



*Transactions of the
London & Middlesex
Archaeological Society*

*incorporating the
Middlesex Local History Council*

Volume 21

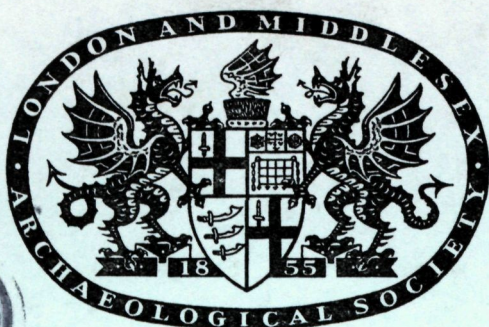
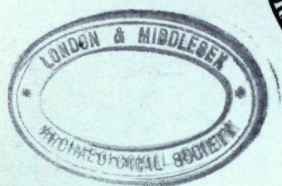
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London & Middlesex
Archaeological Society*

Volume 21 Part 1

1963

Bishopsgate Institute, Bishopsgate, London E.C.2

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1963

(The Part for 1962)

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London and Middlesex Archaeological Society

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BISHOPSGATE INSTITUTE, 230 BISHOPSGATE, LONDON, E.C.2

London and Middlesex Archaeological Society

106th Annual Report of Council for the year ended 30 September 1961

THE COUNCIL has pleasure in presenting its 106th Annual Report, which covers the activities of the Society for the year 1960-61.

Twenty meetings were held:

LECTURES:—14 October: *Laing's Custom House and Precincts*, by R. C. Jarvis, F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S.; 11 November: *London Maps, 16th-19th centuries*, by Miss I. Darlington, M.A., F.S.A.; 19 November: *Sadler's Wells*, by D. Richards, M.A. (Joint meeting with the History Society of the City Literary Institute); 20 January: ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING and Presidential Address on *The Achievements of the Ancient Glass Makers*; 10 February: *The Roman Sites of Great Casterton, Rutland*, by Philip Corder, M.A., Litt.D., Vice-President; 10 March: *The Huguenots of London and neighbourhood*, by Grace L. Gwynn, M.A.; 14 April: *Some Aspects of Anglo-Saxon Architecture*, by E. G. Fletcher, LL.D., F.S.A., M.P.; 29 September: *Arms of some of the London Guilds*, by John Bromley, A.L.A.

VISITS: 1 October: *West Drayton Local History Exhibition*; 8 October: *New River Head*; 3 December: *St. Bartholomew-the-Great and St. Bartholomew-the-Less*; 28 January: *Sir John Soane's Museum*; 18 February: *Southwark Cathedral and Cuming Museum*; 18 March: *Old Battersea House*; 22 April: *Offices of the Coram Foundation for Children*; 13 May: All-day visit to *Sandwich, Richborough Castle and Barfreston*; 10 June: *Flamsteed House, Greenwich and the Cutty Sark*; 8 July: *Northolt*; 9 September: *Waltham Abbey*.

The Council wishes to record its sincere thanks to all who have given lectures or acted as guides at the outdoor meetings.

STOW COMMEMORATION SERVICE:—The Annual Service in memory of John Stow was held at St. Andrew Undershaft on Wednesday 22 March at noon. The Rt. Hon. the Lord Mayor and the Sheriffs attended in state, and the address was given by the Rev. W. M. Atkins, M.A., F.S.A. The Essay Prize was won by Carole Buckley of Downer Grammar School.

PEPYS MEMORIAL SERVICE:—The Annual Service organized in association with the Samuel Pepys Club was held at St. Olave, Hart Street on 8 June at noon. The Rt. Hon. The Lord Mayor (*locum tenens*) and Sheriffs were present, and the address was given by Professor E. N. da C. Andrade, D.Sc., F.R.S.

A SOCIAL EVENING was held at the Bishopgate Institute on 9 December to mark the 50th anniversary of the Society's first meeting at the Institute. A chairman's gavel was presented to the Board of Governors to commemorate the long association, and a short address on the history of the Foundation was given by T. C. Harrowing, Esq., C.C.

PUBLICATIONS:—Parts II and III of Volume 20 of *Transactions* were published during the year.

LIBRARY:—In addition to publications received by way of exchange the following have been added to the library:—

DONATIONS:—By the Guildhall Library; *London Rate Assessments and Inhabitants Lists in the Guildhall Library and Guildhall Miscellany*; By the Port of London Authority; Bryant, A., *Liquid History* (1960); By Westminster Public Library; Three folders of Transcripts from the Percy Davenport Collection, dealing with Stanmore and Harrow; By Mr. T. A. N. Henderson; Aitken, M. J., *Physics and Archaeology* (1961); By Mr. W. Wheatley; *Archaeological Journal*, vols. CXI, CXIII, CXIV; By Mr. A. C. Dabbs: a handsome gift of 724 books and pamphlets, and about 2,000 lantern slides.

The Council wishes to record on behalf of the Society its sincere thanks to these donors for their generous gifts.

PURCHASES:—*The Archaeologist in Essex, Hertfordshire, London and Middlesex*, 1959; Survey of London: *Parish of St. James, Westminster: Part I* (1960); Grimes, W. F., *Excavations on Defence Sites 1939–45, Part I* (1960); Smith, A. H., *The Place Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire*, 3 vols. (1961).

LANTERN SLIDES:—Mrs. Eades has now completed a classified index of the Society's lantern slides, which illustrate the topography of London, Middlesex and the Home Counties. This index is now available for inspection at the Institute. The Council is most grateful to Mrs. Eades for her very useful work.

ESSAY COMPETITION:—It has been decided to revive the Schools Essay Competition, with two prizes of Book Tokens to the value of five guineas and three guineas.

AFFILIATED SOCIETIES:—A successful meeting of representatives was held on 17 May, attended by delegates from nineteen societies. On the suggestion of the Stanmore, Edgware and Harrow Historical Society it has been decided to have constructed a proton-magnetometer and in this connection Mr. Adam, of the Stanmore, Edgware and Harrow Historical Society, has been appointed a temporary local secretary.

PRESERVATION OF ANTIQUITIES:—The Society was consulted by the London Diocesan Advisory Committee concerning the remaining memorials in the Paddington Street Churchyard, St. Marylebone, which the Borough Council wished to remove. It was felt that a certain number of these should definitely be preserved, and our recommendations were accepted by the Advisory Committee.

BULLETIN:—It is proposed to issue a *Bulletin* to members three times a year, the first number to be published in January 1962. It will contain brief reports of meetings, notes on the activities of affiliated societies, lists of additions to the library and notes on matters of archaeological interest in London and Middlesex.

ROMAN AND MEDIAEVAL LONDON EXCAVATION COUNCIL:—The Society's Representative reports that during 1960–61 work on the site of St. Swithin, London Stone, yielded some evidence of the Roman and mediaeval buildings which preceded the rebuilding of the church by Wren; the area to the S. and S.E. of St. Paul's was examined but proved to be too disturbed to reveal much of note; work is now proceeding on sites to the S. of Paternoster Row and on the E. side of Cheapside. The grants made by the Ministry of Works for several years to support the Council's work have now ceased. A general account of the work done during the past fourteen years is nearing completion.

NORTH MIDDLESEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH COMMITTEE:—A very successful second season's work was carried out on South Mimms Castle under the continued direction of Dr. John Kent, F.S.A., the results being of such interest that it was at once decided that at least another season must be spent on the site. The existence of an underground room within the motte, suspected in 1960, was confirmed; a stone floor and an inner hearth being exposed at a depth of about 8 ft. This floor was associated with a stone wall and flint footings. It would appear that a square or rectangular stone tower having a timber superstructure stood above. It is hoped to obtain proof of this and obtain the full dimensions in 1962. The full report, after completion of the examination of the whole site, will appear in *Transactions*.

A certain amount of work was continued on the survey and examination of Grim's Dyke, and the Stanmore, Edgware and Harrow Historical Society re-opened the Elstree site with interesting results. The Committee's finances are in better shape than has been the case for some years, but still cause some anxiety. Nevertheless, it was decided to donate £5 towards the cost of constructing the proton-magnetometer, as some appreciation of the venture of this Society. Owing to lack of interest on the part of the Hampstead Local History Society its name has been deleted from the list of constituent bodies, but the Committee would like to record its appreciation in being able to welcome the addition of the London Museum to those bodies actively interested in its work.

MEMBERSHIP

		<i>Life</i>	<i>Annual</i>	<i>Honorary</i>	<i>Student</i>	<i>Total</i>
Membership, 1 October, 1960	...	51	360	10	7	428
Elected during 1960–61	...	1	22	—	5	28
		52	382	10	12	456
Died, resigned or otherwise removed from						
Register	... ..	1	22	2	2	27
		51	360	8	10	429

We record with great regret the death of two Vice-Presidents, Dr. Philip Corder and Sir Cyril Flower.

FINANCE:—The question of presenting the Society's accounts in a better and more up-to-date manner has caused the Hon. Treasurer concern for some years. He has felt that the Society's traditional method of some 45 years' standing did not give the full picture. With the Council's ready assent the accounts are presented in a new form this year. The Hon. Treasurer would like to record the able and willing advice he has received from Mr. E. H. Spellén, an accountant and member of Council.

A new Income and Expenditure Account followed by a new type of Balance Sheet is presented; these are of the type now used in normal commercial practice. An Abstract of Accounts in the old form is also presented this year in order that comparison may be made with last year's accounts. Thus full continuity for record purposes is maintained.

Both income and expenditure remain at about the same level as last year, although the general rise in the cost of printing, stationery, postage, etc. is reflected in the itemized accounts. Owing to the unsuccessful attempt to preserve Moor Hall Chapel the Society's donation of £50 was returned; the Council decided to open a fund for similar suitable appeals with this sum, having first used £10 as a contribution towards the expenses of the Uxbridge Local History Society in the matter. The fund is to be maintained by a transfer each year of 20 per cent of any credit balance remaining in the Income and Expenditure Account after all other appropriations have been made.

As stated elsewhere, the Council decided to have a proton-magnetometer constructed and to purchase a slide projector. £25 towards the cost of each of these has been appropriated from the year's accounts although it is felt that such items should be treated as capital expenditure: further reference to this is made below. The General Roy's Baseline Plaque Fund has also received a further £25, and £300 has been set aside for publishing *Transactions*, Volume 20, Part IV. Parts II and III of this volume cost £445, some £15 more than the provision made in last year's accounts.

The new Balance Sheet details the Society's assets and how they are apportioned. Under the heading of Accumulated Funds, it can be clearly seen how the proportions of Life Members' Compositions constitute the major portion of the Society's investments. The figure for 1857–90 is shown for record purposes only as this amount was used for other purposes before 1891. The present accumulation commencing from that year has never been allowed to fall below the minimum required by Rule 16 despite the difficult time of the war and immediate post-war years. This had resulted in the Accumulated General Fund being used to the point of non-existence. To remedy this position the Hon. Treasurer, supported by the Hon. Auditors, proposed that the Council should put a proposal to the members at the Annual General Meeting asking for authority under Rule 16 to release a sum of £228 7s. 6d., being the proportion of Life Compositions paid between 1890 and 1921, and that this amount be credited to the Accumulated General Fund; which would thus create a credit balance to cover expenditure on capital items such as the slide projector and proton-magnetometer referred to above.

To finalize, the Society's financial position remains sound and, having made the proposed adjustment in the capital position, it will then be possible to concentrate any increase in income on the Society's publications.

OFFICERS:—Dr. Draper has resigned as Hon. Editor of *Transactions*, an office which he has held since 1948. The Society owes a great debt of gratitude to Dr. Draper for his work in that capacity. Despite financial and printing difficulties he managed to produce a yearly

part of *Transactions*, and to maintain their high standard. His work has brought prestige to the Society as well as giving much pleasure to members.

The Council would like to record its sincere appreciation of the services of the Hon. Officers to whose devoted work the success of the Society is due.

By direction of the Council.

ARTHUR H. HALL, F.S.A., F.L.A.,
Chairman of the Council.

E. E. SMITH,
Honorary Secretary.

EDITOR'S NOTES

1. This Part, which is the first of a new Volume, appears in a larger format, which has been adopted principally in order to afford clearer reproduction of figures and plans in the text. The Part is set throughout in Baskerville.

2. The Editorial Sub-Committee will be glad to consider papers submitted for publication in *Transactions*. Contributors are asked to note that:

- (i) Papers should be typed in double spacing, on one side of the paper. In general form, and in points of detail such as abbreviations, quotations, and references, papers should conform as far as possible to the usual style of *Transactions*.
- (ii) All papers, except the briefest, should begin with a summary of their aims, main points, and conclusions.
- (iii) Line drawings should be in Indian ink on good quality white board. Lines and lettering should be bold enough to admit of any necessary reduction. Where required, a scale should be included.
- (iv) Photostat copies are seldom suitable for reproduction. When photographs are supplied, they should be of the highest possible quality, and have a glazed finish.

3. The Editor takes this opportunity of thanking contributors for their support and co-operation, which are much valued.

GENERAL ACCOUNT				£	s.	d.
To Balance brought forward	...	...	...	225	6	11
By Annual Members' Subscriptions:						
1959/1960	...	...	...	6	4	10
1960/1961	...	...	...	449	17	0
1961/1962	...	...	...	58	14	6
Corporate Members' Subscriptions:						
1959/1960	...	...	...	6	6	0
1960/1961	...	...	...	163	7	4
1961/1962	...	...	...	4	4	0
Life Compositions	...	...	...	173	17	4
Donations	...	...	...	26	5	0
Income Tax recovered on Seven Year Deeds of Covenant:						
1960	...	...	...	4	14	0
				62	10	0
				£1,007	9	7
				193	12	6
				168	0	7
				46	4	11
				13	11	6
				44	17	6
				4	17	7
				23	3	0
				22	11	6
				10	8	0
				10	0	0
				7	12	6
				265	0	0
				25	0	0
				42	2	11
				33	17	10
				8	8	0
				25	0	0
				25	0	0
				38	1	3
				£1,007	9	7

LIBRARY PURCHASES FUND				£	s.	d.
To Balance brought forward	...	...	...	1	19	3
By Purchases						
Transfer from Sale of Publications	...	...	...	5	0	0
Transfer from General Account	...	...	...	33	17	10
				£40	17	1

GENERAL ROY'S BASELINE PLAQUE FUND

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
To Balance brought forward ...	...	...	...	By Balance carried forward ...	...	...	...
, Annual Deposit ...	...	...	...		50	0	0
	<u>...</u>	<u>...</u>	<u>...</u>		<u>50</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
	£50	0	0		£50	0	0

BUILDINGS RESTORATION FUND

To Transfer from General Account	...	...	42	2	11	
„ Refund of 1959 donation re Moor Hall Chapel	...	...	50	0	0	
						£92 2 11

PRIZE ESSAY FUND

To Transfer from General Account <i>re</i> 1961 Prizes	...	8 8 0	By Expenses <i>re</i> 1961 Competition	...	1 7 7
			„ Balance carried forward	...	7 0 5
		<u>£8 8 0</u>			<u>£8 8 0</u>

PROJECTOR PURCHASE ACCOUNT

To Transfer from General Account	...	...	£25	0	0
			By Balance carried forward	...	...
				£25	0
				0	0

PROTON-MAGNETOMETER CONSTRUCTION FUND

To Transfer from General Account	£25	0	0		By Balance carried forward	£25	0	0
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PUBLICATIONS ACCOUNT

To Balance brought forward	109 18 10
" Dividends, Donations, Interest and Sales	58 17 6
" Transfer from General Account ... ..	... ..	265 0 0
		<hr/>
		£433 16 4
<hr/>		
By Printing Transactions Vol. 20, Part II III	... ..	219 11 6
" Printing Offprints ... ..	... ..	143 7 0
" Transfer to Library Purchases Fund	... ..	26 5 0
" Balance carried forward ... ..	... ..	5 0 0
		<hr/>
		£433 16 4

LONDON AND MIDDLESEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY
ABSTRACT OF ACCOUNTS OF ASSOCIATED BODIES
(for the year ended 30 September, 1961)

RECEIPTS	SCHOOLS SECTION			PAYMENTS		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Bank Balance brought forward	29 7 2	General Printing and Stationery	...	16 8 6
Annual Subscriptions—1961:	Postage ...	...	11 4 8
7 at 10/6	...	3 13 6	...	Bulletin—Numbers 5 to 11	...	7 9 11
11 at 21/-	...	11 11 0	...	Sundry Expenses	...	7 3 5
16 at 50% of 42/-	...	16 16 0	...	Bank Balance carried forward	...	19 1 2
			<u>£61 7 8</u>			<u>£61 7 8</u>

NORTH MIDDLESEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH COMMITTEE

CONSTITUENT BODIES:			PAYMENTS		
£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
London and Middlesex Archaeological Society			London Museum		
Barnet and District Record Society			Mill Hill and Hendon Historical Society		
Edmonton Hundred Historical Society			Ruislip and District Natural History Society		
Enfield Archaeological Society			Stanmore, Edgware and Harrow Historical Society		
Historical Association (North London Branch)			Wembley History Society		
RECEIPTS			PAYMENTS		
Bank Balance brought forward	...	28 15 0	General Printing, Stationery, and Postage	...	7 16 3
Balance of Carnegie United Kingdom Trust grant	...	5 0 0	Insurance	...	3 0 0
Subscriptions and Donations	...	29 17 0	Subscriptions	...	1 11 6
Sales of Reports, etc.	...	15 6	Bank Balance carried forward	...	51 19 9
		<u>64 7 6</u>			<u>64 7 6</u>
Balance brought down	...	51 19 9	Reserved for Donation to London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, re Construction of Proton-Magnetometer	...	5 0 0
		<u>£116 7 3</u>	Net Balance carried forward	...	46 19 9
					<u>£116 7 3</u>

We have examined the above Accounts with the books and vouchers as submitted by the Honorary Treasurer. We have verified the bank balances with the Society's bankers. In our opinion and to the best of our knowledge such accounts are correct and in accordance with the books and records of the Society.

T. A. N. HENDERSON, F.S.A. *Honorary Treasurer*,
29 October, 1961.

S. W. HOWARD
M. C. MINNITT *Honorary Auditors*,
London and Middlesex Archaeological Society,
17 November, 1961.

LONDON AND MIDDLESEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY
INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT (NEW STYLE) for the Year ended 30 September, 1961

EXPENDITURE		INCOME	
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Publishing <i>Transactions</i> Vol. 20, Part II:		Subscriptions:	
Printing Editorial Section ...	219 11 6	Annual Members—1959/1960 (in arrear)	6 4 10
Printing Annual Report, Balance Sheet, etc.	36 19 0	1960/1961 ...	486 12 0
Printing Offprints ...	26 5 0	Corporate Members—1959/1960 (in arrear)	6 6 0
Publishing <i>Transactions</i> Vol. 20, Part III:		1960/1961 ...	163 7 4
Printing ...	143 7 0	Life Composition (25% Current Expenses)	6 11 3
Despatching <i>Transactions</i> Vol. 20, Parts II and III ...	19 5 5	Returned Special Donation of 1958/1959 <i>re</i> Moor Hall Chapel ...	669 1 5
Deduct Provision at 30 September, 1960 ...	445 7 11	Donations ...	50 0 0
General Printing and Stationery ...	430 0 0	Dividends, Interest, and Sales ...	4 14 0
Postages, Telephone, and Fares ...		Income Tax recoverable on Seven Year Covenants: 1961 claim ...	59 3 6
Rent (Bishopsgate Institute) ...		Less 1960 item disallowed	63 16 6
Publicity ...			1 6 7
Meetings ...			62 9 11
Meeting of Affiliated Societies' Representatives	15 7 11		
Lecture—Schools Section ...	158 1 1		
Pepys and Stow Memorial Services ...	148 15 2		
Subscriptions and Donations ...	10 0 0		
Special Donation: Uxbridge Local History Society	44 17 6		
Library Purchases ...	46 4 11		
Purchase Tax ...	13 11 6		
Sundry Expenses ...	7 12 6		
Balance carried down, being excess of Income over Expenditure ...	10 8 0		
	23 3 0		
	10 0 0		
	13 13 7		
	4 17 7		
	22 11 6		
	316 4 7		
	£845 8 10		
Appropriations:			
Publishing <i>Transactions</i> Vol. 20, Part IV ...	300 0 0	Balance brought down ...	316 4 7
Buildings Restoration Fund ...	82 2 11		
Library Purchases Fund ...	25 4 3		
Prize Essay Fund ...	8 8 0		
General Roy's Baseline Plaque Fund ...	25 0 0		
Proton-Magnetometer Construction Fund ...	25 0 0		
Projector Purchase Account ...	25 0 0	Balance to Accumulated Fund ...	174 10 7
	490 15 2		
	£490 15 2		
			£845 8 10

BALANCE SHEET as at 30th September, 1961

LIABILITIES				ASSETS			
	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Subscriptions paid in advance	...	...	62 18 6	Investments—at cost:	688 13 3		
Provision for publishing <i>Transactions</i> Vol. 20, Part IV	...	...	300 0 0	£949 12 1 4 % Consols	...	...	...
Reserved for:				£100 0 0 5 % Defence Bonds	...	...	...
Buildings Restoration Fund	...	...	82 2 11	(Market value at 30.9.61: £657)	...	...	788 13 3
Library Purchases Fund	...	...	27 3 6	Cash at Bank and In Hand:			
Prize Essay Fund	...	...	8 8 0	Martins Bank Ltd. General Account	117 9 0		
General Roy's Baseline Plaque Fund	...	...	50 0 0	Publications Account	39 12 10		
Proton-Magnetometer Construction Fund	...	...	25 0 0	Deposit Account	125 0 0		
Projector Purchase Account	...	...	25 0 0	In Hands of Honorary Officers	11 19 1		
			217 14 5			294 0 11	
North Middlesex Archaeological Research Committee (see <i>contra</i>)	...	...	51 19 9	Cash at Bank held for Associated Bodies:			
Schools Section (see <i>contra</i>)	...	...	19 1 2	Martins Bank Ltd. N.M.A.R.C. Account	51 19 9		
Accumulated Funds:				(see <i>contra</i>)	...	...	...
Life Member's Compositions Fund:				Martins Bank Ltd. Schools Section Account	19 1 2		
				(see <i>contra</i>)	...	...	71 0 11
Period	1857-1890	1891-1957	1957-1961	Debtors:			
As at	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	Income Tax recoverable on Seven Year	63 16 6		
1.10.60	238 5 0	634 18 3	47 1 3	Covenants—1961 claim	6 0		
1960/61	— — —	— — —	19 13 9	Sundry	...	...	...
30.9.61	238 5 0	634 18 3	66 15 0	Library and Stock of Publications	...	...	64 2 6
			701 13 3			Not valued	
General Fund:							
As at 1.10.60	...	...	39 1 1				
Less 1960/1961	...	...	174 10 7				
			135 9 6				
			566 3 9				
			£1,217 17 7				

We have examined the above Balance Sheet and attached Income and Expenditure Account with the books and vouchers of the Society as submitted by the Honorary Treasurer.

We have verified the bank balances and securities with the Society's bankers.

In our opinion and to the best of our knowledge such accounts are correct and in accordance with the books and records of the Society.

S. W. HOWARD
M. C. MINNITT
Honorary Auditors,
17 November, 1961

T. A. N. HENDERSON, F.S.A., *Honorary Treasurer*, 29 October, 1961



LIST OF MEMBERS

Corrected to 1 January 1963

* Indicates a Life Member
s Indicates a Student Member

HONORARY MEMBERS

- 1933 CHIOSSO, H. E. (*Hon. Photographer*), 18, St. Margaret's, London Road, Guildford, Surrey.
1963 DAWSON, I. D. H., F.L.A. (*Hon. Librarian*, Tel.: Bishopsgate 2254), Bishopsgate Institute, 230 Bishopsgate, E.C.2.
1941 GRITTEN, A. J., A.L.A., Lime Tree Cottage, 222, Lower Road, Great Bookham, Surrey.
1953 HOARE, Sir Archer, County Alderman, C.B.E. (*Vice-President*), 10, Great George Street, S.W.1.
1958 JESSUP, F. W., M.A., LL.B., F.S.A., Rewley House, Wellington Square, Oxford.
1956 TANNER, L. E., C.V.O., M.A., F.S.A. (*Vice-President*), The Muniment Room and Library, Westminster Abbey, S.W.1.
1933 WHEATLEY, William, M.A. (Oxon.), A.R.I.C. (*Hon. Director of Meetings*), 4, Castle Gate, Richmond, Surrey.
1937 WHEELER, Sir Mortimer, C.I.E., M.C., M.A., D.Litt., F.B.A., F.S.A. (*Vice-President*), The British Academy, Burlington Gardens, W.1.

PERSONAL MEMBERS

- 1963 ALDRED, Miss E. F. J., 57, Lexham Gardens, W.8.
1950 *ALLEN, C. H., A.C.A., 53, Sandy Lane, Cheam, Sutton, Surrey.
1954 ALLEN, Mrs. C. H., A.C.A., 53, Sandy Lane, Cheam, Sutton, Surrey.
1956 ALLEN, Miss I. W., 2, Burford Gardens, Palmers Green, N.13.
1963 ATKINSON, S. R., 19 Inman Road, Harlesden, N.W.10.
1960 AVERY, D., M.A., D.Litt., F.R.S.A., 67 Cadogan Gardens, S.W.3.
1963 BAGGALEY, Miss F., 69 Elmcroft Crescent, North Harrow, Middx.
1962 BAGGALLAY, Miss O., 14 Primrose Hill Road, N.W.3.
1950 BAKEWELL, Dr. Helen, M.B., Ch.B., D.P.H., 23 The Lawns, Blackheath, S.E.3.
1963 BARRON, Mrs. C., B.A., 103 Castlehaven Road, N.W.1.
1950 BATHE, B. W., 42 Deane Croft Road, Eastcote, Pinner, Middx.
1956 BAWTREE, Mr. and Mrs. M., Rose Cottage, The Green, West Drayton, Middx.
1962 BECKH, L. V., 84 Long Lane, Ickenham, Uxbridge, Middx.
1956 BECQUE, Miss C. M., 71 Bute Gardens, Hammersmith, W.6.
1925 BELL, Alfred G., I.S.O., B.Sc., F.G.S., 34 Sherard Road, Eltham, S.E.9.
1922 *BELL, A. Stanley, 40 Buckingham Mansions, West End Lane, N.W.6.
1962 BENDALL, S., F.R.N.S., 128 Lexham Gardens, W.8.
1955 *BERNHARD-SMITH, Derek, 5 Briant's Close, Hatch End, Pinner, Middx.
1951 BERRY, G. C. F., M.A., 63 Chandos Road, East Finchley, N.2.
1950 BIDDLE, Martin, 1 Taviton Street, W.C.1.
1957 BIMSON, Miss M., 217 Westminster Bridge Road, S.E.1.
1950 BOLT, Miss M. E., 57 Pont Street, S.W.1.
1954 BOLTON, Miss M. E. N., 20 Lodge Drive, Palmers Green, N.13.
1960 BOULTON, Mrs. A. L., 9 Boyton House, Wellington Road, St. John's Wood, N.W.8.

- 1956 BRAIN, W., F.Z.S., Haynes, 30 Rushworth Road, Reigate, Surrey.
 1937 BRAY, Francis E., Woodham Grange, Horsell, Woking, Surrey.
 1961 BROWN, A. E., B.A., Flat 2, 148 Hornsey Lane, N.6.
 1945 *BROWN, Cecil, 6 Mount Vernon, Hampstead, N.W.3.
 1912 BROWN, George Bridgmore, Commander (S), M.B.E., R.D., R.N.R. (*Vice-President, Trustee*), 22 Park Hill Rise, Croydon, Surrey.
 1962 BROWN, N. C., Trinity College, Cambridge.
 1923 *BROWN, Mrs. Susan, 22 Park Hill Rise, Croydon, Surrey.
 1922 *BRUNWIN, George E., Haverings, Rayne, Braintree, Essex.
 1951 BUCKLAND, J. S. P., Peartrees, Sweetlands Corner, Staplehurst, Tonbridge, Kent.
 1961 BULMER-THOMAS, Ivor, M.A., 12 Edwardes Squares, W.8.
 1949 BURN, Mrs. L. M., B.A. (Hons.), 12 Parliament Hill, N.W.3.
 1959 BURRELL, Mr. and Mrs. Roy, 205 Rochester Avenue, Feltham, Middx.
 1955 BURTON, Mr. and Mrs. Horace J., 50 Churchill Avenue, Harrow, Middx.
 1960 BYFORD, N. P., 32 Foyle Road, Tottenham, N.17.
 1962 CALLAGHAN, C., 26 Park House Gardens, Twickenham, Middx.
 1956 CALLARD, Miss M., 70 Forest Hill Road, Honor Oak, S.E.22.
 1949 *CAMERON, H. K., B.Sc., Ph.D., F.S.A., Tinkers Roost, 5 The Drive, Northwood, Middx.
 1953 *CAMPBELL, Miss E. M. J., M.A., Birkbeck College, Malet Street, W.C.1.
 1956 CARR, Miss E. D., 20 Holmes Road, Twickenham, Middx.
 1963 CAVE, S. H., 145A Horn Lane, Acton, W.3.
 1961 *CHAFFIN, D. E., 183 Norbury Avenue, Thornton Heath, Surrey.
 1958 CHAMP, Mr. and Mrs. E. H., 26 Hillcrest, Potters Bar, Middx.
 1935 CHIOSSO, Mrs. H. E., 18 St. Margaret's, London Road, Guildford, Surrey.
 1962 CLARKSON, Miss A. M., 31 Chandos Road, Cricklewood, N.W.2.
 1957 CLAYTON, C. E. A., 32 Bernard Street, Russell Square, W.C.1.
 1962 COLEMAN, Miss M. L., B.A. (Hons.), 44 Spratt Hall Road, Wanstead, E.11.
 1961 COLES, J. S., 6 Powell Road, Clapton, E.5.
 1951 COOK, Norman C., B.A., F.S.A., F.M.A., Guildhall Museum, Royal Exchange, E.C.3.
 1962 COOPER, R. W., 102 Murchison Road, Leyton, E.10.
 1956 CORP, Mr. and Mrs. E. A., 229 West Heath Road, N.W.3.
 1963 COWAN, Mrs. E. I., 20 Ashburn Place, S.W.7.
 1947 COX, A. H., Winsley, Bagley Close, West Drayton, Middx.
 1962 COX, H. J., 145B Tulse Hill, S.W.2.
 1955 CRAWLEY, L. C., 38 Lukin Crescent, Chingford, E.4.
 1958 CROWE, Stanley, 5 Bloomsbury Street, W.C.1.
 1953 DARLINGTON, Miss Ida, M.A., F.S.A., F.L.A., 22 Addison Way, N.W.11.
 1957 DAVIES, Miss D. N. A., 20 Grove Crescent, Kingsbury, N.W.9.
 1953 DAVIES, Mrs. M. L., B.A., 30 Bateman Road, Croxley Green, Rickmansworth, Herts.
 1956 DAWE, R. M., 21 Morgan Crescent, Theydon Bois, Epping, Essex.
 1960 DAYKIN, F. W., 31 Wavertree Road, Streatham Hill, S.W.2.
 1959 DEAN, The Reverend and Mrs. Maurice, St. Olave's Rectory, 8 Hart Street, E.C.3.
 1950 *DENNY, Alderman J. L. P., M.C., J.P., 19 Eastcheap, E.C.3.
 1959 DE VERINNE, Miss Aline, 1 Victoria Gardens, W.11.
 1962 DORLING, Miss I. M., B.Sc., 97 Lexham Gardens, W.8.
 1926 *DOVE, Arthur N., J.P., Cloudesley Place, Islington, N.1.
 1933 *DOVE, Miss Hilda C., Corner Cottage, Hadley Green, Barnet, Herts.
 1926 *DOVE, Lt.-Col. William W., C.B.E., T.D., D.L., C.C., F.S.A., (*Vice-President*), Cloudesley Place, Islington, N.1.
 1947 DOWDELL, Mrs. Edith M., Flat 11, 99 Haverstock Hill, N.W.3.

