thomas Halifax.
John Shakespear.

1769. William Beckford.
Died 21st June, 1770.
Barlow Trecothick.
James Townsend.
John Sawbridge.

1770. Brass Crosby.
William Baker.
Joseph Martin.

1771. William Nash.
John Wilkes.
Frederick Bull.

1772. James Townsend.
Richard Oliver.
Sir Watkin Lewes.

1773. Frederick Bull.
Stephen Sayre.
William Lee.

1774. John Wilkes.
William Plomer.
John Hart.

1775. John Sawbridge.
George Hayley.
Nathaniel Newnham.

1776. Sir Thomas Halifax.
Samuel Plumbe.
Nathaniel Thomas.

1777. Sir James Esdaile.
Robert Peckham.
Richard Clark.

1778. Samuel Plumbe.
John Burnell.
Henry Kitchen.

1779. Brackley Kennett.
Thomas Wright.
Evan Pugh.

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* The only "nobleman" in the list. Son of the 3rd Earl of Oxford. He became a Privy Councillor in 1767.

1780. Sir Watkin Lewes.
Thomas Sainsbury.
William Crichton.

1781. Sir William Plomer.
William Gill.
William Nicholson.

1782. Nathaniel Newnham.
Sir Robert Taylor.
Benjamin Cole.

1783. Robert Peckham.
Sir Barnard Turner.
T. Skinner.
W. Pickett.

1784. Richard Clark.
John Hopkins.
John Bates.
John Boydell.

1785. Thomas Wright.
Sir James Sanderson.
Brook Watson.

1786. Thomas Sainsbury.
Paul Le Mesurier.
Charles Higgins.

1787. John Burnell.
James Fenn.
Matthew Bloxam.

1788. William Gill.
William Curtis.
Sir Benjamin Hammet.

1789. William Pickett.
William Newman.
Thomas Baker.

1790. John Boydell.
George Mackenzie Macaulay.
Richard Carr Glyn.

1791. John Hopkins.
John William Anderson.
Harvey Christian Combe.

1792. Sir James Sanderson.
Alexander Brander.
Sir Benjamin Tebbs.

1793. Paul le Mesurier.
Peter Perchard.
Charles Hamerton.

1794. Thomas Skinner.
Sir John Eamer.
Sir Robert Burnett.

1795. Sir William Curtis, Baronet.
Sir Richard Glode.
John Liptrap.

1796. Sir Brook Watson, Baronet.
Sir Stephen Langston.
Sir William Staines.

1797. Sir John William Anderson, Baronet.
Sir William Herne.
Robert Williams.

1798. Sir Richard Carr Glyn, Knight and Baronet.
Sir William Champion.
William Mellish.
Charles Price.

1799. HARVEY CHRISTIAN COMBE.
Charles Flower.
John Blackhall.

1800. Sir WILLIAM STAINES.
John Perring.
Thomas Cadell.

1801. Sir JOHN EAMER.
Sir William Rawlins.
Robert Albion Cox.

1802. Sir CHARLES PRICE, Baronet.
Sir Richard Welch, Baronet.
Sir John Alexander, Baronet.

1803. JOHN PERRING.
James Shaw.
Sir William Leighton.

1804. PETER PERCHARD.
George Scholey.
William Domville.

1805. JAMES SHAW.
John Ansley.
Thomas Smith.

1806. Sir WILLIAM LEIGHTON.
Sir Jonathan Miles.
Sir James Branscombe.

1807. JAMES ANSLEY.
Christopher Smith.
Sir Richard Phillips.

1808. Sir CHARLES FLOWER, Baronet.
Joshua Jonathan Smith.
Claudius Stephen Hunter.

1809. THOMAS SMITH.
Matthew Wood.
John Atkins.

1810. JOSHUA JONATHAN SMITH.
Sir William Plomer.
Samuel Goodbehere.

1811. Sir CLAUDIUS STEPHEN HUNTER, Baronet.
Samuel Birch.
William Heygate.

1812. GEORGE SCHOLEY.
John Blades.
Michael Hoy.

1813. Sir WILLIAM DOMVILLE, Baronet.
Christopher Magnay.
Thomas Coxhead Marsh.

1814. SAMUEL BIRCH.
Joseph Leigh.
John Reay.

1815. Sir MATTHEW WOOD, Baronet.
Sir Thomas Bell.
John Thomas Thorpe.

1816. Sir MATTHEW WOOD, Baronet.
George Bridges.
Robert Kirby.

1817. CHRISTOPHER SMITH.
Sir Francis Desanges.
Sir George Alderson.

1818. JOHN ATKINS.
John Roberts.
Lawrence Gwynne, LL.D.

1819. GEORGE BRIDGES.
Richard Rothwell.
Joseph Wilfred Parkins.

1820. JOHN THOMAS THORPE.
Robert Waithman.
James Williams.

1821. CHRISTOPHER MAGNAY.
John Garratt.
William Venables.

1822. WILLIAM HEYGATE.
Matthias Prime Lucas.
William Thompson.

1823. ROBERT WAITHMAN.
George Byrom Whittaker.
Sir Peter Laurie.

1824. JOHN GARRATT.
Anthony Brown.
John Key.

1825. WILLIAM VENABLES.
John Crowder.
Thomas Kelly.

1826. ANTHONY BROWN.
Charles Farebrother.
Henry Winchester.

1827. MATTHIAS PRIME LUCAS.
Andrew Spottiswoode.
Charles Stable.
E. A. Wilde.

1828. WILLIAM THOMPSON.
Felix Booth.
William Taylor Copeland.

1829. JOHN CROWDER.
William Henry Richardson.
Thomas Ward.

1830. Sir JOHN KEY, Baronet.
Chapman Marshall.
William Henry Poland.

1831. Sir JOHN KEY, Baronet.
John Cowan.
John Pirie.

1832. Sir PETER LAURIE.
John Humphery.
Richard Peek.

1833. CHARLES FAREBROTHER.
Samuel Wilson.
James Harmer.

1834. HENRY WINCHESTER.
Alexander Raphael.
John Illidge.

1835. WILLIAM TAYLOR COPELAND.
John Lainson.
David Salomons.

1836. THOMAS KELLY.
James Duke.
John Johnson.

1837. Sir JOHN COWAN, Baronet.
George Carroll.
Moses Montefiore.

1838. SAMUEL WILSON.
Thomas Johnson.
Thomas Wood.

1839. Sir CHAPMAN MARSHALL.
William Evans.
John Wheelton.

1840. THOMAS JOHNSON.
Michael Gibbs.
Thomas Farncomb.

1841. Sir JOHN PIRIE, Baronet.
William Magnay.
Alexander Rogers.

1842. JOHN HUMPHERY.
John Kinnersley Hooper.
Jeremiah Pilcher.

1843. Sir WILLIAM MAGNAY, Baronet.
John Musgrove.
Francis Graham Moon.

1844. MICHAEL GIBBS.
William Hunter.
Thomas Sidney.

1845. JOHN JOHNSON.
William James Chaplin.
John Laurie.

1846. Sir GEORGE CARROLL.
Thomas Challis.
Robert William Kennard.

1847. JOHN KINNERSLEY HOOPER.
William Cubitt.
Charles Hill.

1848. Sir JAMES DUKE, Knight and Baronet.
Thomas Quested Finnis.
Jacob Emanuel Goodhart.

1849. THOMAS FARNCOMB.
William Lawrence.
Donald Nicoll.

1850. Sir JOHN MUSGROVE, Baronet.
Robert Walter Carden.
George Edmund Hodgkinson.

1851. WILLIAM HUNTER.
Thomas Cotterell.
Richard Swift.

1852. THOMAS CHALLIS.
John Carter.
Alexander Angus Croll.

1853. Thomas Sidney.
David Williams Wire.
George Appleton Wallis.

1854. Sir Francis Graham Moon, Baronet.
Henry Muggeridge.
Charles Decimus Crosley.

1855. David Salomons.
Richard Hartley Kennedy.
Wm. Anderson Rose.

1856. Thomas Quested Finnis.
John Joseph Mechi.
Frederick Keats.

1857. Sir Robert Walter Carden.
William Lawrence.
William Ferneley Allen.

1858. David Williams Wire.
Warren Stormes Hale.
Edward Conder.

1859. John Carter.
Benjamin Samuel Phillips.
Thomas Gabriel.

1860. William Cubitt.
James Abbiss.
Andrew Lusk.

1861. William Cubitt.
Geo. Joseph Cockerell.
Wm. Holme Twentyman.

1862. William Anderson Rose.
James Clarke Lawrence.
Hugh Jones.

1863. William Lawrence.
Hilary Nicholas Nissen.
Thomas Cave.

1864. Warren Stormes Hale.
Thomas Dakin.
Robert Besley.

1865. Sir Benjamin Samuel Phillips.
Sills John Gibbons.
James Figgins.

1866. Sir Thomas Gabriel Bart.
Sir Sydney Hedley Waterlow.
Sir Francis Lycett.

1867. William Ferneley Allen.
David Henry Stone.
William McArthur.

1868. J. C. Lawrence.
W. J. R. Cotton.
C. W. Cookworthy Hutton.

1869. Robert Besley.
Joseph Causton.
James Vallentine.

1870. Thomas Dakin.
T. S. Owden.
Robert Jones.

1871. Sills John Gibbon.
F. W. Truscott.
John Bennett.

1872. Sir Sydney Hedley Waterlow.
T. White.
Fred. Perkins.

1873. Andrew Lusk, M.P.
C. Whetham.
J. Johnson.

1874. David Henry Stone.
J. W. Ellis.
J. Shaw.

1875. W. J. R. Cotton, M.P.
H. E. Knight.
Edgar Breffit.

1876. Sir Thomas White.
S. C. Hadley.
W. Q. East.

1877. T. S. Owden.
G. S. Nottage.
J. Staples.

1878. Sir C. Whetham.
G. Burt.
T. Bevan.

1879. Sir Francis Wyatt Truscott.
C. Woolloton.
E. K. Bayley.

1880. William McArthur, M.P.
R. N. Fowler, M.P.
H. J. Waterlow.

1881. Sir J. W. Ellis, Bart.
Sir R. Hanson.
Sir W. A. Ogg.

1882. Henry Edmund Knight.
P. De Keyser.
J. Savory.

APPENDIX B.

The Members of Parliament for the City of London, 1284–1880. *The following list has been extracted from the Blue Books recently issued. They commence in* 1298, *but from the 'Chronicles' edited in* 1882 *by Canon Stubbs for the Rolls Series, we obtain the names for* 1284.

1284. Henry le Waleys.
Gregory Rokesley.
Philip Cissor.
Ralf Crepyn.
Jocale le Acatour.
John de Gisors.

1298. Walterus de Fynchyngfeld.
Adam de Foleham.

1299. Galfridus de Norton, or Northone, aldermannus.
Willielmus de Bettonia, aldermannus.

1304–5. Willielmus de Coumbemartyn.
Walterus de Fynchyngfeld.

1 *Edw. II.*

1307. Willielmus de Coumbe Martin.
Henricus de Dunolmia.

1309. Henricus de Dunolm'.
Willielmus Servat.

1313. Nicholaus de Farndon.
Willielmus de Leyre.
Willielmus Servat.
Stephanus de Abyndon'.

1314. Johannes de Gisorcio.
Willielmus de Leire.
Robertus de Keleseye.
Richerus de Refham, vinetarius.

1314–15. Willielmus de Leire.
Henricus de Dunolm'.

1318. Johannes de Cherleton'.
Willielmus de Flete.
Rogerus le Palmere.

1320. Nicholaus de Farendon'.
Anketinus de Gisorz.
Henricus Monquer.
Rogerus Hosebonde.

1322 (May). Robertus de Swalclyve.
Reginaldus de Conductu.
Willielmus de Hacford'.
Gregorius de Norton'.

1322. (Nov.) Walterus Crepyn.
Thomas de Chetyngdon'.

1323–4. Anketinus de Gysorcio.
Henricus de Secheford'.

1325. Anketinus de Gisoricio.
Henricus de Secheford'.

1326–7. Anketinus de Gysorcio.*
Henricus de Secheford.*
Reginaldus de Conductu.*
Thomas de Leire.*
Edmundus Cosyn.*
Johannes Steere.*

1 *Edw. III.*

1327. Bendictus de Folsham.
Robertus de Keleseye.

1327–8. Ricardus de Betoigne.
Robertus de Keleseie.
Johannes de Grantham.
Johannes Priour, jun.

1328. Ricardus de Betoigne.
Robertus de Keleseye.

1328 and 1328–9. Stephanus de Abyndon'.
Robertus de Keleseye.

1329–30. Stephanus de Abyndon'.
Johannes de Causton.

1330. Johannes de Grantham.
Reginaldus de Conductu.
Stephanus de Abyndon' (or two of them.)

1331–2. Anketinus de Gisorcio.
Johannes de Causton'.
Johannes Priour, jun.
Thomas de Chetyngdon' (three or two of them).

1332 (Sep.). Reginaldus de Conductu.
Johannes de Causton'.
Anketinus de Gisorcio.

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* "Electi sunt, ita quod duo ipsorum semper sint parati qui plenam et sufficientem habent potestatem de communitate predicta."

Thomas de Chetyngdon' (three or two of them).

1332 (Dec.). Thomas de Chetyngdon'.
Henricus Monquoy.

1333–4. Reginaldus de Conductu.
Johannes de Causton'.
Rogerus de Depham.

1335. Ricardus de Rothingge.
Ricardus de Lacer.
Rogerus de Forsham (or two of them).

1335–6. Henricus de Secheford.
Thomas de Chetyngdon'.
Johannes Priour (or two of them).

1336. Johannes de Causton'.
Ricardus de Hakenaye.[*]

1337. Reginaldus de Conductu.
Benedictus de Fulsham.

1337–8. Johannes de Grantham.
Andreas Aubrey.
Radulphus de Upton'.
Ricardus de Rothyngg'.

1338. Radulphus de Upton'.
Bartholomeus Deumars.

1338–9. Simon Fraunceys.
Johannes de Northalle.

1339. Simon (? Fraunceys).
Johannes (? de Nort) halle.

1340. Willielmus de Briclesworthe.
Ricardus de Rothyngge.
Ricardus de Berkyngge.

1341. Simon Fraunceys.
Willielmus de Bricleswortl'.

1344. Johannes de Northalle.
Johannes Lovekyn.

1346. Galfridus de Wychyngham.
Thomas Leggy.
Johannes Lovekyn.
Thomas de Waldene (four, three, or two of them).

1347–8. Johannes Lovekyn.
Ricardus de Berkyngg'.
Willielmus de Iford.
Ricardus de Wycombe (three or two of them).

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[*] Four wool merchants were also sent from London, returned upon a special writ (dated "apud Villiam de Sancto Johanne," 1st September), viz. Johannes de Oxon', Ricardus de Hakeneye, Henricus Wymond, and Willielmus de Brykelesworth.

1348. Johannes Lovekyn.
Ricardus de Berkyngge.
Willielmus de Iford'.
Ricardus de Wycombe (three or two of them).

1350–1. Thomas Leggy.
Willielmus de Iford.

1352. Adam Fraunceys.
Johannes Lytle.

1353. Thomas Leggy.
Thomas Dolsely.

1357–8. Thomas Dolsely.
Willielmus de Welde.
Willielmus de Essex.
Ricardus Toky.

1360. Bartholomeus Frestlyng'.
Stephanus Cavendyssh.
Walterus de Berneye.
Ricardus Toky.

1360–1. Adam Fraunceys.
Johannes Pecche.
Simon de Bevyngton'.
Johannes Pyel.

1362. Johannes Lytle.
Bartholomeus Frestlyng'.
Johannes Tornegold.
Johannes Hyltoft.

1363. Adam (Fraunceys ?).[*]
Johannes (Lytle ?).[*]
Simon (de Benyngton ?).
Johannes Tornegol(d).[*]

1364–5. Adam Fraunceys.
Johannes Lovekyn.
Simon de Denyngton'.
Ricardus de Preston.

1368. Johannes Wroth.
Bartholomeus Frestlyng'.
Johannes Aubrey.
Johannes Orgon.

1369. Johannes Pecche.
Johannes Tornegold.
Nicholaus de Exton'.
Johannes Hadlee.

1371. Bartholomeus Fristlyng'.
Johannes Phelipot.

1372. Johannes Wroth.
Johannes Pecche.
Willielmus Venour.
Willielmus Kelshull'.

1373. Adam Stable.
Johannes Warde.
Johannes Birlyngham.
Adam Carlill', spicer.

1376–7. Johannes Hadle.
Johannes Orgoun.
Willielmus Tonge.
Willielmus Venour.

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[*] Names doubtful, see former returns.

2 *Ric. II.*

1378. Johannes Hadlee.
Galfridus Neuton'.
Johannes de Norhampton'.
Willielmus Venour.

1381. Johannes Philipot, chivaler.
Johannes Hadle.
Willielmus Baret.
Hugo Fastolf'.

1382 (Oct.). Johannes More.
Thomas Carleton'.
Willielmus Essex'.
Ricardus Northbury.

1382–3. Nicholaus Brembre, miles.
Johannes More.
Ricardus Norbury.
Willielmus Essex'.

1383. Willielmus Walworth.
Johannes Philipot, miles.
Willielmus Barret.
Henricus Vanner.

1384 (Ap.). Johannes Hadle.
Johannes Organ.
Johannes Rote.
Henricus Herbury.

1384 (Nov.). Johannes Hadle.
Johannes Orgon.
Thomas Rolf'.
Henricus Herbury.

1385. Johannes Hadle.
Nicholaus Exton'.
Henricus Herbury.
Willielmus Ancroft'.

1386. Johannes Hadle.
Johannes Organ.
Adam Carlill'.
Thomas Girdelere.

1387–8. Willielmus More.
Johannes Shadeworth'.
Willielmus Baret.
Johannes Walcote.

1388. Adam Bamme.
Henricus Vannere.
Willielmus Tonge.
Johannes Glenhand.

1389–90. Willielmus More.
Johannes Shadeworth'.
Adam Carlill'.
Willielmus Brampton'.

1391. Willielmus Shiringham.
Willielmus Brampton'.
Willielmus Staundon'.
Johannes Walcote.

1394–5. Adam Carlill'.
Drugo Barantyn.
Galfridus Walderne.
Willielmus Askham.

1396–7. Willielmus Staundon'.
Willielmus Brampton'.
Willielmus Hyde.
Hugo Short'.

1397, and 1397–8. Andreas Neuport'.
Drugo Barantyn.
Robertus Asshecombe.
Willielmus Chychely.

1 *Henry IV.*

1399. Johannes Shadworth'.
Willielmus Brampton'.
Ricardus Merlowe.
Willielmus Sonnyngwell'.

1402. . . . . *

1405–6. Willielmus Staundon'.
Nicholaus Wotton'.
Johannes Sudbury.
Hugo Ryebrede.

1407. Willielmus Askham.
Willielmus Crowemer.
Willielmus Marcheford'.
Johannes Bryan'.

1 *Henry V.*

1413. Drugo Barantyn'.
Willielmus Askham.
Willielmus Marcheford'.
Walterus Gawtron.

1414. Willielmus Waldern'.
Nicholaus Wotton.
Willielmus Olyver.
Johannes Gedney.

1415. Robertus Chichele.
Willielmus Waldern'.
Johannes Reynewell'.
Willielmus Michell'.

1417. Willielmus Crowemere.
Willielmus Sevenok'.
Johannes Welles, grocer.
Johannes Boteler, jun., mercer.

1419. Nicholaus Wotton'.
Henricus Barton'.
Ricardus Merivale.
Simon Sewale.

1420. Thomas Fauconer.
Johannes Michell'.
Salamon Oxeneye, aurifaber.
Johannes Higham, pannarius.

1421. (May). Willielmus Waldern'.
Willielmus Crowmere.
Willielmus Burton.
Ricardus Goslyn'.

1421 (Dec.). Thomas Fauconer.
Nicholaus Wotton'.
Johannes Whateley.
Johannes Brokley.

1 *Henry VI.*

1422. Thomas Fauconer.
Johannes Michell'.
Henricus Frowyk'.
Thomas Mayneld'.

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* Names torn off.

1425. Nicholaus Wotton'.
Johannes Welles.
Eborardus Flete.
Thomas Bernewell'.

1425–6. Johannes Michell'.
Johannes Wellys.
Eborardus Flete.
Johannes Higham.

1427. Johannes Michell'.
Johannes Wellys.
Willielmus Milreth'.
Walterus Gawtron'.

1429. Nicholaus Wotton'.
Nicholaus James.
Willielmus Milreth'.
Walterus Gautron'.

1430. Willielmus Estfeld'.
Nicholaus James.
Johannes Hiham.
Johannes Abbot.

1432. Johannes Gedney.
Willielmus Milreth.
Johannes Levyng'.
Phillippus Malpas.

1433. Johannes Reynewell'.
Johannes Welles.
Johannes Hatherle.
Thomas Catworth'.

1435. Johannes Michell'.
Robertus Large.
Johannes Bederenden'.
Stephanus Forster.

1436–7. Henricus Frowyk.
Thomas Catworth'.
Johannes Carpenter, junior.
Nicholaus Yeo.

1439. Willielmus Estfeld', miles.
Johannes Bowys.
Philippus Malpas.
Willielmus Cottesbroke.

1446–7. Henricus Frowyk'.
Willielmus Combys.
Hugo Wyche.
Willielmus Marowe.

1448–9. Thomas Catworth'.
Johannes Norman.
Galfridus Boleyn'.
Thomas Billyng'.

1449. Stephanus Broun'.
Johannes Norman'.
Johannes Nedham.
Johannes Harwe.

1450. Henricus Frowyk'.
Willielmus Marowe.
Johannes Harowe.
Ricardus Lee.

1452–3. Stephanus Broun'.
Willielmus Cantelowe.
Johannes . . *
. . . . *

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* Return torn.

1455. Galfridus Feldyng'.
Willielmus Cantlowe.
Johannes Harrowe.
Johannes Yonge.

7 Edward IV.

1467. Radulphus Josselyn, miles, civis et aldermannus.
Thomas Ursewyk, recordator.
Johannes Warde, mercer.
Johannes Crosseby, grocer.

1472. Radulphus Verney, miles et aldermannus.
Georgius Irlonde, miles et aldermannus.
Johannes Brampton.
Stephanus Fabyan.

1477–8. Willielmus Hampton, miles et aldermannus.
Ricardus Gardyner, aldermannus.
Willielmus Brasebrigge.
Johannes Warde.

14 Henry VIII.

1529. Thomas Semer, miles.
Johannes Baker.
Johannes Petyt.
Paulus Wythypoll.

1541–2. Willielmus Roche, miles et aldermannus.
Rogerus Cholmley, miles, recordator.
Johannes Sturgeon, haberdassher.
Nicholaus Wylford, mercator scissor.

1 Edward VI.

1547. Martinus Bowes, miles et aldermannus.
Robertus Broke, armiger, recordator.
Thomas Curteys, pewterer.
Thomas Bacon, salter.

1552–3, Martinus Bowes, miles.
Robertus Broke, serviens ad legem, recordator civitatis London'.
Johannes Marsshe, mercer.
Johannes Blundell, mercer.

1 Mary.

1554. *Martinus Bowes, miles.
*Robertus Brook, recordator.
*Johannes Mershe, armiger.
*Johannes Blundell.

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* Names, &c., with (*) prefixed are supplied from the Crown Office List in the absence of Original Returns.

1 & 2 *Philip and Mary.*

1554 (Nov.). Martinus Bowes, miles, aldermannus civitatis London'.
Ranulphus Cholmeley, armiger, recordator civitatis London'.
Ricardus Grafton, grocerus.
Ricardus Burnell, generosus.

1555. Martinus Bowes, miles, aldermannus civitatis London'.
Ranulphus Cholmeley, armiger, recordator civitatis London'.
Philippus Bold, clotheworker.
Nicholaus Chune, haberdassher.

1557–8. Willielmus Garrard, miles, aldermannus civitatis London'.
Ranulphus Cholmeley, armiger, recordator civitatis London'.
Johannes Mershe, mercerus, London'.
Ricardus Grafton, grocerus, London'.

5 *Elizabeth.*

1562–3. *Sir William Chester, knt.
*Ralph Cholmeley, serjeant-at-law, recorder of London.†
*Laurence Withers, salter.
*John Marshe, mercer.

1572. ‡Sir Roland Heyward, knt.
‡William Fletewood, esq., recorder.
‡John Marsh, mercer.
Thomas Norton, grocer.

1586. §Sir Edward Osborne, knt., alderman.
§William Fletewood, serjeant-at-law, and recorder of London.

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* Names, &c., with (*) prefixed are supplied from the Crown Office Lists (of which there are five for this Parliament) in the absence of Original Returns.

† In the fourth and fifth Lists the name of Richard Ousley, Recorder of London, is substituted for that of Ralph Cholmeley, probably on account of his death, 25th April, 1563.

‡ Names, &c., with (‡) prefixed are supplied from the Crown Office Lists (of which there are three), in the absence of Original Returns.

§ Names, &c., with (§) prefixed are supplied from the Crown Office List, in the absence of Original Returns.

*Thomas Aldersey, haberdasher.

*Richard Saltinstall, skinner.

1588, and 1588–9. Sir George Barne, knt., alderman of London.

William Fletewood, serjeant-at-law, and recorder of London.

Thomas Aldersey, haberdasher.

Andrew Palmer, goldsmith.

1592–3. Sir John Harte, knt., alderman of London.

Edward Drewe, Esq., serjeant-at-law, and recorder of London.

Andrew Palmer, goldsmith.

George Sotherton, merchant taylor.

1597. Sir John Harte, knt.

John Croke, esq., recorder of London.

George Sotherton, merchant taylor.

Thomas Fettiplace, ironmonger.

1601. Sir Stephen Soame, knt.

John Croke, esq., recorder of London.

Thomas Fettyplace, ironmonger.

John Pynder, vintner.

1 *James I.*

1603–4. Sir Henry Billingsley, knt.†

Sir Thomas Lowe, knt., *vice* Sir Henry Billingsley, knt., deceased.

1620–1. Sir Thomas Lowe, knt.

Robert Heath, esq., recorder of London.

Robert Bateman, skinner.

William Towerson, skinner.

1623–4. Sir Thomas Middleton, knt., Alderman of London.

Sir Heneage Finch, knt., serjeant-at-law, recorder of London.

Robert Bateman, skinner.

Martin Bond, haberdasher.

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* Names, &c., with (*) prefixed are supplied from the Crown Office List, in the absence of Original Returns.

† No Return found; but see the Writ for the following single election.

1 *Charles I.*

1625. *Sir Thomas Middleton, knt.
*Sir Heneage Finch, knt., recorder.
*Robert Bateman, skinner.
*Martin Bonde, haberdasher.

1625–6. *Sir Thomas Middleton, knt.
*Sir Heneage Fynch, knt., recorder.
*Sir Maurice Abbott, knt.
*Robert Bateman, esq.

1627–8. Thomas Moulson, alderman.
Christopher Clithero we, alderman.
Henry Waller, clothworker.
James Bunce, leatherseller.

1640 (Apr.). Thomas Soame, esq., alderman.
Isaac Pennington, esq., alderman.
Matthew Cradock, skinner.
Samuel Vassell, clothier.

1640 LONG PARLIAMENT.

(Nov.). Thomas Soame, alderman.
Isaac Penington, alderman.
Matthew Cradock, skinner.
Samuel Vassell, clothworker.
John Venn, merchant taylor, *vice* Matthew Cradock, deceased.

Cromwell.

1654. Thomas Foote, alderman.
William Steele, serjeant-at-law, recorder of London.
Thomas Adams, esq.
John Langham, esq.
. . . . esq.†
Andrew Riccard, esq.

13 *Charles II.*

1661. John Fowke, esq., alderman.
Sir William Thompson, knt., alderman.
William Love, esq., alderman.
John Jones, esq.

1678–9, Sir Robert Clayton, knt., alderman.

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* Names, &c., with (*) prefixed are supplied from the Crown Office List, in the absence of Original Returns.

† Return torn.

Sir Thomas Player, knt.
William Love, esq.
Thomas Pilkington, skinner.

1679. Sir Robert Clayton, knt., alderman.
Sir Thomas Player, knt.
William Love, esq.
Thomas Pilkington, esq.

1680–1. Sir Robert Clayton, knt., alderman.
Thomas Pilkington, esq., alderman.
Sir Thomas Player, knt.
William Love, esq,

1 *James II.*

1685. Sir John Moore, knt., alderman.
Sir William Pritchard, knt., alderman.
Sir Samuel Dashwood, knt., alderman.
Sir Peter Rich, knt., alderman.

CONVENTION, 1688–9.

1688–9. Sir Patience Ward, knt., alderman.
Sir Robert Clayton, knt.
William Love, esq.
Thomas Pilkington, esq.
Sir William Ashurst, knt., alderman, *vice* William Love, esq., deceased.

2 *William and Mary.*

1689–90. Sir William Pritchard, knt., alderman.
Sir Samuel Dashwood, knt., alderman.
Sir William Turner, knt.
Sir Thomas Vernon, knt.
Sir John Fleet, knt., lord mayor of London, *vice* Sir William Turner, knt., deceased.

7 *William III.*

1695. Sir Robert Clayton, knt., alderman.
Sir John Fleet, knt., alderman.
Sir William Ashhurst, knt., alderman.
Thomas Papillon, esq.

1698. Sir John Fleet, knt., alderman.
Sir William Ashhurst, knt., alderman.
Sir James Houblon, knt., alderman.
Thomas Papillon, esq.

1700–1. Sir Robert Clayton, knt., alderman.
Sir William Ashhurst, knt., alderman.
Sir William Withers, knt., alderman.
Gilbert Heathcott, esq.
Sir John Fleet, knt., alderman, *vice* Gilbert Heathcote, esq., expelled the House.

1701. Sir Robert Clayton, knt.
Sir William Ashurst, knt.
Sir Thomas Abney, knt.
Gilbert Heathcott, esq.

1 *Anne.*

1702. Sir William Prichard, knt., alderman.
Sir John Fleet, knt., alderman.
Sir Francis Child, knt., alderman.
Gilbert Heathcote, esq., alderman.