- 1956 *DRAKE, J. G., B.A., 24 Court Road, Godstone, Surrey.
- 1946 DRAPER, F. W. Marsden, M.A., Ph.D., Lic.-ès-Lettres, F.S.A. (*Vice-President*), 26 The Avenue, Muswell Hill, N.10.
- 1948 *EADES, George E., L.C.P., F.S.A. (Scot.), M.R.S.T., 29 Eversley Road, Norwood, S.E.19.
- 1948 *EADES, Mrs. Ivy L., 29 Eversley Road, Norwood, S.E.19.
- 1957 EGGLESTON, A. F., M.A., English School, Nicosia, Cyprus.
- 1935 *EPPS, Miss Theresa D., 14 Quay Hill, Lymington, Hants.
- 1954 ESDALE, Mrs. R. M. J., B.A., 3 Iverna Gardens, W.8.
- 1945 EYRES, Miss Winifred, B.Sc. (Econ.), F.N.G.A., L.G.S.M., Vine Haven, 35 Western Avenue, Barton-on-Sea, New Milton, Hants.
- 1951 FALKNER, A. H., 63 Elmfield Avenue, Teddington, Middx.
- 1933 FALKNER, V. M., D.Sc., D.I.C., A.M.I.Mech.E., 63 Elmfield Avenue, Teddington, Middx.
- 1933 FENDICK, T. Gordon, M.A., LL.B. (Cantab.), The Castle, Wisbech, Cambs.
- 1962 FISHER, S. T., B.A.Sc., 53 Morrison Avenue, Town of Mount Royal, Quebec, Canada.
- 1938 FLETCHER, E. G. M., LL.D., B.A., F.S.A., M.P., 9 Robin Grove, Highgate, N.6.
- 1955 FLETCHER, Miss Grace E., M.Sc. (Econ.), D.P.A., Rustington Hotel, St. John's Road, Eastbourne, Sussex.
- 1957 FORGE, Mr. and Mrs. F. W., 6 Grey Close, Meadway, N.W.11.
- 1950 FOZZARD, P. R., 36A Fitz-George Avenue, W.14.
- 1950 FROOM, F. J., 7 Henry's Avenue, Woodford Green, Essex.
- 1962 FRY, M., 223 Highbury New Park, N.5.
- 1947 GABRIEL, Douglas B. G., B.A., Pottshays, Ridge, Nr. Barnet, Herts.
- 1961 GALLANT, Colonel René, 22 Tudor Court, Gunnersbury Lane, W.3.
- 1952 GARRETT, E. L., Windle, The Common, Berkhamsted, Herts.
- 1951 GAULD, R. M., 50 Queen's Avenue, Muswell Hill, N.10.
- 1953 GOODWIN, E. R., 50 West Drayton Park Avenue, West Drayton, Middx.
- 1947 GORSKY, David, 4 The Grange, Hartley Wintney, Basingstoke, Hants.
- 1958 GRACE, R. W., St. Faith, 220 Elson Road, Gosport, Hants.
- 1954 GRAY, S. R. N., 23 Redcliffe Square, West Brompton, S.W.10.
- 1947 GREEN, Miss R. A. M., 12 Avenue Mansions, Finchley Road, N.W.3.
- 1951 *GREENE, N. W., M.A., A.M.I.C.E., Navy Works Dept., Admiralty Office, Imrieel, Malta, G.C.
- 1954 GREGSON, Miss P., 34 Wood Lane, Isleworth, Middx.
- 1948 GRIMES, Professor William F., C.B.E., M.A., F.S.A., F.M.A. (*Past President*), Institute of Archaeology, 31-34 Gordon Square, W.C.1.
- 1961 GROSSMAN, Miss E. J., 23 Cranmer Road, Manchester 20.
- 1938 GROVES, Lt.-Col. H. G. S., J.P., F.R.I.C.S., Little Park, 5 Gentleman's Row, Enfield, Middx.
- 1949 HALL, Arthur H., F.S.A., F.L.A. (*Vice-President, Chairman of Council*), Guildhall Library, E.C.2.
- 1954 HALL, Miss M. L., M.A., 78B Ashley Gardens, Victoria Street, S.W.1.
- 1952 HAMMOND, Bertram, 32 Ashridge Gardens, N.13.
- 1957 HARDEN, D. B., O.B.E., Ph.D., M.A., F.S.A. (*President*), London Museum, Kensington Palace, W.8.
- 1960 HARDING, J., 57 Mosedale Street, Camberwell, S.E.5.
- 1960 *HARMSWORTH, Miss M. R. N., 16 Sheffield Terrace, Kensington, W.8.
- 1954 HARPER SMITH, T., Ph.D., M.Th., B.D., 48 Perryn Road, W.3.
- 1962 HARRIS, Miss R. J., 36 Livingstone Road, Hounslow, Middx.
- 1960 HARRISON, J. R., 39 Laughton Road, Northolt, Greenford, Middx.

- 1950 HASELGROVE, D. Cliff, M.A., 22 Coleherne Court, South Kensington, S.W.5.
 1956 HAYWARD, Miss C. M., 309 Fulham Road, Chelsea, S.W.10.
 1956 HEADRIDGE, Miss E., 142 Mickleburgh Hill, Herne Bay, Kent.
 1962 HEALD, Miss M. J., 28 Princes Square, W.2.
 1950 HENDERSON, Miss Sylvia V., 2 Ivymount Road, S.E.27.
 1931 *HENDERSON, T. A. N., F.S.A. (*Vice President, Hon. Treasurer*), 2 Ivymount Road, S.E. 27.
 (Telephone Gipsy Hill 4909).
 1957 HILL, Miss H. A., 33 Ashley Court, S.W.1.
 1950 HOGG, G. L., 40 Woodland Rise, Muswell Hill, N.10.
 1948 *HONEYBOURNE, Miss Marjorie B., M.A., F.S.A., 16 Highlands Road, Barnet, Herts.
 1962 HORNE, Mr. and Mrs. F. G. N., 41 Oakley Road, Warlingham, Surrey.
 1962 HOWARD, B. C., B.A., 123 Randall Avenue, Cricklewood, N.W.2.
 1952 *HOWARD, Miss D. J., 38 Great Smith Street, S.W.1.
 1957 HOWARD, Miss I. G., 43 Cuckoo Hill Road, Pinner, Middx.
 1952 HOWARD, Mr. and Mrs. S. W., 179 Combe Road, Croydon, Surrey.
 1954 *HOWISON, Mrs. E. N., 21 Smith Street, Chelsea, S.W.3.
 1954 HOWLETT, Victor, 6 Old Park Avenue, London, S.W.12.
 1953 HUGHESDON, Miss C., 37 Birchington Road, Crouch End, N.8.
 1956 HUNTER, Miss J. R., Flat 174, Gordon Court, Du Cane Road, W.12.
 1950 JACOBS, H. R., C.C., 1-4 Copthall Chambers, Copthall Court, E.C.2.
 1945 JARVIS, Mrs. Mary, 31 Hitherfield Road, Streatham, S.W.16.
 1934 *JARVIS, R. C., 31 Hitherfield Road, Streatham, S.W.16.
 1961 JARVIS, R. C., F.S.A., Library and Museum, King's Beam House, E.C.3.
 1958 JOHNSON, D. J., B.A., 14 Amberley Road, Buckhurst Hill, Essex.
 1962 JOHNSON, Miss I. I., B.A. (Hons.), 111 Windmill Road, Brentford, Middlesex.
 1962 JONES, A. P., M.R.C.V.S., B.V.M.S., 57 Ealing Park Gardens, W.5.
 1957 JONES, D. M. M., 3 Oastfield Court, Pembroke Road, Sevenoaks, Kent.
 1953 JOSLING, Mrs. R. F., 113 Prince's Avenue, Palmers Green, N.13.
 1937 *JOSLING, Walter, 113 Prince's Avenue, Palmers Green, N.13.
 1962 sKAHN, Miss H. J., 194 Cromwell Road, S.W.5.
 1958 sKEEN, L. J., 255 High Road, Willesden Green, N.W.10.
 1963 KELLAWAY, W., 2 Grove Terrace, N.W.5.
 1930 KENT, William R. G., F.S.A., 76 Broderick Road, S.W.17.
 1952 KIMBER, R. J., 107 Stamford Court, Goldhawk Road, W.6.
 1957 KING, A., A.M.I.Mech.E., 86 Vicarsmoor Lane, N.21.
 1962 KING, H. P., M.A., 67 Gladstone Park Gardens, N.W.2.
 1960 KING, Miss P. S., B.A., 17d Cleveland Square, W.2.
 1958 KNIGHT, Mr. and Mrs. C. J., 15 Osborne Road, Palmers Green, N.13.
 1958 LAITHWAITE, J. M. W., B.A., St. Pancras Hostel, 43 Holmes Road, Kentish Town, N.W.5.
 1962 LAMONT, A. W. A., B.Sc. (Econ.), 15 Mandeville Road, Saffron Walden, Essex.
 1957 LANNING, Miss B., 110 College Road, Harrow Weald, Middx.
 1956 LAURIE, Mrs. C. M., 3 Beauchamp Place, S.W.3.
 1955 LEACH, C. H., 18 Gayton Road, Harrow, Middx.
 1955 LEE, Charles E., 2 Duke's Road, Tavistock Square, W.C.1.
 1959 LEE, Miss J. J., 74 Rowley Avenue, Sidcup, Kent.
 1963 LEWIS, Miss A. P., c/o Abercorn Nurses' Home, Bute Gardens, Hammersmith, W.6.
 1960 LOVELL, D. E., 28 Martin Way, Morden, Surrey.
 1956 LOVELOCK, Miss E. H., 71 Clarence Road, Enfield, Middx.
 1963 LOWENSTEIN, Mrs. E., 1 Park Avenue, N.W.11.
 1962 McDERMOTT, M. A., 75 Walfield Avenue, N.20.

- 1957 MACDONALD, Mrs. D. C., 36 Milford Gardens, Edgware, Middx.
- 1957 MACDONALD, Miss H., B.A., 36 Milford Gardens, Edgware, Middlesex.
- 1954 McDONNELL, K. G. T., B.Sc. (Econ.), St. Anthony's, 2 Sandal Road, New Malden, Surrey.
- 1959 MACE, Miss V. E., 19 Grimshaw Close, Highgate, N.6.
- 1961 McGROARTY, Miss A. D., 6 Chiswick Lane, W.4.
- 1961 McGROARTY, Mrs. J., 6 Chiswick Lane, W.4.
- 1947 MACLAGAN, William D., M.A., 22 Hamilton Terrace, N.W.8.
- 1963 McLAREN, C., B.A., 195 Chiswick Village, W.4.
- 1946 *MAGUIRE, Leonard J., M.B.E., 2261 Jefferson Avenue, West Vancouver, B.C., Canada.
- 1953 MANDER, N. P., St. Peter's Organ Works, St. Peter's Avenue, Hackney, E.2.
- 1925 MARCHAM, W. McBeath, 39 Wood Street, Barnet, Herts.
- 1963 MARSDEN, P. R. V., Guildhall Museum, E.C.2.
- 1961 MARTINS, Miss H., 55 Park View, New Malden, Surrey.
- 1955 *MENZLER, F. A. A., C.B.E., B.Sc., F.I.A., 56 Chiltern Court, Baker Street, N.W.1.
- 1948 *MERCER, Miss E. D., B.A. (Hons.), F.S.A., Hillside, Deepdene Drive, Dorking, Surrey.
- 1958 MILNE, A. Taylor, M.A., F.R.Hist.S., 9 Frank Dixon Close, Dulwich, S.E.21.
- 1954 *MILNE, Miss H., 252 Holly Lodge Mansions, Highgate, N.6.
- 1955 MILNER-WHITE, Miss U. M., B.A., 48 Addison Road, W.14.
- 1956 MINNITT, Miss M. C., 114 Arthur Court, Queensway, W.2.
- 1948 MOORE, Mr. and Mrs. Cyril H., 60 Park Lane, Hayes, Middlesex.
- 1956 sMOORE, S. G., 60 Park Lane, Hayes, Middx.
- 1952 MORRIS, L. E., 99 Eastcote Road, Ruislip, Middx.
- 1957 MORRISON, A. C., M.A., 25 Rowsley Avenue, Hendon, N.W.4.
- 1952 MUIRHEAD, L. R., M.A., The Blue Guides, 154 Fleet Street, E.C.4.
- 1951 MULLINS, E. L. C., M.A., Institute of Historical Research, Senate House, Malet Street, W.C.1.
- 1953 MUSGROVE, G. H., 20 Redbourne Avenue, Church End, Finchley, N.3.
- 1949 MYERS, Miss Winifred A., 80 New Bond Street, W.1.
- 1936 *NATHAN OF CHURT, Colonel The Rt. Hon. Lord, P.C., T.D., D.L., F.S.A. (*Past President*), 71 Park Street, W.1.
- 1931 NICHOLS, John F., M.C., M.A., Ph.D., F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S. (*Vice-President*), 15 Minster Road, Godalming, Surrey.
- 1958 NOCKLES, Miss R. E., 33 Lapstone Gardens, Kenton, Harrow, Middx.
- 1955 O'CONNOR, Miss E. K., 17 Lewisham Park, S.E.13.
- 1954 *OLDFIELD, P. J., 45 Ridgmount Gardens, W.C.1.
- 1954 ORME, Miss M. L., 23 Mayfield Avenue, Old Southgate, N.14.
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THE LEPER HOSPITALS OF THE LONDON AREA

with an Appendix on
SOME OTHER MEDIAEVAL HOSPITALS OF MIDDLESEX

BY MARJORIE B. HONEYBOURNE, M.A., F.S.A.

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NOTES

- 1 Soc. of Antiquaries, Seals, B 8.4.
- 2 B.M. Seals, No. 3511 (Birch, *Cat. of Seals*, I, 635-6).
- 3 B.M. Seals, LXVIII, 17.
- 4 B.M. Seals, LXVIII, 51.
- 5 Wilkinson, *Londina Illustrata*, I, pl. 68.
- 6 L.C.C. Members' Library: Print Collection, Hackney A 9946.
- 7 Wilkinson, *Londina Illustrata*, I, pl. 67.
- 8 B.M. King's Library, Maps and Plans, XXVII, 56a.
- 9 *ibid.*, 56b.

THE LEPER HOSPITALS OF THE LONDON AREA

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EDITOR'S PREFACE

This account sets out to give a comprehensive history of the leper houses of the London area. Between them the ten hospitals, strategically placed, served for over four hundred years to give the community a measure of protection from an ever-present threat. The last case of leprosy recorded in London seems to have occurred in 1557, but even after the disease had been eliminated, some lazaret houses continued to provide care for those suffering from other ailments. It was not until 1760 that the last survivors, Kingsland and the Lock (in Southwark), finally closed their doors. By this time both institutions were uneconomic subsidiaries of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, to which their work was transferred. The last substantial link with a London leper house disappeared within living memory: Trinity Chapel, Knightsbridge, erected in 1861 to replace an earlier structure built for Knightsbridge Lazzaret House in 1699, was demolished in 1904.

Miss Honeybourne's paper begins with an introduction in which the significance of leprosy in the Europe of the Middle Ages is briefly discussed, and a summary is given of the development of the London leper hospitals. There follow historical accounts of each of the hospitals (arranged in alphabetical order), together with lists of their officials. An appendix contains similar accounts of five other Middlesex hospitals of medieval foundation. Notes will be found at the end of each section.

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INTRODUCTION¹

Leprosy (*elephantiasis Graecorum*)² and the plague were the two most dreaded diseases of the Middle Ages in Europe. The former seems to have been introduced from the east by traders, pilgrims and crusaders. Little is heard of it before the eleventh century;³ it came to a peak in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and in most parts more or less died out by the sixteenth century. To deal with the scourge more than 20,000 leper hospitals were set up in Europe.⁴ These hospitals, as was the case with all other hospitals, were closely connected with the Christian Church, and those who entered them were expected to live according to a Christian rule.⁵ A chapel was therefore a necessity. The physical care of the lepers was a different matter. No one knew any cure and one gets the impression that very little attention was paid to this part of the problem. Some hospitals were set up not so much to help the lepers in them as to protect the people outside, though many founders of leper hospitals were inspired by charity. Segregation of lepers had been practised in early Hebrew days and in the time of Christ, but the leprosy of Bible days was of an exceptionally contagious type⁶, if indeed it was the same disease as that of the Middle Ages. It was not until some time after the Norman Conquest that segregation became the accepted treatment in England. So terrified were other men by then that lepers became social outcasts with no common law rights. The burial service was read over them by the Church;⁷ and they were classed with idiots, madmen and outlaws by the State.⁸ They lost all property rights and a long list of prohibitions was inflicted on them. These included exclusion from churches, market places, taverns, mills, bakehouses and all other places of assembly. Further, the leper was not to wash in springs or running water, walk along any narrow path, touch any women or children, or any posts or rails, or give anything to anyone; he was allowed to talk to people only off the road and in the open air, and to eat and drink only with lepers, using his own cup. If a leper went abroad to beg for alms⁹ he was to be closely covered from head to foot in a hat or hood, a long-sleeved tunic fastened with a girdle, a cloak, leggings and shoes; and he had to carry a rattle, clappers or bell to warn people of his approach.¹⁰

Almost every country in Europe was visited by this dread disease, and leper houses were set up in Russia, France (2,000 of them), Germany, Holland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, England, Scotland, Ireland, Shetland and the Faroes. In England there were about 200 leper hospitals.¹¹ The two earliest were founded in Kent, one outside Canterbury by Archbishop Lanfranc in the reign of William the Conqueror, and the other outside Rochester in the reign of his son.¹² London, like Kent, was sure to be smitten early owing to its proximity to the continent and its great trade. The first notice of leprosy in London comes actually in Saxon times, when Aelfweard,¹³ Bishop of London (from 1035) and also Abbot of Evesham, was stricken at the close of his life with leprosy inflicted on him, so it was said, by a vengeful saint whose tomb he had plundered for relics. Aelfweard resigned his position as Abbot of Evesham and thereupon the monks refused to shelter him. Aelfweard promptly took away all the books and sacred vessels that he had given them and was welcomed at Ramsey Abbey, where he died and was buried in 1044. Another tale of a leper is connected with Edward the Confessor at Westminster. His servants began to drive away a leper full of sores but the king restrained

them. When the leper begged to be carried into the church on the royal shoulders the king agreed, God answered his prayers and the leper was healed.¹⁴

In early Norman times Hugh d'Oriville,¹⁵ Bishop of London, died of leprosy in 1085 'for no cure could be found'. By Henry I's reign the revival of religious enthusiasm was leading to a slightly more charitable attitude than heretofore towards such sufferers, partly because Lazarus, the friend of Jesus, was being equated by then with Lazarus 'ulceribus plenus', whose disease was assumed to have been leprosy:¹⁶ hence the term 'lazar' for a leper, and 'lazarette' for a leper house. Queen Matilda (Maud),¹⁷ the wife of Henry I, showed no repugnance for, nor fear of, lepers. Her home, probably at the Palace of Westminster, was on one occasion in 1105 full of lepers, and she washed and kissed them. It was Queen Matilda who founded in the open country, on the great western highway out of London, the Hospital of St. Giles-in-the-Fields, with an oratory and other buildings, for the lepers of London and Middlesex. The Queen died in 1118. Her attitude must have stirred public opinion (as Robert of Gloucester¹⁸ asserts in general terms) and focussed more attention on the problem of lepers, who were still regarded by most people simply as loathsome creatures. After Queen Matilda's death an increased fear of contagion developed alongside this repugnance. In 1200 Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, at a synod held at Westminster¹⁹ confirmed the Lateran Council's leper decree of 1179, which condemned the prevailing unchristian selfishness towards lepers but ruled that lepers must not dwell with healthy men. The archbishop laid down that any group of lepers living by themselves could build a church with a churchyard, have a priest of their own (saving the rights of existing parish churches) and 'for pity's sake' pay no tithe for their gardens and increase of cattle.

With the new outlook towards leprosy came the need for lazaret houses on the outskirts of London. By the end of the Middle Ages there were ten leper hospitals, strategically placed, in the London area. They were St. James's Hospital in Westminster; St. Giles's Hospital and one at Knightsbridge on the two western roads out of London; Highgate and Kingsland (near Hackney) on the roads to the north; Mile End on the road to the east; the Lock Hospital beyond Southwark on that to the south; and, farther out, Hammersmith,²⁰ Enfield, and Rotherhithe (Bermondsey). These hospitals formed a ring round London, and most of them were in Middlesex.²¹

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries many gifts of land and houses were made by the citizens and others to the leper hospitals of St. James's and St. Giles's. Lepers, however, still continued to live in London, where their presence was condoned by certain citizens, probably relatives of the sufferers. The mayor and commonalty therefore passed a decree in 1276-78²² that 'no leper shall be in the city, nor come there, nor make any stay there by night or by day' under pain of imprisonment; but so that these lepers, who were to stay outside the city, might have sustenance, they were to choose a common proctor for themselves, to go each Sunday to the parish churches to collect alms. Another ordinance of Edward I's reign, repeated by Edward II, was that enquiry was to be made in every ward as to whether any leper were resident within it.²³ These leper ordinances of Edward I's reign may be connected with the establishment by the city authorities of leper hospitals of their own and perhaps with their assumption of responsibility for others already in being, to supplement the work of St. James's and St. Giles's Hospitals. No records exist of the actual foundation of the City's lazaret houses, nor are the dates known, but certain of the leper hospitals already mentioned are definitely described later in the Middle

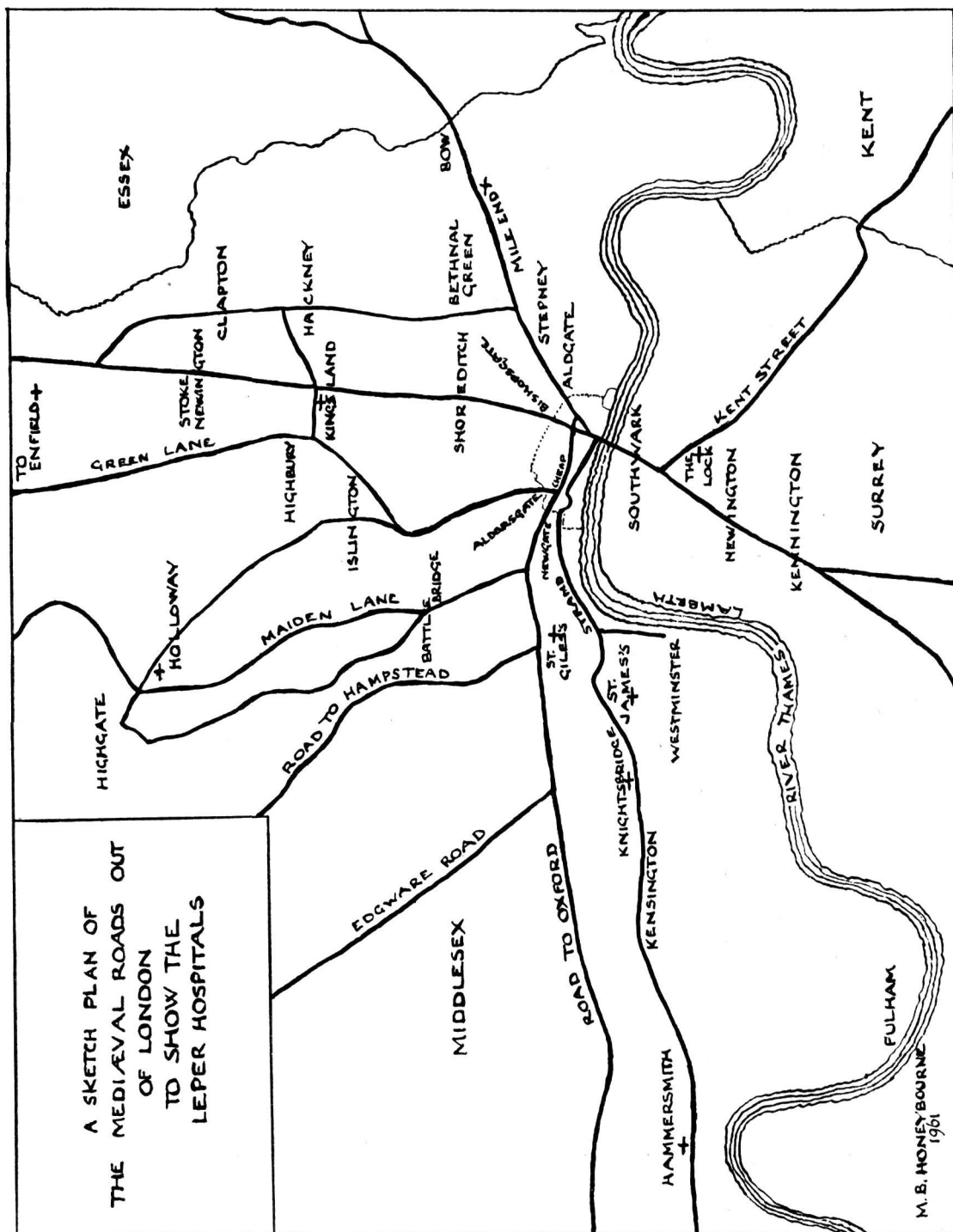


Fig. 1

Ages as 'of the City's foundation', and the citizens took full responsibility for them.²⁴ These hospitals were at first four in number. They were those at Kingsland near Hackney, at the Lock beyond Southwark, at Mile End towards Stratford-at-Bow, and at Knightsbridge, along the north, south, east and west roads respectively out of London. Later Hammersmith (in existence by 1500) and Highgate (independently founded in 1473) were taken over by the City.

In 1346 there came to the citizens a very important and urgent royal ordinance concerning leprosy.²⁵ Proclamation was to be made at once in every ward that all lepers were to be removed from the city within 15 days. The mayor and sheriffs themselves, with the aid of discreet and lawful men with a knowledge of leprosy, were to remove all those with leprous spots as decently as possible from the society of healthy citizens and place them in 'solitary field places' at a notable distance from the city and suburb. There the lepers were to stay, getting food as usual from those who were willing to help them; and alms for lepers were to be encouraged. Any citizen who henceforth permitted a leper to continue to stay in his house was to forfeit it. To prevent delay or procrastination the king appointed a day on which the mayor was to report what he had done in this matter of the lepers. Two years later (1348) another decree was received from Edward III:²⁶ this ordered the sheriff of Middlesex to issue at once a proclamation that all lepers, who were usually to be found begging by the roadside, were to abandon the highways and fieldways between the City of London and the vill of Westminster, along which very many magnates, justices, clerks and other royal servants were continually passing. The king urged, however, that the giving of alms to lepers should continue.

Probably none of the lazar houses belonging to the City was very large and in any case the mayor and commonalty naturally wanted to make full use of the older well-established lazar houses as well. Therefore, in 1354, a few years after the Black Death, the citizens appealed to the king over their ancient claim to send 14 lepers to the Hospital of St. Giles-in-the-Fields. The citizens at the same time also successfully asserted their claim to supervise, through two elected Wardens, the revenues of this hospital for the benefit of the lepers there.²⁷ These Wardens are first mentioned between 1191 and 1211.²⁸ They were always two important London citizens. Their official description by the late 14th century was 'the Wardens and Surveyors of lepers at St. Giles' Hospital, "les lokes" [*i.e.* the Lock], and at Hakeneye'.²⁹ The two last named lazar houses always stand out as the two most important of the City's own leper hospitals. The other four never seem to have had the same standing, and they disappeared earlier.

Despite royal and civic decrees, the existence of these lazar houses, and the efforts of the city and ward officials, lepers were evidently still to be found in the city, for in 1367 they were forbidden to beg in the streets for fear of spreading infection.³⁰ Stronger action was taken five years later, in 1372, when any leper found walking in the streets became liable to imprisonment.³¹ It was in this same year that John Mayn, a baker 'smitten with the blemish of leprosy', who had often disobeyed the mayor and aldermen on this issue, was at last made to swear before them in the Husting court that he would quit the city forthwith and take up his abode elsewhere. If he returned he was to suffer in the pillory.³² By 1375 the authorities felt that they could exercise even greater pressure: lepers who tried to enter or re-enter the city were to be stopped without fail by the porters of the eight city gates and posterns, and were to have their horses or outer garments temporarily confiscated. If a leper still persisted in trying to force his way in he was to be

bound fast and kept in safe custody till the mayor's wishes were known. There were also penalties for the porters of the gates if they did not obey the edict. They had to swear an oath before the mayor and recorder that they would well and trustily protect the City and suburbs from leprous persons on pain by the pillory. The 1375 oath of John Gardener, porter by the Postern Gate by the Tower, has been preserved. The 'formen' (or masters) of Le Loke in Southwark, and Hackney (or Kingsland) similarly had to swear to protect the city.³³ Three years later, in 1378, another civic ordinance once more forbade lepers to enter the city; and there was a further similar order after another three years.³⁴

The two elected wardens were meantime finding their duties heavy, time-consuming and expensive in every way, so in 1389 they were exempted, so long as they held office, from serving on inquests and holding other civic positions, owing to 'their meritorious labour and their unpleasant and onerous occupation', which included daily visits to three of the hospitals, the chastisement and punishment of difficult inmates, and general supervision 'as of old has been the usage'.³⁵ In 1417, 1432 and again in 1514-18 the Wardens were excused from all other services.³⁶ The above royal and civic ordinances for lepers, and these overseers or visitors of the leper hospitals, seem to have been among the first health regulations and public health officials in England.

Possibly one of the fatal weaknesses of all attempts to deal with the lepers was the small size of the hospitals, and probably as well the unattractive conditions in them. As to their size, John of Gaunt, who died in 1399, left 5 nobles to each leper house within 5 miles of the city that had 5 lepers in it, and 3 nobles to those with less.³⁷ The need of such help was very great, for the leper hospitals round London seem to have been very poor for one reason or another.

No cure for leprosy was known in England and therefore John Luter, a Flemish 'leche' was found guilty by the mayor of London in 1408 of taking jewels by false pretences from a certain John Clotes of Bernelond because he said that he would cure him of a disease called 'lepre'.³⁸ There may have been a tightening-up of the regulations in 1422, for in that year two lepers, Maud Hoke of St. Sepulchre's parish and Nicholas Yonge of Candlewick Street, were presented at the mayor's court. A few years later, in 1441, John Carpenter, the most famous of the town clerks of London, remembered the lepers, probably with cause, in his will: he gave 40 shillings to the poor lepers at Holborn (i.e. St. Giles's), the Locks and Hackney (Kingsland),⁴⁰ the three hospitals under the special care of the wardens and supervisors of the lepers. The City Journals between 1443 and 1447 record the oaths of the masters of these three hospitals.⁴¹ The Journals and the Letter Books also record the royal ordinance of 1472 sent from Westminster to the mayor and sheriffs of London and Middlesex.⁴² This ordinance definitely asserted that leprosy was on the increase in London. It commanded that all lepers on the highways of the city and county, on horseback or on foot, were to be removed to the hospitals and sequestered places prepared specially for them, 'the disease being infectious from the air the leper breathes and the sight of their eyes'. A heavy penalty (of £500) was to be imposed if the mayor and sheriffs ignored the order, so once again the mayor and aldermen decreed that the porters of the gates were to take oath to guard them against the entry of lepers. This time the ward constables and beadles were likewise to be sworn each year to protect their wards against lepers, who were again to lose their horse or upper garment if found. Dame Joan Frowick's will of 1500⁴³ also makes it clear that there were still a number of lepers.

She bequeathed 4d. 'to eny lazor be it man or woman beyng at tyme of my decesse in the lazerhous of Saint Gylis beside Holborn, Newenton Grene,⁴⁴ the Loke beyonde Saint Georges barre, Hamersmythe and Knygthbruge for to pray for my soul'.

The City records⁴⁵ show that the City was responsible for the buildings at Kingsland and the Lock. Between 1485 and 1505 the elected wardens were asked to report what repairs were necessary 'for the relief of the sick men there', and in 1514 £4 was allocated. Appointments of these wardens or visitors to the spital houses occur in 1536, 1542, 1543 (*bis*), 1545, 1549 and 1565–74.⁴⁵ This last date raises an interesting point, viz., that the City continued to supervise the lazar houses after St. Bartholomew's Hospital had taken over the day-to-day administration of them and the appointment of their masters, by now called Guiders or Guides. These Guiders were always surgeons, and in time the two junior assistant surgeons at the hospital were nearly always appointed to the two houses of the Lock and Kingsland.⁴⁷ It is a possibility that the city leper houses had always been associated with St. Bartholomew's Hospital for such medical attention as was given.

The transfer of the City's lazar houses to St. Bartholomew's took place in 1549. In that year, on 15 October, it was agreed before my Lord the Mayor and the whole bench of aldermen that two aldermen of the City and two commoners of St. Bartholomew's, 'shall alwayes be overseers of the vi lazar houses abowtt this ciety for one yere and they to make report to the hoole company what thinges they do fynd ther owt of order'.⁴⁸ This arrangement was entered in the hospital records on 25 October.⁴⁹ It will be noted that the City's lazar houses by then numbered six. These were the Lock in Southwark, Kingsland, Hammersmith, Highgate, Knightsbridge and Mile End. Next year, in the March, and again in 1551, the hospital ordered a survey of these six houses. Numbers, order and an inventory were required.⁵⁰ Unfortunately no returns survive.