1705. FIRST PARLIAMENT OF GREAT BRITAIN.
Sir John Clayton, knt.
Sir William Ashhurst, knt.
Sir Gilbert Heathcote, knt.
Samuel Shepheard, esq.
Sir William Withers, knt., lord mayor of the city of London, *vice* Sir Robert Clayton, knt., deceased.

1708. Sir William Withers, knt., mayor of the City of London.
Sir William Ashurst, knt.
Sir Gilbert Heathcote, knt.
John Ward, esq.

1710. Sir William Withers, knt., alderman.
Sir Richard Hoare, alderman.
Sir George Newland, knt.
John Cass, esq.

1713. Sir William Withers, knt., alderman.
Sir Richard Hoare, knt., alderman.
Sir John Cass, knt., alderman.
Sir George Newland, knt.

1 *George I.*

1714–15. Sir John Ward, knt., alderman.
Sir Thomas Scawen, knt., alderman.
Robert Heysham, esq.
Peter Godfrey, esq.

1722. Francis Child, esq., alderman.
Richard Lockwood, esq.
Peter Godfrey, esq.
John Barnard, esq.
Sir Richard Hopkins, knt., and alderman, *vice* Peter Godfrey, esq., deceased.

1 *George II.*

1727. Sir John Eyles, bart. alderman.
Humfry Parsons, esq., alderman.
John Barnard, esq.
Micajah Perry, esq.

1734. Humphry Parsons, esq., alderman.
Sir John Barnard, knt., alderman.
Micajah Perry, esq., alderman.
Robert Willimot, esq.

1741. Daniel Lambert, esq., lord mayor.
Sir John Barnard, knt., alderman.
Sir Robert Godschall, knt., alderman.
George Heathcote, esq., alderman.
William Calvert, esq., alderman, *vice* Sir Robert Godschall, knt., deceased.

1747. Sir John Barnard, knt.
Sir William Calvert, knt.
Slingsby Bethell, esq.
Stephen Theodore Janssen, esq.

1754. Sir John Barnard, knt.
Sir Robert Ladbroke, knt.
Slingsby Bethell, esq.
William Beckford, esq.
Sir Richard Glyn, knt., lord mayor of London, *vice* Slingsby Bethell, esq., deceased.

1 *George III.*

1761. Sir Robert Ladbroke, knt.
Sir Richard Glyn, knt. and bart.
William Beckford, esq.
Thomas Harley, esq.

1768. Thomas Harley, esq., lord mayor of London.
Sir Robert Ladbroke knt.
William Beckford, esq.
Barlow Trecotthick, esq.
Richard Oliver, esq., *vice* William Beckford, esq., deceased.

Frederick Bull, *vice* Sir Robert Ladbroke, knt., deceased.

1774. John Sawbridge.
Richard Oliver.
Frederick Bull.
George Hayley.

1780. George Hayley, esq., alderman, armourer, and brazier.
John Kirkman, esq., alderman and fishmonger.
Frederick Bull, esq., alderman and salter.
Nathaniel Newnham, esq., alderman and mercer.
John Sawbridge, Esq., citizen and framework knitter, *vice* John Kirkman, esq., deceased.
Sir Watkin Lewis, knt., citizen and joiner, *vice* George Hayley, esq., deceased.
Brook Watson, esq., *vice* Frederick Bull, esq., deceased.

1784. Brook Watson, esq.
Sir Watkin Lewes, knt.
Nathaniel Newnham, esq.
John Sawbridge, esq.

1790. William Curtis, esq.
Brook Watson, esq.
Sir Watkin Lewes, knt.
John Sawbridge, esq.
John William Anderson, esq., *vice* Brook Watson, esq., who accepted the Stewardship of the Manor of East Hendred, county Berks.
William Lushington, esq., *vice* John Sawbridge, esq., deceased.

1796. 1801. FIRST PARLIAMENT OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND [1801].

William Lushington, esq., citizen, alderman, and merchant taylor, of London.
William Curtis, lord mayor, citizen and draper, of London.
Harvey Christian Combe, esq., citizen, alderman, and fishmonger, of London.
John William Anderson, esq., citizen, alderman,and glover, of London.

1802. Harvey Christian Combe, esq., alderman and fishmonger, of London.
Charles Price, esq., alderman and ironmonger, of London.
William Curtis, esq., alderman and draper, of London.
Sir John William Anderson, bart., alderman and glover, of London.

1806. Harvey Christian Combe, esq., alderman and fishmonger.
James Shaw, esq., lord mayor and scrivener.
Sir Charles Price, bart., alderman and ironmonger.
Sir William Curtis, bart., alderman and draper.

1807. Sir Charles Price, bart., citizen, alderman, and ironmonger.
Sir William Curtis, bart., citizen, alderman, and draper.
James Shaw, esq., citizen, alderman, and scrivener.
Harvey Christian Combe, esq.. citizen, alderman, and fishmonger.

1812. Harvey Christian Combe, esq., citizen, alderman, and fishmonger.
Sir William Curtis, bart., citizen, alderman, and draper.
Sir James Shaw, bart., citizen, alderman, and scrivener.
John Atkins, esq., citizen, alderman, and merchant taylor.
Matthew Wood, esq., lord mayor, citizen, and fishmonger, *vice* Harvey Christian Combe, esq., who accepted the Stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds, county Bucks.

1818. Matthew Wood, esq., citizen, alderman, and fishmonger.
Thomas Wilson, esq., citizen and spectacle maker.
Robert Waithman, esq., citizen and framework knitter.
John Thomas Thorp, esq., citizen, alderman, and draper.

1 *George IV.*

1820. Matthew Wood, esq., citizen, alderman, and fishmonger.

Thomas Wilson, esq., citizen and spectacle maker.

Sir William Curtis, bart., citizen, alderman and draper.

George Bridges, lord mayor, citizen, alderman, and wheelwright.

1826. William Thompson, esq., citizen, alderman, and ironmonger.

Robert Waithman, esq., citizen, alderman, and framework knitter.

William Ward, esq., citizen and musician.

Matthew Wood, esq., citizen, alderman, and fishmonger.

1 *William IV.*

1830. William Thompson, esq., alderman, citizen, and ironmonger.

Robert Waithman, esq., alderman and framework knitter.

William Ward, esq., citizen and musician.

Matthew Wood, esq., alderman, citizen, and fishmonger.

1831. Robert Waithman, esq., alderman and framework knitter.

William Thompson, esq., alderman and ironmonger.

Matthew Wood, esq., alderman and fishmonger.

William Venables, esq., alderman and stationer.

1833. George Grote, esq.

Matthew Wood, esq.,

Robert Waithman, esq.

Sir John Key, bart.

George Lyall, citizen and broderer, *vice* Robert Waithman, esq., deceased.

William Crawford, citizen and spectacle maker, *vice* Sir John Key, bart., who accepted the Stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds, county Bucks.

1835. Matthew Wood, esq , citizen and fishmonger.

James Pattison, esq., citizen and spectacle maker.
William Crawford, esq., citizen and spectacle maker.
George Grote, esq., citizen and needle maker.

1 *Victoria.*

1837. Matthew Wood, esq., citizen and fishmonger.
William Crawford, esq., citizen and spectacle maker.
James Pattison, esq., citizen and spectacle maker.
George Grote, esq., citizen and needle maker.

1841. John Masterman, esq., citizen.
Sir Matthew Wood, bart., alderman and citizen.
George Lyall, esq., citizen.
John Russell, commonly called Lord John Russell, citizen.
James Pattison, esq., citizen of London, of 37, Upper Harley Street, *vice* Sir Matthew Wood, bart., deceased.
John Russell, commonly called Lord John Russell, re-elected after appointment as First Lord of the Treasury.

1847. John Russell, commonly called Lord John Russell.
James Pattison, esq.
Lionel Nathan Rothschild, commonly called Baron Lionel Nathan de Rothschild.
John Masterman, esq.
Sir James Duke, knt., lord mayor of the city of London, *vice* James Pattison, esq., deceased.
Lionel Nathan Rothschild, commonly called Baron Lionel Nathan de Rothschild, re-elected after accepting the Stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds, county Bucks.

1852. John Masterman, esq.
John Russell, com-

monly called Lord John Russell.
Sir James Duke, bart.
Lionel Nathan Rothschild, commonly called Baron Lionel Nathan de Rothschild.
John Russell, commonly called Lord John Russell, re-elected after appointment as one of the Principal Secretaries of State.
John Russell, commonly called Lord John Russell, re-elected after appointment as President of the Council.
John Russell, commonly called Lord John Russell, re-elected after appointment as one of the Principal Secretaries of State.

1857. Sir James Duke, bart.
Lionel Nathan de Rothschild, commonly called Baron Lionel Nathan de Rothschild.
John Russell, commonly called Lord John Russell.
Robert Wygram Crawford, esq.
Lionel Nathan de Rothschild, commonly called Baron Lionel Nathan de Rothschild, re-elected after accepting the Stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds, county Bucks.

1859. John Russell, commonly called Lord John Russell.
Lionel Nathan de Rothschild, esq., commonly called Baron Lionel Nathan de Rothschild.
Sir James Duke, bart.
Robert Wigram Crawford, esq.
John Russell, commonly called Lord John Russell, re-elected after appointment as one of the Principal Secretaries of State.
Western Wood, esq., citizen and fishmonger, of London, *vice* John Russell, commonly called Lord John Russell, who accepted the

Stewardship of the Manor of Northstead, county York.

George Joachim Gos chen, esq., citizen and spectacle maker. *vice* Western Wood, esq., deceased.

1865. George Joachim Goschen, esq.

Robert Wigram Crawford, esq.

William Lawrence, esq.

Lionel Nathan de Rothschild, commonly called Baron Lionel Nathan de Rothschild.

George Joachim Goschen, esq., re-elected after appointment as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

1868. George Joachim Goschen, esq.

Robert Wigram Crawford, esq.

William Lawrence, esq.

Charles Bell, esq.

George Joachim Gos chen, esq., re-elected after appointment as Poor Law Commissioner.

Lionel Nathan de Rothschild, esq., commonly called Baron Lionel Nathan de Rothschild, *vice* Charles Bell, esq., deceased.

1874. William James Richmond Cotton, esq

Philip Twells, esq.

John Gellibrand Hubbard, esq.

George Joachim Goschen, esq., First Lord of the Admiralty.

1880. W. J. R. Cotton, alderman.

R. N. Fowler, alderman.

Right Hon. J. G. Hubbard.

William Lawrence, alderman.

APPENDIX C.

Parishes in London.

All Hallows Barking.
All Hallows Bread Street.
All Hallows the Great.
All Hallows the Less.
All Hallows Honey Lane.
All Hallows Lombard Street.
All Hallows on the Wall.
All Hallows Staining.
Bridewell Precinct.
Christ Church Newgate Street.
Holy Trinity, Gough Square.
Holy Trinity, Minories (without the City).
Holy Trinity the Less.
St. Alban.
St. Alphage.
St. Andrew Holborn.
St. Andrew Hubbard.
St. Andrew Undershaft.
St. Andrew by the Wardrobe.
St. Anne and St. Agnes.
St. Anne, Blackfriars.
St. Antholin.
St. Augustine.
St. Bartholomew, by the Exchange.
St. Bartholomew Moor Lane.
St. Bartholomew the Great.
St. Bartholomew the Less.
St. Benet Fink.
St. Benet Gracechurch.
St. Benet Paul's Wharf.
St. Benet Shorehog.
St. Botolph Billingsgate.
St. Botolph Aldersgate.
St. Botolph Aldgate.
St. Botolph Bishopsgate.
St. Bridget (or St. Bride).
St. Christopher le Stocks.
St. Clement Eastcheap.
St. Dionis Backchurch.
St. Dunstan in the East.
St. Dunstan in the West.
St. Edmund the King and Martyr.
St. Ethelburga.
St. Faith under St. Paul's.
St. Gabriel Fenchurch.
St. George Botolph Lane.
St. Giles Cripplegate.
St. Gregory by St. Paul's.
St. Helen Bishopsgate.
St. James Garlickhithe.
St. James, Mitre Square or Duke's Place.
St. John the Baptist.

St. John the Evangelist.
St. John Zachary.
St. Katherine Coleman.
St. Katherine Cree.
St. Lawrence Jewry.
St. Laurence Pountney.
St. Leonard Eastcheap.
St. Leonard Foster Lane.
St. Magnus the Martyr.
St. Margaret Lothbury.
St. Margaret Moses.
St. Margaret New Fish Street.
St. Margaret Pattens.
St. Martin Ludgate.
St. Martin Orgars.
St. Martin Outwich.
St. Martin Pomery.
St. Martin Vintry.
St. Mary Abchurch.
St. Mary Aldermary.
St. Mary-at-Hill.
St. Mary Bothaw.
St. Mary Colechurch.
St. Mary-le-Bow.
St. Mary Magdalene Milk Street.
St. Mary Magdalene Old Fish Street.
St. Mary Mounthaw.
St. Mary Somerset.
St. Mary Staining.
St. Mary Aldermanbury.
St. Mary Woolchurch.
St. Mary Woolnoth.
St. Matthew Friday Street.
St. Michael Bassishaw.
St. Michael Cornhill.
St. Michael Crooked Lane.
St. Michael le Querne.
St. Michael Paternoster Royal.
St. Michael Queenhithe.
St. Michael Wood Street.
St. Mildred Bread Street.
St. Mildred the Virgin.
St. Nicholas Acons.
St. Nicholas Cole Abbey.
St. Nicholas Olave.
St. Olave Hart Street.
St. Olave Old Jewry.
St. Olave Silver Street.
St. Pancras Soper Lane.
St. Peter Cornhill.
St. Peter le Poer.
St. Peter Paul's Wharf.
St. Peter in the Tower.
St. Peter Westcheap.
St. Sepulchre.
St. Stephen Coleman Street.
St. Stephen Wallbrook.
St. Swithin London Stone.
St. Thomas the Apostle.
St. Vedast Foster Lane.
Whitefriars Precinct.

APPENDIX D.

Wren's Churches and other Public Buildings in the City.

1. St. Alban, Wood Street.
2. All Hallows, Bread Street (destroyed).
3. All Hallows, Lombard Street.
4. All Hallows, Upper Thames Street.
5. St. Andrew by the Wardrobe.
6. St. Andrew Holborn.
7. St. Anne and St. Agnes.
8. St. Antholin (destroyed).
9. St. Augustine.
10. St. Bartholomew by the Bank (destroyed).
11. St. Benet, Gracechurch Street (destroyed).
12. St. Benet Fink (destroyed).
13. St. Benet, Paul's Warf.
14. St. Bride.
15. Christ Church.
16. St. Christopher le Stocks (destroyed).
17. St. Clement, East Cheap.
18. St. Dionys Backchurch (destroyed).
19. St. Dunstan in the East.
20. St. Edmund the King.
21. St. George, Botolph Lane.
22. St. James, Garlickhithe.
23. St. Lawrence Jewry.
24. St. Magnus.
25. St. Margaret Lothbury.
26. St. Margaret Pattens.
27. St. Martin Ludgate.
28. St. Mary Abchurch.
29. St. Mary Aldermanbury.
30. St. Mary Aldermary.
31. St. Mary At Hill.
32. St. Mary Le Bow.
33. St. Mary Somerset (destroyed).
34. St. Mary Magdalen.
35. St. Matthew Friday Street (destroyed).
36. St. Michael Bassishaw.
37. St. Michael Wood Street.
38. St. Michael Cornhill.
39. St. Michael Crooked Lane (destroyed).
40. St. Michael Queenhithe (destroyed).
41. St. Michael Royal.
42. St. Mildred Bread Street.
43. St. Mildred Poultry (destroyed).

44. St. Nicholas Cole Abbey.
45. St. Olave Jewry.
46. St. Paul.
47. St. Peter.
48. St. Stephen Coleman Street.
49. St. Stephen Wallbrook.
50. St. Swithin.
51. St. Vincent.

In addition Sir C. Wren repaired St. Mary Woolnoth, but on its becoming ruinous in 1710, Hawksmoor built the present church, finished in 1727. Wren's chief works in London besides the churches were :—

1. The Custom House (destroyed).
2. The Deanery.
3. Chapter House.
4. Middle Temple front in Fleet Street.
5. Temple Bar (destroyed).
6. The Monument.
7. Royal Exchange (burnt 1837).
8. College of Physicans (destroyed).
9. Sion College (about to be destroyed).
10. Mercers' Hall.
11. Fishmongers' (destroyed),

and many other Companies' halls, of which but few survive unaltered.

APPENDIX E.

The Prebendal Manors of St. Paul's.

BROOMSBURY, or BRONDESBURY, the 14th stall on the left side.

A division of Willesden. Called after David Brand, prebendary at the time of the division.

BROWNSWOOD, the 16th stall on the right side.

Part of Willesden. Called after Roger Brun, prebendary in 1142. See under Willesden, etc. But this manor has been identified by some authorities with a small holding in Hornsey.

CADDINGTON MAJOR, the 17th stall on the left side.

The manor of Aston Bury, in Bedfordshire. Given to the church, with Caddington Minor and Sandon, in Herts, by King Athelstan, between 926 and 941.

CADDINGTON MINOR, the 5th stall on the left side.

The manor of Caddington, or Provenders, in Bedfordshire. See Caddington Major, or Aston Bury.

CANTLERS, the 10th stall on the right side.

Also written as Kentish Town, in the parish of St. Pancras. Probably named after Roger Cantelupe, or Cantlow, prebendary in 1249.

CHAMBERLAINEWOOD, the 6th stall on the right side.

A small holding taken out of Willesden, and called after Richard de Camera, prebendary in 1215, and rector of Willesden.

CHISWICK, the 18th stall on the left side.

The parish of Chiswick, Middlesex, but granted away to Westminster Abbey by Dean Goodman in the time of Queen Elizabeth.

CONSUMPTA PER MARE, the 13th stall on the left side.

This oddly named stall was connected with a holding in Walton le Soken, in Essex, and is sometimes called "Consumpta in Waltone." The addition of "le Soken" to the names of Kirby and Walton may be on account of the holdings of the prebendaries of St. Paul's.

EALDLAND, the 10th stall on the left side.

Like Wedland, this is a manor in the parish of Tillingham, near Maldon in Essex.

EALDSTREET, the 18th stall on the right side.

A part of St. Leonard's Shoreditch, now marked by Old Street.

FINSBURY, or HOLYWELL, the 4th stall on the right side.

Also written Vynesbury, and Halliwell: partly in the parish of St. Giles, Cripplegate, and partly in St. Leonard, Shoreditch. Robert Baldock, prebendary in 1315, leased the manor to the Mayor and Commons. The lease dropped in 1867, and the manor now belongs to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.

HARLESTON, the 7th stall on the right side.

A portion of the parish of Willesden; see Mapesbury, etc. I have found no clue to the meaning of the name.

HOLBORN, the 6th stall on the right side.

In the parish of St. Andrew. The name is derived from the river, the Holeburne, or upper course of the Fleet.

HOXTON, the 9th stall on the left side.

A manor in the original parish of Shoreditch. It possibly derives its name from Hugh or "Hugo, the Archdeacon," who was succeeded in the stall by his son, Henry, early in the XIIth century. Newcourt endeavours to identify Hugh with archdeacons of Essex and of Colchester a hundred years later. This is an interesting example of hereditary succession. Hugh's predecessor, Gaufridus, had succeeded his father Osbern.

ISLINGTON, the 11th stall on the left side of the choir.

Comprised part of the original parish of the same name, north of London. Algar, son of "Deorman of London," was prebendary in the eleventh century.

MAPESBURY, the 12th stall on the right side.

Divided from Willesden in 1150: and called after the celebrated Archdeacon, Walter Map, or Mapes, "who was present at the making of the constitution *de Pane et Servicio* (*sic*), when Ralph de Langford was Dean." Newcourt i. 173.

MORA, or the MOOR, the 9th stall on the right side.

In the parish of St. Giles, Cripplegate. Often confounded with Finsbury.

NEASDEN, the 15th stall on the left side of the choir.

A small estate in the parish of Willesden, divided from the original manor about 1150. Sometimes written Heston, or Measdone.

NEWINGTON, the 16th stall on the left side.

The parish of Stoke Newington, in Middlesex.

OXGATE, the 13th stall on the right side.

A division of Willesden. See above, Mapesbury, etc. It was held by Nicholas "Crocemannus" in the beginning of the twelfth century and by his son, another Nicholas, in 1150 at the time of the constitution "de pane et cervisio."

PANCRAS, or ST. PANCRAS, the 6th stall on the left side.

Part of the parish of St. Pancras.

PORTPOOL, the 8th stall on the right side.

In the parish of St. Andrew's, Holborn. It is now known as Gray's Inn.

RECULVERLAND, the 7th stall on the left side.

Like Wedland and Ealdland, a manor in the parish of Tillingham in Essex. St. Thomas of Canterbury sat in this stall. The holding is called after his successor Hugh de Reculver, probably a Kentish man.

RUGMERE, the 17th stall on the right side.

The modern parishes of St. Giles, and St. George, Bloomsbury. probably called from a mere or pond, on the ridge of the hill, drained by Bleomund's Dyke.

SNEATING, the 14th stall on the right side.

In the parish of Kirkby or Kirby le Soken, near Colchester in Essex.

TOTTENHALL, or TOTTENHAM, the 4th stall on the left side.

In the parish of St. Pancras. It was held by the deans for a time.

TWYFORD, the 11th stall on the right side.

Part of the divided parish of Willesden, now East Twyford. The "ford" was over the river Brent.

WEDLAND, or WILDLAND, or WILDERLAND, the 8th stall on the left side.

A manor in the parish of Tillingham, near Maldon in Essex.

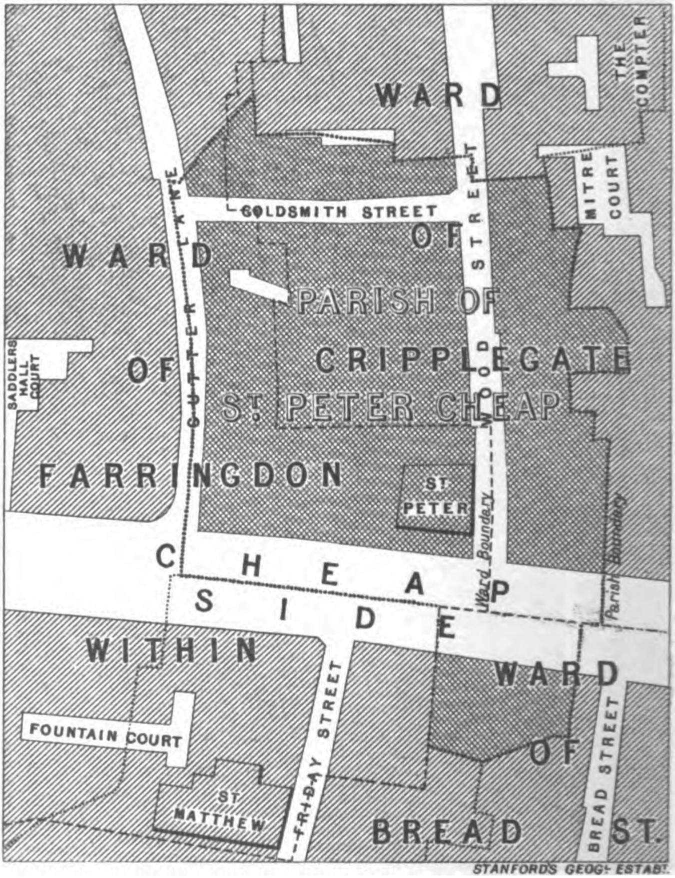
WENLOCKSBARN, the 15th stall on the right side.

In the parish of St. Giles, Cripplegate. I have found no clue to the name, which is sometimes written Wenlakesbarn.

WILLESDEN, otherwise BOWLNESS, or BOUNS, the 12th stall on the left side.

A part of the original manor, which comprised the whole parish, divided in or about 1150. The whole had been previously devoted to the provision of bread and beer, as mentioned in the Domesday Book.

See Appendix G.


WARD
OF
CRIPPLEGATE
PARISH OF
ST. PETER CHEAP
THE COMPTER
MITRE COURT
GOLDSMITH STREET
WOOD STREET
GUTTER LANE
WARD
OF
FARRINGDON
WITHIN
SADDLERS HALL COURT
ST. PETER
Ward Boundary
Parish Boundary
CHEAPSIDE
WARD
OF
BREAD ST.
BREAD STREET
FRIDAY STREET
FOUNTAIN COURT
ST. MATTHEW
STANFORD'S GEOGL. ESTABT.

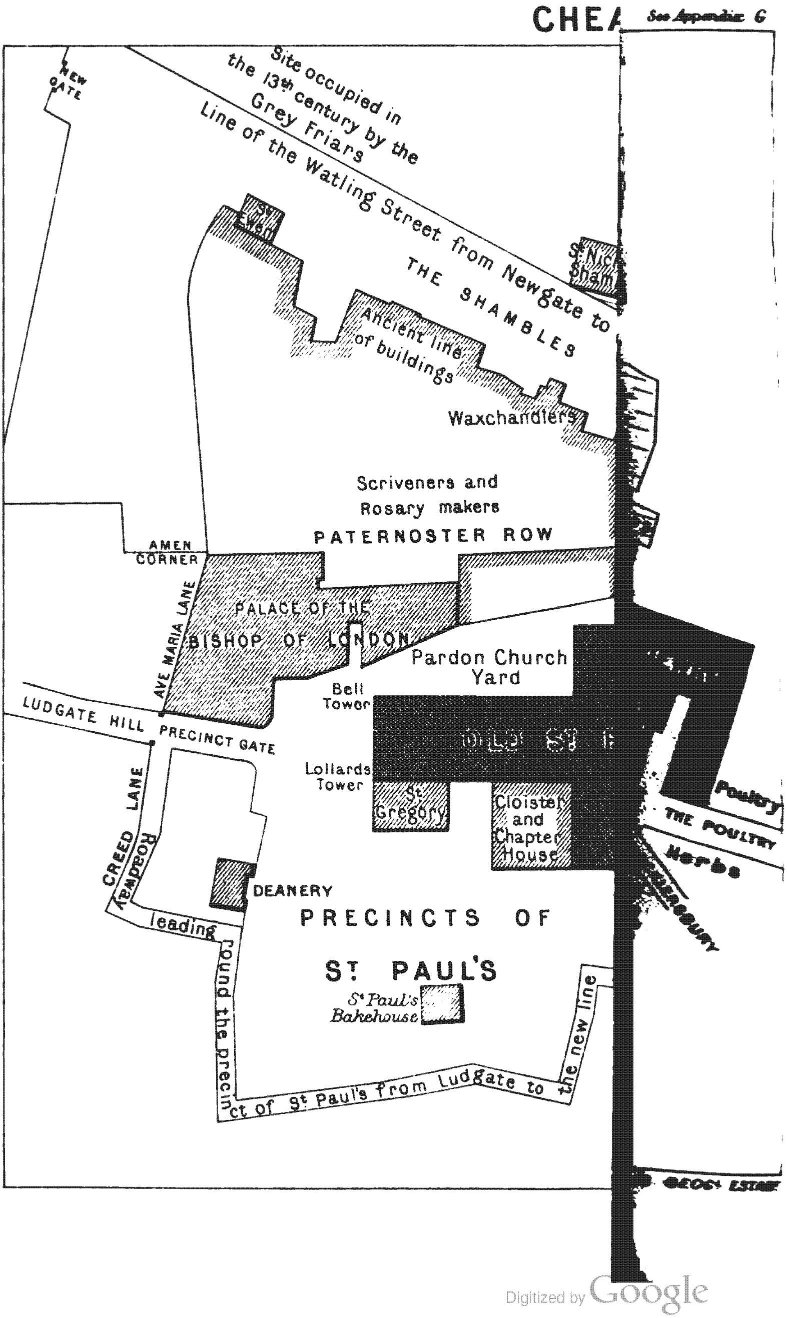
SKETCH PLAN OF THE PARISH OF

ST. PETER CHEAP

SHOWING IT TO BE

IN THREE WARDS.

London: Edward Stanford, 55 Charing Cross.


CHEA
See Appendix G
NEW GATE
Site occupied in the 13th century by the Grey Friars
Line of the Watling Street from Newgate to
St Ewen
St Nic Sham
THE SHAMBLES
Ancient line of buildings
Waxchandlers
Scriveners and Rosary makers
PATERNOSTER ROW
AMEN CORNER
AVE MARIA LANE
PALACE OF THE BISHOP OF LONDON
Pardon Church Yard
Bell Tower
LUDGATE HILL
PRECINCT GATE
OLD ST P
Lollards Tower
St Gregory
Cloister and Chapter House
CREED LANE
Roadway leading round the precinct of St Paul's from Ludgate to the new line
DEANERY
PRECINCTS OF ST PAUL'S
St Paul's Bakehouse
Poultry
THE POULTRY
Herbs
BUCKLERSBURY
GEO'S ESTATE

APPENDIX F.

Note on Wards and Parishes (Chapter VI.).

I have said that the division of the city into estates or holdings was apparently older than the division into parishes. In another place I have dated the settlement of the ward boundaries as having occurred when Sir Ralph Sandwich was governor of the city. The parish boundaries seem to have been fixed at a very early period. They seldom coincide with the ward boundaries, but the two systems are wholly independent of each other, as may be seen by a glance at the map.

It is difficult to put this problem in a clear light without over stating the case. But the following notes may be taken for what they are worth:—

1. The earliest division of the city was into sokes, estates or holdings, and these holdings developed on the one hand into parishes, and on the other into wards.

2. But, though the ward of Bassishaw is nearly the same as the parish of St. Michael, no other parish is conterminous with a ward.

3. The boundaries of parishes are determined by the backs of the houses. The boundaries of the wards are determined by the direction of main lines of thoroughfare.

4. The wards were defined after the main thoroughfares had been opened. Thus the boundary between the wards of Cripplegate and Bread Street runs along Cheapside, and cuts off portions of the two adjacent parishes of St. Peter's and St. Mary Magdalene. The boundary between Bread Street and Queenhithe, again, runs along the course of Old Fish Street, and crosses the parishes of St. Nicholas Cole Abbey and St. Mildred.