In 1553 a gift of £60 was made to the lazar houses round London on condition that the inmates did not beg to people's annoyance within three miles of the City.⁵¹ In 1555–56 and on two other occasions 26s. 8d. was allocated by St. Bartholomew's to four of the houses, but they are not named. In 1556–57 the six spitals received £22 4s. 6d. for 'keeping the poor',⁵² and from henceforth more or less regularly monthly payments of varying amounts were made by St. Bartholomew's to the lazar houses. In 1581 an extra 40s. was bequeathed by Sir Thomas Rivell for the six lazar houses.⁵³ Patients, sometimes named, with various complaints other than leprosy were sent from the mother hospital to these 'outhouses', as they were usually designated. The cost of 2 patients for a month in 1554–55 was 13s. 4d.⁵⁴ The last recorded incidence of leprosy in London was in 1557, when 2 patients were sent to the Lock as they were found to be lepers.⁵⁵ In 1575 Stephen Tratt, sick and lame of his limbs, was to go to one of the lazar houses, and in 1576 a blind inmate was given 12d. a week so long as he did not use 'the trade of begging'.⁵⁶ An autopsy is first mentioned in 1589–90, when 20s. was paid to the Guider for 'dismembring 3 poor persons at the outhouses'. In 1590–91 10 bodies were dissected, for £3 6s. 8d.⁵⁷ Many cures are also reported. In 1604 first occurs a mention of a minister at one of the outhouses.⁵⁸

From 1608 the Guiders or masters were being paid £4 yearly, and 4d. a day for each patient's food.⁵⁹ The Guider was expected to be continually on duty attending the poor, administering their physic, helping them in extreme sickness, minutely supervising their food, firing and lodging, and maintaining good order in the house.⁶⁰ Later on, in 1682, for this 'bussines soe offensive and nautious' the Guides were paid £30 a year, with

£3 extra for washing the patients' sheets, which the Guide had to maintain, 'having his ancient allowance of hemp'. Each patient's diet cost 4d. a day and £50 was provided annually for medicines.⁶¹

From 1605-13 there were almost yearly visits of inspection to the outhouses, and dinner for the governors or visitors usually figures as an item of expenditure. In 1605 the cost was 28s. 4d., and in 1613 £3 4s. 10d.⁶²

Meantime some of the outhouses were silently slipping away from St. Bartholomew's. Nothing is heard of the Mile End lazar house after 1589.⁶³ The five others were there until 1623.⁶⁴ After that date only the Lock and Kingsland remained on the hospital books, though some of the others continued independently for a time. For these two, Dr. William Harvey, the great physician, drew up new rules in 1633. All incurable and infectious cases as well as 'the scandalous' (i.e. syphilis cases) were to be sent to the outhouses.⁶⁵ Three years later an inscription engraved on the Lock chapel described the inmates as "the poor, infirm and impotent".⁶⁶ In or just before 1657 it was decided to separate the male patients from the female; the men were to go to the Lock and the women to Kingsland. The Guider of the former soon complained of the greater cost of keeping men. He said that they did less for each other in cases of sickness; and that women worked in the house, span the sheets, helped with the washing, needed smaller doses of physic, and were easier to govern, being less troublesome.⁶⁷

During the civil war period costs mounted, but it was the Great Fire of London that most seriously depleted the revenues of St. Bartholomew's Hospital. Funds sank so low that for a time the two remaining outhouses had to be closed except for a few paying patients;⁶⁸ but by 1682 each outhouse had twenty patients again,⁶⁹ and gradually certain amenities in the way of better washing facilities were introduced.⁷⁰ By 1754 there were 30 beds each at Kingsland and the Lock, and in 1758 there were 62 patients.⁷¹ Protracted discussions were by then taking place as to the cost of the outhouses, which came to over £700 a year. As St. Bartholomew's Hospital had recently been rebuilt with more wards, and two specially for venereal diseases, the need for the outhouses had gone. Both were closed in 1760,⁷² after an existence of some 500 years.

THE CITY'S WARDENS FOR THE OVERSIGHT OF THE LEPER HOSPITALS

Thomas de Haverill ⁷³	1191-1211
William Hardell ⁷⁴	1191-1211, 1218, 1223
Thomas de Harvyle ⁷⁵	1218, 1230
Andrew le Uclose ⁷⁶	1223
Andrew Bocherel ⁷⁷	1223, 1234-37
William Hardell ⁷⁸	1230, 1240-52
Roger Duce ⁷⁹	1234-37
Sir Ralph Eswy ⁸⁰	1237-40
Adam de Basing ⁸¹	1246 appointed, 1252, 1253, 1261-62
William FitzRichard ⁸²	1246 appointed, 1261-62
Nicholas Bat ⁸³	1253
Walter Henry ⁸⁴	1270

Sir Gregory de Rokesley, knight ⁸⁵	1280
Sir Ralph Eswy ⁸⁶	1283
Walter Henry ⁸⁷	1291
Robert Ivyngho ⁸⁸	1389
Gilbert Rothynge ⁸⁹	1389
Robert Mildenhale, "pelter" ⁹⁰	1417
John Wassborn, mercer ⁹¹	1417
John Bacoun, grocer ⁹²	1432
Peter Andrew, "pelter" ⁹³	1432
William Brown, painter ⁹⁴	1514
John Sendell, vintner ⁹⁵	1514
Thomas Barnwell ⁹⁶	1536
— Callard ⁹⁷	1542
Richard Holt ⁹⁸	1543, 1547
William Turke ⁹⁹	1543, 1547
Clement Cornwell ¹⁰⁰	1548-49



NOTES

- 1 See R. M. Clay, *The Mediaeval Hospitals of England* (1909), pp. 35-69; A. Weymouth, *Through the Leper Squint* (1938); E. Muir in *Chambers's Encyclopaedia* (1950 ed.), pp. 486-8; and W. H. Godfrey, *The English Almshouse* (1955).
- 2 Lupus, syphilis and acute eczema were probably often confused with leprosy in the Middle Ages (Weymouth, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-9, 96-7).
- 3 The first leper house in England is said to date from the 7th century (*ibid.*, p. 25).
- 4 *New English Dictionary*.
- 5 Weymouth, pp. 94, 105. Like monks and nuns, most inmates wore a uniform dress.
- 6 *Chambers' Encyclopaedia*, p. 486.
- 7 Weymouth (pp. 15-16) gives the service in full.
- 8 *ibid.*, pp. 91-2.
- 9 *ibid.*, p. 93.
- 10 *ibid.*, pp. 15-17. There is a picture of a mediaeval leper in Clay, *op. cit.*, p. 68.
- 11 Clay, p. 35. Weymouth (p. 53) says 112.
- 12 Clay, p. 37.
- 13 *D.N.B.*
- 14 Weymouth, p. 119.
- 15 *D.N.B.*
- 16 Clay, pp. 49-50.
- 17 *D.N.B.*, M. Paris, *Chronica Majora* (ed. Luard, Rolls Series), Vol. II, pp. 130, 144.
- 18 He continually stresses her direct, personal and most beneficial influence, and the good that she did. Her brother David was unmoved by her example, but her husband founded the leper hospital outside Oxford, and her daughter helped the lepers of York (Clay, pp. 71-2).
- 19 Wilkins, *Concilia* (1737), pp. 1, 507.
- 20 Stow mentioned Highgate (Holloway) but Hammersmith escaped him: it was a long way off.
- 21 The exceptions were the Lock by Southwark, and the hospital in Bermondsey (or Rotherhithe).
- 22 *Cal.*, *City Letter Book A*, p. 219; *Liber Albus* (1861), pp. 219, 238.
- 23 *Liber Albus*, pp. 227, 291; see also pp. 454, 508-9.
- 24 Guildhall Letter Book M, fo. 246b; Repertory 1, p. 445b; and 3, fo. 44; Stow, II, p. 146.
- 25 *C.C.R. 1346-9*, pp. 54, 61-2; and *City Letter Book F*, f. cxvi (*Cal.*, p. 138); and H. T. Riley, *Memorials of London and London Life in 13th, 14th and 15th Centuries* (1868), pp. 230-1.

- 26 *C.C.R.*, 1346–9, p. 509. See also B. M. Cott. MSS., Vespasian, c. xiv, 127 (*Cat.*, p. 471).
- 27 See below, under St. Giles's Hospital.
- 28 E. Williams, *Early Holborn and the Legal Quarter of London* (1927), no. 1642; from St. Giles's Hospital Cartulary, f. 129, 131b.
- 29 *Cal. Letter Book H*, p. 343.
- 30 *ibid.*, G, p. 217.
- 31 *ibid.*, p. 301.
- 32 Riley, *Memorials*, pp. 365–6; *Cal. Letter Book G.*, p. 294.
- 33 Riley, *Memorials*, p. 384; *Cal. Letter Book H*, p. 9.
- 34 *Cal. Letter Book H*, pp. 110, 173.
- 35 Riley, pp. 510–1; *Cal. Letter Book H*, p. 343.
- 36 *Cal. Letter Book I*, p. 184; *K*, pp. 142–3; and Guildhall Record Office, MS. Cal. to City Repertories, 1495–1552, p. 75a.
- 37 Clay, pp. 39–42. In the same year Richard II, John of Gaunt's nephew, left 5 or 6,000 marks for the better sustenance of the lepers at Westminster and Bermondsey (*Rolls of Parliament*, Vol. III, p. 421a).
- 38 *Cal. City Plea and Memoranda Rolls, 1381–1412*, p. 289.
- 39 *ibid.*, 1413–37, pp. 125, 132.
- 40 W. Brewer, *Memoir of the Life and Times of John Carpenter* (1856), pp. 139, 144; *D.N.B.*, Vol. III, pp. 1064–5.
- 41 Guildhall Records, MS. Cal., 1416–1590, p. 47.
- 42 *ibid.*, p. 45b; and *Cal. Letter Book L*, p. 102.
- 43 Somerset House, P.C.C. Wills, 2 Moone.
- 44 i.e. Kingsland.
- 45 Guildhall, MS. Cal. of Repertories, 1495–1552, pp. 74b, 75a; and Letter Book M, f. 246b.
- 46 Guildhall, MS. Cal. of Repertories, 1495–1552, p. 75; Letter Book P, f. 66b; R, f. 36; V, f. 113b (MS. Calendar); T. Vicary, *Anatomie* (1888 edition of 1548 text = E.E. Text Society, Extra Series, LIII), p. 157 and app. iii, 149.
- 47 D'Arcy Power, *A Short History of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, 1123–1923* (1923), p. 47.
- 48 Guildhall, Repert., 12/1, f. 154.
- 49 St. Bartholomew's Hospital MSS., Ha 1/1, f. 1. I am very much indebted to Miss V. Stokes (Asst. Archivist) for allowing me to use her transcripts of these hospital deeds. Ha = Journals, Hb = Ledgers, Ha 4/1 = Order Book, and Rep. = Repertory.
- 50 *ibid.*, Ha 1/1, f. 4, 29v.
- 51 Clay, p. 47.
- 52 Hb 1/1, f. 277v, 305v, 306v.
- 53 Hb 1/2, f. 280.
- 54 Moore, Vol. II, p. 218.
- 55 *ibid.*, p. 276.
- 56 *ibid.*, p. 282.
- 57 Hb 1/3, f. 34; 2Hb 1/3, f. 53.
- 58 2 Hb 1/3, f. 321.
- 59 J. Paget, *Records of Harvey in Extracts from the Journals of the Royal Hospital of St. Bartholomew* (1846), p. 13.
- 60 Moore, Vol. II, pp. 317–18.
- 61 *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 339. In 1650 4d. a day for the patients was considered too little 'in these present dear times' (Ha 1/5, f. 48v, 49). The surgeons were still receiving £30 yearly in 1754 (Moore, p. 372).
- 62 Hb 1/3, f. 305 *et passim*.
- 63 Lysons, Vol. III, p. 483.
- 64 Hb 1/4.
- 65 J. Paget, *op. cit.*, p. 13.
- 66 D'Arcy Power, *op. cit.*, Plate xviii (opp. p. 46); from Wilkinson, *Londina Illustrata* (1815).
- 67 Ha 1/5, f. 136.
- 68 Ha 1/6, f. 28, 36, 39v, 76; and Moore, Vol. II, p. 330.
- 69 Ha 1/7, f. 95v, 122v; and Moore, Vol. II, p. 339.
- 70 Ha 1/10, f. 46v, 53v, 85v, 115, 138v, 301v; and Moore, Vol. II, pp. 351, 360.

- 71 Hosp. Journal 12, p. 488.
- 72 Ha 4/1, f. 53v; Ha 1/13, pp. 164, 166, 171; and Moore, Vol. II, pp. 372, 376, 867.
- 73 Williams, *Early Holborn*, no. 1642 (from Cartulary of St. Giles's Hospital).
- 74 *ibid.*, no. 1642; Parton, *St. Giles's*, p. 46.
- 75 Parton, pp. 42, 46.
- 76 *ibid.*, p. 42.
- 77 *ibid.*, pp. 42, 46; Williams, no. 1643 (from Cartulary of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem).
- 78 Parton, p. 42; Williams, nos. 1622, 1645 (St. Giles's Cartulary).
- 79 Williams, no. 1643 (St. John's Cartulary).
- 80 *ibid.*, nos. 1033, 1554, 1624, 1644, 1646.
- 81 Parton, p. 43.
- 82 Williams, nos. 1033, 1624.
- 83 Parton, p. 43.
- 84 *ibid.*, p. 44.
- 85 *ibid.*, p. 45.
- 86 *ibid.*, p. 45.
- 87 *ibid.*, p. 45.
- 88 *Cal., City Letter Books, H*, p. 343.
- 89 *ibid.*
- 90 *Cal. Letter Book I*, p. 184.
- 91 *ibid.*
- 92 *Cal., Letter Book K*, pp. 142-3.
- 93 *ibid.*
- 94 Letter Book M, f. 246b.
- 95 *ibid.*
- 96 Letter Book P, f. 66b; City Repertory 9, f. 117b.
- 97 City Rep. 10, f. 269.
- 98 *ibid.*, f. 334b; 11, f. 361b.
- 99 *ibid.*
- 100 City Rep. 12 (No. 1), f. 142b.

1. BERMONDSEY LEPER HOSPITAL

The only well-founded reference to lepers at Bermondsey is in the will of Richard II.¹ He left five or six thousand marks 'for the better sustenance of the lepers and their chaplains appointed by us at Westminster and Bermondsey'.

A few years later, in 1412, it is asserted that Henry IV was at an old stone house in Bermondsey 'to be cured of a leprosie'.² Henry IV certainly in the July of that year signed two charters at Rotherhithe,³ which was part of Bermondsey. In his lifetime Henry IV was accounted a leper.⁴

This house would have been the responsibility of the abbot and convent of Bermondsey.

NOTES

1 *Rolls of Parlia.*, Vol. III, p. 421a.

2 Manning and Bray, *The History . . . of Surrey*, I (1804), p. 229. The reference has not been traced.

3 *Cal. Charter Rolls, 1341-1417*, p. 447 (*bis*).

4 *D.N.B.*

2. ENFIELD, ST. LEONARD'S HOSPITAL FOR LEPERS

To this leper hospital only one reference has been found. This records that Henry II in 1270 granted simple protection for 3 years to the poor lepers of the house of St. Leonard without Enfield.¹ No county is stated, but Enfield in Middlesex seems to be the only place of that name.² The hospital site is unknown.

NOTES

1 *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1266-72, p. 436.

2 E. Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names* (1947 ed.), p. 159.

3. HAMMERSMITH LEPER HOSPITAL

The first and only mediaeval mention of this leper hospital has been found in the will, dated 1500, of Dame Joan Frowyk of Ealing.¹ Her husband, Sir Thomas Frowyk, had died in 1485 seised, *inter alia*, of the manors of 'Gonelsbury' (Gunnensbury) and 'Palyn-geswyke',² so that his widow may have known this hospital personally. She bequeathed 4d. each, to pray for her soul, to every leper, "be it man or woman", in the lazar houses of St. Giles beside Holborn, Newington Green (Kingsland), the Loke beyond St. George's Bar (Southwark), Hammersmith and Knightsbridge.

In 1549 Hammersmith Hospital, like the other lazar houses round London except St. Giles's-in-the-Fields, St. James's, Westminster and Enfield, came under the care of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, West Smithfield, and the next reference to Hammersmith is in 1555-56, when the inmates there were to share in the 26s. 8d. paid by St. Bartholomew's Hospital to the poor of the lazar houses under their control.³ Then in 1558-59 a woman was sent from St. Bartholomew's to Hammersmith;⁴ and in 1559-60 the hospital sent another two patients to John Golsyngper, the Keeper.⁵

In 1578 and again in 1581 John Payne or Penne "of Hammersmith", probably a relative of William Payne, the then owner of Pallingswick,⁶ was proctor of "the poor house or hospital of Hammersmith". He gave two bonds in the above years that he would truly account for the alms which he had licence to collect for the poor and maimed of Hammersmith from good and godly disposed people within the counties of Buckingham and Northampton. The sums collected were to be handed over to the Guider of the hospital.⁷

In 1590-1 St. Bartholomew's Hospital received 3s. 4d. from a certain Mr. Wythers 'towards keeping Hawkesworth at Hammersmith';⁸ and in 1595-96 a larger sum of 20s. from Mr. Higham for Tymothy Wamesley.⁹ Meantime in 1591 the 'Spittleman at Hammersmith' appears in the Fulham Churchwardens' Accounts;^{10a} and in 1607-08 St. Bartholomew's received £4 'of old Betteris, who was sent to Hammersmith by order of the Governors'.^{10b}

Each year from 1602 to 1622 the Guider of Hammersmith received at irregular intervals varying sums from the Governors of St. Bartholomew's for the cost of the patients,

and for himself.¹¹ The yearly totals vary between £5 13s. 4d. in 1602-3 to £13 10s. in 1605-06. Only in the 1612-13 account are any details given against any item: £1 for the care of one person, and £2 for the care of two other persons. There were six persons in all, costing £13. In 1621, and again in 1622 and 1623, these varying amounts ceased and a yearly stipend of about £9 10s. took their place. These are the last Hammersmith entries in the St. Bartholomew's records.

Although St. Bartholomew's Hospital governors administered the Hammersmith lazaret house the ownership rested elsewhere, as in the case of the Highgate spital. In the early part of the seventeenth century Isabella, Lady Rich, daughter and heiress of Sir Walter Cope, held the hospital at Hammersmith: but as the hospital, which was copyhold, had been demised without the consent of the lord of the manor of Fulham, it was forfeited to him in 1618. The appeal for its restoration by Sir Henry and Lady Rich was, however, successful.¹²

In a later Fulham parish book is a payment 'to Goodwyve Baker, in tyme of her weakness, before she got right to the hospital, where she died a pitiful creature'.¹³ Another entry, in the Hammersmith Churchwardens' Book for 1677, relates to the expenditure incurred in 'burying the woman at the spittle-house'.¹⁴ This is the last known reference to the hospital, which seems to have fallen into gradual and silent decay for lack of endowment and support.¹⁵

John Norden on his map of Middlesex in 1593 marks 'Ye Hospitale' as south of Palingswick (now Ravenscourt Park), on the north side of the western road (King Street), just west of the Creek.¹⁶ The editor of the London Survey volume on Hammersmith confirmed this position from the Fulham Court Rolls for 18 April, 1616.¹⁷ By 1705 'not a stone, not so much as the Remembrance of it, is now left'.¹⁸ Judging from the irregular south-eastern boundary of Palingswick, the hospital probably stood not far from the highway, opposite the northern end of Rivercourt Road.

KEEPERS, ETC.

John Golsyngper, Keeper	1561
John Payne, Proctor	1578, 1581

NOTES

- 1 Somerset House, P.C.C. Wills, 2 Moone.
- 2 Survey of London, Vol. VI, *Hammersmith* (1915), pp. 105-7. Sir Thomas was buried in Ealing church. His family had probably owned Palingswick from before 1390. His father Henry was twice Mayor of London, in 1435-6 and 1444-5.
- 3 N. Moore, *History of St. Bartholomew's Hospital* (1918), Vol. II, p. 219. See St. Bart's Hosp. Ledger Hb 1/1, f. 277v.
- 4 *ibid.*, f. 370v.
- 5 Hosp. Journal, Ha 1/1, f. 221v.
- 6 Survey, pp. 107-8. A certain John Payne bought the manor in 1548-9 and died in 1573. His son, William Payne, lived at Palingswick and probably died there in 1626. He was succeeded by his nephew, another John, later M.P. for St. Ives.
- 7 B.M., Harl. Ch. 86, B.11 and 25 (transcript of the 1578 bond in T. Faulkner, *Hammersmith* (1839), p. 264).

- 8 St. Bart's Hosp. Hb 1/3, f. 46v.
- 9 *ibid.*, f. 132.
- 10a Lysons, Vol. II (1795), p. 421; and Faulkner, *Fulham*, p. 342.
- 10b Hosp. Ledger, Hb 1/3, f. 397.
- 11 *ibid.*, f. 279v, 572; and Hb 1/4.
- 12 Survey, p. xvi, from Fulham Court Rolls.
- 13 W. H. Draper, *Hammersmith* (1913), pp. 10–11.
- 14 Lysons, Vol. II, p. 421; and Faulkner, *Fulham*, p. 342.
- 15 Faulkner, *Hammersmith*, p. 264.
- 16 Lysons (Vol. II, p. 421) and Faulkner (p. 342) confused the Creek with Stamford Brook, which is farther west.
- 17 Survey, p. xvi.
- 18 W. Bowack, *Antiquities of Middlesex* (1705), p. 43.

4. HIGHGATE (OR HOLLOWAY) LEPER HOSPITAL

This hospital was of very late foundation compared with other leper hospitals. It owed its origin to William Pole, sometime yeoman of the Crown to Edward IV. William Pole was smitten with leprosy and, realising that others were in worse distress—suffering from the same disease but also destitute and walking at large in the realm to the offence of others—he prevailed on his master the king in 1473 to grant him a parcel of land, 60 by 24 feet, lying in the highway between Highgate and Holloway, in the county of Middlesex.¹ On this land William Pole built his hospital, complete with chapel, and dedicated it to St. Anthony, though the inscription on the hospital seal is 'To Christ and St. Anthony'.²

As the king had given at least the land for the hospital he claimed the right to appoint the master or governor, and this right the Crown had until the reign of Charles I. Poor William Pole soon died, for only four years after he had founded his hospital the king granted it to another leper, Robert Wylson of the City of London, saddler, 'for his good service in divers fields and elsewhere';³ Wylson had evidently been a soldier at some time. Then in 1498 John Gymnar and Katherine his wife were appointed to the keepership for life of the hospital with its chapel of St. Anthony between Highgate and 'Holwey'.⁴

The next notice of the hospital occurs in 1517, when Richard Cloudesley bequeathed 6s. 8d. 'to the poor lazars of Hyegate, to pray for me by name in their bed-roll'.⁵

In 1533 the Crown granted Symon Guyn for life the spittle house of Holloway.⁶

It was in 1549 that the City lazar houses were taken over by St. Bartholomew's Hospital. Highgate, still partly a private institution, may have been taken over a year earlier, for in 1548 a man was sent there as a patient from St. Bartholomew's; and later in the same year another three were sent, and were given drinks on the way. In 1551–52 another new patient went by cart, at a cost of 12d.⁷ Meantime, on 8 March, 1550, two Governors of St. Bartholomew's were sent to view the Highgate Spital, and on 21 November, 1551, the St. Bartholomew's Hospital committee had before it a report of the spital numbers and order, together with an inventory.⁸ Its revenues were small and leprosy evidently persisted in the London area, for John Stafford the Governor, and the brethren and sisters of the house of lepers in the parish of Islington in this same year appointed Thomas Ecckylls to be their proctor for one year, to collect alms as far afield as Yorkshire and Lancashire.⁹

However, the hospital could not have catered only for lepers, for in 1555 John Stafford received 6s. 8d. for the keep of an epileptic, Roger Long, 'one of the poor of this house (St. Bartholomew's) diseased of the falling evil or sickness, sent unto Highgate Spital there to remain'.¹⁰ Edward the Innocent, another patient with the same complaint, was sent to Highgate at the charge of St. Bartholomew's in 1559, and travelled by cart. In the same year William Parker, Keeper of Highgate, received 6s. 8d. on behalf of Isbell Florence and Thomas Mallos. A year earlier, in 1557-58, a man had been sent from Highgate to Bridewell. No reason was given for this transfer, the only one recorded. Another interesting entry, of 1560, relates to St. Thomas's Hospital: the governors there sent a poor incurable to St. Bartholomew's Hospital to be sent on to a lazar house. Highgate was chosen.¹¹ William Parker is recorded as Keeper in 1559 and 1561.¹² In 1563 the Crown appointed William Storye in consideration 'of his service in the wars of our progenitors and in consideration of his age'. Highgate was now described as 'our hospital or almshouse at Highgate, in our county of Middlesex, commonly called the Poor House or Hospital of Highgate in the parish of Islington'. From the revenues William Storye was to find victuals for the poor persons there, and to keep the premises in repair.¹³ The next mention of Highgate Spital comes in the 1565 will of Sir Roger Cholmeley, founder of Highgate School. He made a bequest of 40s. to the 'pore hospitall at Highgate'.¹⁴ Then in 1577 comes news of an operation: William Storye, still the Guide of the lazar house of Highgate, was to have 13s. 4d. for his charges in relation to a woman sent there to be cured. He caused her leg to be amputated, 'which otherwise would have rotted off'.¹⁵

William Storye died in 1584 and a grant similar to his was made to John Randall, 'in consideration of his infirmity'. A second grant to him in 1589 described the property in more detail: the almshouse and all and singular orchards, gardens, lands, tenements, meadows, pastures and hereditaments.¹⁶ These particulars, some of which may be common form only, were probably added because a certain John Gage and Christopher Robinson were claiming the lands asserted by John (or Robert) Randall to belong to the spital house at Highgate.¹⁷ During Randall's term of office patients of both sexes were being received for treatment. They were John Crown, Rose Evans (40s. received for her), Robert Stone (3s. 8d.), Thomas Lancaster (6s. 8d.), and one Morris, for whose keep the parishioners of St. Alphage (? by London Wall) paid 20s.¹⁸ From these notices, and Mr. Tomlins' study of the parish registers of St. Mary's, Islington,¹⁹ it is clear that from the latter half of the sixteenth century the type of inmates at Highgate made it more like a poor house than a hospital, and this conclusion is borne out by the later descriptions of the institution. Some of the inmates died of the plague in 1577, 1578, 1579 and 1593. One of those who thus died in 1593 was Anne, daughter of Thomas Watson, governor since the death of John Randall in 1590.²⁰ The Queen had appointed Thomas Watson in consideration of his infirmity. He was followed in 1605 by William Stockwell, for the same reason.²¹ In 1606-07 and 1607-08 this Guider of Highgate received 6s. 8d. each year from St. Bartholomew's Hospital. Then in 1608-09 the amount soared to £6 13s. 4d. In 1610-11 came £7 6s. 8d., and in the next three years £8, £5 13s. 4d. and £5 respectively. Payments were also made in 1621, 1622 and 1623, and then no more.²² Highgate Spital, however, continued on its own for some years. Charles I made the last appointment to the governorship. He chose John Harbert, surgeon, who had died by September, 1650. The spital then closed its doors. As it had belonged to the Crown it was surveyed by

the Parliamentary authorities, in that month and year.²³ It was reported that the spital house was of timber with a tiled roof, and had been newly whitewashed. It consisted of a hall and, on the south side, a small kitchen and another small room adjoining. There were two more small rooms on the ground floor, and two very small chambers over them. Over the hall and kitchen were three more small chambers. There was also an orchard and garden 'very well planted'. The area covered by the spital and its grounds was about two roods, and the whole was worth £9 per annum. The survey adds that the house 'standeth on a pleasant hill in a good ayre'.²⁴ The Keeper was dead and there do not appear to have been any inmates, so Parliament sold the property in 1653 to Ralph Harrison of London, esquire, for £130 10s.²⁵

The hospital stood near the foot of Highgate Hill on the west side, facing Whittington Stone. Brunswick Road and Salisbury Road and some houses facing the high road were built on the site in 1852.²⁶ The exact position of the hospital was ascertained by Tomlins from the court rolls of the manor of Clerkenwell, where the field in this position opposite the stone was for long called the Field Lazarette or Lazarcot Field.²⁷ Tomlins also noted that some land in this position was understood to be held on the tenure of keeping the stone in repair.²⁸ Early descriptions and pictures²⁹ of the first stone, removed in 1795, show that it was then a truncated pillar on a square base surrounded by a pavement about 18 feet in circumference. Tomlins concluded, probably rightly, that the stone was the remains of a wayside cross in the roadway in front of the hospital chapel of St. Anthony, and had been erected to attract the notice of travellers to the needs of the lepers.³⁰ In consequence of this stone and its large base there was a wide curve on this side of the road, not straightened until 1853. The present stone, the third, was originally erected in 1821. It stands on the edge of the pavement, a little farther to the west than the original stone.³¹

The hospital seal (plate 1(a)) has a bronze oval matrix.³² In the centre are two figures under canopies. The younger figure on the left holds a sphere with cross in his left hand, whilst two fingers of his right hand are raised in blessing. The left-hand figure is St. Anthony, bearded, with his hands together in prayer. By his right side is a T-shaped staff, from his girdle hangs a bell, and at his left foot is a pig. Around the edge of the seal, in Roman lettering, is the inscription: "S[igillum] Hospitalis S[ancti] Ihesu S[ancti] Antoni de Holwei".

MASTERS, ETC.

William Pole, the founder ³³	1473
Robert Wylson, governor ³⁴	1477 appointed
John Gymnar and Katherine his wife, keepers ³⁵	1498 appointed
Symon Guyn, keeper ³⁶	1533 appointed
John Stafforde, governor, keeper, proctor ³⁷	1551–52, 1555
William Parker, keeper ³⁸	1559, 1561
William Storye, governor or guide ³⁹	1563 appointed, 1577, 1584 died
John Randall ⁴⁰	1584 appointed, 1586–87, 1589, 1590 died

Thomas Watson ⁴¹	1590 appointed, 1593
William Stockwell, guide ⁴²	1605 appointed
John Harbert, surgeon, the last keeper ⁴³	1650 September, dead

NOTES

- 1 *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1467-77*, p. 373. Stow, Vol. II, p. 147, gives 34 ft. Miss Clay's references (*Mediaeval Hospitals*, p. 102) to two Henry VI patents do not refer to this hospital.
- 2 Soc. of Antiquaries, Seals, B 8.4.
- 3 *C.P.R., 1476-85*, p. 48.
- 4 T. E. Tomlins, *A Perambulation of Islington* (1858), p. 135: his patent roll reference has not been traced.
- 5 Will in the London Registry, cited in full by J. Nelson, *History and Antiquities of Islington* (1811), p. 303.
- 6 *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, Vol. VI, p. 196 (5).
- 7 St. B's Hosp. Ledgers, Hb 1/1, f. 16, 55, 110.
- 8 Hosp. Journal, Ha 1/1, f. 4, 15.
- 9 *Cal. Ancient Deeds*, VI, C. 6891. The endorsement reads 'The Powre howse of Hallowsyd in the paryshe of Islyngton'.
- 10 Hosp. Journal, Ha 1/1, f. 122, 277.
- 11 *ibid.*, f. 196, 196v, 205 (*bis*), 330v.
- 12 *ibid.*, f. 196v; and N. Moore, *History of St. Bartholomew's Hospital* (1918), Vol. II, p. 278.
- 13 Tomlins, *op. cit.*, p. 136, from Pat. Roll 7 Eliz., p. 4, m. 92.
- 14 Somerset House, P.C.C. Wills, 24 Morrison.
- 15 Moore, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 282.
- 16 Tomlins, p. 139, from Rot. Pat. 26 Eliz. p. 14, m. 35; and 31 Eliz. p. 8, m. 32.
- 17 *ibid.*, p. 138, from Exch. Law Suit, 27 Eliz. Hilary, 16 Feb.
- 18 Hosp. Ledger, Hb 1/2, f. 359; 1/3, f. 97v.
- 19 Tomlins, pp. 137, 212n. In 1608 an infant described as 'a lazar of our spital' was christened.
- 20 *ibid.*, p. 138, from Rot. Pat. 32 Eliz. p. 12, m. 29.
- 21 *ibid.*, from Rot. Pat. 2 Jac. I, p. 23, m. 38.
- 22 Hosp. Ledger, Hb 1/4.
- 23 Tomlins, p. 139, a transcript from Augm. Office, Parlia. Surveys, Middlesex, no. 45.
- 24 John Norden in 1593 commented on 'the sweete salutarie aire' and delightful view over London (*Spec. Brit.*, p. 22). By 1650 the hospital chapel had gone, or been converted into the hall or taken into it.
- 25 Tomlins, p. 139, from Rot. Claus. 1653, p. 10, m. 1.
- 26 Tomlins, p. 134.
- 27 *ibid.*, p. 141; and Nelson (1823 ed.), p. 76. A later name was Blockhouse Field.
- 28 Tomlins, p. 140, from *Gentleman's Magazine*, xciv (1824), ii, pp. 200, 290.
- 29 Tomlins, pp. 141, 142.
- 30 The stone would in this case have been later than the time of Dick Whittington.
- 31 Tomlins, pp. 140-1.
- 32 Soc. of Antiquaries, Seals, B 8.4. In 1902 the owner of the matrix was Mr. George Withers of Newbury, Berkshire.
- 33 *C.P.R., 1467-77*, p. 373.
- 34 *ibid.*, 1476-85, p. 48.
- 35 Tomlins, p. 135.
- 36 *L. and P. of Henry VIII*, Vol. VI, p. 196 (5).
- 37 *Cal. Anc. Deeds*, VI, C. 6891; and Hosp. Ledger, Hb 1/1, f. 277.
- 38 Hosp. Journal, Ha 1/1, f. 196v; and Moore, Vol. II, p. 278.
- 39 Tomlins, p. 139.
- 40 *ibid.*, pp. 138-9.
- 41 *ibid.*, pp. 137-8.
- 42 *ibid.*, p. 138.
- 43 *ibid.*, p. 139.

5. HOLBORN, THE LEPER HOSPITAL OF ST. GILES-IN-THE-FIELDS¹

This leper hospital was founded by Henry I's wife, Queen Maud or Matilda, who died in 1118.² The 'Historia Anglicana' gives 1118 as the foundation date. Stow says 'about 1117'; and others suggest 1106–09, if the entries in Leland's *Collectanea*³ are in chronological order. A 1101 date seems too early.⁴

The hospital was dedicated to St. Giles, the patron saint of cripples and therefore of lepers.⁵ The hospital, with an oratory, was built on the south side of the old Roman highway from London to the west, on the curve of St. Giles's High Street near the present Charing Cross Road (once Hog Lane). The existing parish church of St. Giles probably stands on the same site as the hospital chapel. In A.D. 972–5 the land under the jurisdiction of the abbot of Westminster included all the land of the present St. Giles's parish lying on the south side of High Holborn.⁶ The 1222 perambulation⁷ of the abbot's bounds, drawn up after the foundation of the hospital, significantly excluded this area, and the abbot never laid claim to it. Queen Matilda gave the hospital all the soke or manor of St. Giles and probably at that time caused the southern part to be taken out of the jurisdiction of the abbot of Westminster.⁸ The hospital precinct comprised only a small part of the manor but the master of the hospital held court, of course, for the whole.⁹

The queen endowed her hospital with 60s. yearly rent issuing from Queenhythe, which was the perquisite of the queens for many years.¹⁰ Queenhythe was granted for a time to Holy Trinity Priory, Aldgate, and later, when, in 1246 the City obtained control of this public landing stage, the 60s. yearly rent due to St. Giles's for the food of the lepers was specially noted.¹¹ The royal endowment of this 60s. was supplemented by many gifts, to the value of over £100, from the citizens of London; and it was probably because of one citizen's gift in particular that in c. 1354 the mayor and commonalty claimed that the hospital had been founded by this individual, himself a leper.¹² His name was not given but in Henry II's confirmation charter and in Pope Alexander's bull (*temp.* John) Robert son of Ralph is specially mentioned as having given many tenements in London. The citizens had a very close connection with the hospital not only because most of the patients must have come from London but because Queen Matilda granted the supervision of the hospital to the City.¹³ For most of the Middle Ages the mayor and commonalty regularly appointed two Wardens for this and the other leper hospitals in the London area.

Henry II, Queen Matilda's grandson, confirmed¹⁴ her gift of the site and the 60s. rent from Queenhythe for the lepers' food. Henry II added another 60s. yearly from his treasury to buy a habit or dress for the lepers, and a further 30s. 5d. from his rents in Surrey to provide lighting. Other property being confirmed to the hospital comprised the church of Feltham in Middlesex and land in that parish from Hawysia, Countess of Roumère; a freehold in the hundred of Isleworth from Bernard de St. Valericus; land at 'la Barre' (of Holborn) from Richard junior, canon of St. Paul's; 4 acres of land bought from William Pinaera (later knighted); 2 acres from Geoffrey son of Fredessant; 10s. rent in the parish of St. Clement Danes given by Peter son of Meileme; all the land in London given by Robert son of Ralph; and other tenements there.

It is clear from a second charter of Henry II that St. Giles's Hospital was a royal free chapel, *i.e.*, not under the jurisdiction of the bishop. In John's reign, during the Interdict,

the hospital came under the special protection of Pope Alexander IV, from whose bull¹⁵ we learn that the lepers were trying to live as a religious community. The bull gives further particulars of the hospital site: the property included gardens, and 8 acres of land adjoining the hospital on the north and south. Roger son of Hubert had joined the list of donors, and Earl Baldwin de Rediver's name is linked with that of the Countess Hawysia's gift of land in Feltham. R. de Valence had given certain land and woods in Heston and so had Richard, Bishop of London. Matilda de Stokes' interest in Canon Richard Young's land had been bought up.¹⁶ The brethren of St. Giles's had also bought from Brungere le Stepne an acre of land lying near the hospital. It was in John's reign that the above land in Feltham was leased to Robert Simple 'on condition that he received and entertained any of the infirm brothers who passed that way with the best food that he had'.¹⁷ These travellers would have been collectors of alms.

In 1245 the settlement of an early lawsuit¹⁸ is recorded between Walter, the master of the hospital, and William de Kent and Egidia his wife. The master had hindered the plaintiffs from having a right of way through the hospital lands from William's gate to the church. The plaintiffs and their household were to be allowed a footway to the church and were to be given a key to the hospital door, on which a lock was to be placed. For this amenity the plaintiffs were to pay 8d. yearly.

The rural nature of the district and the activities of St. Giles's in the 13th century are illustrated by a deed of 1258-69.¹⁹ William the Chaplain, master of St. Giles's, and the brethren and sisters thereof, granted to Walter Osgood for 2s. yearly a messuage in the parish of St. Andrew Holborn fronting on the high road. To the north was land belonging to the master and brethren (late to James Baldwyn) and in order to retain access to this agricultural holding the master and brethren were to have through Walter Osgood's messuage free entrance and exit for themselves, on foot or on horseback, and for their ploughs and carts. On the street frontage was to be a special gate, wide enough for a cart, to be made and maintained by St. Giles's.

A year or two later trouble arose over the appointment for life of the two wardens or keepers of the hospital, who had full powers over the administration of all its property. In 1246 the Crown had made the appointments.²⁰ In 1261-2 it was registered on the Patent Rolls²¹ that the citizens of London had always been accustomed to appoint, by consent of the hospital brethren and by royal mandate. The citizens, having secured their point, thereupon chose the same two citizens of London as the king had chosen. The citizens then tried to go further and secure the right to appoint the master of the hospital as well. In 1286 Edward I had made the appointment on the resignation of Ralph de Septem Fontibus.²² The next year this royal appointment was confirmed after a legal action on the issue had been lost by the commonalty of London on the ground that the hospital had been founded by the king's ancestors.²³

The king having won his case against the citizens over the right of appointment to the mastership next had to defend his position against the claim of the bishop of London to exercise the right of visitation. At an inquisition held in 1293²⁴ it was asserted that the hospital was a free chapel of the king, that the hospital advowson had ever since its foundation belonged to the Crown (except when it had temporarily come into the hands of the citizens), and that upon appointment the master (also confusingly called the warden) had at once exercised spiritual jurisdiction both in the parish and precinct of St. Giles's 'without any intermeddling' of the bishop (or archbishop, when the see was

vacant). Of all the hospital's real property, only the church of Feltham was under the bishop. The king alone had the right to visit St. Giles's Hospital. Yet in 1259, 'when the hospital was in the hands of the citizens of London by commission of the king', Bishop Fulk Basset had visited it, thanks to the weakness and impotence of William the Warden.

The hospital henceforth felt the weight of the king's power over it. In 1299 Edward I suddenly granted²⁵ the whole revenues and administration of the hospital to the master and brethren (or friars) of the Order of St. Lazarus of Jerusalem, who had their English headquarters at Burton Lazars in Leicestershire.²⁶ St. Giles's Leper Hospital thus became a cell to this house, which by then was for the poor, aged and sick, not lepers. As the gift of St. Giles's Hospital was in return for a remission of 40 marks payable yearly from the Exchequer (by gift of Richard I) to Burton Lazars, and now in arrears, the king's action seems to have been due to financial exigencies. He was apparently short of ready money, perhaps because the Jews had been expelled from England in 1290. So long as the new owners of St. Giles's saw to the essential needs of the inmates, it was laid down that they could have all the rest of the revenues. Under the royal grant the head of Burton Lazars became *ex officio* Master of St. Giles's. Sometimes he appointed a deputy.²⁷

The year after the transfer (1300) Edward I ordered the mayor and sheriffs to assist St. Giles's Hospital to recover certain arrears of debt from rents in the City: otherwise serious curtailment of the establishment would be necessary.²⁸ The Master, accompanied by the mayor's serjeant, took an active part in asserting his claims, and in 1302 personally visited John Orpedeman's fish shop in Bridge Street to collect two years' arrears of one mark rent. When the Master attempted to lay hands on a fish lying on the stall in order to distrain for his rent the owner attacked him. Orpedeman said in court that he had only wanted to prevent his fish being thrown down in the mud. The case dragged on for three years, till 1305,²⁹ when another similar case came up for hearing in the mayor's court. This time the Master said that he entered Peter Adrian's house in Soper Lane and took as a pledge a piece of wax weighing 20 lbs. for 16s. arrears due on an annual rent of 8s. The defendant took away the wax, and asserted that the house was not held from St. Giles's and that no 8s. rent was due.³⁰

The hospital's affairs did not improve, partly owing to quarrels and waste in the hospital itself. It was probably owing to these dissensions that in 1303 some of the inmates broke the locks off the gates and allowed Robert de Winchelsey, Archbishop of Canterbury, to enter and usurp the office of visitor. Some papal letters, charters, writings and muniments were carried off, and Brother Crispin, the keeper (master) complained to the Crown. A commission³¹ was therefore appointed and in the same year Edward I took the hospital under his protection and appointed as Master Geoffrey de Birston, one of the brothers of the house. He was to straighten matters out, and collect and apply the hospital revenues to their legitimate use, the sustentation of the diseased inmates.³²

The practice of sending non-leprous persons to the hospital, commonly employed by the officers of the royal household in the case of decayed domestics and others, also caused trouble. The master, brethren and sisters petitioned in Parliament against this usage in 1315.³³ They said that the hospital had been founded for lepers only and that healthy persons ought on no account to live and intermix with the diseased. Edward II gave way, and his verdict in favour of the hospital was incorporated in a new charter, entered on the patent rolls.³⁴

The farming activities of the master and brethren continued, as a deed of 1321 shows.³⁵

William de Northmymmes, a farrier, was granted the use of a messuage in Holborn measuring 51 by 34 feet and worth 20s. for the service of maintaining the iron and steel of the hospital's two ploughs. William was also, at his own expense, to shoe the 7 farm horses and the master's horse, and bind yearly one pair of cart wheels with iron supplied by the hospital authorities, who would give him a gallon of ale each time.

In 1338, at the onset of the Hundred Years' War, the master of St. Giles's Hospital, usually like other religious houses exempt from scot and lot, paid 50s. to help put the city into a state of defence pursuant to the king's command.³⁶

A corrody granted in 1342³⁷ gives a different glimpse of hospital conditions. The master and brethren gave to Sarah, widow of John de Baillol, a corrody for life, including a weekly allowance of 7 white loaves, 4 black loaves (such as the sisters received for their maids), and 12d. for ale and kitchen. There was also to be a yearly allowance of 1 bushel of peas, 1 of oatmeal for porridge, 1 of salt, 52 faggots, a quarter of coals for the hearth, 1s. for lighting, 14s. 4d. for clothing, and 20s. for her chamber. Other corrodies followed. Perhaps it was no wonder that in 1343, 1344 and 1351 messengers or proctors had to be sent out under royal protection to collect alms.³⁸

In 1347, possibly as a result of the Black Death, Edward II ordered the mayor and sheriffs to see that all lepers left the City within 15 days.³⁹ The City had by this time set up its own leper hospitals but it naturally wanted to use to the full the Hospital of St. Giles, on which it had always had a claim. The citizens therefore in 1348 complained to the king that since the master and brothers of Burton Lazars had taken over St. Giles's the friars had ousted the lepers and replaced them by brothers and sisters of the Order of St. Lazarus, who were not diseased at all and ought not to associate with those who were. After an enquiry it was agreed in 1354 that henceforth the mayor and commonalty should for ever present to the warden of the hospital 14 lepers of the city and suburbs or, if there were not enough there, from the county of Middlesex. If the citizens gave further gifts, the number of lepers was to be increased in proportion.⁴⁰ Probably in connection with the above petition the Chancellor, John de Ufford, who was *ex officio* royal visitor to the hospital, drew up new rules for the management of the hospital:⁴¹ unfortunately these have not survived.

In 1375 an exceptional, and remunerative, corrody was granted.⁴² Nicholas de Exton, a rich city fishmonger, paid £40 for the use for life of a house, garden and curtilage in the precinct for himself, his wife Katherine and his brother Richard. There they were all to live safely in sanctuary during a great civic quarrel.

The affairs of the hospital continued not to prosper and in 1384 the new king, Richard II, required the aldermen of London to make returns of the yearly value of all the tenements and rents in the city belonging to St. Giles's Hospital.⁴³ The next year the king appointed some of his clerks, the Chancellor being much occupied, as visitors, to enquire into defaults in the books, vestments, ornaments, houses and other buildings, and into the dissipation, waste and alienation of the hospital lands, rents and possessions.⁴⁴ Four years later the king appointed another commission⁴⁵ to visit the hospital in place of William de Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, the new Chancellor, who was again too busy to attend in person. Various defects had been reported, so that the hospital was miserably depressed and in debt. The visitors were to reform abuses and remove incompetent officials. Meantime, in an attempt to safeguard the position of Burton Lazars, its Master in 1387 had had engrossed on the patent rolls an *inspeximus* and confirmation charter of

the 1299 royal grant of St. Giles's Hospital to his house.⁴⁶ Nevertheless the king took the hospital once more under his special protection and in 1389 appointed as warden or master for life John Macclesfield, one of his royal clerks,⁴⁷ who removed his predecessor Nicholas de Dovoir, Master of Burton.⁴⁸ Two years later Robert Braybroke, Bishop of London, usurped the right of visitation and jurisdiction by collusion with Richard de Kynble, then a 'brother' of the hospital, and his brother Hugh. This action of the bishop was in spite of the opposition of the warden of the hospital, and its brothers, sisters and men. John Macclesfield duly reported the intrusion and had an account of it recorded on the patent rolls,⁴⁹ together with a record of a former bishop's similar intrusion, and the verdict of the 1293 inquisition confirming that the Crown had the right of appointment to the mastership and that the hospital was a royal free chapel subject to no interference from anyone. The choice of one of the king's tools as master, and this formal recording, were evidently the prelude to another unexpected action, prompted again by financial considerations, on the part of Richard II. On 8 August, 1391, he ignored the rights of Burton Lazars and handed over St. Giles's Hospital, with its advowson and all its lands, in frankalmoine, to his grandfather's new Cistercian foundation of the Abbey of St. Mary Graces on Tower Hill, in exchange for the royal grant to the abbot of 110 marks from the farm of the church of Scardeburgh (Scarborough).⁵⁰ Walter Lynton, the dispossessed Master of Burton Lazars, soon instituted legal proceedings.⁵¹ He complained that on Monday, 11 September, 1391, the abbot of St. Mary Graces and three others had forcibly taken away from St. Giles's 8 horses, 12 oxen, 2 cows, 4 boars, 12 sows, 140 pigs, 60 geese, 40 capons, 6 cocks, 40 hens, 100 pullets (20 a year old), furniture, kitchen utensils, carts, grain, books, vestments and ecclesiastical ornaments, all together worth over £1,000.

In 1393-4 John Macclesfield, whom the abbot of St. Mary Graces had left as Master of St. Giles's, took advantage of his position to procure a grant to himself on a 24-year lease⁵² of a tenement, possibly the master's house, within the precinct on the west of the hospital entrance. With it went two gardens, a courtyard and a small grove. John Macclesfield was to have whenever he needed it haybote of thorns growing on the hospital lands, 4 cartloads (drawn by 4 horses) of the best hay, and 2 cartloads (4 horses) of white straw for litter. Macclesfield also got the use of the hospital bakehouse at any time so long as he used his own fuel. For all these amenities he gave one rose a year.

The City doubted the legality of the grant of St. Giles's Hospital to the abbot of St. Mary Graces and held back various rents in the city until commanded by the king in 1393 to hand the money over to the abbot, monks and lepers.⁵³ Three years later the abbot had engrossed on the patent rolls an exemplification of Richard II's grant of St. Giles's to him, as the original had not been enrolled. In this exemplification the 110 marks were to be retained by St. Mary Graces.⁵⁴ The next to take action was Walter Lynton of Burton Lazars. In 1399 a writ⁵⁵ was issued for his arrest because he had taken the law into his own hands, had gone to St. Giles's with a crowd of armed men, had entered by force, turned out the abbot's men and servants, and was occupying the hospital premises. There he seems to have stayed.

During these troublous and expensive times the poor lepers were 'in want of maintenance'; so the new king, Henry IV, in 1401 issued a writ⁵⁶ to the mayor bidding him collect 100s. from the hospital's tenants in the city. This sum was duly handed over to five lepers, all men.⁵⁷ A few months later a similar collection and distribution took place.⁵⁸ In the same year Walter Lynton after petitioning parliament secured two writs of *scire facias*,⁵⁹ by which

the abbot of St. Mary Graces was to attend the Chancery and state his case. Walter Lynton was supported by the ex-king, Richard II. After Henry's IV's coronation he 'humbly and with great contrition prayed the king to succour the master of Burton Lazars, that the matter might be restored to his hospital of St. Giles without London, to ease the conscience and soul of the late king, who declared that by sinister information he had done the master an injury in expelling him from the hospital and making a grant of it to others'.⁶⁰ In 1402 Walter Lynton was once more in full legal possession as warden or master of St. Giles's, with the letters patent to the abbot of St. Mary Graces revoked;⁶¹ and it was probably at this time that he compiled the cartulary of the hospital.⁶² Some years later, in 1414, he had the chief royal grants to Burton Lazars relating to St. Giles's inspected, confirmed and enrolled.⁶³

During the legal proceedings noted above the abbot of St. Mary Graces had accused Walter Lynton of reducing the number of lepers, getting rid of the chaplain, clerk and servants, and replacing them by sisters, contrary to the foundation statutes. At an enquiry that followed (1402) as to whether the master and brethren used to sustain 14 lepers or not, it was found that in case of necessity the number of lepers was often reduced, by even five or more, according to the state of the hospital funds.⁶⁴ Incidentally, it was about this time that the city gallows was moved from West Smithfield to a place in or near the present St. Giles's Circus, and at the hospital gate the condemned prisoners were given a large bowl of ale, called 'St. Giles's Bowl'.⁶⁵

Leprosy was still rife in the London area in the 15th century though not so common elsewhere. As a result Edward IV gave the leper hospital of the Holy Innocents near Lincoln to Burton Lazars in 1461-2, on condition that any leprous menials of the king's servants were to be provided for in St. Giles's Hospital.⁶⁶ In the 16th century, however, the 14 inmates of St. Giles's were described as 'paupers', with no mention of leprosy.⁶⁷

In 1539 the Priory of Burton Lazars was dissolved, and with it went its dependent house of St. Giles's.⁶⁸ Three years earlier Henry VIII and the Master of Burton had agreed upon an exchange of land under which St. Giles's had lost a considerable part of its possessions without any compensation. The king had taken the manors of Feltham and Heston (except the church and rectory of the former), 10 acres of meadow in the fields of St. Martin in Westminster, and 43 acres of pasture, 2 closes and 3 messuages in St. Giles's parish, the whole worth £27.⁶⁹ All that was left was the precinct and other property in St. Giles's parish, rents in 57 parishes in London and the suburbs, and land in Edmon-ton.⁷⁰ In 1545 Henry VIII granted this property, excluding St. Giles's church, to John Dudley, Lord Lisle.⁷¹

The hospital buildings originally comprised the oratory or church, very soon partly parochial, wherein burned 'St. Giles's Light';⁷² the houses of the lepers;⁷³ the master's house; and rooms for the chaplain, a clerk, and a messenger or servant. By 1224 other brothers and sisters had been added, to carry on the administration and help the sick; and between 1224 and 1259 the master and 3 other chaplains and clerks are mentioned. In the latter year money was given to find a chaplain to celebrate perpetually divine service in the chapel of St. Michael; and in 1292 a sub-deacon was provided for, and a chaplain and a proctor are mentioned.⁷⁴ Further, a chapter house had been built by 1321.⁷⁵

The common seal⁷⁶ of St. Giles's Hospital⁷⁷ was oval, with a figure of St. Giles, the patron saint. His right hand holds out an almsbox, and in his left hand he has a staff.

The inscription reads: 'Sigillum Sancti Egidii Infirmarum.' An enlarged cast-iron facsimile of this seal is in St. Giles's church, and there is a photograph of this copy in the Survey of London volume on *St. Giles-in-the-Fields*, Part II, p. 139.

MASTERS, WARDENS, PROCURATORS, ETC.

John the Chaplain ⁷⁹	1118 or earlier
Osbert FitzGodwy ⁸⁰	?
Ralph, son of Ade ⁸¹	1186
Robert ⁸²	1186
Richard of St. Anthony ⁸³	?
Walter, procurator ⁸⁴	c. 1200
Walter de Oxonia, master ⁸⁵	1200-1
Gerard ⁸⁶	1201
William the Chaplain, master or custos ⁸⁷	1212 and earlier
William de Kirkes, procurator ⁸⁸	1216
Edward, procurator ⁸⁹	1218
Dominus Roger de Clare, master (earlier called receptor, rector and co-magister) ⁹⁰	1223
Gerard, master (procurator 1216, 1219, 1223) ⁹¹	1224
Walter the Chaplain (or Walter de Thame), master, rector (earlier procurator) ⁹²	1227 to c. 1258
William de Kirkes, master ⁹³	1253 (? 1258)
Thomas de Kirkeby ⁹⁴	1260
William the Chaplain, master ⁹⁵	c. 1260-70
William de Cokefeld (succeeded William the Chaplain; earlier procurator) ⁹⁶	1271, 1272
Brother James, master ⁹⁷	1272-3
Walter Capellanus, procurator, later master ⁹⁸	1273, 1283
Roger, master ⁹⁹	c. 1275-9
Gerard, procurator ¹⁰⁰	1279
Radulph de Septem Fontibus, a lay- man ¹⁰¹	1280 appointed; in 1286 described as dead
Henry de Dunhelm, clerk on the resignation of Radulph de Septem Fontibus ¹⁰²	1286 a royal appointment
Robert de Stapul, procurator ¹⁰³	1287
Brother Roger de Sancto Antonio, procurator, later master ¹⁰⁴	1291

William de Wytheresfeld, chaplain, master, warden ¹⁰⁵	1291 a royal appointment, 1300
Walter de Clerkenwell, chaplain, master ¹⁰⁶	c. 1293 appointed
Geoffrey de Birston, a brother of the house ¹⁰⁷	1293 a royal appointment, 1303
Henry de Cateby ¹⁰⁸	1297
Brother Richard Leighton, master of Burton Lazars ¹⁰⁹	1299, 1354, 1358 died
Walter Christmas, ? deputy ¹¹⁰	1302
William de Wakefeld, ? deputy ¹¹¹	1326
Hugh Michell, ? deputy ¹¹²	1347
Robert Halliday, ? deputy ¹¹³	1350
Geoffreyde Chaddesden, ? deputy	1354, 1357
Brother John Crispin, master of Burton Lazars, keeper 1303, 1316, suc- ceeded Richard Leighton ¹¹⁵	1358
William de Tytnt, master of Burton, succeeded John Crispin ¹¹⁶	c. 1358-73
John Comberlawe ¹¹⁷	1364
Geoffrey de Byrston or Bristow ¹¹⁸	1367
Brother William Croxton, master, con- frater of Nicholas de Doverie, be- came master of Burton, 1380 ¹¹⁹	1371, 1380, 1389
Nicholas de Doverie, master of Burton, governor, keeper ¹²⁰	1371, 1387, 1389 removed
Brother Hugh Michell, ? deputy ¹²¹	1373
William, ? deputy ¹²²	1375
Thomas, ? deputy ¹²³	1376
Robert Halliday, ? deputy, suc- ceeded Thomas ¹²⁴	1380
John Macclesfeld, the king's clerk, warden ¹²⁵	1389 a royal appointment, 1391, 1393-4, 1397
Richard Crowelegh ¹²⁶	1390
Richard Clifford, clerk, later Bishop of Worcester ¹²⁷	1390 a royal appointment
The Abbot of St. Mary Graces ¹²⁸	1391 by royal grant, till c. 1402
Brother Walter Lynton, master of Burton (not always in possession) ¹²⁹	1391, 1399, 1401, 1402, 1403, 1404-5, 1414
Geoffrey Shriggeley, knight, master of Burton, warden, succeeded Walter Lynton ¹³⁰	1415, 1424, 1425, 1426, 1428, 1431, 1436
William de Septem Fontibus, master ¹³¹	? 1420
William Sutton, knight, master of Bur- ton ¹³²	1449, 1461

George Sutton, master of Burton, succeeded William Sutton ¹³³	1484, 1491
Thomas Harringwold, succeeded George Sutton ¹³⁴	1493
Sir Thomas Norton, knight, succeeded Thomas Harringwold ¹³⁵	1507, 1508
Brother Thomas Ratcliffe ¹³⁶	1530, 1536
Robert Barker ¹³⁷	1542
Sir Thomas Leigh, knight, master of St. Giles ¹³⁸	1543

NOTES

- 1 The chief works relating to the hospital are Stow, *Survey* (1598); W. Dugdale, *Monasticon* (1817 ed.) Vol. VI, p. ii; J. Parton, *History of the Hospital and Parish of St. Giles-in-the-Fields* (1822); The Survey of London, Vol. V, *St. Giles-in-the-Fields*, Part II (1914); C. L. Kingsford, *Piccadilly, Leicester Square and Soho* (1925); and E. Williams, *Early Holborn and the Legal Quarter of London* (1927). These sources are fully discussed by E. Jeffries Davis in 'The University Site, Bloomsbury' (*London Topographical Record*, Vol. XVII (1936), pp. 110-15).
- 2 *D.N.B.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 52-3.
- 3 Leland, *Collectanea* (1770 ed.), Vol. I, p. 112. Leland died in 1552.
- 4 For a full discussion, with references, see Survey, p. 117.
- 5 St. Giles himself was lame (Clay, *op. cit.*, p. 262).
- 6 Edgar's charter of A.D. 972-5 is printed in A. Robinson, *Gilbert Crispin* (1911), p. 170. It and Ethelred's charter (A.D. 978-1016) are discussed in *Lond. Topog. Record*, Vol. XVII, pp. 22-3, and English Place-Name Society, Vol. XVIII, *The Place-Names of Middlesex* (1942), pp. 222-3. There is an earlier description of A.D. 959.
- 7 G. Saunders, 'The Extent of Westminster at Various Periods' in *Archaeologia*, Vol. XXVI (1836), pp. 223-41.
- 8 The whole manor or 'berewic' was under Westminster Abbey in Ethelred's time (see *L.T.R.*, Vol. XVII, p. 23n, and *Place-Names*, pp. 222-3). For the separation, see *L.T.R.*, Vol. XVII, p. 25n. In 1253 William of St. Giles, cordwainer, was Serjeant of the Soke of St. Giles (Williams, nos. 1568, 1572, 1574).
- 9 The soke seems to have been co-terminous with the parish of St. Giles. There is no mention of this parish before the foundation of the hospital. Early names for the parish were 'the parish of the hospital' (1252-7), and 'St. Giles of the Lepers' (1289) (Williams, nos. 1559, 1562; and *Cal. London and Middlesex Feet of Fines*, Vol. I, p. 62).
- 10 H. A. Harben, *A Dictionary of London* (1918), pp. 492-3.
- 11 *Cal. Ancient Deeds*, Vol. IV, p. 69 (A. 6684); *Cal. City Letter Book C*, p. 15; and *Chronica Maiorum et Vicecomitum Londoniorum* (Camden Series, 1846), pp. 12, 20.
- 12 *Cal. Letter Book G*, p. 27.
- 13 Survey, p. 117, from P.R.O. Ancient Petitions, E. 617; 2448. See also N. Moore, *The History of St. Bartholomew's Hospital* (1918), Vol. II, p. 146.
- 14 In St. Giles's Hospital Cartulary = B.M. Harl. MS. 4015, cited by Dugdale, Vol. VI (ii), pp. 635-6; translation in Parton, pp. 6-7. For a 1330 confirmation of both Henry II's charters, see *Cal. Charter Rolls, 1327-41*, pp. 192-4. A charter of Stephen to Westminster Abbey mentions the site of St. Giles's Hospital (Dugdale, Vol. I (1817), p. 308).
- 15 *Cal. City Letter Book G*, p. 29; Parton, pp. 8-11.
- 16 Cartulary, f. 129b (trans. Williams, no. 329).
- 17 Parton, p. 15n.

- 18 Williams, no. 1649; from Feet of Fines, case 147, F.14, no. 240 (*Cal. L. and M. Ft. of Fines*, Vol. I, p. 29).
- 19 Williams, no. 1652; from Cartulary, f. 131.
- 20 Williams, no. 1033.
- 21 *ibid.*, 1624, from Pat. Roll 46 Henry III, m. 15 (*Cal.*, 1258-66, p. 201). The City appointed Wardens or supervisors till at least 1565 (see above, p. 9).
- 22 *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1281-92, p. 252.
- 23 *ibid.*, p. 271.
- 24 Not enrolled until 1391 (Williams, no. 1631, from Pat. Roll 15 Rich. II, p. 1, m. 35).
- 25 *C.P.R.*, 1292-1301, p. 404; see also Parton, pp. 18-19.
- 26 Dugdale, Vol. VI (ii), p. 632-4.
- 27 As in 1384 (*C.P.R.*, 1381-5, p. 463). See also the list of masters.
- 28 Deed in Parton, pp. 11-12.
- 29 *Cal. Early Mayors' Court Rolls*, 1298-1307, pp. 125, 131, 219.
- 30 *ibid.*, p. 230.
- 31 Williams, no. 1626, from Rot. Pat. 31 Ed. 1, m. 29d. (*Cal.*, 1301-7, p. 189). At the end of 1303 the see of London was vacant, owing to the death of Richard de Gravesend (Dugdale, Vol. I, pp. 15-16).
- 32 Deed in Parton, pp. 13-14.
- 33 *Rolls of Parliament*, 1278-1324, 310b.
- 34 *C.P.R.*, 1313-17, p. 300; see also Parton, p. 16; and *C.P.R.*, 1334-8, p. 231, and 1377-81, p. 117.
- 35 Williams, no. 1239, from Cartulary, f. 125. See also *ibid.*, 1238.
- 36 *Cal. City Plea and Memoranda Rolls*, 1323-64, pp. 100-1.
- 37 Williams, no. 1615.
- 38 Parton, p. 5; and Williams, no. 1615.
- 39 Deed in Parton, pp. 17-18.
- 40 *Cal. Letter Book G*, pp. 28-9.
- 41 *ibid.*, pp. 30-1. John de Ufford, Dean of Lincoln, was Archbishop-Elect of Canterbury, but he died before his consecration.
- 42 Williams, nos. 1617, 1661. In 1381 Exton left St. Giles's. He became M.P. for the City, and mayor in 1386 (*ibid.*, no. 1618).
- 43 *Cal. Letter Book H*, p. 155.
- 44 *C.P.R.*, 1381-5, p. 596. The Chancellor for 1383-6 was Michael de la Pole, created Earl of Suffolk in 1385 (Williams, no. 1629).
- 45 *ibid.*, no. 1630, from Rot. Pat. 13 Rich. Vol. II, p. 1, m. 4d. (*Cal.*, 1388-92, p. 143).
- 46 *C.P.R.*, 1385-9, p. 309.
- 47 *ibid.*, 1388-92, p. 115. Unlike former Masters, John Macclesfield was not a priest.
- 48 Williams, no. 1637, from Augm. Office, Cart. Misc. V, no. 8.
- 49 *C.P.R.*, 1388-92, p. 458.
- 50 *ibid.*, 1396-9, pp. 47-8. See also Parton, p. 22.
- 51 Williams, no. 1638, from Augm. Office, Cart. Misc. VIII, no. 171.
- 52 *ibid.*, no. 1633, from Augm. Office, Conventual Leases, London, 292. This lease was renewed in 1420 (*C.P.R.*, 1416-22, p. 311).
- 53 Williams, no. 1632, from Augm. Office, Cart. Misc. XVII, no. 135.
- 54 *C.P.R.*, 1396-9, pp. 47-8.
- 55 Williams, no. 1635, from Augm. Office, Cart. Misc. XII, no. 156.
- 56 *Cal. Letter Book I*, p. 13-14.
- 57 The few leper patients mentioned by name are never women.
- 58 *Cal. Letter Book I*, p. 14.
- 59 Williams, nos. 1637, 1638, from Augm. Office, Cart. Misc. V, no. 8, and IX, no. 37.
- 60 Williams, no. 1639, from Rot. Pat. 3 Henry IV, p. 2, m. 3 (*Cal.* 1401-5, p. 120).
- 61 Deed in Parton, p. 26.
- 62 B.M. Harl. MS. 4015. See also Dugdale, Vol. VI (ii), p. 635; and Williams, nos. 1638n., 1646n. The entries commence in I Rich. I, but a few are of earlier date (Parton, p. 8).
- 63 *C.P.R.*, 1413-16, p. 248.
- 64 Deeds in Parton, pp. 22-6. The hospital never had 40 lepers (see Survey, p. 117).