5. The date of the fixture of the present ward boundaries must be near the end of the thirteenth century. It was made after the old Guildhall in Aldermanbury was abandoned for the present site,

and in fixing the boundary of the ward of Cheap it was made to include the Guildhall, which was then only 130 feet long. The modern Guildhall is 153 feet long, and its eastern end is not in the ward of Cheap but in that of Bassishaw, and not in the parish of St. Lawrence but in that of St. Michael. We know that the Guildhall was on the present site before 1294, because the Guildhall yard is described as being on the eastern side of St. Lawrence's church in the deed of that year by which the advowson was given to Balliol College.* But the ward of Cheap was not defined as it is now in 1273, because Walter Hervey, who was alderman of Cheap, assembled his supporters in the church of St. Peter. This church, which apparently was then in his ward, is now in that of Bread Street. There are other reasons, some of which are stated in the text, for choosing 1290 for the definition of the modern ward boundaries, and probably many facts might be found of the same character as these relating to St. Peter's and the Guildhall, all tending to confirm the correctness of this date.

6. Some parishes are in no fewer than three wards. St. Mary Magdalene, Old Fish Street, for example, is in Castle Baynard, Queenhithe, and Bread Street. St. Peter's, referred to above, is now in Farringdon Within, Cripplegate, and Bread Street.

7. The Watling Street, running diagonally through the market place from St. Mary Aldermary to St. Michael le Querne, seems to have been wholly obliterated and abandoned by the arrangement of the booths. This may have been in consequence of the great fire of 1136, but Mr. T. Godfrey Faussett observed a similar abandonment of Roman lines at Canterbury: and the fact has been adduced to prove that London and Canterbury lay vacant after the Saxon invasion. The old line is, however, preserved along Budge Row, before the market place is entered, and in Newgate Street, after it has been passed. From the parochial boundaries on the south side of Newgate Street it will be evident that the houses were built along a line which went diagonally from Cheap to Newgate, and was, in fact, the line of Watling Street. In Cheap itself, on the contrary, the parochial boundaries seem rather to respect the main roads north and south which lead to Cripplegate and Aldersgate from Queenhithe, of which Bread Street is an example. It follows, therefore, that at the time the parochial boundaries were settled, the original Watling Street was still in use at Newgate, but had been lost in Cheap. This accords very well with what we know of

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* See Historical MSS. Commission, Fourth Report, p. 449.

the parochial history of Cheap. As long as it was covered with booths or other temporary structures, or was wholly open, as at the Standard, it was probably reckoned only in the two parishes of St. Peter and St. Mary Aldermary. Subsequently smaller parishes were formed. St. Mary le Bow was built in the middle of the market place: and from its name evidently dates after the introduction of stone buildings and of vaulting. St. Mary Colechurch was also cut off, and St. Mary Abchurch. St. Mildred's must also be reckoned a late dedication—late that is, as compared with such dedications as St. Peter's or St. Mary's, and St. Pancras is probably the same. I should, in fact, be disposed to think the original parish of St. Mary reached as far north as St. Mary Aldermanbury, and St. Mary Staining; the latter, if "staining" refers to stone building, being probably late, and the intervening parish of St. Alban being undoubtedly of an ascertained age, and dating after the grant of the parish to St. Alban's Abbey by Offa. We thus find a great parish of St. Mary, the parish church of which appropriately still bears the name of Aldermary, containing within its limits, besides later foundations dedicated to other saints—one of them being to St. Mary Magdalene—no fewer than six dedications of the same name as that of the mother church. On the opposite side of the Wallbrook is another great parish of St. Mary similarly broken up into St. Mary Woolchurch, St. Mary Woolnoth, and St. Mary Bothaw. Which of these was the mother church is unknown. St. Mary Woolchurch was, we know (Newcourt, i. 459), built after the Conquest: and it is very possible that these three parishes were also part of St. Mary Aldermary at the other side of the Wallbrook, for St. Mildred's parish was on both sides, as was St. Stephens.

8. The thirteen peculiars of the archbishop of Canterbury seem in most cases to have been late foundations. Does this point to any interference of an archbishop to build additional churches after, say, a fire? These peculiars are:—St. Mary le Bow, All Hallows Lombard Street, St. Mary Aldermary, St. Pancras Soper Lane, All Hallows Bread Street, St. John the Baptist, St. Dunstan in the East, St. Mary Bothaw, St. Vedast, St. Dionis, St. Michael Crooked Lane, St. Leonard Eastcheap, and St. Michael Paternoster. Several are in and about Cheap. The dedications of St. Dunstan's, St. Dionis, and St. Vedast are comparatively modern.

9. It is interesting to find examples in which the boundaries of wards or of parishes, as at Guildhall, are made to take in or leave out certain buildings or holdings. The parish of St. Leonard in its rectangular irregularity gives us the ground plan of the old

monastery of St. Martin le Grand. Therefore St. Martin was already founded when the parochial boundaries were settled. So, too, there is a "bulge" in the ward boundary to take in the outwork of the fortified gate: but no corresponding "bulge" at Ludgate, where the gate itself was inconsiderable. The parish boundary of St. Peter le Poor takes in Drapers' Hall and garden, but excludes those of the Carpenters. I venture to suggest that a complete study of the ward and parish boundaries would repay the investigator.

10. The modern Watling Street is old enough for us to have lost all trace of its documentary history. But as it does not form a boundary, I venture to think we should be justified in concluding that, comparatively speaking, it is a new street, at least in the western part of its course. The Roman road of that name must have emerged from Cheap near the south gate of St. Martin le Grand. The new Watling Street may have been diverted into its present course when the east end of Old St. Paul's was built, perhaps in the early part of the thirteenth century. Documentary evidence only begins with the end of that century.

The above ten points are all overlaid with conjecture. But I venture to think they are worth recording as at least suggestions for the use of some future archæologist.

The accompanying map represents part of Cheap as it may have been before buildings were erected on the lines of booths. I should have been disposed to omit all the churches except St. Mary Aldermary and St. Peter. But on consideration I have retained them, partly as landmarks, partly because it is impossible to fix the date of their foundation with more certainty than that indicated above in paragraph 7. The ward boundary at the north-eastern corner of St. Paul's is worth noting, showing as it does the diagonal course of the original Watling Street, where it emerges from Cheap and cuts off the corner of St. Paul's Churchyard. The modern Newgate Street does not strictly follow the original line of the Roman road, but runs across it, a little to the south in the greater part of its course. The line of Bread Street was determined by the roadway through the market to Cripplegate, by way of Wood Street, a line which must be coeval with the opening of the gate. I am almost sure that the field, "the Crown Field," sometimes mentioned as adjoining St. Mary le Bow, is a misreading of "feld" for "seld," and that there was no field, but a shop or shed on this spot.

APPENDIX G.

List of Members for WESTMINSTER CITY.

1 *Edward VI.*

1547. Georgius Blage, miles.
Johannes Rede, generosus.

1552–3. Robertus Sowthwell, miles.
Arthurus Sturton, armiger.*

1 *Mary.*

1553. Robertus Smalwood, generosus.
Willielmus Gyes, generosus.

1553–4. Willielmus Geys.
Ricardus Hodges.

1 & 2 *Philip and Mary.*

1554. Willielmus Jenynges, generosus.
Willielmus Guyes, generosus.

1555. Arthurus Sturton.
Ricardus Hodgies.

1557. †Nicholaus Newdygate, generosus.
†Johannes Beaste, generosus.

1 *Elizabeth.*

1558–9. Richard Hodges.
John Best, gent.

1562–3. ‡Robert Nowell, esq.
‡William Bowyer, esq.

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* Return defaced.

† Names with (†) prefixed are supplied from the Crown Office List in the absence of Original Returns.

‡ Names, &c., with (‡) prefixed are supplied from the Crown Office Lists (of which there are five for this Parliament) in the absence of Original Returns.

1572. *Thomas Wilbraham, esq.
*John Dodington, gent.
*John Osborne, gent., *vice* Thomas Wilbraham, esq., deceased.†

1586. ‡Robert Cecyll, esq.
‡Thomas Knevett.

1588 (and 1588–9). Thomas Knevit, esq.
Peter Osborne, esq.

1592–3. Richard Cecill, esq.
Thomas Cole, gent.

1597. Thomas Knevit, esq.
Thomas Cole, gent.

1601. Sir Thomas Knevet, knt.
William Cooke, esq.

1 *James I.*

1603–4. Sir Thomas Knevet, knt.
Sir Walter Cope, knt.

1620–1. Sir Edward Villiers, knt.
William Mann, esq.

1623–4. Sir Edward Villiers, knt.
William Man, esq.

1 *Charles I.*

1625. Sir Edward Villiers, knt.
William Man, esq.

1625–6. ‡Sir Robert Pye, knt.
‡Peter Heywood, esq.

1627–8. ‡Joseph Bradshawe, esq.
‡Thomas Morris, esq.

1640. (Apr.) John Glenn, esq.
William Bell, gent.

1640. (Nov.) LONG PARLIAMENT.
John Glynn, esq.
William Bell, gent.

Cromwell.

1654. . . . .
. . . . §

13 *Charles II.*

1661. . . . .
. . . . ‖

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* Names, &c., with (*) prefixed are supplied from the Crown Office Lists (of which there are three) in the absence of Original Returns.

† Crown Office List No. 2.

‡ Names, &c., with (‡) prefixed are supplied from the Crown Office List in the absence of Original Returns.

§ The Sheriff's Precept, ordering two citizens to be returned, and a fragment of the Return.

‖ No Return found; the names of Sir Philip Warwicke, knt., and Sir Richard Everard, knt., are found in a list among Lord Denbigh's papers.

1678–9. Sir Stephen Fox, knt.
Sir William Poultney, knt.

1679. Sir William Pulteney, knt.
Sir William Waler, knt.

1680–1. Sir William Pulteney, knt.
Sir William Waller, knt.

1 *James II.*

1685. Charles Bonython, esq.
Michael Arnold, esq.

CONVENTION. 1688–9.

1688–9. Sir William Poultney, knt.
Philip Howard, esq.

2 *William and Mary.*

1689–90. Sir William Pulteney, knt.
Sir Walter Clarges, bart.
Sir Stephen Fox, knt., *vice* Sir William Poultney, knt., deceased.

7 *William III.*

1695. Charles Mountague, esq.
Sir Stephen Fox, knt.

1698. Charles Mountagu, esq.
James Vernon, esq.

1700–1. James Vernon, esq.
Thomas Crosse, esq.

1701. James Vernon, esq.
Sir Henry Dutton Colt, bart.

1 *Anne.*

1702. Sir Walter Clargis, bart.
Thomas Crosse, esq.

1705. (FIRST PARLIAMENT OF GREAT BRITAIN).
Henry Boyle, esq.
Sir Henry Dutton Colt, bart.
Henry Boyle, esq., re-elected on appointment as one of the Principal Secretaries of State.

1708. Henry Boyle, esq.
Thomas Medlicott, esq.

1710. Thomas Medlycott, esq., Steward of Westminster.
Thomas Crosse, esq.
Thomas Medlycott, esq., re-elected after appointment to an office of profit by the Crown.

1713. Sir Thomas Crosse, bart.
Thomas Medlycot, esq., steward of Westminster.

1 *George I.*

1714-15. Edward Wortley, esq.
Sir Thomas Crosse, bart.

1722. Archibald Hutcheson, esq.
John Cotton, esq.
Charles Mountague, esq., and George Baron Carpenter of the kingdom of Ireland, *vice* Archibald Hutcheson, esq., and John Cotton, esq., whose election was declared void.

1 *George II.*

1727. Charles Cavendish, esq., commonly called Lord Charles Cavendish.
William Clayton, esq.

1734. Sir Charles Wager, knt.
William Clayton, esq.

1741. William Lord Sundon, of the kingdom of Ireland.
Sir Charles Wager, knt.
John Perceval, esq., commonly called Lord Viscount Perceval, and Charles Edwin, esq., *vice* William Lord Sundon, of the kingdom of Ireland, and Sir Charles Wager, knt., whose election was declared void.

1747. Granville Leveson Gower, esq., commonly called Lord Viscount Trentham.
Sir Peter Warren, knt. of the bath.

Granville Leveson Gower, esq., commonly called Lord Viscount Trentham, re-elected after appointment as one of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.
Edward Cornwallis, esq., *vice* Sir Peter Warren, knt. of the bath, deceased.

1754. Edward Cornwallis, esq.
Sir John Crosse, bart.

1 *George III.*

1761. William Pulteney, esq., commonly called Lord Viscount Pulteney.

Edward Cornwallis, esq.

Edward Sandys, esq., *vice* Edward Cornwallis, esq., appointed Governor of Gibraltar.

Hugh Percy, esq., commonly called Lord Warkworth, *vice* William Pulteney, esq., commonly called Lord Viscount Pulteney, deceased.

1768. Hugh Percy, commonly called Earl Percy.

Edwin Sandys, esq.

Sir Robert Bernard, bart., *vice* Edwin Sandys, called to the Upper House as Lord Sandys.

1774. Hugh Percy, commonly called Earl Percy.

Thomas Pelham Clinton, commonly called Lord Thomas Pelham Clinton.

Charles Stanhope, commonly called Lord Viscount Petersham, *vice* Hugh Percy, commonly called Earl Percy, called to the Upper House as Baron de Percy.

George Capel, commonly called Lord Viscount Malden, *vice* Charles Stanhope, commonly called Lord Viscount Petersham, called to the Upper House as Earl of Harrington.

1780. Sir George Brydges Rodney, bart.

Charles James Fox, esq.

Sir Cecil Wray, bart., *vice* Sir George Bridges Rodney, bart., called to the Upper House as Baron Rodney, of Rodney Stoke, county Somerset

Charles James Fox, esq., re-elected after appointment as one of the Principal Secretaries of State (1782).

Charles James Fox, esq., re-elected after appointment as one of the Principal

Secretaries of State (1783).

1784. Sir Samuel Hood, bart., Baron Hood of Ireland.*
Charles James Fox, esq.*
John Townshend, commonly called Lord John Townshend, *vice* Samuel Lord Hood, appointed one of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.

1790. Charles James Fox, esq.
Sir Samuel Hood, bart., Baron Hood of the kingdom of Ireland.

1796.
1801. FIRST PARLIAMENT OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND [1801].
Charles James Fox, esq.
Vice-Admiral Sir Alan Gardner, bart.

1802. Charles James Fox, esq.
Alan Lord Gardner.
Charles James Fox, esq., re-elected after appointment as one of the Principal Secretaries of State.
Hugh Percy, commonly called Earl Percy, *vice* Charles James Fox, esq., deceased.

1806. Richard Brinsley Sheridan, esq.
Sir Samuel Hood, knt. of the bath.

1807. Thomas Cochrane, commonly called. Lord Cochrane.
Sir Francis Burdett, bart.

1812. Sir Francis Burdett, bart.

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* The Bailiff of Westminster certified, on 17 May, 1784, that a poll had been taken from day to day, from 9 to 3, from 1 April to 17 April, on which day the numbers stood: for Sir Samuel Hood, bart., Baron Hood, of the kingdom of Ireland, 6,694; for Charles James Fox, esq., 6,233; and for Sir Cecil Wray, bart., 5,998, and that a scrutiny had been demanded on behalf of Sir Cecil Wray. By Order of the House, the scrutiny was brought to a close on 3 March, 1785, and the Bailiff returned, on 4 March, 1785, as the result of the scrutiny, that Sir Samuel Hood, bart., Baron Hood, of the kingdom of Ireland, and Charles James Fox, esq., were elected.