- 65 Stow, Vol. II, p. 91; and Parton, p. 38.
- 66 Parton, p. 27, from Rot. Pat. 1 Ed. IV, p. 4, m. 8 (*Cal.*, 1461-7, p. 123). See also *Rolls of Parliament*, V, 472a, 521a, 602a. St. Giles's is mentioned as a leper hospital in a 1500 will (see under Hammer-smith Leper Hospital), and at about the same date the citizens of London ordered the master of St. Giles's to attend a court to renew the old agreement between the City and the hospital concerning the number of lepers (Guildhall, City Rep. 2, f. 27 (MS. Cal. 1495-1552, p. 84)).
- 67 In 1535-6 (Dugdale, Vol. VI (ii), p. 635). Each pauper was given 2d. a day by the master and brethren of Burton Lazars 'according to the force and effect of the foundation'.
- 68 Dugdale, Vol. VI (ii), p. 635.
- 69 Parton, pp. 29-32, from Statutes, 28 Henry VIII, c. 42 (*Statutes of the Realm*, pp. 701-3); partly summarized in C. L. Kingsford, *Piccadilly*, p. 7.
- 70 This land in Edmonton had belonged since at least 1203 (*Cal. Lond. and Midd. Feet of Fines*, Vol. I, p. 6). See also Parton, p. 59. The parishes are enumerated in Parton, pp. 61-2.
- 71 Parton, pp. 33-4, from Rot. Pat. 36 Henry VIII, p. 9, m. 29 (*L. and P.*, Vol. XIX (i), no. 610 (8)). See also Parton, pp. 51-2. Viscount Lisle became Duke of Northumberland. The old church of St. Giles survived until 1623 (Survey, p. 118; and *Piccadilly*, p. 33).
- 72 Parton, pp. 55-7.
- 73 W. H. Godfrey (*The English Almshouse* (1955), pp. 17-18), says that the lepers usually had individual cottages or lodgings. The most complete plan of a mediaeval leper hospital in England is that of St. Mary Magdalen, Winchester. Here all the lepers were under one roof (*ibid.*).
- 74 Parton, pp. 5, 55-7. The sound, as opposed to the leprous, members of the community governed the hospital. See also Dugdale, Vol. VI (ii), p. 635.
- 75 Williams, no. 1239, from Cartulary, f. 125. The most reliable picture of the buildings in the precinct is the 1585 plan, reproduced by the London Topographical Society as publication 54 (1925), and discussed, with a small reproduction with a modern overlay, by C. L. Kingsford in *Piccadilly*, pp. 32-5. Matthew Paris (died 1259) drew a little sketch of the hospital, naming it 'the memorial of Matilda the Queen'. This sketch is reproduced in Clay, p. 71.
- 76 See Plate 1(b).
- 77 Dugdale, Vol. VI (ii), p. 635; Moore, *St. Bartholomew's*, Vol. II, p. 146; Survey, p. 139. There is a cast at the British Museum (Birch, *Cat. of Seals*, Vol. I, pp. 635-6 = no. 3511).
- 78 The chief authorities for this list are Parton, Dugdale and Williams.
- 79 Parton, p. 42; Dugdale, Vol. VI (ii), p. 635; Williams, no. 1622.
- 80 Williams, no. 1622.
- 81 Parton, p. 42; Dugdale, Vol. VI (ii), p. 635.
- 82 Williams, no. 1622.
- 83 *ibid.*
- 84 Parton, p. 55.
- 85 Dugdale, Vol. VI (ii), p. 635.
- 86 Parton, p. 46; Williams, no. 1622.
- 87 Parton, p. 42; Dugdale, Vol. VI (ii), p. 635; Williams, no. 1622.
- 88 Parton, p. 43.
- 89 Parton, p. 46; Williams, no. 1622.
- 90 Parton, p. 42; Dugdale, Vol. VI (ii), p. 635; Williams, no. 1622.
- 91 *Cal. London and Middlesex Feet of Fines*, Vol. I, p. 13; Moore, *St. Bartholomew's*, Vol. I, p. 336; Vol. II, p. 146.
- 92 *Cal. Feet of Fines*, Vol. I, pp. 29, 39; Parton, p. 43; Dugdale, Vol. VI (ii), p. 635; Williams, nos. 1499, 1560, 1561, 1565, 1570, 1571, 1622, 1646.
- 93 Parton, p. 43; Dugdale, Vol. VI (ii), p. 635; Williams, no. 1622.
- 94 Parton, p. 44; Dugdale, Vol. VI (ii), p. 635; Williams, no. 1622.
- 95 Moore, *St. Bartholomew's*, Vol. II, p. 146; Parton, p. 44; Dugdale, Vol. VI (ii), p. 635.
- 96 *Cal. Feet of Fines*, Vol. I, p. 49; Parton, p. 44; Dugdale, Vol. VI (ii), p. 635; Williams, no. 1622.
- 97 *Cal. Feet of Fines*, Vol. I, p. 49.
- 98 Parton, p. 45.
- 99 *Cal. Feet of Fines*, Vol. I, p. 55; Parton, p. 44; Dugdale, Vol. VI (ii), p. 635; Williams, nos. 1572, 1622.

- 100 Parton, p. 46.
- 101 Parton, p. 45; Williams, no. 1622.
- 102 *Cal. Patent Rolls, 1281-92*, pp. 252, 271; Williams, no. 1622.
- 103 Parton, p. 46.
- 104 *ibid.*, p. 45.
- 105 Parton, p. 46; Williams, nos. 1578, 1622, 1653.
- 106 Dugdale, Vol. VI (ii), p. 635; Williams, no. 1622.
- 107 Parton, p. 46.
- 108 Williams, no. 1622.
- 109 Parton, p. 47.
- 110 Williams, no. 1622.
- 111 *ibid.*
- 112 *ibid.*
- 113 *ibid.*
- 114 Williams, nos. 1242, 1622.
- 115 Parton, p. 47; Williams, no. 1622.
- 116 *ibid.*
- 117 Williams, no. 1622.
- 118 *ibid.*
- 119 Parton, p. 47; Williams, no. 1622.
- 120 Parton, p. 48.
- 121 Parton, p. 47.
- 122 *ibid.*
- 123 *ibid.*
- 124 *ibid.*
- 125 *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1388-92*, pp. 115, 458; Parton, p. 48; Williams, no. 1622.
- 126 Williams, no. 1622.
- 127 Parton, p. 48.
- 128 *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1396-9*, pp. 47-8; Parton, p. 48; Williams, no. 1622.
- 129 Parton, p. 48.
- 130 *ibid.*, Williams, no. 1622.
- 131 Williams, no. 1622.
- 132 Parton, p. 49; Dugdale, Vol. VI (ii), p. 635; Williams, no. 1622.
- 133 *ibid.*
- 134 Parton, p. 49; Dugdale, Vol. VI (ii), p. 635.
- 135 *ibid.*, Williams, no. 1622.
- 136 *ibid.*
- 137 Williams, no. 1622.
- 138 *ibid.*, no. 1674.

6. KINGSLAND (OR HACKNEY) LEPER HOSPITAL

Kingsland Leper Hospital¹ was one of those founded by the citizens of London beyond the outskirts of their mediaeval city in *c.* 1280.² The site was carefully chosen. It was just over two miles from the city, on the left of the great Roman highway running from London through Bishopsgate, Shoreditch and Stoke Newington to the north of England. The hospital was at the south end of the little hamlet of Kingsland in the manor of Newington Barowe.³ To the north was Stoke Newington, while a side road to the east (now Dalston Lane) led to Hackney: hence the concurrent mediaeval names of Kingsland, Hackney and Newington for the hospital. Not until the sixteenth century did 'Kingsland' become the established usage.

William Walssheman is the first named 'forman (or governor) of Hackney'. In 1375 he took an oath that he would prevent lepers from entering the city.⁴ From his strategic site on the great northern road he was in a key position to help the authorities in this way. The hospital is again mentioned in 1389, 1417 and 1432, in connection with the City's two wardens or supervisors of lepers for Kingsland, the Lock in Southwark, and the Hospital of St. Giles-in-the-Fields.⁵

Among early gifts to the hospital is recorded that of John Pope, citizen and barber, who in 1437 bequeathed to the 'masters and governours' of 'Le Lokes at Kingsland without London' a rent charge of 6s. 8d. issuing out of certain shops and tenements in Sherborn Lane in the parish of St. Mary Abchurch in the city of London.⁶ Four years later John Carpenter, the Town Clerk, remembered the lepers of Hackney in his will,⁷ and so in 1500 did Lady Joan Frowyk of Ealing, who left 4d. to each inmate of the lazarus-house at 'Newenton grene', 'for to pray for my soul'.⁸

In 1545 the Guides of Kingsland and the Lock in Southwark petitioned the City for rules for their houses. Three weeks later both men were allowed by the City to continue in their office as long as they remained of good behaviour.⁹ Four years later Kingsland, with the other five leper hospitals of the City, passed into the hands of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and became one of its 'outhouses'.¹⁰ The hospital records give particulars of several patients sent to Kingsland. The first recorded was in 1551, when John Pascall being 'bothered' desired to go there. He was sent with a mattress, a bolster, a pair of sheets and a coverlet, at a cost of 12d.¹¹ A little later two patients were carried there for the same charge.¹² In 1555-6 Kingsland got a quarter share of 26s. 8d. paid by St. Bartholomew's Hospital to four of its outhouses.¹³ Other money came through the patients. In 1557 Margaret Flower, 'one of the poor at Kingsland', was discharged at the request of her brother Lancelot, who thereupon claimed the £40 which their father Richard had deposited with the hospital as a guarantee that he would pay 40s. yearly for his daughter's keep.¹⁴ In the same year a Mr. Eden and a Mr. Bridge promised to pay 20d. a month for John Greene. In 1558 his yearly account of 20s. was duly paid, but next year the patient had to be expelled 'for his naughty behaviour and disobedience'. He was threatened with Bridewell¹⁵ if he was found begging in the city. In the same year St. Bartholomew's sent a 'lazar' to Kingsland;¹⁶ and 6s. 8d. was paid for 'dismembring' a corpse.¹⁷ Next year the Guide, Cuthbert Harrison, had only two inmates.¹⁸ Then there is no further mention of Kingsland until 1584, when 5s. 0½d. was received from Thomas Clemen, who had died there. Another 10s. came next year from John Redman for the relief of John Gravis, 'one of the poor in Kingsland'; and a further 10s. from Nicholas Barlow for John Richards in 1586-7. Meantime, in the year before this, 19s. had been paid out to buy a livery for Nicholas Hill, another of the poor there.¹⁹ A different type of patient in 1591 was 'a poor lunatic woman diseased who lately lay near the wall of the Artillery Yard' (Bishopsgate). The Guide was to have £3 a year for her keep and 20s. for her clothes, the sums to be collected half from St. Bartholomew's and half from St. Thomas's Hospital.²⁰ This Guide, John Dyconson, mentioned as such in 1589-90, had died by 1595-6, when his widow received 4s. In 1601-2 William Moore held the office. He was paid £17 odd in 1601 and £14 odd in 1602.²¹

During this time large sums were spent in repairs, viz. over £48 on the brickwork of the barn, and over £100 on the house. The next year, 1603, 14 bedsteads were bought for £14. Three years later over £5 was spent on work at the laystall.²² Meantime the Guide

PLATE 1(a)



By courtesy of the Society of Antiquaries of London

The seal of Highgate (or Holloway) Leper Hospital

Inscription: S[igillum] Hospitalis S[ancti] Iesu S[ancti] Antoni de Holwei

PLATE 1(b)



By courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum

The seal of Giles's Leper Hospital, Holborn

Inscription: Sigillum Sancti Egidii Infirmarum



By courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum

The seal of Knightsbridge Leper Hospital

Inscription: Sigillum Ospici S[anc]ti Len[ard]i de Kynghtbrigge

was receiving at irregular intervals sums usually amounting to about £8 a year. Some of the sums were earmarked for the care of a patient, usually a pound a time. An extra £1 in 1611, and 10s. in 1612, was received for the Christmas diet of the inmates.²³ Then in 1613 Kingsland was enlarged by the building of a new 'sweatlle ward' for £6 4s. 7d.; and lime and brick, together with boards and quarters to make bedsteads, cost £10 6s. 6d.²⁴ Quite a different charge came in 1614, the payment of £1 to William Lambe, High Constable of Islington, for conveying Marie Catesbie from Kingsland to Warwickshire.²⁵ Another interesting entry occurs in 1623, when a certain Matthew Wymfrey asked for 10s. for reading to the poor of the spittle house of Kingsland, though he had undertaken the work voluntarily. He was prohibited from reading any more.²⁶ Costs were mounting enough in other directions. John Topcliffe, the Guide, in both 1625 and 1627 had to ask for more money for fuel and diet for the poor. He was given £2 the first time and £5 the next time. In 1643 and 1644 he had to be given £10 extra for winter fuel alone.²⁷

Services were undoubtedly held regularly in the chapel at Kingsland right from the foundation of the hospital but no record of them survives until 1638, when Jeremiah Gosse, clerk, was chosen to officiate as minister at the Lock and at Kingsland in place of Mr. Powell, who had received £10 per annum. Three years later Mr. Gosse was given a gratuity of £6 13s. 4d.; and in 1643 another £5, this time for his extraordinary pains in praying and preaching on fast days at Kingsland, to the poor and to the soldiers attending the Court of Guard there—an interesting side light on the beginning of the civil war.²⁸

Most of the Guides at Kingsland are shadowy officials. Of John Topcliffe, surgeon, who by 1646 had been Guide for fifty years, more is known. In recognition of his great labour and pains and to encourage him to go on cheerfully a fixed yearly salary of £8 was granted to him, and £16 'for the poor that are admitted into diet'. On 20 May, 1649, he was given another £13 6s. 8d. in compensation for his extraordinary charges and expenses 'these dear and chargeable times for victuals for the patients'. This sum was to last till Christmas. Only a month later, on 25 June, Topcliffe was dismissed, with no reason recorded.²⁹ John Kent, citizen and surgeon of London, was appointed in his place and took over on 16 July. He had to promise that he would keep 'noe victualling house, or sell or suffer to be sold any ale, beer, wine or cakes'; and that he would behave himself honestly . . . 'to the good liking of the Governors and for the good of the poor patients under his charge'.³⁰ By 5 October the ex-Guide was in financial difficulties on his own account, and the treasurer of St. Bartholomew's was empowered to give him a gratuity of £9 when he left Kingsland; but on 17 December he had still not delivered the keys of the garden and doors nor taken away his goods. He had died by 25 November of the next year, when his widow was given £5.³¹ Meantime the new Guide was soon in difficulties over the cost of medicine, special diets and fuel 'during these present dear times'. The hospital building had also been enlarged and so another £20 was needed for drugs, physic, sheets, shrouding, straw for beds, and charges for burials. John Kent continued in office until some date before February 1669. It was during his time that it was definitely laid down that a candle was to be burned in each of the six wards every night in winter, and that a detailed list was drawn up of the exact amount and kind of food for each day. The patients had best wheaten bread, beef, soup, beer, cheese or butter, and water gruel or milk pottage. In 1656 Suffolk cheese took the place of Cheshire cheese, and five dozen of hemp was received for half a year for sheets. An innovation was the provision in 1683 of a drying room for clothes and frocks by laying an extra floor along half the length of the

barn, towards the west. A further improvement was a sundial.³² It may have been during Kent's tenure that the practice began of admitting only women patients to Kingsland, and only men to the Lock.³³

In 1666 came the Great Fire of London. This so depleted the revenues of St. Bartholomew's Hospital that all the patients at Kingsland had to be discharged before Christmas, 1666, and no new patients were to be sent, though the Guide was to continue living there, to look after the building, the bedding and the furniture. Next year the Guide was allowed to take patients whose friends agreed to pay for everything except special diet, and by 1669 the new Guide, John Bignall, had effected twelve cures, one a 'double one'. For these cures he received £14.³⁴ By 1680 conditions were normal again and Kingsland was to have twenty patients, all kept at the sole charge of St. Bartholomew's. The Guide after 1682 was to receive £30 a year, together with another £3 for washing the patients' sheets, for coals and candles, and for 'the ancient allowance of hemp to maintain the sheets'. Each patient was given 4d. a day to buy his own food. As for blankets, in 1686 St. Bartholomew's was to buy 'duffles' to make them.³⁵ A substantial bathing tub was to be made for Kingsland in 1700. Eight years later those inmates discharged as cured were each to be given a copy of a book, 'The Practice of Piety' by Lewes Bayley, Bishop of Bangor, 1616–31.³⁶ One wonders how many patients could read.

All sorts of outside persons attended the chapel services as the parish church was far off. In 1716, after certain strangers had been very disorderly and had disturbed the patients and the rest of the congregation, it was decided to provide stuff curtains to keep the patients out of sight.³⁷ These patients were suffering from ague, fever, dropsy, jaundice and diarrhoea, amongst other diseases.³⁸ The 1754 Report said that many had venereal disease and that the Kingsland and Lock outhouses had always been used by St. Bartholomew's for such patients, but the extant records do not bear out this statement. The outhouses were used in the 16th century for any cases of leprosy that still occurred and also for convalescent patients and for any incurables needing constant medical attention.⁴⁰ Only in 1633 and in the 1754 Report is venereal disease mentioned. Evidently by then many such patients were cared for at Kingsland and the Lock and so the belief arose that it had always been so.

More information about the hospital buildings is available in 1721. The existing dining-room was too large to be wainscotted, so the two rooms over the hall fronting the road were to be made into one, wainscotted, and used as a dining-room. A new pair of stairs was to be made next to the hall, and the chapel tiles mended. The next year Sir John Aaston gave Kingsland some more land and a brick wall was built round this; and in 1723 the buildings were insured against fire at the Hand-in-Hand Fire Office. Two years later St. Bartholomew's made a survey of Kingsland. It was found that all the wards were on the ground floor, without cellaring under them, and were 'very ancient and very defective'. To make matters worse, the road running past the hospital had of recent years been considerably raised, so that the wards were now three feet below the roadway and therefore most cold and damp. It was decided to rebuild and enlarge the wards (cf. Plate 5). The rebuilding programme provided for thirty beds, a bagnio, a couch room, a surgery and other amenities. It was next decided to rebuild the coachhouse and stable, at a cost of £170. In 1727 the surgeon's house was to be repaired.⁴¹ The chapel services had also come under review. In 1722 Robert Hawkins, the minister for the last twenty years, was 88 years old and so weak and failing in sight that he could neither preach nor read the services. He was

paid his £12 salary and another £6 per annum to keep himself and his 'antient sickly wife'. The new minister was to read prayers and preach every Sunday afternoon, and to administer the sacrament once in two or three months if enough patients wished it.⁴² In 1729 the allowance for these patients was raised from 4d. a day to 6d. and in 1730 the night watcher's fee became 4d. a night. In 1734 two small coppers were exchanged for one larger and more useful one. In 1731 we hear of new railings in front of Kingsland, and two years later the pavement there was to be so made as to carry off the water from the building.⁴³ In all these years there is no hint of the impending end of Kingsland, but evidently the cost of maintaining the outhouses had become too great. In 1754 a sub-committee of the governors of St. Bartholomew's Hospital was set up to report on both Kingsland and the Lock. It was found that the Guide or surgeon of Kingsland was receiving as well as a house and his salary of £30 an additional £50 for medicines. The other staff consisted of a chaplain, with a salary of £12 and a gratuity of £8; and a sister, a nurse and a helper at 3s. 6d. a week each for wages. The two outhouses together were costing upwards of £700 per annum to maintain. It was recommended that both outhouses should be dissolved and all the patients taken into St. Bartholomew's Hospital, where by then there were two wards, one for men and one for women, specially equipped for venereal diseases.⁴⁴ The resolution was rejected by the Governors of the St. Bartholomew's and in 1755 it seemed to be definitely decided that both the outhouses were to be retained. This decision, however, was reversed in 1760⁴⁵ and in that year the doors of Kingsland were closed after a useful existence of nearly 500 years. The last known Guide was Joseph Webb, appointed in 1749 after serving for 20 years as assistant-surgeon at St. Bartholomew's.⁴⁶

The hospital proper at Kingsland was let on a building lease for other purposes (in 1815 a corn-chandler did business there),⁴⁷ but at the petition of the inhabitants of Kingsland the chapel, at the S.E. corner of Balls Pond Road, continued to be used for divine service. The patients' pew, then in the gallery, was taken down and the other seats were raised, at the expense of the ex-chaplain, Mr. Cookson, who continued there, being paid henceforth by his congregation. 6d. was given yearly to the poor box at St. Bartholomew's Hospital as an acknowledgement that the chapel belonged to the hospital, which kept the right of nomination of the preacher.⁴⁸ By 1823 the chapel roof was overgrown with moss and weeds, and the interior much neglected. The hospital governors repaired, painted and re-roofed the building, but in 1846 it was pulled down as the then governors refused to pay the stipend of the minister, the Rev. Isaac Hill.⁴⁹ On its site was built the Star and Garter Public House, with its north door on the same site as the old chapel's north door.⁵⁰ Part of this chapel and all the hospital buildings proper were in the parish of Hackney, but the western end of the chapel was in Islington. Those beating the bounds entered by the north door of the chapel and left by the south door.⁵¹ The chapel communicated with the lazar-house, which was to the south of the chapel and faced the Kingsland Road. The hospital proper had been rebuilt in brick but the mediaeval chapel, of stone and in the Gothic style, survived till 1846. It was a simple oblong building measuring only 27 feet by 18 feet, with a height of 20 feet on the outside to the top of the roof.⁵² There are three views of the chapel and other buildings. The earliest was engraved by Benjamin Green, c. 1780.⁵³ The second is in J. Nelson's *History and Antiquities of Islington* (1811), Plate IV, drawn by F. W. L. Stockdale and engraved by Francis Hawkesworth. The third, drawn by Schnebbelie and engraved by Wise, was published in Wilkinson,

Londina Illustrata (1819) Vol. I, pl. 68 and thence in D'Arcy Power, *History of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, 1123–1923 (1923), Plate XIX. It is now reproduced as Plate 4.

GUIDES

William Walssheman, 'forman' ⁵⁴	1375
John Nyk, governor ^{55a}	1543
Cuthbert Harrison, keeper ^{55b}	1559–60, 1561
John Dyconson, guider ⁵⁶	1589–90, 1595–6 died in office
William Moore, guider ⁵⁷	1601–2
John Topliffe, guide ⁵⁸	1625, 1649 dismissed (died c. 1650)
John Kent, guide ⁵⁹	1649, 1666
John Bignall, guide ⁶⁰	1669, 1682 resigned
Richard Berry ⁶¹	1682, 1689
Nicholas Field ⁶²	1708, 1720 died in office
James Dansie ⁶³	1720, 1734
Joseph Webb ⁶⁴	1749

CHAPLAINS

Jeremiah Gosse ⁶⁵	1643
Stephen Huggins ⁶⁶	1659, 1661
Robert Skingle, clerk ⁶⁷	1663 appointed
Richard Babington ⁶⁸	1681 appointed
Robert Hawkins ⁶⁹	1702, 1722 retired
— Bethune ⁷⁰	1724, 1734 died
Charles Weaver, M.A. ⁷¹	1734 appointed
— Cookson ⁷²	1761
James Maidman ⁷³	1795
Isaac Hill, the last ⁷⁴	1823, 1846 (chapel pulled down)

NOTES

- 1 The chief works referring to the hospital are Lysons, *Environs of London*, Vol. II (1795), pp. 473, 513; Vol. III, p. 149; J. Nelson, *The History and Antiquities of Islington* (1811 and 1823); T. E. Tomlins, *A Perambulation of Islington* (1858); and N. Moore, *The History of St. Bartholomew's Hospital* (1918).
- 2 R. Clay (p. 304) gives 'before 1334' as the date of foundation but gives no reference. She says that the hospital was dedicated to St. Katharine.
- 3 For Newington Barowe see Tomlins, p. 210.
- 4 H. T. Riley, *Memorials of London and London Life in the 13th, 14th, and 15th Centuries* (1868), p. 384; see also *Cal. City Letter Book H*, p. 9.
- 5 *Cal. Letter Book H*, p. 343; *I*, p. 184; *K*, pp. 142–3.
- 6 Will in Bp. of London's Register, cited by J. Strype (*Survey* (1720), Vol. II, app. I, p. 131).
- 7 Will translated in T. Brewer, *Memoir of the Life and Times of John Carpenter* (1856), p. 139.
- 8 Somerset House, P.C.C. Wills, 2 Moone.
- 9 Guildhall, City Repertory 11, f. 173, 177.

- 10 See Introduction, p. 9
- 11 St. B's Hosp., Ha 1/1, f. 20v.
- 12 *ibid.*, Hb 1/1, f. 110.
- 13 See Introduction, p. 9
- 14 St. B's Hosp., Ha 1/1, f. 169.
- 15 *ibid.*, Ha 1/1, f. 170. 186v; Hb 1/1, f. 336.
- 16 Hb 1/1, f. 372v.
- 17 Hb 1/3, f. 17.
- 18 Ha 1/1, f. 221v.
- 19 Hb 1/2, f. 309v, 325v, 344v, 354.
- 20 N. Moore, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, 291.
- 21 St. B's Hosp., Hb 1/3, f. 33, 131v, 235, 235v, 236, 236v, 256v.
- 22 *ibid.*, f. 287v, 357v.
- 23 f. 512, 542.
- 24 f. 547v, 548v.
- 25 f. 581.
- 26 Ha 1/4, f. 138.
- 27 f. 150, 164, 276v, 286v.
- 28 f. 245, 260v, 272v.
- 29 Ha 1/4, f. 310; Ha 1/5, f. 30, 33v.
- 30 Ha 1/5, f. 34, 35v.
- 31 f. 39, 42, 58v.
- 32 f. 48v, 72, 187, 194v, 195, 318v, 320, 321v. Candles were 4s. 6d. a dozen, and there were 8 to the pound. The sundial's motto was 'Post voluptatem miseria' (Tomlins, *op. cit.*, p. 212). The weekly diet is given in Ha 4/1, f. 12v-18v. In 1662 the wheaten bread was so scarce and expensive that 'whole-some and good household bread made of wheat' was temporarily substituted (f. 28).
- 33 This division had taken place by 1657 (Ha 1/5, f. 136).
- 34 Ha 1/6, f. 28, 36, 39, 76. See also N. Moore, Vol. II, p. 330; and G. Whitteridge, 'The Fire of London and St. Bartholomew's Hospital' in *London Topographical Record*, Vol. XX (1952), pp. 47-78.
- 35 Ha 1/7, f. 95v, 122v, 185v; Ha 4/1, f. 54v. In 1714 each nurse received an extra 15s. per annum for washing the patients' sheets because of a new soap duty (Ha 4/1, f. 63v).
- 36 Moore, Vol. II, pp. 351, 353.
- 37 Ha 1/9, f. 142v.
- 38 f. 149.
- 39 See below, note 44.
- 40 *Lond. Topog. Record*, Vol. XX, p. 54n.
- 41 Ha 1/10, f. 54, 63, 65v, 97, 133, 138, 138v, 141v, 154v. In 1731 the allowance of coal had to be increased to 25 chaldrons a year because of the erection of the bagnio (Ha 4/1, f. 68v). The surgeon's house had been whitewashed in 1720 (Ha 1/10, f. 16v).
- 42 Ha 1/10, f. 63, 110.
- 43 f. 154v, 229, 284v, 290, 301v.
- 44 J 12, p. 488. It was calculated that £300 a year would be saved.
- 45 Moore, Vol. II, pp. 372, 376.
- 46 *ibid.*, p. 633n.
- 47 Lysons, Vol. II, p. 513; Wilkinson, *Londina Illustrata*, Vol. I (1819), pp. 67, 68; Tomlins, p. 212. The building had the arms of St. Bartholomew's over the door.
- 48 Lysons, Vol. II, pp. 473, 513; Nelson (1823), pp. 181-2. The chapel was usually called St. Bartholomew's Chapel (Tomlins, p. 211). Balls Pond Road is the comparatively modern name for a very ancient lane from Islington to Kingsland (Tomlins, p. 212) and thence to Hackney (Dalston Lane).
- 49 Nelson (1823), p. 182; Tomlins, p. 212.
- 50 Tomlins, pp. 178, 212.
- 51 Lysons, Vol. III, p. 149; Nelson, p. 5; Tomlins, pp. 178, 211.
- 52 Lysons, Vol. II, p. 513; Nelson, p. 182.
- 53 Tomlins, p. 212.
- 54 *Cal. Letter Book H*, p. 9.

- 55a Guildhall, City Repertory 10, f. 303.
- 55b Ha 1/1, f. 221v.
- 56 Hb 1/3, f. 33, 131v.
- 57 f. 235–256v.
- 58 Ha 1/4, f. 150; Ha 1/5, f. 33v, 58v.
- 59 Ha 1/5, f. 33v; *Lond. Topog. Record*, Vol. XX, p. 54.
- 60 Ha 1/6, f. 76; Ha 1/7, f. 125.
- 61 Ha 1/7, f. 125, 325.
- 62 Ha 1/9, f. 5v; Ha 1/10, f. 14v.
- 63 Ha 1/10, f. 14v, 301v.
- 64 Moore, Vol. II, p. 633n.
- 65 Ha 1/5, f. 318.
- 66 *ibid.*, f. 253v; Moore, Vol. II, p. 318.
- 67 Ha 1/5, f. 328v.
- 68 Ha 1/7, f. 107.
- 69 Ha 1/4, f. 272v.
- 70 Ha 1/10, f. 110, 305v.
- 71 *ibid.*, f. 305v.
- 72 Nelson (1823), p. 182.
- 73 Lysons, Vol. II, p. 473
- 74 Nelson, p. 182.

7. KNIGHTSBRIDGE LEPER HOSPITAL

Knightsbridge Leper Hospital was one of those set up or, more probably in this case, taken over by the mayor and commonalty of the City of London in the 13th or 14th century.¹ The earliest reference to the hospital is in 1475, when Thomas Wood, vicar of Foulsham in Norfolk, developed leprosy 'and is in the spitell howse of Knygtyes brygge beside Westminster'.² Ten years later Thomas Padyngton, fishmonger of London, made his will and left money to the lazar house at Knightsbridge.³ The hospital was in the Domesday manor of Eia, or Eye⁴, held by the abbot and convent of Westminster, to whom an annual rent was due. The abbey also seems to have had the patronage of the hospital.⁵

There are only four other references to the hospital under the old dispensation. The earliest is in 1526, when a child from the lazar house at Knightsbridge was buried in the churchyard of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, which soon afterwards became a recognized parish church. In 1540 a poor priest from the hospital was similarly buried without fee in St. Martin's churchyard, and two days later came John Warde 'oute of the lazar house'. Six years later Richard, the 'goodman' of the lazar house, was buried, and 2s. 2d. was charged for two torches, a funeral knell and the use of a pall.⁶

Like the other five leper hospitals of the Lock, Kingsland, Hammersmith, Highgate and Mile End, Knightsbridge was handed over by the City to St. Bartholomew's Hospital in 1549.⁷ Hereafter until 1623 sporadic references to Knightsbridge appear in the hospital records as well as in the parish registers of the church of St. Martin-in-the-Fields. In 1549–50 Hugh Fabian, Proctor (or Guider) of Knightsbridge buried three of the poor who had been sent there from St. Bartholomew's; and in 1550 four more were sent, with 4 mattresses, 4 bolsters, 4 coverlets and 4 pairs of sheets. Three weeks later Henry Fabian received 2 sheets and a smock. The carriage of another patient sent there in 1551–2

cost 12d.⁸ Then in 1552 comes a casual reference to the hospital: the dean and prebends of the cathedral church of St. Peter in Westminster were presented 'for lack of repairing the bridge at the Spittel Howse at the est end of Knightsbridge'.⁹

In 1555-6 Thomas Fabyan, Keeper, was given 6s. 8d. by St. Bartholomew's Hospital for 'keeping the poor'. Two years later St. Bartholomew's sent a boy patient to Knightsbridge, and in 1559-60 another patient is mentioned as having been sent.¹⁰ Next come the records of several burials in St. Martin's churchyard. In 1571 there were two: Thomas Jones and John Tacke. In 1572 a poor unnamed woman was buried. Three men followed, in 1575, 1576 and 1581 respectively.¹¹

By 1582 John Glassington, the most outstanding of all the Guiders, was in command at Knightsbridge, which he held under the church of Westminster at a rent of 4s. per annum.¹² In that year he was paid 45s. for 9 'sore poor people' from St. Bartholomew's.¹³ As the years went by he received frequent and increasingly large amounts, and between 1589 and 1596 the names of some of his patients are given: they were Margery Byrde, John Stedman, Christofer Hardy, John Daye, Judythe Johnson, Thomas Draper, John Guyle and Gyles Mattechett.¹⁴ It will be noted that both men and women patients were treated. Nearly all those mentioned seem to have been discharged as cured. John Glassington's own family were the most unlucky. Between 5 October and 5 November, 1593, four of his surname died of the plague.¹⁵ When it seemed desirable to Glassington a *post mortem* was held, and one of these took place in 1596-7, when a certain Mr. Hynde was paid 6s. 8d. for 'dismembring one at Knightsbridge'.¹⁶ Glassington is the only one of the Guiders at any of the 'outhouses' who is recorded as having presented formal bills for payment.¹⁷ In 1595 he submitted as well a long report on the state of his hospital.¹⁸ He said that it had no lands and no endowment. It had once had a piece of land but this was now lost, enclosed in Hyde Park. Glassington said that when he became Guider the hospital buildings were ready to fall down and that he had spent over £100 on their repair. There were now 36 or 37 patients there, supported wholly by voluntary contributions, and their food alone in 1594 had cost £161 19s. 4d. Candles, linen, woollen 'salves' and medicines had also been bought; and burials had had to be paid for. Glassington claimed to have cured 55 persons, some of whom had been dismissed as incurable from other hospitals. He said that those who were able were made to work, that their daily dinner consisted of warm meat and porridge, and that every inmate had his own dish, platter and tankard, 'to keep the broken from the whole'—a truly hygienic measure. The patients attended prayers in the chapel every morning and evening, and the neighbours came too on Sunday mornings and evenings. The last mention of this very able Dr. John Glassington is in 1597-8.¹⁹

The St. Bartholomew's records from that date rarely give more than the bare amounts paid to 'the Guider of Knightsbridge'. In 1602-3 he received £19; in 1603-4, £23 13s. 4d.; and in 1604-5, £37 13s. 4d. Once, in 1611-12, the yearly payment fell to £10. In 1612-13 some items are marked 'for the care of 1 person,' or 2 persons, or even 7. Each patient seems to have cost about 20s.²⁰

It was during James I's reign that an improved water supply was obtained for the hospital. The king ordered that the hospital for sick, lame or impotent people of Knightsbridge was to be supplied with water from an independent pipe from the conduit in Hyde Park.²¹ The earlier water supply would probably have been direct from the Ravensbourne Brook, which ran to the west of the hospital.

In 1622 a strange order came to Daniel Bissell, guider of Knightsbridge. He was to clear his house of the poor patients committed to him by the Governors of St. Bartholomew's Hospital and was then further to plead his suit. Of this there is no record, but it was arranged that for the ensuing year he was always to have under his care six poor patients from the hospital, and that he was to be paid as formerly.²² This arrangement was evidently only temporary, for in 1623 the last hospital payment was made to the Guider of Knightsbridge.²³

The hospital continued without this regular support. Contributions would undoubtedly have been forthcoming from the inhabitants of the hamlet of Knightsbridge, who regularly attended the Sunday services in the hospital chapel because their parish church of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields was so far off. In 1625 the vicar of St. Martin's went personally to the chapel to take the communion service. He and the churchwardens travelled in a hired cart, the cost of which is recorded, and took with them provisions to distribute to the poor folk in distress being in Knightsbridge.²⁴ The Vestry of St. Margaret's, Westminster, the mother church, also made grants at times to this unendowed lazaret house,²⁵ but by 1629 the hospital chapel had become old and ruinous and ready to fall. Therefore the inhabitants of Knightsbridge petitioned William Laud, then Bishop of London, to allow them to rebuild the chapel. Permission was given, with the consent of the vicar and churchwardens of St. Martin's. The congregation paid all the costs and the new chapel was consecrated to the use of the poor of the hospital. There was no endowment for the chaplain, so in 1634, with the permission of the Chancellor of the diocese of London, and with the assent of the Governor of the hospital, the chaplain, and some of the principal inhabitants of Knightsbridge, it was arranged that there should be pew-rents. The money so collected was to maintain the chaplain, repair the chapel, and relieve the poor in the hospital. A register book for the accounts was to be kept and made up every six months.²⁶

In 1650 the Parliamentary Commission on Ecclesiastical Benefices reported on Knightsbridge chapel. The report said that 20 years earlier the chapel had been rebuilt and enlarged by public subscription, and that the minister was Henry Walker, who had been placed there on probation by Parliament. He was receiving £10 a year from the inhabitants. Later the parliamentary committee allowed him £40 annually, and in 1655 he was formally presented by Cornelius Holland and George Prime, joint governors of the chapel, which seems by then to have been quite separately administered.²⁷

In 1654 a second John Glassington, surgeon, prayed to be admitted to the governorship of the lazaret house, which he said his ancestors had always rented from the dean and chapter of Westminster, now in commission. The doctor's petition was backed by a certificate from Sir John Thurogood.²⁸ Years later, in 1699, the chapel was again rebuilt, at the expense of Nicholas Birkhead, citizen and goldsmith of London.²⁹

The lazaret house of Knightsbridge, with the chapel belonging to it, is mentioned as still in existence by Newcourt, writing in 1708,³⁰ but Strye in 1720 described only the chapel.³¹ This chapel was dedicated to the Holy Trinity and in 1725 came into the parish of St. George, Hanover Square.³² Its front was a third time rebuilt and enlarged by being brought into line with the adjacent houses, and the whole chapel was repaired, in 1789.³³ Six years later Lysons reported that the lessee of the chapel was Dixon Gamble and that the chaplain was a relative, John Gamble, M.A., appointed 'as usual' by the dean and chapter of Westminster. Adjoining the chapel, and either in or on the site of the old

hospital buildings, was a charity school for boys and girls, founded about ten years earlier and supported by voluntary contributions. Fifty-five children were being educated there.^{34a} Hennessy listed the ministers of Trinity chapel, Knightsbridge, until 1895. Meantime, in 1861, a new "Gothic" building took the place of the 1789 one and this, the last chapel, was demolished in 1904.^{34b}

The old leper hospital had stood originally in the parish of St. Margaret, Westminster. In 1536 it was apportioned to the newly formed parish of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, and again in 1725 to the new parish of St. George, Hanover Square.³⁵ The hospital stood about a quarter of a mile west of Hyde Park Corner, between Piccadilly and Kensington, on one of the west roads out of London. The buildings were on the north side of the road, east of the ancient bridge which carried the road over the Westbourne Brook, the site of which is now marked by Albert Gate.³⁶ The chapel, as refronted in 1789, was very carefully drawn by Joseph Salway in connection with the Kensington Turnpike Trust in 1811.³⁷ The chapel stood about 100 feet from the stream and its frontage measured 30 feet from east to west. To the west of the chapel Salway drew an ancient house with two gables, partly refronted and measuring 25 feet along the street. Westward stood another house or two, and then the White Hart Inn next the stream. These buildings must have included, or been on the site of, the hospital proper and its grounds, which would have stretched down to the stream. When the White Hart Inn was pulled down in 1841 human remains, various ancient implements and coins were found under the foundations. On the western side of the stream, under the Elizabethan Fox and Bull Inn, six entire male skeletons were found deep down.³⁸ Unfortunately none of these remains have been dated. It may be that both banks of the stream were used in mediaeval times for hospital burials. After these banks were built upon, apparently in the time of Elizabeth, the hospital authorities used the churchyard of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, but there is a tradition that during the crisis of the 1665 plague the hospital was used for victims and that a part of Knightsbridge village green was set apart for a burial ground for those inmates who died of the plague.³⁹ This green, nearly opposite the hospital, was a little west of the Westbourne Brook, at the junction of Brompton Road with the main west road out of London.

The hospital seal (Plate 2) is a pointed oval with a cabled border, and measures $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. by $1\frac{1}{8}$ in. On the seal are two figures, each under a separate canopy. The left-hand figure is of the Virgin, crowned, with the Child in her right hand, and a sceptre in her left. The other figure is of a bishop. His right hand is raised in benediction, and his left holds a pastoral staff. The inscription reads: "Sigillum Ospici S[anc]ti Len[ard]i de Kynghtbrigge."⁴⁰

GUIDERS OR GOVERNORS

Richard, the goodman of the lazaret house ⁴¹	1546 buried
Hugh Fabyan, proctor ⁴²	1549-50
Henry Fabyan, proctor ⁴³	1550
Thomas Fabyan, keeper ⁴⁴	1555-6
Henry Fryer, keeper ⁴⁵	1559-60, 1561
John Glassington, guider ⁴⁶	1581-2, 1597-8
William More, prefectus ⁴⁷	1620 buried
Daniel Bissell, guider ⁴⁸	1622
John Glassington, surgeon, governor ⁴⁹	1654 appointed

NOTES

- 1 See p. 7.
- 2 Clay, *op. cit.*, p. 103.
- 3 *Cal. City Husting Wills*, Vol. II, p. 589.
- 4 C. T. Gatty, *Mary Davies and the Manor of Ebury* (n.d.), Vol. I, p. 20.
- 5 See below, p. 40.
- 6 J. V. Kitto, *The Accounts of the Churchwardens of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, 1525-1603* (1901), pp. 3, 60 (*bis*) 112. The lights for the child cost 2d.
- 7 See above, p. 9.
- 8 St. Bartholomew's Hosp. MSS. Hb 1/1, f. 55v. 110; Ha 1/1.
- 9 W. F. Prideaux, 'Notes on Salway's Plan of the Road from Hyde Park Corner to Counter's Bridge' in *London Topographical Record*, Vol. III (1906), p. 23n. (from Hist. MSS. Comm., 15th Report, app. II, p. 257).
- 10 St. Bartholomew's MSS. Hb 1/1, f. 277v, 339v; Ha 1/1, f. 221v.
- 11 *Register of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, 1550-1619* (Harleian Soc., 1898), pp. 116 (*bis*), 119, 120, 124; and Kitto, *op. cit.*, pp. 267, 289.
- 12 Dugdale, Vol. VI (ii), p. 766.
- 13 Hb 1/2, f. 282.
- 14 Hb 1/3, f. 33, 46v (*bis*), 51, 53, 63v.
- 15 *Register of St. Martin*, pp. 138-9. From 1583 to 1619 only seven burials from the spital or ptochodochio (or zenodoch) of Knightsbridge are recorded (*ibid.*, pp. 127, 135, 137, 140, 173, 179 (*bis*)). From 1619 to 1627 there were 39 burials (*Register, 1619-36* (1936), pp. 156-231).
- 16 Hb 1/3, f. 157.
- 17 *ibid.*, f. 51.
- 18 Lysons, Vol. II (1795), p. 179.
- 19 Hb 1/3, f. 176.
- 20 *ibid.*, f. 279v, *et seq.*
- 21 E. Walford, *Old and New London*, Vol. V (1872-8), p. 23. It was James I who helped Sir Hugh Myddleton with the New River. For the conduit, see H. W. Dickinson, *Water Supply of Greater London* (1954), p. 14.
- 22 Ha 1/4, f. 127v, 130.
- 23 Hb 1/4.
- 24 J. McMaster, *A Short History of the Royal Parish of St. Martin-in-the-Fields* (1916), p. 332.
- 25 M. E. C. Walcott, *Westminster* (1849), p. 301; and Walford, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, p. 23.
- 26 Newcourt, *Repertorium* (1708), Vol. I, p. 694, from London Diocesan Records, Lib. Duck, Vic. General, f. 77, 185. Since 1627 the chapel had been an official chapel-of-ease to St. Martin's (McMaster, p. 332).
- 27 Lysons, Vol. II, p. 180, from the Parlia. Surveys at Lambeth Palace.
- 28 *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 179.
- 29 *ibid.*, p. 180; McMaster, p. 332.
- 30 Newcourt, p. 694. He has a list of the chaplains or ministers from 1630. This list is continued to 1895 in Hennessy, *Novum Repert.* (1898), p. 441.
- 31 Strype, Vol. II (vi), pp. 67, 78.
- 32 McMaster, p. 332.
- 33 Lysons, Vol. II, p. 180.
- 34a *ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 180-1.
- 34b W. F. Prideaux in *London Topog. Record*, Vol. III, pp. 28-29. See also Walford, Vol. V, p. 23; and 2 pictures (after 1789) in McMaster, opp. p. 332.
- 35 McMaster, pp. 332-3.
- 36 The course of the Westbourne Brook is traced in Gatty, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-20. The bridge was there by 1042-66 (*The Place-Names of Middlesex* (English Place-Name Society, 1942), p. 169). As late as 1809 the stream ran across the street and caused bad flooding by overflowing its banks (Walford, Vol. V, p. 16). There is a picture by G. F. Phillips of the stream flowing south through what is now Albert Gate in Gatty, opp. p. 20. The Albert Gate was built on an arched surface over the bed of the stream in 1845 (W. F. Prideaux in *Lond. Topog. Record*, Vol. III, p. 30).

- 37 The Turnpike Trust Plans have been reproduced in colour by the London Topog. Soc., Publication 8 (1899–1903). The site of the chapel is clearly marked on Rocque's 1746 Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster (reproduced, Lond. Topog. Soc., No. 34 *et seq.*).
- 38 *London Topog. Record*, Vol. III, pp. 29, 30. The White Hart had a low court of very old houses running down to the bank of the stream (Walford, Vol. V, p. 22).
- 39 Walford, Vol. V, pp. 16, 17, 23, 27; W. G. Bell, *The Great Plague of London in 1665* (1924), p. 283. A small railed-in triangular piece of ground opposite Tattersalls was all that remained of the village green in 1921 (A. Abrahams in *Notes and Queries*, series XII, ix (1921), pp. 12–13). See also *L.T.R.*, Vol. III, p. 32.
- 40 B.M. Seals, LXVIII, 17 (Birch, *Cat.*, no. 3379: no. 3380 is the 1573 signet seal of John Glassington, warden and governor). See also Clay, pp. xii, 103, with illustration.
- 41 Kitto, *op. cit.*, p. 112.
- 42 St. Bart's MSS. Hb 1/1, f. 55v.
- 43 *ibid.*, Ha 1/1 (*bis*).
- 44 Hb 1/1, f. 277v.
- 45 Ha 1/1, f. 221v.
- 46 Hb 1/2, f. 282; 1/3, f. 176.
- 47 *Register of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, 1619–36*, p. 159.
- 48 Ha 1/4, f. 127v, 130.
- 49 Lysons, Vol. II, p. 179.

8. MILE END LEPER HOSPITAL

Mile End Leper Hospital was one of the leper houses either set up or taken over by the City of London in the Middle Ages for the receipt of leprous persons sent out of the City. The hospital is said to have been founded before 1274.¹ No other mediaeval reference to it has been found.

Mile End, with the City's five other leper hospitals, was transferred to the care of St. Bartholomew's Hospital in 1549. The first reference to the leper house in the hospital records is in that year, when three surgeons of St. Bartholomew's were paid 2s. for going to Mile End to amputate a leg.² The next year four patients were sent by St. Bartholomew's to Mile End. One patient was a sick woman; another was Richard Gibson, who was given 4s.; and a third, another man, was sent with bedding. John Myll, the proctor, also received two shirts, presumably for the patients.³ Next year (1551) the poor lazars of the house of our Saviour Jesus Christ and Mary Magdalene, at Mile End, in the parish of Stepney, co. Middlesex, were given protection to beg; and John Mills was again appointed proctor or collector.⁴ In 1555–6 this same John Mylles was described as Keeper and was paid 13s. 4d. 'for keeping the poor'.⁵ Next we hear, in 1556, that John Clarke, the porter at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, had to report that Robert Middleton had discharged himself from Mile End.⁶ The following year (1557) Mr. Flower of Staple Inn undertook to pay 40s. per annum to St. Bartholomew's Hospital for Margaret Flower, one of the poor of St. Bartholomew's who had been sent to Mile End. She was later transferred to Kingsland, where she was living in 1577.⁷ Also in 1557 Thomas Vynard was paid for taking a woman to Mile End. John Mylles was still the Keeper there, and was paid 6s. 8d. for keeping Edward Durran for a month. He had come from Hammersmith.⁸ Next year Mr. Alderman Wylford and two others from St. Bartholomew's were to ride to Mile End and the Lock in Southwark to report on the leper houses at these two places.⁹

Two years later, in February 1560, John Stafford was Keeper or Guider, and had two patients, Thomas Loncester and Marie Dawes, from St. Bartholomew's.¹⁰ John Stafford was still Keeper in 1561.¹¹ The last heard of Mile End is in 1589, when Henry Smith was granted letters patent empowering him to collect alms for the support of the lazaret house.¹²

Mile End Hospital stood between the hamlets of Mile End and Stratford-at-Bow,¹³ on the main road out of London through Aldgate to the east of England. The exact position of the hospital is unknown.

The 16th-century hospital seal¹⁴ was oval, with two figures under one canopy. One figure stands with a spade in hand. The other, a crippled leper, is crouching. The inscription reads: 'Sigillum Domus Dei et Sce. Marie Magdelene apud Myle Ende.'

KEEPERS, ETC.

John Mylles, proctor	1550, 1551
John Mylles, keeper	1555-6, 1557
John Stafford, keeper	1560, 1561
Henry Smith, proctor	1589

NOTES

- 1 Clay, pp. 46-7.
- 2 St. Bartholomew's Hospital MSS., Hb 1/1, f. 43; Moore, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 204.
- 3 *ibid.*, f. 54v, 55; Ha 1/1.
- 4 J. Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials of King Edward VI* (1822 ed.), Vol. II, p. 248; Lysons, Vol. III, p. 483 (from the parish register of Stratford-by-Bow).
- 5 Hb 1/1, f. 277v.
- 6 Ha 1/1, f. 146v.
- 7 *ibid.*, f. 159, 169.
- 8 Hb 1/1, f. 305v, 336, 170v.
- 9 Moore, Vol. II, p. 269.
- 10 Ha 1/1, f. 221v.
- 11 Moore, Vol. II, p. 278.
- 12 Lysons, Vol. III, p. 483.
- 13 Stow, Vol. II, p. 146.
- 14 Clay, p. 47, with an illustration.

9. SOUTHWARK, THE LOCK HOSPITAL

The Lock Hospital,¹ dedicated to St. Mary and St. Leonard² (the patron saint of captives) was one of the most important mediaeval leper hospitals in the London area, for it was the only one south of the Thames.

The hospital stood near the south-west corner of Kent or Kentish Street (since 1877 renamed Tabard Street),³ which till 1814⁴ was the main road into London from Kent and the continent. On the south side of the hospital was a stream, which here crossed the street and in its lower course had the name of Neckenger.⁵ The highway was carried across this stream by a stone bridge, probably of the early 13th century as its arch was 'similar to the earliest portion of London Bridge',⁶ built 1176 to 1206. This Southwark bridge

now lies buried under the roadway at the place where Kentish, or Tabard, Street significantly changes its name and becomes the Old Kent Road.⁷ 'Lock Bridge and brook' are an outstanding landmark on Ogilby's roads out of London (1675).⁸ The stream is also prominent in Rocque's map of 1746,⁹ which shows as well, on the south side of the bridge, the first milestone out of London.¹⁰ One other landmark surprisingly does not appear on any map. This was the Bar of Southwark, otherwise known as St. George's Bar.¹¹ The Lock Hospital is always described in mediaeval days as 'without Southwark', or 'Beyond St. George's Bar'.¹² The Bar probably consisted just of posts and a chain. It did not mark the south end of St. George's parish, which continued for nearly another mile along the Old Kent Road to St. Thomas a Watering,¹³ now marked by Albany Road, where there was another boundary stream. Nor did the Bar in consequence

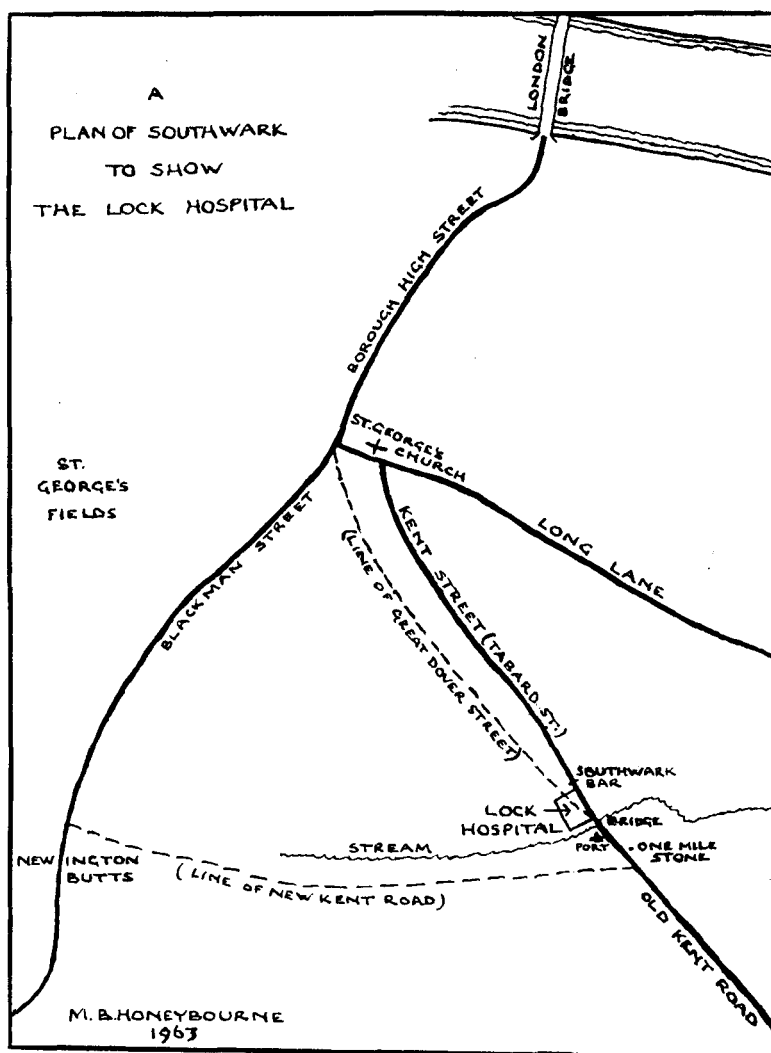


Fig. 2

mark the end of the City's jurisdiction from the mid-16th century onwards, for this according to the 1550 grant was co-terminous with, *inter alia*, the parish of St. George.¹⁴ What the Bar does seem to have delimited was the south-east boundary of the ancient vill or township of Southwark, i.e. the mediaeval built-up area commonly known to all as 'Southwark'. Stow's description of Southwark, which ignores all manors, parishes and liberties, bears out this conclusion.¹⁵ Morden and Lea's map of 1682¹⁶ shows a very well-defined boundary line running south down the centre of Kent Street nearly to the south end, and then turning up to the east of it. This line marks the parish boundary of St. George except at this southern turn, where instead of ending the parish continues south on both sides of Kent Street and the Old Kent Road to St. Thomas a Watering.¹⁷ The point of difference lies in Kent Street just north of the Lock Hospital, and there seems every reason to assume therefore that the Bar was here. This position was only a little north of Lock Bridge, so Bar, hospital, bridge and milestone were all grouped within a comparatively few yards of one another and together formed a notable landmark.

The Lock Hospital had two traditional founders, the City and the Crown. The first reference occurs only in 1315,¹⁸ but this date has no bearing on the time of the hospital's foundation, which is unknown. Both Edward II and Edward III helped forward the work of the hospital by granting the master and brethren protection against molestation and permission to collect alms, as the hospital income was far from sufficient.¹⁹ The Lock, if not always under the City's jurisdiction, definitely came under it, together with other leper hospitals, possibly in the late 13th century, when the City's leprosy decrees began to be issued in the reign of Edward I.²⁰ Mediaeval references to the hospital are few. In 1375 it is known that William Cook was the 'forman' or governor of 'le Loke' in Kent Street without Southwark Bar, and that he had to take an oath to allow no lepers to enter the city.²¹ Some hundred years later John Miller became Guider or governor in place of one, Whitehead, who surrendered office on account of his impotency and weakness.²² Perhaps it was when this change-over took place that Richard Holt, one of the City's Visitors of the spital-houses, was commanded to visit this lazar house called the Lock to see what rule was kept there.²³

Earlier, in 1408, John Gower the poet, who lived in Southwark, bequeathed 10s. to the lepers in the Lock.²⁴ 6s. 8d annual rent was bequeathed by John Pope in 1437;²⁵ in 1441 John Carpenter, the City's town clerk, also left money to the Lock,²⁶ and so did Dame Joan Frowyk in 1500.²⁷ As for the patients, only one mediaeval reference may refer to the Lock. The case is recorded in the court roll of the manor of Harrow, in a 1443 view of frankpledge:²⁸

William Bunde chief pledge and ale taster of Wembley with his tithing being sworn presents that John Webbe is a leper remaining within the demesne to the harm of all. Ordered that the whole tithing should provide for the said John that he should be moved out of the tithing to the lokehouse by the feast of Corpus Christi next under penalty of 20s.

The City was responsible for the buildings and the general running of the Lock Hospital until it was taken over by St. Bartholomew's Hospital in 1549. Four years before this change the Guider of the Lock petitioned the City to have a rule for the house;²⁹ and three weeks later this Guider was allowed to continue in office during good behaviour;³⁰ one wonders what tale lies behind these few laconic notes. All that is known is that the Guider died within two years, and that the City's Visitor was to find a new one, and

report on the number of patients, their diseases and their rule.³¹ The report has not been preserved.

The records of St. Bartholomew's Hospital contain many references to the Lock after 1549. The most interesting of these relates to 31 July, 1557, when two patients were sent to the Lock 'as they are found to be lepers, there to remain'.³² This is the last recorded instance found of leprosy in the London area.

Considerable building repairs were undertaken from time to time, and the street pavement (of pebbles) had to be maintained in good condition after 1566.³³ Between 1599 and 1606 £207 14s. 5d. was paid out, and in 1608 a further £74 for a brick wall and five new houses 'for noysome persons'.³⁴ 1611-12 saw thirteen settles placed at the ends of the beds at a cost of £2 19s.; and sixteen bedsteads 'with testers all of joiners work' were provided for the new wards, at 22s. each.³⁵ A fire occasioned repairs costing £3 6s. 9d. to the little room next the kitchen in 1613-14.³⁶ Perhaps owing to an increase in numbers the Guider's house was to have bedding for twenty in 1618-19.³⁷ In 1636 the hospital chapel was rebuilt.³⁸ Martin Bond, the leader in 1588 of the trained bands of London at Tilbury,³⁹ contributed £100 towards the cost⁴⁰ and his initials were placed upon the door, with the inscription:—

M.B.

This chapel was built to the honour of God and for the use of the poor,
infirm and impotent people harboured within this Hospital.
May, Mar. Bond Esq., Treasurer, Anno, 1636⁴¹

In George I's reign a small goblet was acquired for the services, and St. Bartholomew's Hospital still owns this piece of plate.⁴²

The Civil War had its effect on the Lock. In 1643 the number of patients 'on diet' was reduced to twelve or under; and only six were to be admitted each quarter.⁴³ As the Lock stood by the Bar, at the end of the populated area⁴⁴, one of the parliamentary forts for the defence of London was built on 'a parcell of pasture land at the Lock'.⁴⁵ Four years later Richard Eden, an outstanding, though rather quarrelsome, Guider of the Lock, was to be tenant of this land for £8 *per annum*, but was to pay more 'when the fort that stands upon part of it is demolished'.⁴⁶ Richard Eden had already taken an interest in the grounds of the Lock: he had planted trees about the spittle and sown a bed of 'lickerass' in one of the gardens.⁴⁷ Prices rose owing to the unsettled times, and in 1649 Richard Eden was to have £20 yearly 'for extraordinary charges and expenses these dear and chargeable times for victuals for the patients'. Next year the amount was raised to £20 'in these present dear times'. Further increased expenses in 1651 were for drugs, physic, sheets, shrouding, straw for beds, and charges for burials.⁴⁸

By 1657 only men were being admitted to the Lock (the women going to Kingsland Hospital). The Guider soon found that the men were more expensive and less helpful than women and he was therefore granted more towards their keep. At the same time watch candles and sea coals were provided for the six wards in winter; 5 dozen of hemp was sent for half a year for sheets; and the patients were to have good Suffolk cheese instead of Cheshire.⁴⁹

A complete diet sheet had been drawn up for the patients at the Lock in 1646, during Richard Eden's rule.⁵⁰

Sundays:

4 oz. best wheaten bread
 $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. boiled beef (no bones nor gristle)
 a quart bowl (a pipkirot) of pottage
 1 Winchester quart of beer

Tuesdays and Thursdays:

4 oz. bread
 $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. boiled beef
 4 oz. cheese or 2 oz. butter
 pottage
 beer

Mondays, Wednesdays, Fridays and Saturdays:

bread
 4 oz. cheese
 2 oz. butter
 1 pipken of gruel or milk pottage or oatmeal
 beer

If 'sore mouthed', the patients were to have:

1 pennyworth of white bread
 6 oz. boiled beef for flesh days
 milk pottage or water gruel for other days, with white bread and butter
 beer

or

2d. a day
 pottage and pease.