Sir Thomas Cochrane, knt. of the bath, commonly called Lord Cochrane.

Sir Thomas Cochrane, knt. of the bath, commonly called Lord Cochrane, re-elected after having been expelled the House.

1818. Sir Samuel Romilly, knt.

Sir Francis Burdett, bart.

George Lamb, esq., *vice* Sir Samuel Romilly, knt., deceased.

1 *George IV.*

1820. Sir Francis Burdett, bart.

John Cam Hobhouse, esq.

1826. Sir Francis Burdett, bart.

John Cam Hobhouse, esq.

1 *William IV.*

1830. Sir Francis Burdett, bart.

John Cam Hobhouse, esq.

1831. Sir Francis Burdett, bart.

John Cam Hobhouse, esq.

Sir John Cam Hobhouse, bart., re-elected after appointment as Secretary at War.

1833. Sir Francis Burdett, bart.

Sir John Cam Hobhouse, bart.

Sir John Cam Hobhouse, bart., re-elected after appointment as Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

Lieut.-Col. De Lacy Evans, *vice* Sir John Cam Hobhouse, bart., who accepted the Stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds, county Bucks.

1835. Sir Francis Burdett, bart.

Colonel De Lacy Evans.

Sir Francis Burdett, bart., re-elected after accepting the Stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds, county Bucks.

1 *Victoria.*

1837. Colonel De Lacy Evans.
John Temple Leader, esq.

1841. John Temple Leader, esq.
Henry John Rous, Captain R.N.
Sir De Lacy Evans, K.C.B., *vice* Henry John Rous, esq., appointed one of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.

1847. Major-Gen. Sir De Lacy Evans, K.C.B.
Charles Lushington, esq.

1852. Sir John Villiers Shelley, bart.
Sir De Lacy Evans.

1857. Lieut.-Gen. Sir De Lacy Evans, G.C.B.
Sir John Villiers Shelley, bart.

1859. General Sir De Lacy Evans, G.C.B.
Sir John Villiers Shelley, bart.

1865. Robert Wellesley Grosvenor, esq.
John Stuart Mill, esq.

1868. Robert Wellesley Grosvenor, esq.
William Henry Smith, esq.

1874. Sir Charles Russell, bart.
William Henry Smith, esq.
William Henry Smith, esq., re-elected after appointment as First Lord of the Admiralty.

1880. Right Hon. W. H. Smith.
Sir C. Russell, bart.
Lord A. Percy, *vice* Sir C. Russell, bart.

APPENDIX H.

Members of Parliament for SOUTHWARK.

23 *Edward I.*

1295. Ricardus le Clerk.
Willielmus Dynnock.

1298. Hugo de Jernemue.
Ricardus de Dunlegh'.

1300–1. Hugo de Dyneneton'.
Henricus de Dunlegh'.

1302. Petrus le Lung'.
Thomas Ywon.

1304–5. Ricardus le Clerc.
Rogerus le Poleter.

1306–7. Hugo de Gernemue.
Johannes de Prikindon'.

1 *Edward II.*

1307. Nicholaus de Aulton'.
Johannes de Maldon'.

1309. Nicholaus de Alton'.
Nicholaus Deumars.

1311. Nicholaus de Aulton'.
(Aug.) Johannes le Vyneter.

1311. Nicholaus de Aulton'.
(Nov.) Johannes le Vyneter.

1312–13. Johannes le Vyneter.
Radulphus le Avener.

1313. Thomas Jon.
(July). Walterus de Taggele.

1313. Johannes le Vyneter.
(Sep.) Nicholaus de Aulton'.

1319. Adam Chandeler.
Willielmus Rikethorn.

1320. Adam le Chaundeler.
Willielmus Rikthorn.

1322. Robertus Oliver.
(May). Willielmus de Rikethorn.

1322. Willielmus *
(Nov.) Henricus le Smith.

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* Name torn off.

1323–4. Walterus le Poleter.
Willielmus le Brewere.

1325. (Ricardus ?) de Weston.†
Thomas Fairher.

2 *Edward III.*

1327–8. Thomas Coleman.
Thomas Fairher, or Fairhar.

1328. (Apr.) Thomas Coleman.
Thomas Fairher.

1328 and 1328–9. Thomas Coleman.
Thomas Fairher.

1329–33. Ricardus de Weston'.
Henricus le Fevre.

1330. Willielmus Roce.
Thomas Coleman.

1331–2. Willielmus Rosce.
Thomas Coleman.

1332. (Sep.) Willielmus Rosce.
Thomas Coleman.

1332. (Dec.) Thomas Coleman.
Willielmus Quyvre.

1333–4. Thomas Coleman.
Willielmus Quyvre.

1334. Galfridus Pocok'.
Robertus de Staunford'.

1335. Johannes de Wynton'.
Rogerus de Arderne.

1335–6. Thomas Aude.
Thomas Coleman.

1336. Rogerus de Arderne.
Galfridus Pecok.

1337. Thomas Coleman.
Galfridus Pecok'.

1337–8. Alanus Ferthyng'.
Robertus Hamond'.

1338–9. Galfridus Pecok'.
Alanus Ferthyng'.

1339–40. Thomas Coleman.
Alanus Ferthyng'.

1340. Thomas Coleman.
Thomas Ande.

1341. Galfridus Pecok'.
Thomas Coleman.

1344. Galfridus Pecok.
Thomas Coleman.

1346. Alanus Ferthyng'.
Robertus de Staunford.

1348. Alanus Ferthyng'.
Galfridus Pecok'.

1350–1. Willielmus atte Fen.
Elias de Braghhyngge.

1354. Elias de Braghyngge.
Thomas de Kyngeston'.

† Return illegible.

1355. Elias de Braghyngge.
Thomas de Kyngeston'.

1357–8. Elias de Braghyng'.
Thomas de Kyngeston'.

1360. Simon Plomer.
Johannes de Hales.

1360–1. Simon Plomer.
Thomas de Kyngeston'.

1362. Johannes Mockyng.
Johannes Hales.

1363. Johannes Halys.
Thomas atte Lande.

1364–5. Johannes Folvill'.
Johannes Mockyng.

1366. Robertus Riffyn.
Johannes Folvyll'.

1368. Willielmus Chitterle.
Thomas Hosyere.

1369. *Simon de Codyngton'.
*Radulphus Thurbarn'.

1371. Thomas Dane.

1372. Johannes Spershore.
Thomas Gyle.

1373. Willielmus de Malton'.
Thomas Hosiere.

1375–6. Thomas Croydon'.
Henricus Bailly.

1376–7. Thomas Hosyere, (*sic*).
Thomas Hosyere, (*sic*).

1 *Richard II.*

1377. Willielmus Wyntryngham.
Robertus Bykford'.

1378. Willielmus Chylderlee.
Henricus Baylly.

1379–80. Thomas Corkesey.
Adam Pulter.

1380. Galfridus Whiteclef'.
Thomas Torkesey.

1381. Johannes Mockyngge.
Stephanus Halys.

1382. Johannes Mockygn'.
Stephanus Halys.

1382–3. Rogerus Chaundeler.
Ricardus Hurde.

1383. Johannes Burgeys.
Robertus Barbor.

1384. Stephanus Skynnere.
(Apr.) Thomas Spicer.

1384. Thomas atte Gyle.
(Nov.) Thomas Torkeseye.

1385. Ricardus Nevyle.
Johannes Kyrkeby.

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* Names, &c., with (*) prefixed are supplied from the Enrolment of Writs de Expensis (*see* Rot. Claus., 43 Edw. III., m. 13 d.), in the absence of Original Returns.

1386. Henricus Thymelby.
Willielmus Beeche.

1387–8. Johannes Northampton'.
Willielmus Porter.

1388. Ricardus atte Vyne.
Rogerus Chaundellor.

1389–90. Johannes Mockyng'.
Willielmus Wynteryngham.

1391. Willielmus Spaldyng'.*

1392–3. Thomas Solas.
Johannes Solas.

1394–5. Johannes Mockyng'.
Thomas Solas.

1396–7. Johannes Mokkyng'.
Thomas atte Gyle.

1397 and 1397–8. Johannes Mokkyng'.
Willielmus Derby.

1 *Henry IV.*

1399. Johannes Parker.
Radulphus Spaldyng'.

1402. Johannes Mokkynge.
Johannes Gofayre.

1405–6. Thomas Spenser.
Johannes Bakere.

1407. Johannes Dekene.
Thomas Coleman.

2 *Henry V.*

1413–14. †Johannes Wellys.
†Johannes William.

1414. Johannes Solas.
Willielmus Kyrton'.

1415. Willielmus Redeston'.
Thomas Spenser.

1417. Willielmus Kyrton'.
Johannes Dekene.

1419. Robertus Willyam.
Johannes Welles.

1420. Johannes Dekene.
Willielmus Kyrton'.

1421. Johannes Dekene.
(May). Willielmus Redston'.

1421. Thomas Lucas.
(Dec.) Thomas Dewy.

1422. Willielmus Kyrton'.
Ricardus Tyler.

2 *Henry VI.*

1423. Rogerus Overton'.
Johannes Gloucestre.

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* Name torn off.

† Names, &c., with (†) prefixed are supplied from the Enrolment of the Writs de Expensis (*see* Rot. Claus., 2 Hen. V., m. 20 d.), in the absence of Original Returns.

1425. [Ricardus] Tyler *
[Willielmus] Kyrton'.

1425–6. Willielmus Godyng'.
Rogerus Overton'.

1427. Henricus Purchas.
Petrus Saverey.

1429. Adam Levelord'.
Willielmus Hawkesworth'.

1430–1. Johannes Wellys.
Willielmus Moyle.

1432. Adam Levelord'.
Willielmus Hawkesworth.

1433. Willielmus Hawkesworth'.
Nicholaus Preest.

1435. Adam Levelord'.
Willielmus Hawkesworth.

1436–7. Adam Levelord.
Willielmus Brygges.

1441–2. Adam Levelord'.
Willielmus Kyrton'.

1446–7. Adam Levelord'.
Willielmus Redston'.

1448–9. Johannes Rokesle.
Johannes Gloucestre.

1449. Willielmus Kyrketon'.
Willielmus Redeston'.

1450. Willielmus Kyrketon'
Johannes Pemberton'.

1452–3. Willielmus Philipp'.
Willielmus Brygge.

1459. Alexander Fayreford', armiger.
Thomas Wyng.

1460. Willielmus Kyrton'.
Rogerus Palmer.

7 *Edward IV.*

1467. Ricardus Tyngelden.
Johannes Hunt.

1472. Robertus Levelord.
Thomas Averey.

1477–8. Nicholaus Gaynesford, armiger.
Johannes Holgrave.

21 *Henry VIII.*

1529. Johannes Sylsterne, miles.
Robertus Acton.

1541–2. Robertus Acton, armiger.
Thomas Bulla.

1 *Edward VI.*

1547. Johannes Gate, miles.
Ricardus Fulmerstone, generosus.

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* Names doubtful. *See* former Returns.

1552–3. Johannes Eston, generosus.
Johannes Sayer, clothyere.

1 *Mary.*

1554. (Apr.) *Johannes Eston, armiger.
*Johannes Sawyer.

1 & 2 *Philip and Mary.*

1554. (Nov.) Johannes†
.... †

1555. Johannes Eston, armiger.
Humfridus Collect.

1557–8.‡ Johannes Eston, armiger.
Robertus Freeman, generosus.

1 *Elizabeth.*

1558–9. John Eston, esq.
Robert Freeman, gent.

1562–3. §Thomas Cure.
§Oliff Burr, gent.

1572. ‖Oliff Burr, gent.
‖Thomas Way, gent.

1584. Thomas Waye.
Richard Hutton.

1586. ¶Thomas Cure, esq.
¶Richard Hutton, armourer.

1588 and 1588–9. **Richard Hutton, esq.
**William Pratt, gent.

1592–3. Hugh Browker, esq., of Southwark.
Richard Hutton, gent., of Southwark.

1597. Edmund Boweyer, esq.
Richard Hutton, gent.

1601. Matthew Dale, esq.
Zachariah Locke, esq.

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* Names, &c., with (*) prefixed are supplied from the Crown Office List, in the absence of Original Returns.

† Returns defaced.

‡ Names with (‡) prefixed are supplied from the Crown Office List, in the absence of Original Returns.

§ Names, &c., with (§) prefixed are supplied from the Crown Office Lists (of which there are five for this Parliament), in the absence of Original Returns.

‖ Names, &c., with (‖) prefixed are supplied from the Crown Office Lists (of which there are three), in the absence of Original Returns.

¶ Names, &c., with (¶) prefixed are supplied from the Crown Office List, in the absence of Original Returns.

** Names, &c., with (**) prefixed are supplied from the Crown Office List, in the absence of Original Returns.

1 *James I.*

1603–4. (*George Rivers).†
(*William Cownden).†
William Mayhewe, gent., of Southwark, *vice* William Cownden, deceased.

1620–1. Richard Yarwood, esq., of the parish of St. Saviour's, Southwark.
Robert Bromfeild, esq., of the parish of St. Saviour's, Southwark.

1623–4. Richard Yerwood, esq., of Southwark.
Robert Bromfeilde, esq., of Southwark.
Francis Myngaye, esq., of Southwark.
Richard Yerwood, esq., of Southwark.
(‡Robert Bromfeilde, esq.), *vice* Francis Myngaye, esq., and Robert Bromfeilde, esq., whose election was declared void.

1 *Charles I.*

1625. Richard Yearwood, esq., of Southwark.
§(William Coxe, esq.) ‖

1625–6. Richard Yearwood, esq., of Southwark.
William Cox, esq., of Southwark.

1627–8. Richard Yarwood, esq., of Southwark.
William Coxe, esq., of Southwark.

1640. Robert Holborne, esq.
(Apr.) Richard Tuffnell, gent

1640. (Long Parliament.)
Edward Bagshawe, esq.
John White, esq.
¶George Thompson, esq.
¶George Snellinge, esq.

Oliver Cromwell.

1654. Samuel Hyland, esq.
Robert Warrcupp, esq.

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* Names with (*) prefixed have been taken from Kipling's Index to the Parliamentary Returns, in the absence of Original Returns.

† There is an illegible Return, which is probably for Southwark.

‡ Names, &c., with (‡) prefixed are supplied from the Crown Office List, in the absence of Original Returns.

§ Names, &c., with (§) prefixed are supplied from the Crown Office List, in the absence of Original Returns.

‖ Return torn.

¶ Names, &c., with (¶) prefixed are supplied from the Crown Office List, which professes to have been "taken in the year 1643, or thereabouts," in the absence of Original Returns.

12 *Charles II.*

1660. John Langham, esq.
Thomas Bludworth, esq.

1661. (LONG OR PENSIONARY PARLIAMENT).
Sir Thomas Bludworth, knt.
George Moore, esq.
Sir Thomas Clarges, knt., *vice* George Moore, esq., deceased.

1678–9. Sir Richard How, knt.
Peter Rich, esq.

1679. Sir Richard How, knt.
Peter Rich, esq.

1680–1. Sir Richard How, knt.
Peter Rich, esq.

1 *James II.*

1685. Sir Peter Daniel, knt.
Anthony Bowyer, esq

1688. (CONVENTION.)
Sir Peter Rich, knt.
John Arnold, esq.

2 *William and Mary.*

1689–90. Anthony Bowyer, esq.
John Arnold, esq.

7 *William III.*

1695. Anthony Bowyer, esq.
Charles Cox, gent.

1698. Charles Cox, esq.
John Cholmley, esq.

1700–1701. Charles Cox, esq.
John Cholmley, esq.

1701. Charles Cox, esq.
John Cholmley, esq.

1 *Anne.*

1702. Charles Cox, esq.
John Cholmley, esq.
John Cholmley, esq., and Charles Cox, esq., re-elected; their previous election having been declared void.

1705. (FIRST PARLIAMENT OF GREAT BRITAIN).
John Cholmley, esq.
Charles Cox, Esq.

1708. Charles Cox, esq.
John Cholmley, esq.

1710. Sir Charles Cox, knt.
John Cholmley, esq.
Sir George Matthews, knt., *vice* John Cholmley, esq., deceased.*

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* Return amended by Order of the House, dated 7 February, 1711–12, by erasing the name of Edmund Halsey, esq., and substituting that of Sir George Mathews, knt.

1713. John Lade, esq.
Fisher Tench, esq.
John Lade, esq., and Fisher Tench, esq., re-elected, their former election having been declared void.

1 *George I.*

1714–15. John Lade, esq.
Fisher Tench, esq.

1722. George Meggott, esq.
Edmund Halsey, esq.
John Lade, esq., *vice* George Meggott, esq., deceased.

1 *George II.*

1727. Edward Halsey, esq.
Sir Joseph Eyles, knt.
Thomas Juwen, esq., *vice* Edmund Halsey, esq., deceased.

1734. Thomas Inwen, esq.
George Heathcote, esq.

1741. Thomas Inwen, esq.
Ralph Thrale, esq.
Alexander Hume, esq., *vice* Thomas Inwen, esq., deceased.

1747. Alexander Hume, esq.
William Belchier, esq.

1754. William Belchier, esq.
William Hammond, esq.

1 *George III.*

1761. Alexander Hume, esq.
Joseph Mawbey, esq.
Henry Thrale, esq., *vice* Alexander Hume, esq., deceased.

1768. Sir Joseph Mawbey, bart.
Henry Thrale, esq.

1774. Nathaniel Polhill, esq.
Henry Thrale, esq.

1780. Sir Richard Hotham, knt.
Nathaniel Polhill, esq.
Henry Thornton, esq., *vice* Nathaniel Polhill, esq., deceased.

1784. Henry Thornton, esq.
Sir Barnard Turner, knt.
Paul le Mesurier, esq., *vice* Sir Barnard Turner, knt.

1790. Henry Thornton, esq.
Paul le Mesurier, esq.

1796 (PARLIAMENT OF GREAT BRITAIN, afterwards in 1801 declared to be FIRST PARLIAMENT

OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.)

1801. Henry Thornton, esq.
George Woodford Thellusson, esq.
George Tierney, esq., *vice* George Woodford Thelusson, esq., whose election was declared void

1802. Henry Thornton, esq.
George Tierney, esq.
George Tierney, esq., re-elected after appointment as Treasurer of the Navy.

1806. Sir Thomas Turton, bart.
Henry Thornton, esq.

1807. Sir Thomas Turton, bart.
Henry Thornton, esq.

1812. Charles Calvert, esq.
Henry Thornton, esq.
Charles Barclay, esq., *vice* Henry Thornton, esq., deceased.

1818. Charles Calvert, esq.
Sir Robert Wilson, knt.

1 *George IV.*

1820. Charles Calvert, esq.
Sir Robert Thomas Wilson, knt.

1826. Charles Calvert, esq.
Sir Robert Thomas Wilson, knt.

1 *William IV.*

1830. John Rawlinson Harris, esq.
Lieut.-Gen. Sir Robert Thomas Wilson, knt.
Charles Calvert, esq., *vice* John Rawlinson Harris, esq., deceased.

1831. Charles Calvert, esq.
William Brougham, esq.

1833. William Brougham, esq.
John Humphery, esq.

1835. John Humphery, esq.
Daniel Whittle Harvey, esq.

1 *Victoria.*

1837. John Humphery, esq.
Daniel Whittle Harvey, esq.
Daniel Whittle Harvey, esq., re-elected after appointment as

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* Return amended by Order of the House, dated 21 December, 1796, by erasing the name of George Woodford Thellusson, and snbstituting that of George Tierney, esq.

Registrar of Metropolitan Public Carriages.

Benjamin Wood, *vice* Daniel Whittle Harvey, esq., appointed Commissioner of Police for the city of London.

1841. John Humphery, esq.

Benjamin Wood, esq.

Sir William Molesworth, bart., *vice* Benjamin Wood, esq., deceased.

1847. John Humphery, esq., of Southwark, one of the aldermen of the city of London.

Sir William Molesworth, bart.

1852. Sir William Molesworth, bart.

Apsley Pellatt, esq., of Southwark.

Sir William Molesworth, bart., re-elected after appointment as Chief Commissioner of Works.

Sir William Molesworth, bart., re-elected after appointment as one of the Principal Secretaries of State.

Vice Admiral Sir Charles Napier, K.C.B., *vice* Sir William Molesworth, bart., deceased.

1857. Sir Charles Napier, knt., Vice Admiral of the Navy.

John Locke, esq., M.A., and barrister-at-law.

1859. Sir Charles Napier, knt.

John Locke, esq., Q.C.

Austin Henry Layard, esq., *vice* Sir Charles Napier, K.C.B., deceased.

John Locke, esq., Q.C., re-elected after appointment as Recorder of Brighton.

1865. John Locke, esq.

Austen Henry Layard, esq.

1868. John Locke, esq.

Austen Henry Layard, esq.

Austen Henry Layard, esq., re-elected after appointment as First Commissioner of Works and Public Buildings.

Lieut.-Col. Marcus Beresford, *vice* Austen Henry Layard, esq., who accepted the Stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds, county Bucks.

1874. John Locke, esq., Q.C.

Col. Francis Marcus Beresford.

Edward George Clarke, esq., barrister-at-law, *vice* John Locke, esq., deceased.

1880. A. Cohen.

J. E. T. Rogers.

APPENDIX I.

List of Members of Parliament for Middlesex.

23 *Edward I.*

1295. Willielmus de Brok'.
Stephanus de Gravesend.

1298. Ricardus de Wyndesor'.
Henricus de Enefield.

1299–1300. Ricardus de Windlesor'.
Henricus de Enefield.

1302. Willielmus de Brok'.
Ricardus le Rous.

1304–5. Willielmus de Harpedene, miles.
Ricardus le Rus, miles.

1306. Ricardus le Rous, miles.
Ricardus de Wyndelsore, miles.

1306–7. Ricardus le Rous.
Johannes de la Poile.

1 *Edward II.*

1307. Johannes de la Poile, miles.
Willielmus de Brok', miles.

1309. Ricardus de Wyndesore, miles.
Willielmus de Brok'.

1311. Ricardus de Wyndesore.
Ricardus le Rous.

1312–13. Ricardus de Wyndesores, miles.
Ricardus le Rous, miles.

1313. (July.) *Johannes de la Poille.
*Ricardus le Rous.

1313. (Sep.) Johannes de la Poile, miles.
Ricardus le Rous, miles.

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* Names, &c., with (*) prefixed are supplied from the Enrolment of the Writs de Expensis (*see* Rot. Claus., 7 Edw. II., m. 27 d.), in the absence of Original Returns.

1314. *Johannes de Enefeud'.
*Walterus Crepyn.

1314–15. Johannes de Enefeld.
Ricardus de Bachesworth'.

1315–16. Henricus de Bydyk.

1316. †Henricus de Frowyk'.
(July.)

1318. Henricus Bydyk'.
Gilbertus Barentyn.

1319. Willielmus Tornegold.‡
Reginaldus Tulusan.‡

1320. Henricus de Bydyk'.
Willielmus Tornegold.

1321. Johannes de Enefeld.
Johannes de Waudon'.

1322. §Walterus Crepyng'.
(May.) §Willielmus de Fynnore.

1322. Ricardus Duraunt.‖
(Nov.) Willielmus le Rous.‖

1323–4. Ricardus de Heyle.
Willielmus le Rous.

1324. Johannes atte Pole.
Walterus de Sallyngg'.

1325. Walterus Morice.
Johannes de Oysterle.

1326–7. Rogerus de Brok'.
Henricus de Frowyk'.

1 *Edward III.*

1327. Johannes de Bloxham.
Henricus de Bywik'.

1327–8. Henricus Frouwyk'.
Alanus atte Munte.

1328. Walterus Morice.
(Ap.) Johannes Heroun.

1328. ¶Johannes de Oysterle.
(July.) ¶Thomas Derk.

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* Names, &c., with (*) prefixed are supplied from the Enrolment of the Writs de Expensis (*see* Rot. Claus., 8 Edw. II., m. 31 d.), in the absence of Original Returns.

† Names, &c., with (†) prefixed are supplied from the Enrolment of the Writs de Expensis (*see* Rot. Claus., 10 Edw. II., m. 28 d.), in the absence of Original Returns.

‡ *Loco militum.*

§ Names, &c., with (§) prefixed are supplied from the Enrolment of the Writs de Expensis (*see* Rot. Claus., 15 Edw. II., m. 9 d. in cedula), in the absence of the Original Returns.

‖ Valettus against this name in the Enrolment of the Writ de Expensis.

¶ Names, &c., with (¶) prefixed are supplied from the Enrolment of Writs de Expensis (*see* Rot. Claus., 2 Edw. III., m. 16 d.) in the absence of Original Returns.

1328–9. Ricardus de Heyle.
Thomas de Saunford.

1329–30. Robertus de Boys.
Henricus de Grundesburght.

1330. Ricardus de Wyndesor'.
Johannes de Bray.

1331. (Sep.) *Ricardus de Pouns.
*Gilbertus Haward.

1331–2. Ricardus de Pouns.
Stephanus Joun.

1332. (Dec.) †Johannes Wroth.
†Rogerus Belet.

1333–4. Nicholaus le Despensor.‡
Johannes fil' Domini Johannis de Enefeld.‡

1334. §Henricus Wiliot.
§Edmundus Flambard'.

1335. Rogerus Belet.
Henricus Wyliot.

1335–6. Henricus Frowyk.
Edmundus Flambard.

1336. Johannes de Eyston.
Willielmus de Chydingfold'.

1337. Johannes de Charleton'.
Johannes de Braye.

1337–8. Johannes de Enefeld'.
Walterus de Sallyngg'.

1338. Johannes de Charleton'.
Ricardus de Wyndelsore.

1338–9. Walterus de Sallyng'.
Johannes de Enefeld'.

1339–40. ||Simon de Swanlond.
||Thomas de Saunford.

1340. Simon de Swanlond.
Thomas de Saunford.

1841. Rogerus de Leukenore.
Henricus Wylyot.

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* Names, &c., with (*) prefixed are supplied from the Enrolment of the Writs de Expensis (*see* Rot. Claus., 5 Edw. III., p. 2. m. 6 d.) in the absence of Original Returns.

† Names, &c., with (†) prefixed are supplied from the Enrolment of Writs de Expensis (*see* Rot. Claus., 7 Edw. III., p. 1. m. 21 d.) in the absence of Original Returns.

‡ *Loco militis.*

§ Names, &c., with (§) prefixed are supplied from the Enrolment of the Writs de Expensis (*see* Rot. Claus., 8 Edw. III., m. 8 d), in the absence of Original Returns.

|| Names, &c., with (||) prefixed are supplied from the Enrolment of the Writs de Expensis (*see* Rot. Claus., 14 Edw. III., p. 1. m. 45 d.) in the absence of Original Returns.

1343. Thomas de Norton'.

1344. Simon de Swanlond.
Willielmus de Langeford.

1346. Willielmus Bisshop'.
Johannes atte Pyrye.

1347–8. Willielmus de Lavenham.
Johannes Baret.

1348. *Willielmus de Lavenham.
*Johannes Baret.

1350–1. Rogerus de Leukenore.
Johannes Lovell'.

1351–2. †Johannes atte Perye.
†Thomas de Frowyk'.

1352. Johannes atte Pole, miles.

1353. Johannes atte Pole.

1354. Thomas de Frowyk.
Johannes atte Pole.

1355. ‡Thomas de Frowyk.
‡Nicholaus atte Wyke.

1357–8. Thomas Morice.
Thomas de Frowyk'.

1360. Thomas Morice.
Nicholaus de Herwod'.

1360–1. Thomas Moris.
Willielmus de Hatton'.

1362. Willielmus de Swanlond.
Johannes Wroth', jun.

1363. Ricardus Rook', jun.
Johannes de Shordissh', or de Shordich'.

1364–5. Willielmus de Swanlond.
Johannes Wroth', jun.

1366. Johannes Wroth, jun.
Gregorius Fanelore.

1368. Johannes Wroth', jun
Gregorius Fanelore.

1369. Thomas Frowyk'.
Johannes Wroth', jun.

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* Names, &c., with (*) prefixed are supplied from the Enrolment of the Writs de Expensis (*see* Rot. Claus., 22 Edw. III., p. 1. m. 24 d.) in the absence of Original Returns.

† Names, &c., with (†) prefixed are supplied from the Enrolment of the Writs de Expensis (*see* Rot. Claus., 26 Edw. III., m. 28 d.) in the absence of Original Returns.

‡ Names, &c., with (‡) prefixed are supplied from the Enrolment of the Writs de Expensis (*see* Rot. Claus., 29 Edw. III., m. 3 d.) in the absence of Original Returns.

1370–1. Johannes Pekkebrugg.
Nicholaus de Exton'.

1371. Johannes Pekbrugg.

1372. Johannes Wroth', jun.
Johannes de Shordych'.

1373. Johannes de Peckebrigge, chivaler.
Robertus de Anesty.

1375–6. Johannes de Shordich'.
Egidius Pykeman.

1376–7. Nicholaus de Exton'.
Henricus Frowyk.

1 *Richard II.*

1377. *Johannes de Saunford'.
*Thomas de Farndon'.

1378. Thomas de Pynnore.
Thomas Brakenburgh'.

1379. †Johannes Pekbrigg'.
†Willielmus de Swanlond.

1379–80. Nicholaus de Exton'.‡
Johannes de Shordych'.‡

1380. Adam Fraunceys.
Baldewinus de Radyngton'.

1381. Johannes de Shordych'.
Thomas Charleton'.

1382. (May.) Johannes Saunford'.
Willielmus Barnevyll'.

1382. (Oct.) Adam Fraunceys, chivaler.
Johannes Wroth'.

1382–3. Johannes Durham.
Godefridus atte Pirye.

1383. Johannes Saunford'.
Thomas Pynnore.

1384. (Apr.) Johannes Wroth', sen.
Nicholaus de Exton'.

1384. (Nov.) Thomas Charlton'.
Johannes Durham.