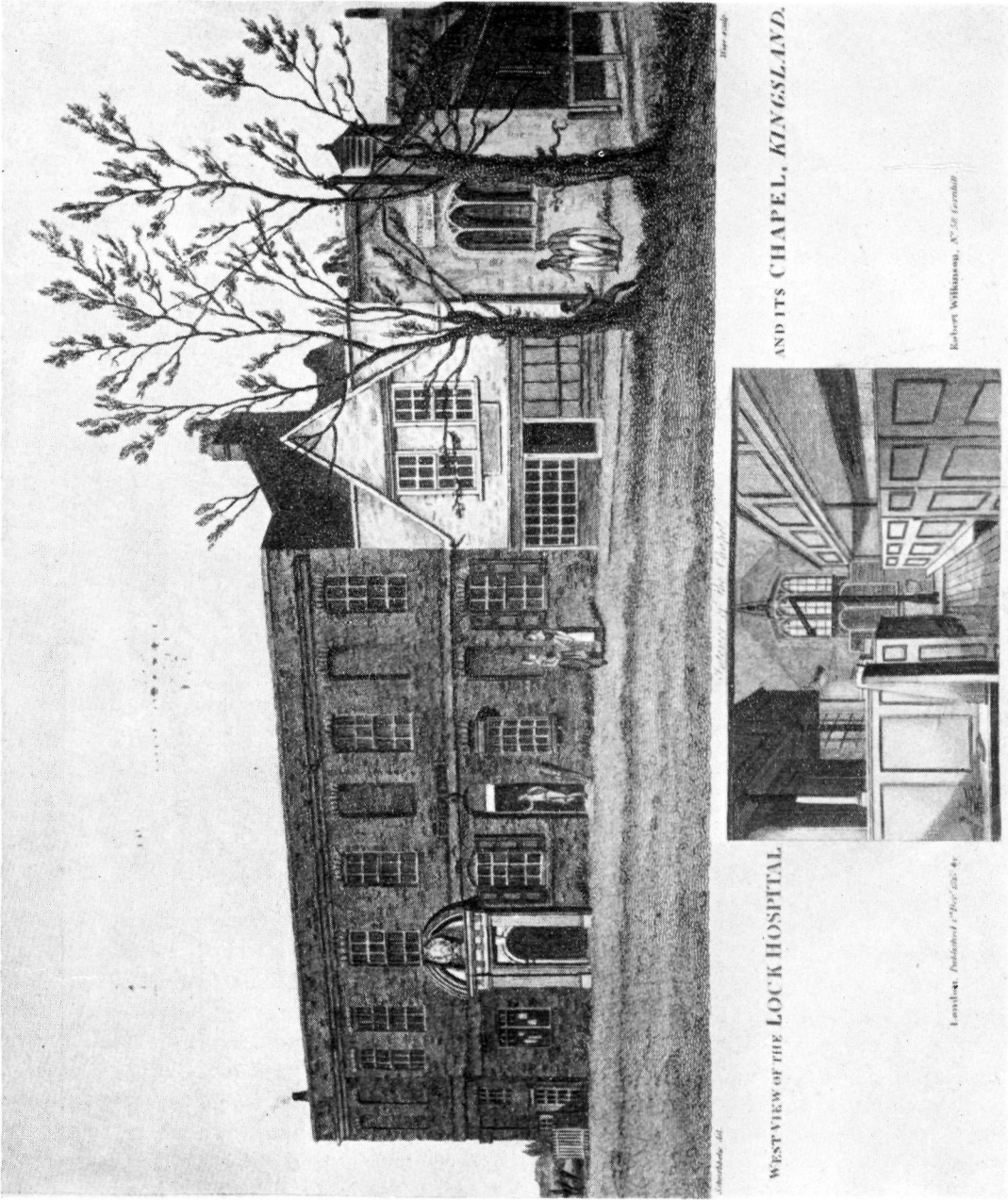
At the Restoration interested persons falsely accused the Guider, John Haselock, of being 'disaffected to the King and a friend of the fanatickes party' and alleged that he 'did embalme the Protector'.⁵¹ Haselock evidently cleared himself and retained his post till his death in 1661. There were then 26 applicants for the vacancy. John Knight was Charles II's choice but he would not promise to 'make the said howse his habitation, and constantly attend the poore in his owne person', so he was passed over in favour of Dr. John Dorrington, another outstanding Guider.⁵² His predecessor had planted fruit trees, built a mount and arbour, provided three hives of bees, and painted and beautified the parlour.⁵³ Donnington had a hot-house made for the patients.⁵⁴

The Fire of London in 1666 so decreased the revenues of St. Bartholomew's Hospital that the Lock had to be closed for a time. The Guider was left to look after the bedding, furniture, and buildings, and could take paying patients. In 1667 the Lock might again be sent exceptional cases by the parent hospital, which would, however, only pay for their diet: the friends of those admitted must pay the surgeon.⁵⁵ By 1682 there were 20 patients again, provided with 20 new pairs of sheets, 20 new pairs of blankets, 14 new coverlets, and there were 22 new beds, as well as 10 remade ones. The roof and lanthorn had been re-tiled, a brick wall rebuilt, and the pavement and common sewer attended to. A 'helper' had also been appointed (1679) at a salary of 2s. 4d. a week, with an allowance of 10s. a quarter 'towards buying him clothes'. The Guider was to receive £30 *per annum* and £3 for washing the sheets, which were to be maintained with the 'ancient allowance of hemp'.⁵⁶ In 1687 an assistant to the nurse was to be paid 3s. weekly; and in 1689 the Guider received an extra £5 a year.⁵⁷



By courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum

The seal of St. James's Leper Hospital, Westminster
Inscription: Sigill[um] Santi Iacobi Infirmarum



Kingsland Hospital
A general view of the building in 1815

During the Great Plague of 1665 Dr. John Dorrington said that he had helped many outpatients with costly medicaments but St. Bartholomew's would only pay for its own patients.⁵⁸ By 1690 these were to be increased from 20 to 30; and in 1700 a substantial bathing tub was to be provided, and the surgeon was to have for his own use 1 chaldron of seacoal and a dozen of candles.⁵⁹ A few years later the minister's salary was raised from £8 to £12, and a religious book called *The Practice of Piety* was given to each patient cured.⁶⁰ In 1715 the nurse received for washing the patients' linen 'an extra 15s. per annum by reason of the duty laid upon soap'; and between 1711 and 1714 40 lb. of tow were delivered at the Lock.⁶¹ The money spent on drugs and medicines had increased by nearly double by 1716, but the number of cures had also gone up, maybe because the medicines were more effective. However that may be, the Guider was granted an additional £20 per year.⁶²

Samual Palmer was Guider for 13 years. When he resigned he presented £100 to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, of which he was thereupon made a governor. His son-in-law, who had been apprenticed to him and had helped him at the Lock, was appointed Guider in his place.⁶³ In a general review made of the Lock at the change-over it was found that the water supply from the pump was unfit for washing and dressing the food, and that the patients were having to buy water for this purpose. It was suggested that Thames water should be brought from St. Saviour's Mill, but as such a plan was expensive it was decided to make gutters to divert the rainwater into a reservoir. Consequently two new cisterns were made, one to stand at the end of the wards, and the other at the end of the dwelling house. A hot and cold bath costing £100 was also made (1728) for the patients, towards which Mr. Palmer, the former Guider, gave £25.⁶⁴ A low brick wall with a wooden upper part was to be constructed on the west side of the house garden, which measured 93 feet. Another similar wall was to be built at the north end of the kitchen garden at its lower end. Other changes were the substitution of drawers for lockers in the newly white-washed upper wards (as in the lower); the provision of eighteen new beds 3 feet wide and of new floors for two wards; and the construction of a new wash-house, with rooms over, having sash windows with weights and crown glass, and a half-wainscotted 'rampant and twist' staircase with carved brackets and twisted banisters. The whole hospital was to be insured against fire with the Hand-in-Hand Fire Office (1723).⁶⁵

The surgeon's house extended in one place 14 ft. 9 in. by 6 ft. 4 in. beyond the other buildings into the highway at its narrowest point. In 1722 a widening of the turnpike at this point had been suggested. In 1736 matters came to a head owing to 'the great obstruction and hindrance to the free passage of coaches, carts and horsemen'. St. Bartholomew's Hospital therefore agreed that the Commissioner should remove the jetty, make good the damage and pay £5 for the ground. Two years earlier the hospital had planned to let some garden ground, for which purpose an advertisement was to be inserted in *The Daily Post Boy* and *The Advertiser*.⁶⁶

In 1760 the Lock Hospital closed. The building was let out in tenements and by 1800 only the chapel and parlour were left. These were pulled down in 1809 for the new road, Great Dover Street, west of Kent or Tabard Street and mainly parallel to it, and running from Borough High Street to the Old Kent Road (the Dover road).⁶⁷ Great Dover Street met the south end of Kent Street at the hospital site and therefore just south of the old Southwark Bar. Some of the hospital ground became part of the road, some was left in

the narrow tongue between the two roads, and the rest was let on building leases and became Portland Place and Warner Street (now Bartholomew Street) (1818–19), Union Crescent (pulled down in 1903), the south end of Dover Street, and the east end of the New Kent Road (made in 1751).⁶⁸ The main hospital block consisted of the chapel, hall, parlour, kitchen, surgery and Guider's quarters, and abutted directly upon Kent Street. The wards, which formed a detached block to the west, across a courtyard, were of three storeys, over a vault.⁶⁹

The names of only four patients have survived, of whom two came from St. Thomas's Hospital. In 1443 there was possibly John Webb from Harrow;⁷⁰ in 1571 John Hoode had 20d. paid weekly for him; in 1573 two relatives of Richard Prince of Westend, a 'syngingman', bound themselves in 20 marks to pay 5s. 4d. in advance monthly for him so long as he continued in 'the Lock, a lazar house'. William Mychyll, a blind man, was there in 1576, and was to be given 12d. a week 'so long as he shall not use the trade of begging, but shall live well and honestly by some lawful occupation'.⁷¹

GUIDERS

Willian Cook, 'forman' ⁷²	1375
— Whitehead ⁷³	c. 1500, resigned
John Miller ⁷⁴	c. 1500
Thomas Waman ⁷⁵	1561
Nicholas Reignold ⁷⁶	1600–1
Robert Murray, surgeon ⁷⁷	1618, dismissed
John Franche, surgeon ⁷⁸	1618–25
Richard Sampson ⁷⁹	1626
Richard Eden (the elder), surgeon ⁸⁰	1627–47, resigned
Richard Eden (the younger), surgeon, ⁸¹ son of the above	1647–53, died
John Haselock, citizen and barber- surgeon ⁸²	1653–61, died
John Dorrington, surgeon ⁸³	1661–84, died
Andrew Herriot ⁸⁴	1684, 1689
Samuel Palmer, surgeon ⁸⁵	1708–21, resigned
Peter St. Hill, surgeon, son-in-law of the above ⁸⁶	1721
— Freke ⁸⁷	1729, appointed
John Townshend ⁸⁸	1748, appointed
Percival Pott ⁸⁹	1756

CHAPLAINS OR MINISTERS

Richard Gregory ⁹⁰	1626–7, appointed
— Powell ⁹¹	c. 1638, died
Jeremiah Gosse ⁹²	1641, appointed
Stephen Haggin ⁹³	1659, 1661

John Weldon ⁹⁴	1663
James Bisse ⁹⁵	1706–15, died
Thomas Pocock, clerk of St. Bartholomew's Hospital ⁹⁶	1715–33, died
William Wilson, clerk ⁹⁷	1733, appointed

NOTES

- 1 There are short accounts of the Lock Hospital in Manning and Bray, *The History . . . of Surrey* (1814), Vol. III, p. 634; W. Rendle, *Old Southwark and its People* (1878), pp. 309–10, 312–13; H. Douglas-Irvine in V.C.H., *Surrey*, Vol. IV (1905), p. 162; J. C. Cox in V.C.H., *London*, Vol. I (1909), p. 542; D'Arcy Power, *A Short History of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, 1123–1923* (1923), pp. 47–8; and L.C.C. *Survey of London*, Vol. XXV, *St. George's Fields* (1955), pp. 114, 125–6. The name 'Lock' probably denotes simply an enclosure (see E. Ekwall, *Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names* (1947), p. 287; and English Place-Name Society, *Surrey*, p. 363). The plural form, 'le lokes', was often used.
- 2 *C.P.R.*, 1313–17, p. 294; 1317–21, pp. 438, 492, 511, 514; 1327–30, p. 320.
- 3 L.C.C. *Survey*, Vol. XXV, p. 121.
- 4 *ibid.*, p. 107–8, 121.
- 5 Rocque's Map of London, 1746; reproduced by the London Topographical Society, Publication 44, etc.; and the relevant part in Rendle, *op. cit.*, p. 311. The Neckenger ran past Bermondsey Abbey into the Thames at Savory or St. Saviour's Dock.
- 6 G. R. Corner in *British Archaeo. Assoc. Journal*, Vol. III (1848), pp. 348–9, with picture; and Rendle, pp. 310–12. By 1640 the Corporation of London was responsible for the upkeep of this bridge (P. Norman, *The Inns of Old Southwark* (1888), pp. 385–6). The bridge is said to have marked the tidal limit of the stream (Manning and Bray, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 634).
- 7 The word 'Old' was added in the early 19th century to distinguish this street from the New Kent Road (L.C.C. *Survey*, p. 122).
- 8 Reproduced by the L.T.S., No. 30.
- 9 See Note 4.
- 10 This mile-stone is also marked on Rocque's Map of Surrey, 1762.
- 11 First mentioned in 1321 (*Cal. City Letter Book E*, pp. 157–8). Other references are *Cal. Letter Book G*, p. 191; *Hall's Chronicle of Henry VIII* (ed. C. Whitley from the 1550 edition, 1904), p. 250. See also G. R. Corner in *Notes and Queries*, July, 1862, pp. 141–2.
- 12 See Note 2; and the will of Dame Joan Frowik, 1500 (Somerset House, P.C.C. Wills, 2 Moone).
- 13 *Parish Clerks' New Remarks on London* (1732), p. 164, and R. Horwood's Map of London, 1819. These are not mediaeval references, but the parish of St. George, Southwark, always extended beyond the Bar, in the same way as the parish of St. Andrew Holborn extends beyond Holborn Bar. Mr. P.E. Jones, Deputy-Keeper of the Guildhall Records, has kindly given me two references of 1331 and 1349 (Bridge House Records, D, 32 and D, 74) referring to the 'parish of St. George without the Bar of Southwark'. The site of St. Thomas a Watering marks the boundary of the modern boroughs of Southwark and Camberwell.
- 14 Stow, Vol. II, pp. 68–9. The City's part of Southwark formed the Ward of Bridge Without (*City Remembrancia*, pp. 231–2, 472–3).
- 15 Stow, Vol. II, pp. 52–3. Stow must have included Kentish Street in what he called the Borough, for he notes the Lock at the south end of this street. The term 'Borough' was often loosely used.
- 16 Reproduced by L.T.S., No. 15. The relevant part is also reproduced in Rendle, p. 325.
- 17 See Note 13.
- 18 *C.P.R.*, 1313–17, p. 294.
- 19 See Note 2.
- 20 See above, p. 5.
- 21 *Cal.*, *Letter Book H*, p. 9; and Riley, *Memorials of London and London Life in the 13th, 14th and 15th Centuries* (1868), p. 384.
- 22 Guildhall, City Repertory 11 (MS. Cal., 1495–1552, 75a).

- 23 *ibid.* (MS. Cal., 75b).
- 24 F. Higham, *Southwark Story* (1955), p. 76.
- 25 Strype, Book IV, p. 20.
- 26 W. Brewer, *Memoir of the Life and Times of John Carpenter* (1856), pp. 139, 144; *D.N.B.*
- 27 See Note 12.
- 28 Middlesex Record Office, Acc. 76/2417 m.82. Miss E. D. Mercer, the County Archivist, has kindly provided this reference. 'Le lokehouse' may possibly be a local one, otherwise unknown, and not the Southwark one.
- 29 St. Bartholomew's Hospital, Rep. 11, f. 173. (For the records of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, see Introduction, note 49.)
- 30 *ibid.*, f. 177.
- 31 *ibid.*, f. 361v.
- 32 N. Moore, *The History of St. Bartholomew's Hospital* (1918), Vol. II, p. 276.
- 33 In 1566 there was an Act (8 Eliz. c. 32) for the paving of Kentish Street in Southwark (*Statutes of the Realm*, Vol. IV, not printed); see also N. Moore, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 279. The pavement ended at the Lock, hence the name Stone's End for this area. For this name, see L.C.C. *Survey*, p. 122. In 1723 at least 10 tons of new large pebbles were needed for the Lock frontage (St. B's Hosp., Ha 1/10, f. 85v).
- 34 St. B's Hosp., Hb 1/3, f. 216v, 305-21, 337, 358v, 359v, 406 (*bis*), 407.
- 35 *ibid.*, f. 573, 577.
- 36 *ibid.*, f. 577.
- 37 *ibid.*, Ha 1/4, f. 103.
- 38 *ibid.*, Hb 1/4, f. 111.
- 39 See his memorial, 1643, in St. Helen's Church, Bishopsgate.
- 40 Manning and Bray, Vol. III, p. 634.
- 41 Wilkinson, *Londina Illustrata*, Vol. I, pl. 67; and thence in D'Arcy Power, *op. cit.*, opp. p. 46. The engraving in *Londina Illustrata* is here reproduced as Plate 6. The initials and the wording imply that Martin Bond himself was the chief contributor.
- 42 D'Arcy Power, p. 84.
- 43 St. B's Hosp., Hb 1/4, f. 276.
- 44 There were hedges beyond on both sides of the road as late as 1746 (Rocque).
- 45 Southwark Borough Library (Reference Section), 'A Plan of the City and Environs of London, as fortified by order of Parliament in the years 1642 and 1643', by — Downs, published by Alex. Hogg. This plan shows a redoubt like a star, with four points, south of the Lock Hospital in Kent Street. The fort is shown on the east side of the street, but one arm covers the roadway, an important point as the Lock is only said to have owned land on the west side. N. G. Brett-James (*The Growth of Stuart London* (1935), 272 opp.) seems to mark the fort too far east. Mr. H. C. Sansom of the Reference Library has given every assistance in locating the site of the Bar.
- 46 St. B's Hosp., Ha 1/4, f. 315v. In 1651 Eden had to apologise for striking on the head his brother Guider of Kingsland (Ha 1/5, f. 72).
- 47 St. B's Hosp., Ha 1/5, f. 126.
- 48 *ibid.*, f. 30, 48v, 49, 72.
- 49 *ibid.*, f. 136, 187, 187v, 195; Ha 4/1, f. 12v; Hb 1/3, f. 315.
- 50 *ibid.*, Ha 1/4, f. 315v. In 1662 the best wheaten bread had to be altered to 'wholesome and good household bread made of wheat' (i.e. brown bread), because the other was too expensive owing to 'the present dearth of corn' (Ha 4/1, f. 28). This diet sheet should be compared with the mediaeval one for St. Julian's Leper Hospital outside St. Albans, printed in A. Weymouth, *Through the Leper Squint* (1938), pp. 131-2.
- 51 *ibid.*, Ha 1/5, f. 265.
- 52 *ibid.*, f. 293; printed in full in Moore, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 317-18.
- 53 St. B's Hosp., Ha 1/5, f. 295. The mount was probably on the remains of the parliamentary fort, which Daniel Defoe noted in 1724 as a landmark at the end of Kent Street (*A Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain*, 1724-7 (1927 ed.), p. 170).
- 54 St. B's Hosp., Ha 1/5, f. 287.
- 55 Moore, Vol. II, p. 330. See also G. Whitteridge, 'The Fire of London and St. Bartholomew's Hospital' in *London Topographical Record*, Vol. XX (1952), pp. 54-5, 75-6.

- 56 St. B's Hosp., Ha 1/6, f. 66, 99; Ha 1/7, f. 52, 70v, 77v, 83, 95v, 121v, 122, 122v. In 1709 the common sewer was described as the County Pond. It was on the south side of the garden belonging to the Lock Hospital and a brick wall was to be built there. Rocque shows a very wide sewer almost like a pond. A little to the west this sewer or stream survived open for many years as the stretch of water in front of County Terrace, north of New Kent Road (*Survey*, Vol. XXV, p. 117).
- 57 St. B's Hosp., Ha 1/7, f. 196v, 325. In 1730 another attendant was specially engaged at 4d. daily to watch and attend the patients at night (Ha 4/1, f. 68v).
- 58 St. B's Hosp., Ha 1/5, f. 370v.
- 59 *ibid.*, Ha 4/1, f. 53v, 58; Moore, Vol. II, p. 351.
- 60 St. B's Hosp., Ha 4/1, f. 60; Moore, Vol. II, p. 353. This minister read prayers and preached every Sunday, visited the patients twice a week, and was always on call. For further details of the book, see under Kingsland Hospital.
- 61 St. B's Hosp., Ha 4/1, f. 63v; Ha 1/9, f. 51, 99.
- 62 *ibid.*, Ha 1/9, f. 149, 184v.
- 63 *ibid.*, Ha 1/10, f. 39 (*bis*).
- 64 *ibid.*, f. 46v, 53v, 115. The Bagnio needed an extra 5 chaldrons of coal each year (Ha 4/1, f. 68v).
- 65 *ibid.*, Ha 1/10, f. 53v, 85v, 86, 97, 107. Crown glass was made in circular sheets by blowing and whirling.
- 66 *ibid.*, Ha 1/10, f. 60v; Ha 1/11, f. 85, 86, 156; Moore, Vol. II, p. 364.
- 67 Manning and Bray, Vol. III, p. 634.
- 68 *Survey*, pp. 117–18, 119, 125–6. Buckenham Square was not part of the hospital property and seems to be the successor of the Bull (see Rocque). The hospital land evidently ran to the west of it. The hospital precinct measured about 260 ft. along the highway, and had a depth of 110 ft. (see the 1745 plan).
- 69 Rocque's Map; St. B's Hosp., Ha 1/10, f. 58 (for the vault). See also *Survey*, p. 125. There are pictures of the Lock in Wilkinson, *Lond. Illus.* (1813), and thence in D'Arcy Power, Plate 18; and in the *Survey*, p. 124. The latter is from St. B's Hosp. Surveyor's Plan Book 2, where there is also a plan of the Lock just before its closure (*Survey*, pp. 125, 136). There are duplicates of these two plans, and another of the upper floor of the ward, in B.M. King's Library, XXVII, Maps and Plans, No. 56 (in the Map Room). These are now reproduced as Plates 7 and 8. The main plan, dated 1745, is by William Collier, Land Surveyor.
- 70 See above, p. 46.
- 71 P. Norman, *Inns of Old Southwark* (1888), pp. 382–3; Moore, Vol. II, p. 282.
- 72 See Note 21.
- 73 See Note 22.
- 74 See Note 22.
- 75 Moore, Vol. II, p. 278.
- 76 St. B's Hosp., Hb 1/3, f. 235v–256v.
- 77 *ibid.*, Ha 1/4, f. 98v.
- 78 *ibid.*; and Hb 1/4.
- 79 *ibid.*, Hb 1/4.
- 80 *ibid.*, Ha 1/4, f. 272v–314v.
- 81 *ibid.*, Ha 1/4, f. 314v; Ha 1/5, f. 117.
- 82 *ibid.*, Ha 1/5, f. 120v, 283. The Lord General Cromwell supported another candidate, William Bury, surgeon (Moore, Vol. II, p. 311).
- 83 Moore, Vol. II, p. 283; St. B's Hosp., Ha 1/7, f. 146.
- 84 St. B's Hosp., Ha 1/7, f. 149, 325. Thomas Dorrington, John's son and the acting surgeon, was passed over (Ha 1/7, f. 146, 149).
- 85 *ibid.*, Ha 1/9, f. 5v; Ha 1/10, f. 39.
- 86 *ibid.*, Ha 1/10, f. 39, 45.
- 87 Moore, Vol. II, p. 633n.
- 88 *ibid.*
- 89 D'Arcy Power, p. 48.
- 90 St. B's Hosp., Ha 1/4, f. 160.
- 91 *ibid.*, Ha 1/4, f. 245; Moore, Vol. II, p. 303.
- 92 *ibid.*
- 93 St. B's Hosp., Ha 1/5, f. 259v, 286; Moore, Vol. II, p. 318.

94 St. B's Hosp., Ha 1/5, f. 328v.

95 *ibid.*, Ha 4/1, f. 60; Ha 1/9, f. 110v.

96 *ibid.*, Ha 1/9, f. 110v; Ha 1/10, f. 284v.

97 *ibid.*, Ha 1/10, f. 284v.

10. WESTMINSTER, ST. JAMES'S HOSPITAL FOR LEPERS

There is a full account of this hospital, and a list of its masters, by Miss M. Reddan in the Victoria County History, *London* (1909), pp. 542–6.

The hospital was for 13 women. There were also a master or warden, and 8 brothers, 4 of whom were to be priests.¹ The numbers, however, varied considerably. The hospital is said to have been visited by Gislebertus, Abbot of Westminster, in 1100;² and in 1838 during repairs to the Chapel Royal some Norman stone mullions and other masonry came to light³ to prove the hospital's early foundation. It was one of the best endowed leper hospitals in the London area, for at the time of its dissolution it was worth £100 yearly.⁴ The seal of the hospital is now reproduced as Plate 3.

NOTES

1 *V.C.H.*, p. 544.

2 E. Sheppard, *Memorials of St. James's Palace* (1894), pp. 2–3; from B.M. Cott. MSS. Titus. This reference has not been traced. See also B. Graeme, *The Story of St. James's Palace* (1929), p. 15.

3 Sheppard, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

4 *V.C.H.*, p. 545.

APPENDIX

SOME OTHER MEDIAEVAL HOSPITALS OF MIDDLESEX

Apart from the leper hospitals there were only five other mediaeval hospitals in Middlesex. Two of these were on the high road at Brentford, one stood outside Aldersgate, and the others were at Shoreditch and Tottenham. All were small and seem to have been in the nature of almshouses except for one of those at Brentford, which was definitely for the receipt of travellers.

1. ALDERSGATE HOSPITAL

Outside Aldersgate both Leland¹ and Stow² say that there stood in mediaeval times a hospital for the poor. This hospital was of the French order of Cluny and was therefore suppressed by Henry V when he dissolved all alien priories. The king gave the hospital lands and goods to the parish of St. Botolph without Aldersgate, and a brotherhood of the Holy Trinity was founded by William Bever in place of the hospital. This brotherhood in its turn was suppressed by Edward VI as it was said to be devoted to superstitious uses. The property, worth £18 16s. yearly, consisted by then of a common hall called Trinity Hall, a kitchen, a store house, eight messuages in Trinity Alley adjacent to the hall, a messuage underneath the hall, and five other messuages between this messuage on the north and 'le George' on the south. As endowment there were eight other messuages, all in the parish of St. Botolph, Aldersgate. Three of these messuages were on the south side of 'le Cookes Hall':³ one called 'le Woll Sacke' was in Petybryttayne (= Little Britain) with two tenements on its north side, and two were at the Barbican. These tenements have not been further identified. The whole of the property was granted in 1548 to William Harvyne *alias* Somerset, one of the king's heralds at arms, for himself and his heirs, at a rent of 13s. 4d.⁴

MASTER

Alexander Chapman, master of the guild 1547

NOTES

1 Leland, *Collectanea* (1770 ed.), Vol. I, pp. 113-14.

2 Stow, Vol. II, pp. 80, 144, 395.

3 On the east side of Aldersgate Street, a little north of Gesham Street. The site is marked by a plaque.

4 *Cal. Pat. Rolls, Edward VI*, Vol. I, p. 271; Vol. II, p. 99.

2. BRENTFORD, THE HOSPITAL OF ALL ANGELS

The Hospital of the Virgin Mary and the Nine Orders of Holy Angels was founded in 1446 by the king's servant, Master John Somerset, physician and chaplain to the king, and from 1441–6 chancellor of the exchequer.¹ The community proper was to consist of three groups: a chaplain and his clerk; nine poor men, weak or impotent, to wit blind, lame or withered; and two sober and industrious men to serve the nine. At the same time there was founded a gild of a master, brethren and sisters, to be called the Gild of the Nine Orders of Holy Angels by Syon. This gild was to administer the hospital and chapel. To this end the gild was to be a corporate body able to hold land in mortmain to the value of £40 yearly, and authorized to use a common seal. Each Michaelmas one of the gildsmen was to be elected master of the gild, the chapel and the hospital.²

The hospital was at Brentford End, just inside the parish of Isleworth, and not far east of Syon monastery. The above John Somerset held land here under the Crown, of the honour of Hampton. To the north of his land had run the old highway through Brentford to Hounslow—the main Bath road. This highway had been carried over the River Brent at New Brentford by a wooden bridge.³ Before 1446 a new three-arched stone bridge had been built to the north of the old wooden one, and the roadway had consequently been diverted. On the deserted piece of road and the ground to the north of it bounded by the new highway and the river John Somerset had already by 1446 built a chapel which stood close to the new stone bridge.⁴ Henry VI had himself laid the foundation stone of this chapel. He now in 1446 gave to John Somerset the land, measuring 220 ft. by 40 ft., on which the chapel stood, together with the old bridgehead and the water of Brent, for the use of the new community, whose buildings were to adjoin the south side of the chapel.

John Somerset endowed his hospital with 260 acres of land in Northwood, and nearly 500 acres in the parishes of Isleworth, Brentford and Heston. These lands included Osterley or Esterly with its appurtenances, closes and fields, bounded in 1376 by hedges and ditches,⁵ and seem only to have been acquired by John Somerset about three years before the foundation of the hospital, for in 1443 John Forde of Yver, Co. Bucks., quit-claimed them to him.⁶ Seven years after the foundation these same lands were passed through two sets of trustees back to John Somerset,⁷ probably to establish firmly his legal claim to them.

In 1463 the funds of the hospital were clearly rather low and a very curious arrangement was accordingly made to ensure the continuance of the foundation for at least a few years.⁸ Richard Plokyndon, one of the feoffees at the foundation of the hospital in 1446, together with William Voysy and William Pokelynton granted to Philip Malpas and three others all the lands, etc. in Isleworth, Chiswick, Heston and Northwood which had belonged to John Somerset, except his own great house and two tenements called respectively 'Sandons' and 'Clementes'. This land was granted to the new feoffees and their heirs for ever, on condition that for twelve years they should pay ten marks yearly in quarterly sums to the chaplain celebrating divine service in the chapel at 'Braynford Brigge' in the parish of Isleworth lately built by John Somerset. The payments were to be for prayers for the souls of the last named and of the above Richard Plokyndon. For the same purpose the clerk of the chapel was to have four marks annually during the twelve years, and five poor persons there were to have 7½d. a week, payable monthly in the said chapel. Every second year, at Christmas, the five poor persons were each to be given a suitable robe,

and two cartloads of fuel delivered free at the almshouses. The clerk was also to have two loads of fuel delivered free, but the chaplain had to pay for the cutting and carrying of his fuel. The new owners of the lands were to keep the chapel and houses in repair, and fill any vacancies among the chaplains, clerks or poor within a month. If during the twelve years the lands had to be mortgaged to pay for the maintenance of the hospital, the grant was not to be affected. There is no record of what happened at the end of the twelve years, but in 1479 John Saverey, master of the fraternity or gild, obtained an exemplification of the letters patent setting up the hospital in 1446.⁹ By 1498 much of the endowment had been alienated, for in that year Peter, son of William Pokelynton, one of the above grantors, released and quitclaimed to Edward Cheseman, gentleman, his rights in the manor of Osterley and 16 messuages, 550 acres of land, 40 acres of meadow, 60 acres of pasture, 12 acres of wood and £5 of rent in Isleworth, West Brentford, Chiswick, Heston and Northwood, all in the county of Middlesex and late of John Somerset.¹⁰

In 1508 these lands were returned to the hospital by Hugh Denys, esquire, citizen of London. He had bought from Robert Cheseman, evidently a descendant of Edward Cheseman, the manors of Osterley and Wyke (a hamlet of Isleworth).¹¹ These manors Hugh Denys bequeathed in 1511 to the Carthusian priory of Sheen charged with certain payments, *viz.* to enlarge, or perhaps refund, the Hospital of All Angels 'beside Braynford Brygg' for seven poor men, and to found a chantry for two secular priests in the chapel. These priests were to pray for the souls of Henry VIII, Hugh Denys and John Somerset, but the foundation was to be called 'the Chapel and Almshouses of Hugh Denys'. The priests must be resident and hold no other benefices, and their salary was to be 9 marks per annum, together with free fuel. The poor men, also resident, were each to have 7½d. a week, free fuel, and a gown worth 4s.¹² In 1530 the prior and convent of Sheen made over the two manors of Osterley and Wyke to the abbess and convent of Syon, who henceforth administered the estates for the benefit of the hospital, and were liable for all repairs.¹³ On the dissolution of the monastery of Syon, Henry VIII granted Wyke to the marquis of Exeter,¹⁴ on whose attainder in 1538 it reverted to the Crown.

The hospital itself was suppressed in 1547. In that year, and again in 1550, Edward VI granted to his uncle, Protector Somerset, the chapel, the almshouse, Osterley (202 acres), Wyke (104 acres), two messuages called the Sprottes and the Rose (both let on lease to Sir R. Lister for 99 years), the chapel pool and the fishing rights.¹⁵ On Somerset's fall in 1552 the property reverted to the Crown, and Mary Tudor in 1557 granted 'the church or chapel in the parish of Isleworth near to the said capital mansion' (of Syon) to the newly restored convent of Syon.¹⁶ Included in a second grant¹⁷ of 1558 were the eight adjoining bedehouses, the Sprottes and the Rose Inn,¹⁸ the chapel pool, the fishing and at least 33 acres of ground;¹⁹ but the freehold of Osterley and Wyke and other outlying properties, together valued at £15 10s. 8d. yearly, Queen Mary had already granted to Augustine Thayer and Alexander Chesenell, and then to the heirs of the former.²⁰ Wyke was later, before 1565, purchased with Osterley by Sir Thomas Gresham, who died seised of both on 21 November, 1579.²¹

After the second dissolution of the monastery of Syon Queen Elizabeth I leased the All Angels chapel and hospital with its appurtenances to Richard Burton,²² and he or his successors pulled down the chapel and two of the bedehouses and converted the site into a garden 'near adjoining to the bridge'. This garden was let in 1582-3 by Mr. Robert Knollys, the then lord of the manor of Syon.²³ Later on, in 1611, Henry, Prince of

Wales, bought the property from George and Thomas Whitmore, who had been granted it by James I in the previous year, possibly as feoffees. In 1629 Charles I held his late brother's land and alienated it to the mayor and commonalty of London, presumably to get ready money. In 1639 the property was sold by the City to Sir Richard Wynne,²⁴ who resided at Little Syon, a short distance to the westward, near the later Adam gateway leading to Syon House.²⁵ As for the manor of Wyke, this was mortgaged in 1640 by Sir William Washington, its then owner, to Sir Edward Spencer and the above Sir Richard Wynne.²⁶ The latter retained it and so once more the chapel site and much of the land given for its upkeep first by John Somerset and then by Hugh Denys came together again; but only for a short time, for when Sir Richard Wynne died in 1649 he bequeathed the five almshouses that were left to the parish of Isleworth.²⁷ They were rebuilt in about 1653²⁸ but had been pulled down before Lysons' time (1795) and the parish workhouse built on the site.²⁹ The further descent of Osterley and the rest of the hospital property can be read in Lysons.

There is no detailed description of the hospital. All that is known is that the hospital was of brick³⁰ and had once consisted of two priests' houses with small gardens and seven bedehouses with similar gardens, and that these bedehouses adjoined the south aisle of the chapel,³¹ which had a steeple³² and stood on the triangle of land bounded by the River Brent, the old road and the new road. Near by was a small pond called the Chapel Pool, and west of the almshouses, and adjoining them,³³ were the two messuages called the Sprottes and the Rose Inn. Southward of the hospital had originally stood John Somerset's own house.

There are two picture plans, dated 1606 and 1607,³⁴ of the site, and a written survey of 1608,³⁵ all bearing solely on a dispute between the Earl of Northumberland (lord of Syon) and Sir Thomas Savage. The 1608 survey says that Sir Thomas Savage had acquired the site of the south aisle of the chapel, the chapel pool and the water of Brent from the bridge to the Thames; had rebuilt his house of brick; and had converted the Sprottes and the Rose into a stable. The 1606 plan³⁶ shows to the south of the site of the old road Sir Thomas Savage's house and grounds, with Rose Close to the west. Sir Thomas Savage had evidently replaced John Somerset and had incorporated into his estate not only the south aisle but the whole of the Sprottes. On the frontage of Rose Close and the Sprottes is drawn a row of low buildings stretching along the high road as far as the distinct bend to the north of this road before it crosses the Brent to London. These buildings must have included the stable. No buildings are shown in the bend of the road. The 1607 plan, by R. Tresswell, also at Syon House, has "Chapel Piece" in this bend, but again no buildings, though the six almshouses were still standing and being used for their original purpose by the poor of Isleworth, who later acquired the freehold under the will of Sir Richard Wynne in 1649, as already stated. Earlier than this, in 1635, a third 17th-century picture plan was drawn by Moses Glover, to show the manor of Syon and the hundred of Isleworth.³⁷ Sir Thomas Savage's house was by then owned by Mr. Noye, Attorney-General to Charles I, who lies buried at Brentford.³⁸ A group of buildings at the east end of the 1606 cottages and stable and more or less at right angles with them may represent the six almshouses. Glover knew of this foundation and comments rather sadly that the chapel had entirely disappeared: 'At Brentford End at the bridge foot stood the chapel, which hath tasted likewise of the mortal changes of decaying time, which now hath left neither ruins nor materials, only a bare name to posterity.'