1385. Adam Fraunceys, chivaler.
Johannes Pekbrigg, chivaler.

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* Names, &c., with (*) prefixed are supplied from the Enrolment of the Writs de Expensis (*see* Rot. Claus., 1 Ric. II., m. 22 d.) in the absence of Original Returns.

† Names, &c., with (†) prefixed are supplied from the Enrolment of the Writs de Expensis (*see* Rot. Claus., 2 Ric. II., m. 3 d.), in the absence of Original Returns.

‡ *Loco militis.*

1386. Adam Fraunceys, chivaler.
Willielmus Swanlond'.

1387–8. *Adam Fraunceys.
*Willielmus Swanlond'.

1388. Willielmus Barnevyll'.
Godefridus atte Pirye.†

1389–90. Johannes Shordych', senior.
Thomas Conyngesby.

1390. Adam Fraunceys.
Johannes Shordiche.

1391. Thomas Braye.
Willielmus Norton'.

1392–3. Willielmus Tamworth'.
Thomas Maydeston'.

1393–4. ‡Johannes Shordiche, junior.
‡Jacobus Ormesby.

1394. Johannes Shordych', junior.
Thomas Conyngesby.

1396. Thomas Maydeston'.
Thomas Godlak'.

1397 and 1397–8. §Adam Fraunceys, chivaler.
§Johannes Wroth', chivaler.

1 *Hen. IV.*

1399. Johannes Durham.
Thomas Maydeston'.

1400. Johannes Wrothe, chivaler.
Willielmus Loveneye.

1401–2. Thomas Conyngesby.
Jacobus Northampton'.

1403. Johannes Wroth', chivaler.
Willielmus Wroth'.

1404. Rogerus Straunge, chivaler.
‖Willielmus Powe.

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* Names, &c., with (*) prefixed are supplied from the Enrolment of the Writs de Expensis (*see* Rot. Claus., 11 Ric. II., m. 4 d.), in the absence of Original Returns.

† Galfridus in the Enrolment of the Writ de Expensis.

‡ Names, &c. with (‡) prefixed are supplied from the Enrolment of the Writs de Expensis (*see* Rot. Claus., 17 Ric. II., m. 9 d.), in the absence of Original Returns.

§ Names, &c., with (§) prefixed are supplied from the Enrolment of the Writs de Expensis (*see* Rot. Claus., 21 Ric. II., p. 2, m. 9 d.), in the absence of Original Returns.

‖ All the names [of this parliament] are supplied from the Enrolment of the Writs de Expensis (*see* Rot. Claus., 6 Hen. IV., m. 5 d.), in the absence of Original Returns.

1405–6. Johannes Wroth', miles.
Henricus Somer.

1407. Johannes Loveney.
Henricus Somer.

1411. Adam Fraunceys, chivaler.
Rogerus Straunge, chivaler.

1 *Hen. V.*

1413. Willielmus Loveney, armiger.
Ricardus Wyot, armiger.

1413–14. *Simon Camp'.
*Walterus Grene.

1414. Thomas Charlton.
Johannes Waldene.

1415. Simon Camp'.
Thomas Conyngesby.

1417. Henricus Somer.
Walterus Gawtron'.

1419. Thomas Frowyk.
Thomas Conyngesby.

1420. Johannes de Boys, chivaler
Walterus Grene.

1421. (May) Thomas Charlton', chivaler.
Henricus Somer.

1421. (Dec.) Ricardus Maydeston'.
Edmundus Bybbesworth'.

1 *Hen. VI.*

1422. Thomas Charlton', chivaler.
Thomas Frowyk'.

1423. Walterus Gawtron'.
Walterus Grene.

1425. Thomas Charleton', chivaler.
Robertus Warner.

1425–6. Walterus Grene.
Johannes Shordyche.

1427. Thomas Charlton', chivaler.
Thomas Frowyk', armiger.

1429. Henricus Somer.
Walterus Grene.

1430–1. Thomas Charlton'.
Alexander Anne.

1432. Thomas Frowyk'.
Alexander Anne.

1433. Johannes Asshe.
Ricardus Maydeston'.

1435. Thomas Frowyk'.
Walterus Grene.

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* Names, &c., with (*) prefixed are supplied from the Enrolment of the Writs de Expensis (*see* Rot. Claus., 2 Hen. V., m. 20 d.), in the absence of Original Returns.

1436-7. Alexander Anne.
Willielmus Wroth'.

1441-2. Magister Johannes Somerseth'.
Thomas Charlton', armiger.

1446-7. Thomas Charleton', armiger.
Thomas Frowyk', junior.

1448-9. Johannes Lemyngton'.
Robertus Tanfeld'.

1450. Walterus Grene, armiger.
Thomas Frowyk', generosus.

1459. Thomas Charleton', miles.
Johannes Myrywether, armiger.

1460. Thomas Charleton', miles.
Thomas Frowyk', armiger.

7 Edward IV.

1467. Thomas Frowyk, armiger.
Rogerus Ree, armiger.

1472. Rogerus Ree, miles.
Robertus Grene, miles.

1477-8. Johannes Elryngton, armiger.
Thomas Wyndesore, armiger.

21 Henry VIII.

1529. Robertus Wroth', armiger.
Ricardus Hawkes, gent.

1541-2. Robertus Cheseman, armiger.
Johannes Hewes, armiger.

7 Edward VI.

1552-3. Robertus Bowes, miles.
Thomas Wroth, miles.

1 Mary.

1553. (Oct.) Edwardus Hastinges, miles.
Johannes Nudegate, armiger.

1554. (Apr.) Edwardus Hastynges, miles.
Johannes Nudegate, armiger.

1 & 2 Philip and Mary.

1554. (Nov.) Edwardus Hastynges, miles, magister equorum domine regine.
Rogerus Cholmeley, miles.

1555. Edwardus Hastynges, prenobilis ordinis garterii miles, magister equorum domine regine.
Rogerus Cholmeley, miles.

1557–8. Rogerus Cholmeley, miles.
*Johannes Newdygate, armiger.

1 *Elizabeth.*

1558–9. Sir Roger Cholmeley, knt.
Sir Thomas Wrothe, knt.

1562–3. †Sir William Cordell, knt.
†Sir Thomas Wrothe, knt.

1572. ‡Robert Wrothe, esq.
‡Sir Owen Hopton, knt, Lieutenant of the Tower of London.

1586. §Robert Wrothe, esq.
§William Fletewood, esq.

1588–9. Robert Wrothe, esq.
William Fletewood, esq.

1592–3. Robert Wrothe, esq., of Enfield.
Francis Bacon, esq., of Gray's Inn, county Middlesex.

1597. Robert Wroth.
John Peighton.

1601. Sir John Fortescue, knt., Chancellor of the Exchequer.
Sir Robert Wroth, knt.

1 *James I.*

1603–4. Sir Robert Wroth, senior, knt.
Sir William Fleetwood, knt.
Sir John Fortescue, knt., Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and a Privy Counsellor, *vice* Sir Robert Wroth, knt., deceased.
Sir Robert Wrothe,

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* Names with (*) prefixed are supplied from the Crown Office List, in the absence of Original Returns.

† Names, &c., with (†) prefixed are supplied from the Crown Office Lists (of which there are five for this Parliament), in the absence of Original Returns.

‡ Names, &c., with (‡) prefixed are supplied from the Crown Office Lists (of which there are three), in the absence of Original Returns.

§ Names, &c., with (§) prefixed are supplied from the Crown Office List, in the absence of Original Returns.

knt., *vice* Sir John Fortescue, knt., deceased.[*]

1620–1. Sir Francis Darcye, knt.
Sir Gilbert Gerrard, bart.

1623–4. Sir John Suckyn, knt., Comptroller of the Household.
Sir Gilbert Garrard, bart.

1 *Charles I.*

1625. Sir John Francklyn, knt.
Sir Gilbert Gerrard, bart.

1625–6. †Sir (? Edward) Spenser, knt.
†Sir Gilbert Gerrard, bart.
1627–8. ‡Sir Henry Spiller, knt.
‡Sir Francis Darcy, knt.

1640. (Long Parliament.)
(Nov.) Sir Gilbert Garrarde, bart.
Sir John Francklin, knt.
Sir Edward Spencer, knt., *vice* Sir John Francklyn, knt., deceased.

Oliver Cromwell.

1656. Sir William Roberts, knt.
Sir John Barkstead, knt.
Challoner Chute, sen., esq.
William Kiffyn, esq.

Richard Cromwell.

1658–9. Francis Gerard, esq.
Challenor Chute, sen., esq.

13 *Charles II.*

(The Long or Pensionary Parliament.)
1661. Sir Lancelot Lake, knt.
Sir Thomas Allen, knt.

1678–9. Sir William Roberts, bart.
Sir Robert Peyton, knt.

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[*] No Return found; the name is endorsed on the Writ, which is dated 28 July, 1607.

† Names, &c., with (†) prefixed are supplied from the Crown Office List, in the absence of Original Returns.

‡ Names, &c., with (‡) prefixed are supplied from the Crown Office List, in the absence of Original Returns.

1679. Sir William Roberts, bart
Sir Robert Peyton, knt.

1680–1. Sir William Roberts, bart.
Nicholas Raynton, esq.

1 *James II.*

1685. Sir Charles Gerrard, bart.
Edward Hawtry, esq.

(CONVENTION.)

1688–9. Sir Charles Gerard, bart., of Harrow-on-the-Hill, county Middlesex.
Ralph Hawtrey, esq., of Rislipp, county Middlesex.

2 *William & Mary.*

1689–90. Sir Charles Gerrard, bart.
Ralph Hawtrey, esq.

7 *William III.*

1695. Edward Russell, esq.
Sir John Wolstenholme, bart.

1698. Warwick Lake, esq.
Sir John Wolstenholme, bart.

1700–1. Hugh Smithson, esq.
Warwick Lake, esq.

1701. Warwick Lake, esq.
John Austen, esq.

1 *Anne.*

1702. Warwick Lake, esq.
Hugh Smithson, esq.

(FIRST PARLIAMENT OF GREAT BRITAIN.)

1705. Scorie Barker, esq.
Sir John Wolstenholme, bart.

1708. Sir John Wolstenholme, bart.
Scorie Barker, esq.
John Austin, esq., *vice* Sir John Wolstenholme, bart., deceased.

1710. James Bertie, esq.
Hugh Smithson, esq.

1713. James Bertie, esq.
Hugh Smithson, esq.

1 *George I.*

1714–15. James Bertie, esq.
Hugh Smithson, esq.

1722. James Bertie, esq.
Sir John Austin, bart.

1 *George II.*

1727. James Bertie, esq.
Francis Child, esq.

1734. Sir Francis Child, knt.
William Pulteney, esq.
Sir Hugh Smithson, bart., *vice* Sir Francis Child, knt., deceased.

1741. William Pulteney, esq.
Sir Hugh Smithson, bart.
Sir Roger Newdigate, bart., *vice* William Pulteney, esq., called to the Upper House as Earl of Bath.

1747. Sir Hugh Smithson, bart.
Sir William Beauchamp Proctor, bart.
George Cooke, *vice* Sir Hugh Smithson, bart., called to the Upper House as Earl of Northumberland.

1754. Sir William Beauchamp Proctor, bart.
George Cooke, esq.

1 *George III.*

1761. Sir William Beauchamp Proctor, bart., knt. of the bath.
George Cooke, esq.
George Cooke, esq., re-elected after appointment as Paymaster-General of the Land Forces.

1768. George Cooke, esq.
John Wilkes, esq.
John Glynn, esq., *vice* George Cooke, esq., deceased.
John Wilkes, esq., re-elected after being expelled the House.
John Wilkes, esq., re-elected after being adjudged by the House of Commons incapable of being elected, and his election for the county of Middlesex declared void.
Henry Lawes Lutterell, esq., *vice* John Wilkes, esq., "adjudged by the House of Commons incapable of being elected a member to serve in the present Parliament, and the election and return of the said John Wilkes, for the county of Middlesex, having been declared null and void."*

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* Return amended by Order of the House, dated 15 April, 1769, by erasing the name of John Wilkes, esq., and substituting the name of Henry Lawes Luttrell, esq.

1774. John Wilkes, esq.
John Glynn, esq.
Thomas Wood, esq., *vice* John Glynn, esq., deceased.

1780. John Wilkes, esq.
George Byng, esq.

1784. John Wilkes, esq.
William Mainwaring, esq.

1790. William Mainwaring, esq.
George Byng, esq.

1796. (PARLIAMENT OF GREAT BRITAIN. Its members declared to be members of the FIRST PARLIAMENT OF THE UNITED KINGDOM, 1801.)

1801. William Mainwaring, esq.
George Byng, esq.

1802. George Byng, esq.
Sir Francis Burdett, bart.
George Boulton Mainwaring, esq., *vice* Sir Francis Burdett, bart., whose election was declared void.*

1806. William Mellish, esq.
George Byng, esq.

1807. William Mellish, esq.
George Byng, esq.

1812. George Byng, esq.
William Mellish, esq.

1818. William Mellish, esq.
George Byng, esq.

1 *George IV.*

1820. George Byng, esq.
Samuel Charles Whitbread, esq.

1826. George Byng, esq.
Samuel Charles Whitbread, esq.

1 *William IV.*

1830. George Byng, esq.
Joseph Hume, esq.

1831. George Byng, esq.
Joseph Hume, esq.

1833. Joseph Hume, esq.
George Byng, esq.

1835. George Byng, esq.
Joseph Hume, esq.

1 *Victoria.*

1837. George Byng, esq.
Thomas Wood, the younger, esq.

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* Return amended by Order of the House, dated 5 March, 1805, by erasing the name of George Boulton Mainwaring, esq., and substituting that of Sir Francis Burdett, bart. Return further amended by Order of the House, dated 10 February, 1806, by erasing the name of Sir Francis Burdett, bart., and substituting that of George Boulton Mainwaring, esq.

1841. George Byng, esq.
Thomas Wood, the younger, esq.
Robert Grosvenor, commonly called Lord Robert Grosvenor, *vice* George Byng, esq., deceased.

1847. Robert Grosvenor, commonly called Lord Robert Grosvenor.
Ralph Osborne, esq.

1852. Robert Grosvenor, commonly called Lord Robert Grosvenor.
Ralph Osborne, esq.

1857. Robert Grosvenor, commonly called Lord Robert Grosvenor.
Robert Hanbury, the younger, esq.
George Henry Charles Byng, esq., *vice* Robert Grosvenor, commonly called Lord Robert Grosvenor, who accepted the Stewardship of the Manor of Hempholme, county York.

1859. Robert Hanbury, the younger, esq.
George Henry Charles Byng, esq.

1865. Robert Culling Hanbury, esq.
George Henry Charles Byng, commonly called Viscount Enfield.
Henry Labouchere, esq., *vice* Robert Culling Hanbury, esq., deceased.

1868. George Henry Charles Byng, esq., commonly called Lord Enfield.
George Francis Hamilton, esq., commonly called Lord George Francis Hamilton.

1874. Octavius Edward Coope, esq.
George Francis Hamilton, commonly called Lord George Francis Hamilton.

1880. George Francis Hamilton commonly called Lord George Francis Hamilton.
Octavius Edward Coope, esq.

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