MASTER

John Saverrey³⁹

1479

NOTES

- 1 In 1443 John Somerset or Somerseth was also Keeper of the Exchange and Master of the Mint. He served 25 years at the royal court and died in 1455 (*D.N.B.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 653). There is an escheat of his property in 1464 (*Cal. Inq. P.M.*, Vol. IV (1828), p. 324), when the hospital was in low waters.
- 2 *C.P.R.*, 1446-52, p. 29; 1476-85, p. 138 (a 1479 exemplification). See also *Cal. Lond. and Midd. Feet of Fines*, Vol. I, p. 197. G. J. Aungier (*The History and Antiquities of Syon Monastery* (1840), pp. 215, 459-65) gives in full the foundation charter.
- 3 In A.D. 705 there was only a ford. The first mention of the bridge is in 1280, when three years' pontage was granted for its repair. Later mentions are in 1331 and 1369 (*Midd. Place Names*, pp. 31, 35); *C.P.R.*, 1272-81, p. 418; 1330-4, p. 81; 1367-70, p. 325). There are a few further details in Lysons, Vol. II, p. 57. The Brent Bridge mentioned in *Public Works in Mediaeval Law* (Selden Society, vols. 32, 40) was considerably farther north, on the Oxford road.
- 4 *Itinerary*, Vol. II, f. 1, under date 1542.
- 5 *Cal. Ancient Deeds*, Vol. V, p. 513; see also *Middlesex Place-Names*, p. 25.
- 6 *C.C.R.*, 1441-7, pp. 147-8; the deed states that all the property had once belonged to Thomas, son and heir of John Osterlee, and had been granted to John Somerset by Richard Dunket and others, apparently feofees of Richard Plokyndon (Aungier, p. 220).
- 7 *Cal. Ancient Deeds*, Vol. I, p. 362 (*bis*); and see Aungier, p. 222.
- 8 *ibid.*, Vol. V, pp. 507-8.
- 9 *C.P.R.*, 1476-85, p. 138.
- 10 *C.C.R.*, 1485-1500, p. 334.
- 11 *Midd. Place-Names*, p. 29. Wyke is first mentioned in 1238 and 1243 (*Cal. Lond. and Midd. Feet of Fines*, Vol. I, pp. 24, 27).
- 12 Lysons, Vol. III, pp. 91-2, 96; Aungier, pp. 221-2, 465-78 (the priests were to have houses with gardens next the chapel, and the poor men were to be similarly housed); E. Williams, *Early Holborn* Vol. I, no. 656n. Hugh Denys died in 1511 (*Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, Vol. I, 1662 (10)).
- 13 *ibid.*, IV (iii), n. 6264 (and see Lysons, Vol. III, pp. 91-2, 96; and Aungier, p. 222).
- 14 Lysons, Vol. III, p. 96; the grant is not in the *L. and P.* for 1534-8.
- 15 *C.P.R.*, 1547-8, p. 172; 1549-51, p. 431. See also Aungier, pp. 222-3. Robert Cheseman (see above) held a lease of Osterley for £8 13s. 4d. yearly. The manor of Wyke was let for £6 17s. 4d. yearly. In 1520 the hospital and all its lands had been valued at £33 12s. 6d. per annum (*Valor Eccles.*, Vol. I, p. 424).
- 16 *C.P.R.*, 1555-7, pp. 290-2.
- 17 *ibid.*, 1557-8, pp. 295, 450.
- 18 The Rose had two tenements on its frontage, and orchards and gardens in the rear.
- 19 *C.P.R.*, 1555-7, p. 444; many of the Osterley fields are described by name.
- 20 Full details are given.
- 21 *D.N.B.*; see also Lysons, Vol. III, pp. 96-8. The later owners of Osterley and Wyke are given.
- 22 Lysons, Vol. III, p. 92; Aungier, p. 224.
- 23 Syon House MS. A. XV, 5a = 1608 Survey. There was only a lane to the water between the garden and the bridge.
- 24 Lysons, Vol. III, p. 92; Aungier, p. 224. By this time the 'Chapel Lands' were included for some purposes in the manor of Isleworth, which the Earl of Northumberland had bought in 1604. A law suit followed between the Earl and Sir Thomas Savage on the ownership of these lands (see below, p. 58).
- 25 Lysons, Vol. III, p. 93.
- 26 *ibid.*, pp. 96-8.
- 27 *ibid.*, pp. 121, 638-9: the statement on p. 121 that Thomas Stainford gave the almshouses in 1574 is corrected on pp. 638-9.

- 28 *ibid.*, p. 121.
- 29 *ibid.*, pp. 92, 96–8. The chapel site went to Philip Godard, who died in 1762 and left it in remainder for the use of the charity school of the parish of Isleworth, but the bequest was disallowed (Aungier, pp. 224–5).
- 30 Leyland, Vol. II, f. 1, under date 1542.
- 31 1608 Survey of Syon.
- 32 See note 12.
- 33 1608 Survey.
- 34 Syon House MSS. B. xiii, 1d, 1a.
- 35 *ibid.*, 1a.
- 36 Syon House MS. A, xv, 5a.
- 37 Original at Syon House; copies at the British Museum and Midd. Record Office. The scale is $\frac{1}{2}$ mile to $2\frac{3}{4}$ in.
- 38 Lysons, Vol. III, p. 93.
- 39 C.P.R., 1476–85, p. 138.

3. BRENTFORD, THE HOSPITAL OF ST. MARY, ST. ANNE AND ST. LOUIS

At Brentford there was a small hospital for travellers and poor pilgrims. The hospital, newly built in 1393,¹ was dedicated to the Virgin Mary, St. Anne her mother, and St. Louis,² and consisted of a chapel (mentioned in 1327) and two houses with bedding ('lectis') and other necessities for poor travellers. Those who contributed to the upkeep of this hospital and the repair of the highway between Brentford Bridge and the chapel of St. Lawrence the Martyr (a chapel of ease to Hanwell, two miles off) were to be rewarded by 40 days' indulgence.³

NOTES

- 1 Clay, *Mediaeval Hospitals*, pp. 8, 262, 304, citing Bishop Fordham of Ely's Register, f. 180 (see A. Gibbons, *Ely Episcopal Records* (1891), p. 398).
- 2 St. Iodowicus or Ludovicus.
- 3 This chapel of St. Lawrence, also called Brentford Chapel, is mentioned in 1327 and 1335 and was probably built about that time (Newcourt (1708), Vol. I, pp. 626, 627n.). The chapel was in New (Great, West or Market) Brentford. See also G. Hennessy, p. 193; and Lysons, *Environs*, Vol. II (1795), pp. 49, 553.

4. SHOREDITCH ALMSHOUSES

These almshouses were considerably south of Shoreditch church. They stood on the east side of Norton Folgate, north of the city boundary, and stretched from White Lion Street to Magpie Alley, now Fleur de Lis Street, a little south of the modern junction of Norton Folgate with Commercial Road. The almshouses consisted of 'one row of proper small houses with gardens for poor decayed people, there placed by the prior of the said Hospital [of St. Mary Spital without Bishopsgate]: every one tenant whereof paid one penny rent by the year at Christmas, and dined with the prior on Christmas Day'.¹ The date of foundation is unknown, and the almshouses may have been out of

use and were certainly in a very poor state even before the dissolution of the monasteries.² The prior in 1536 granted a lease of the almshouses for 99 years to William Sherland.³ The property was then described as consisting of the Crown and the Crown Rents, the latter numbering 31. The frontage along the high road has been calculated as 387 feet, with a depth varying from about 87 feet on the north to 92 feet on the south.⁴

NOTES

- 1 Stow, Vol. II, pp. 74-5.
- 2 Within a few years of the suppression Stow says that they were known as Rotten Row (*ibid.*; see also *Add. Notes to Stow*, p. 27).
- 3 Survey of London, Vol. VIII, *St. Leonard, Shoreditch* (1922), pp. 5-7. 'The said tenements . . . lie at this present day in great decay and far out of all reparation.'
- 4 *ibid.*, p. 7.

5. TOTTENHAM HOSPITAL

An ancient spital house in Tottenham, 6 miles from London, is mentioned in the court rolls as early as 1416.¹ This hospital is probably the poor house called the Offertory of St. Loy standing in 1631 on the west side of the main highway, near the bridge and a little north of the cross. To the south of this poor house there was a well, famous for its curative waters and known as St. Loy's Well.² No other reference has been found.³

NOTES

- 1 Lysons, Vol. III, pp. 552, 540.
- 2 W. Bedwell, *A Briefe Description of the Towne of Tottenham Highcross in Middlesex* (1631: this is a small unpagged tract, bound with others, at the British Museum).
- 3 J. Norden, in *Spec. Brit.* (1593), pp. 40-1, mentions that Henry VIII founded in Tottenham a little hospital or almshouse for three poor widows.

JOHN STOW

An Address delivered at the Church of St. Andrew Undershaft on 7 March, 1962
in the presence of the Rt. Hon. Sir Cuthbert Ackroyd, Lord Mayor (*locum tenens*),
on the occasion of the Society's Annal Stow Commemoration Service.

BY JOEL HURSTFIELD,

ASTOR PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

We commemorate this day the services which John Stow of London rendered to his native city and the cause of history. Some men learn their history from manuscripts, others from books. John Stow did both these things but through his genius and devotion he made also the churches and streets of this city to yield up their secrets. The old cry, if the stones could but speak, was answered in his writings; and his writings have outlasted the very stones themselves.

He was born in 1525, the son of a merchant tailor and, in due course, followed his father in his trade. But his trade did not prosper, for his heart was elsewhere. By the time that he was 35 he had produced his edition of Chaucer's poetry; and for the next 45 years until his death at the age of 80 in 1605 he was engaged in his life work of compiling a history of England, which we now know as Stow's *Annals*, and a detailed street-by-street description of London, which we know as Stow's *Survey*. Being a great historian he looked back upon the past without ever losing sight of the present, believing as he did that history is not a dead thing of no consequence but the continuing and unbroken process of a nation's destiny. And these are Stow's words in the dedication of his *Survey* to Sir Robert Lee, then Lord Mayor of London;

I have attempted the discovery of London, my native soil and country. . . . It is a duty that I willingly owe to my native mother and country. . . . What London hath been of ancient time, men may here see, as what it is now every man doth behold.

I shall do as he might have done, therefore, and look back on Elizabeth's England—which was Stow's England—and see what it has transmitted into our own day. If, today, I am more concerned with the ideas than the buildings that have come down to us, I never forget that many of these ideas found expression in the city churches where Stow worshipped and among the citizens with whom Stow lived.

If we look back to the London of four hundred years ago, to 1561, we find this account in Stow's *Annals*:

This year was such a scarcity of wheat and other grain that Sir William Chester, Mayor of London, and other the principal magistrates of the city, were forced to make provision for wheat and rye from beyond the seas, to a great quantity, which was a relief, not only to the citizens but to the countries near adjoining.

The London of 1562 was indeed a city of poverty, sickness and a renewed war with France. And then towards the end of a disastrous year, Queen Elizabeth herself fell

desperately ill of smallpox. Anyone looking at this nation in 1562 might understandably have said that our greatness lay in the past; that there were good prospects for the historian but few for posterity. The English empire on the continent which had lasted for centuries had, by the beginning of the reign, gone for ever. Our national treasury was empty; our people impoverished; our nation divided. Had Elizabeth died in 1562, as she might have done from smallpox, then England would almost certainly have been given over to civil war. But, as we know, the nation survived, and when the queen died long afterwards in 1603, and John Stow followed her in 1605, England stood at the brink of her imperial greatness.

What ideas inspired Englishmen to greatness in the decades which followed 1562 and will they inspire us again? The first question, as an historian, I believe that I am able to answer; the second I must leave to the statesmen of today and perhaps to my successors in this pulpit in 400 years' time.

I would put first a sense of unity and purpose: the sense of belonging. For, although England had its social grievances and its social disorders, it also had its social conscience. If this is the age of:

Hark, hark the dogs do bark,
Beggars are coming to town.

it is also the age of social experiment and social advance. And here London led the way. At the beginning of the 16th century to be poor and unemployed was taken to mean wilful idleness; by the end of the 16th century it had called forth a vigorous policy of social responsibility—for the sick, the aged, the children, and the unemployed. If anyone will ask: when did the welfare state, as we know it, begin? the answer is, not in 1947, but in Elizabeth's England and in Stow's London. I believe that this sense of social responsibility gave to the nation a unity which could stand up to the pressures of a civil war in the 17th century and other things since then.

The social responsibility was extended also to those who came here from abroad as refugees or as workers, from Germany, the low countries and France, bringing us new ideas and techniques—the East Anglian textile industry owed much to them, so did metallurgy. It is true that there were sometimes hostile scenes in the streets of London against foreigners but the Lord Mayor and the city authorities at once intervened to restore order and fair play. 'By the especial grace of God and bounty of our princes' wrote the Reverend William Harrison, ' . . . if any come hither from other realms, so soon as they set foot on land, they become so free in condition as their masters.' I am afraid that this was more of an aim than a reality, but it is important that the aim was there.

I believe that the second cause of our survival and prospects of greatness in the Elizabethan period was this. When so much of Europe was being torn by ideological warfare—expressed in those days in religious terms, Lutheranism, Calvinism, Anabaptism, and Catholicism—this country was never torn asunder as were France and Germany. Religious differences of course were heard and some of the greatest martyrs of this period were Englishmen. But the queen strove unceasingly for her middling policy: unpopular with the extremists, essential to the nation if it was to survive. These were the formative years of Anglicanism; the church as we know it is the church as she made it then, moderate, broad in its foundations, sturdy, built to last. Because we had so few religious excesses

the nation stood as one before, during and after the Armada crisis of 1588. Without that sense of unity and a love of the liberty they fought to preserve, we might well have emerged as an imperial satellite of a powerful Spain.

If there was a sense of unity and liberty, there was also a sense of greatness in ways which the historian can discern but not always define. The passion to discover the world and to colonize part of it was an impressive feature of the people of Elizabethan England, because on the whole they believed that their way of life was good and worth preserving. And all this was echoed, inspired and re-inforced by the greatness of the literary efflorescence. We remember:

This England never did—nor never shall—
Lie at the proud foot of a conqueror,
But when it first did help to wound itself.

But if we remember that William Shakespeare was the queen's fellow countryman, we should remember also that he was only the greatest among giants—Edmund Spenser, Sir Philip Sidney, Christopher Marlowe, Richard Hakluyt, Sir Walter Raleigh, famous men working in this city, yes, and John Stow also, historian of London.

Unity, liberty, social responsibility and a sense of greatness, these things drove the Elizabethans towards the lengthening horizons of their purposes. I believe that the momentum of these purposes are still after 400 years far from spent.



By courtesy of the London County Council

Kingsland Hospital

A view of the new Hospital building, c. 1727,
with John Ward of Hackney, a benefactor, in the foreground with patients



THE CHAPEL OF
FOR LEPERS IN
SOUTHWARK,

dedicated to S. Mary
Founded prior to



inscription over the Door

THE HOSPITAL
KENT STREET,

CALLED LE LOCK,
and S. Leonard,
the XIVth of Edw. II.

LONDON, Published 1st January 1813 by ROBERT WILKINSON, N^o 28 Cornhill.

The Lock Hospital, Southwark, in 1813

THE PRESERVATION OF ANCIENT MONUMENTS AND BUILDINGS OF HISTORIC OR ARCHITECTURAL INTEREST

This summary of the statutory provisions for the preservation of ancient monuments and buildings of historic or architectural interest, and of their practical application, was originally prepared by the Society's Historic Buildings Preservation Committee for the guidance of the Affiliated Societies which assist it in its work. At Council's request it is printed here in view of its general interest.

1. Statutory provisions

1. The statutory provisions regarding the scheduling of ancient monuments and the listing of historic buildings are laid down in the Ancient Monuments Acts of 1913 and 1931, the Town and Country Planning Act of 1962, the Historic Buildings and Ancient Monuments Act of 1953, and the Local Authorities (Historic Buildings) Act 1962.

2. Ancient Monument Boards, of a representative character, were set up by the Ancient Monuments Consolidation and Amendment Act of 1913,¹ and the Commissioners of Works were required to prepare and issue lists of the monuments the preservation of which was considered by those boards to be of national importance.² The Commissioners—whose duties are now discharged by the Minister of Public Building and Works—had power themselves to add to these lists.³ The act, however, provides no protection to any 'ecclesiastical building which is for the time being used for ecclesiastical purposes',⁴ nor to any building 'occupied as a dwelling-house (otherwise than by a . . . caretaker)'.⁵ We are therefore concerned in our present purpose more with those structures listed as buildings of architectural or historic interest under the 1962 Act (see below) than with those scheduled as ancient monuments under the Acts of 1913 and 1931.

3. The Minister of Public Building and Works may, under the provisions of the Historic Buildings and Ancient Monuments Act of 1953: (i), make grants for the maintenance or repair of certain historic buildings with their contents and grounds; (ii), make endowments to the National Trust to that end; (iii), acquire such buildings (with their contents and grounds) by purchase, lease, gift or otherwise, on behalf of the Ministry; or (iv), make grants towards the acquisition of such properties by local authorities or the National Trust.⁶ These provisions, however, apply only to buildings of 'outstanding historic or architectural interest', the Minister being advised in this regard by the Historic Buildings Council, established under the Act.⁷ (But see also paragraph 5, below.)

4. 'Buildings of *special* architectural or historic interest' are protected under the Town and Country Planning Act, 1962.⁸ The local planning authorities set up under the act,⁹ are given power to make a 'Building Preservation Order' to restrict the demolition, alteration or extension of any such building, provided (as in the Ancient Monuments Acts) that it is not an ecclesiastical building being used for ecclesiastical purposes.¹⁰ Although

a bill¹¹ to extend this protection clearly to adjacent and neighbouring property was refused a second reading in 1963,¹² it seems nevertheless to have been established that any building may, for this purpose, have to be considered 'in its context'.¹³ In order to guide the local planning authorities in the performance of their statutory duties under this part of the act, the Ministry of Housing and Local Government is required to compile lists of the buildings concerned, or to approve (with or without modifications) lists compiled by other persons or bodies.¹⁴ Certified copies of so much of the list as applies to any county, borough, or county district, are required to be deposited by the Ministry with the appropriate Clerk of the authority concerned. The Ministry is also required to serve a notice upon every owner and occupier concerned and see that the facts are registered in the appropriate register of local land charges.¹⁵ In all this, before compiling approving or amending any list, the Minister is required to 'consult with such persons or bodies of persons as appear to him appropriate as having special knowledge of or interest in buildings of architectural and historic interest'.¹⁶

5. The statutory list of the Ministry of Housing and Local Government contains only buildings of grades I and II, making no distinction between them. Grade III buildings appear on a supplementary list. It is on a provisional list only that the buildings are divided into three categories,¹⁷ in which they appear to be grouped as follows:

- I. Buildings of outstanding importance usually in an unaltered condition;
- II. Good buildings, perhaps altered, but well worthy of preservation; and
- III. Buildings of lesser quality than I or II, or even very good buildings, so severely altered or damaged that preservation can only be recommended.

The Local Authorities (Historic Buildings) Act 1962 gives a local authority power to contribute (subject to certain conditions) either by grant or loan, towards the repair or maintenance of any local building statutorily listed or (with the consent of the Minister) of a building of architectural or historic interest even though not so listed.¹⁸ It is the official view¹⁹ that local authorities are able, in this manner, to perform a valuable function by supplementing the action of the central authorities. For example, a particular building which could not perhaps be classified by the central authorities as 'outstanding' in the terms of the 1952 act, may yet, as part of our national heritage, merit consideration by the local authorities under the 1962 provisions.²⁰

6. So long as any building remains on the *statutory* list it is not only forbidden to demolish it, but also to alter it or extend it in any manner which would seriously affect its character, unless two months notice is given to the appropriate planning authority. There is a special provision regarding work 'urgently necessary in the interest of safety or health or for the preservation of the building or of neighbouring property', when notice has to be given 'as soon as may be after the necessity for the work arises'.²¹ Any person offending against this section renders himself liable to a fine of £100, and may be required to restore the building 'so far as may be, to its former state'.²² When a local planning authority receives notice of proposed work in relation to a listed building the authority is required to send a copy to the Minister and to 'such other persons or bodies of persons' as the Minister specifies, either generally or in regard to that particular building.²³

It is important to note that these provisions apply *only* to buildings on the statutory list (Grades I and II). Grade III buildings (all on the supplementary list) are not so protected, and the list has value merely in calling attention to these buildings.

7. Under the Town and Country Planning Act no development or works may be executed or permitted,²⁴ without the prior consent of the planning authority.²⁵ The planning authority is ordinarily the County Council.²⁶ When the County Council is itself the developer and the proposed development is contrary to the Development Plan, the planning application is automatically referred to the Minister for decision; in all other development by the County Council the County Council is still the planning authority. 'Development' is statutorily defined as any 'building engineering mining or other operation in on over or under land, or making any material change in the use of any buildings or land'. Application is made to the local planning authority which is required to keep a register of applications, kept available for inspection by the public at all reasonable hours.²⁷

8. If it appears to any planning authority that any particular building or buildings of special architectural or historic interest ought to be preserved from the proposed demolition, alteration, or extension, the planning authority may make a building preservation order.²⁸ In the County of London, however, before making such an order the Common Council of the City of London or the council of any metropolitan borough must consult with the London County Council.²⁹ The terms, etc., of a preservation order are laid down in the Town and Country Planning (Building Preservation Order) Regulations, 1948 and 1960.³⁰ The local authority must submit any proposed order to the Minister for confirmation, and give notice by advertisement that it has done so, making copies of the proposed order available locally for inspection. Notice must be served on the owner and occupier, and 28 days left for objections to the order. The Minister is required to take into consideration any objections or representations made, either in writing or at the local inquiry (if any). The Minister's decision is communicated to the local authority which is required to inform the owner, the occupier, and the council of the county district (or the planning authority as the case may be). The service and advertisement of confirmed orders is laid to the local authority.³¹ It is possible, in certain circumstances, for the Minister himself to initiate a preservation order under the terms of his default powers.

II. Statutory provisions in practice

9. Under the Ancient Monuments Acts referred to above, the Ministry of Works serves notice upon the owner (and tenant) of any proposal to include an ancient monument in a published schedule,³² and the fact of scheduling is charged upon the land in the Land Register kept by the Clerk of the appropriate local authority. The owner (or other person entitled to work it) is required under penalty to give three months notice to the Ministry of any intention to alter the monument in any way.

Upon consideration of such a notice received, the Ministry may (without reference to the appropriate Ancient Monuments Board in cases of urgency) issue an Interim Preservation Order. The effect of this Order is to prevent any alterations of any kind for

a period of 21 months without the Minister's consent. If a (substantive) Preservation Order is made it remains in force until revoked. Appeal may involve public local inquiry or parliamentary action. There is provision for the payment of compensation.

10. With regard to buildings of historic or architectural interest it will be noted that, except in cases where a Building Preservation Order is made, the sole effect of the 1947 provisions is to delay demolition, alteration or extension for a period of two months at the maximum. Even this safeguard is restricted to buildings on the statutory list (Grades I and II).

11. If the local authority (i.e., the County Council or the County Borough Council) does not appear to intend making a preservation order in respect of a building the preservation of which seems desirable, this matter can be opened (or re-opened) by writing to the Ministry of Housing and Local Government.

12. In this connexion two things are clear:

- (a) the person or body wishing to preserve such a building must be aware that demolition alteration or extension is intended;
- (b) buildings of considerable merit and importance may be on the Supplementary list or not listed at all.

The solution of (a) lies in the hands of the preservation society, and is to be achieved by a comparison of the register of applications for planning approval with the lists of buildings of historic or architectural interest, both the register and the list being available for inspection at the offices of the authority concerned.

13. As regards (b), the coverage of the lists both in time and space is relevant. Coverage of the London and Middlesex areas may be regarded as complete topographically. Chronologically however, this is not the case. Buildings down to late Georgian in date will have been considered; post-Regency, William IV and Early Victorian buildings may have been included if in the old tradition and very good examples of their class, but otherwise consideration, let alone inclusion, is doubtful. High Victorian buildings—Italianate palaces and the like—are now under consideration and some London boroughs have been examined with this period especially in mind, and some Victorian buildings have been upgraded to the statutory list. In addition an attempt is now being made to list and identify the works of 25 of the principal architects of the period 1850–1914. This work is being done on a country-wide basis and such buildings not already on the list are being added to it where possible.

It must still be borne in mind, however, that important buildings worthy of preservation may not appear on the lists. The preservation society must know its area.

NOTES

1 3 and 4 Geo. V, cap. 32, sec. 15.

2 *ibid.*, sec. 12 (1)(a).

3 *ibid.*, sec. 12 (1)(b).

4 *ibid.*, sec. 22.

- 5 *ibid.*, sec. 8.
- 6 1 and 2 Eliz. II, cap. 49, sec. 4–6.
- 7 *ibid.*, sec. 1.
- 8 10 and 11 Eliz. II, cap. 38.
- 9 *ibid.*, sec. 3.
- 10 *ibid.*, sec. 30 (2).
- 11 Commons 22, 21st November, 1962.
- 12 Hansard, Commons, vol. 672, No. 63 (22nd February, 1963), coll. 771–842
- 13 Lord Ivegh v. Minister of Housing (1961) 3 All ER. 98.
- 14 No building however, belonging to the Crown or to a government department, may be so listed except with the consent of the appropriate authority (sec. 199 (2)).
- 15 *ibid.*, sec. 32 (3).
- 16 *ibid.*, sec. 32 (5).
- 17 The draft list (showing the buildings duly graded I, II or III), prepared by the Minister and circulated to local authorities and other interested bodies, is termed the ‘Provisional List’; the list later certified under the Act by the Minister (usually consisting of buildings graded as I or II), is termed the ‘Statutory List’; the list showing the remaining buildings (usually those of grade III), which is *not* statutory is termed the ‘Supplementary List’.
These categories are clearly rather subjective, and the class into which a building is put is to some extent governed by its period, locality, and the part it plays in its immediate setting — i.e. if it is part of a *group* (see note 13).
- 18 10 and 11 Eliz. II, cap. 36, sec. i.
- 19 Ministry circular 68/62.
- 20 See note 7, above.
- 21 10 and 11 Eliz. II, cap. 38, sec. 31(3).
- 22 *ibid.*, sec. 52(1). Amendments to the appeal procedure were cunningly concealed in the Caravans Act, 1960 (8 and 9 Eliz. II, cap. 62, sec. 45, and sch. 3).
- 23 *ibid.*, sec. 32(5).
- 24 One ‘permits’ works if one is in a position to forbid them (Goodbarne v. Buck (1940) 1 All ER 613).
- 25 10 and 11 Eliz. II, cap. 38 sec. 12 and 13.
- 26 *ibid.*, sec. 2(1).
- 27 *ibid.*, sec. 15(2).
- 28 *ibid.*, sec. 30.
- 29 S.I. 1948 No. 1766, p. 3(2).
- 30 S.I. 1948 No. 1766, as amended by S.I. 1960, No. 1539.
- 31 *ibid.*, p. 6.
- 32 *Ancient Monuments in England and Wales*, 1961 (1962), and subsequent *Supplements* (H.M. Stationery Office).

ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDS IN THE CITY OF LONDON, 1961

Communicated by the Staff of the Guildhall Museum

I. ROMAN

London Wall

About 45 feet of the length of the core of the Roman city wall was exposed during demolition of buildings immediately west of Moorgate, in London Wall.

Coopers Row

Demolition of warehouses immediately south of the Fenchurch Street Railway viaduct in Coopers Row has revealed a considerable length of the Roman city wall which was formerly inside the premises of Messrs. J. Barber and Co.

Nos. 13-14 George Street

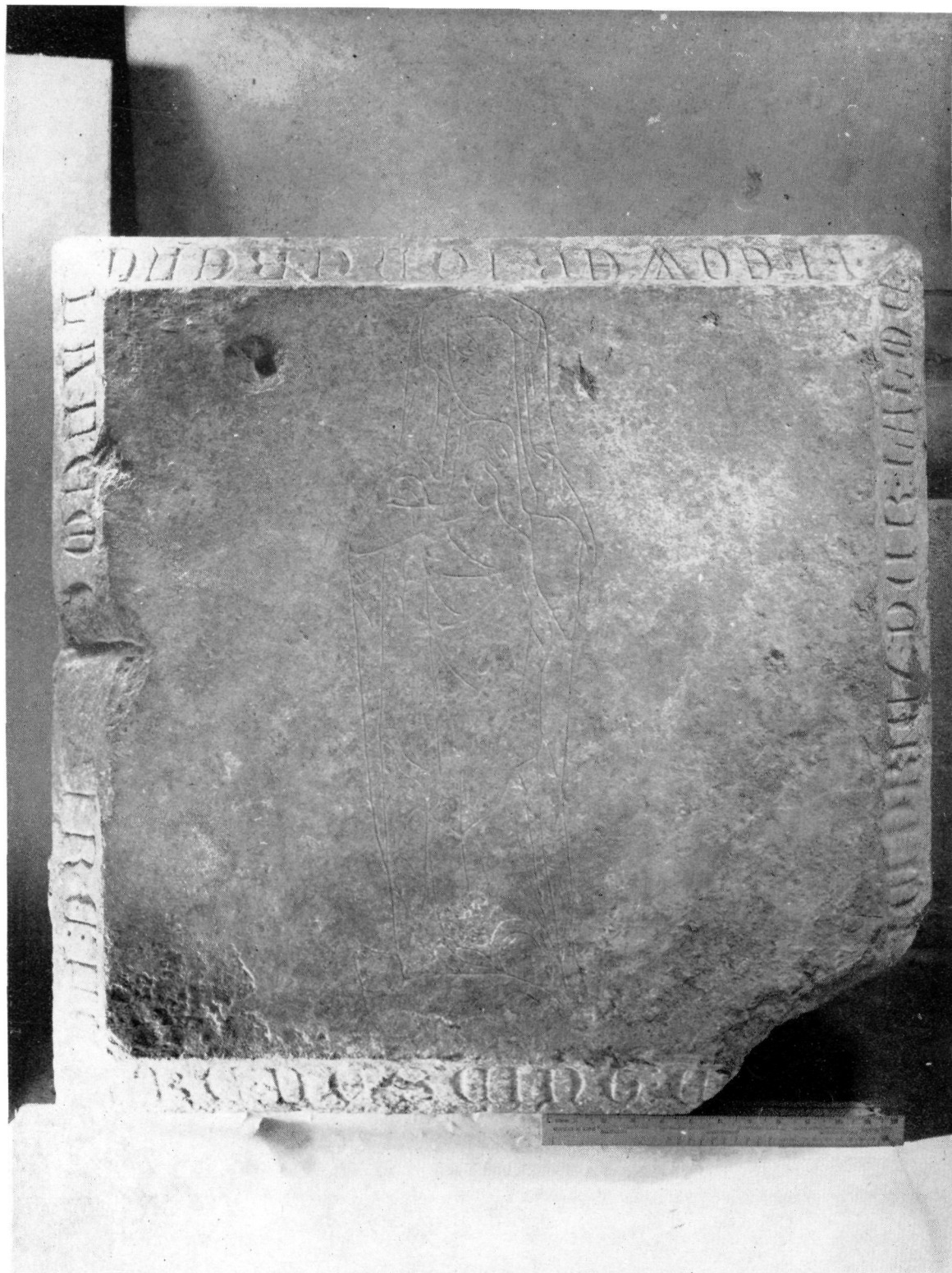
In the northern part of this site just east of the Mansion House, deposits of gravel were found overlying the natural brick-earth and gravel. These were clearly artificial, for a thin spread of gravel from one of the deposits extended to the south over a pit which contained pottery of the first century. Since the main Roman east-west road, which skirted the southern face of the forum and crossed the Walbrook near Bucklersbury, should pass across the northern edge of the site, it seems likely that this gravel either formed part of the body of the road or had been spilled from its southern edge during road-making or repair. The thin layer over the pit, which was about 20 ft. to the south of the northern edge of No. 13, was presumably a spill of this kind and therefore lay to the south of the road.

Nos. 143-147 Cannon Street

Ragstone foundations, presumably Roman, were found on this site. One of these was 1 ft. 9 in. thick and cut into a burnt level containing Flavian pottery. Under the Cannon Street frontage a deposit of gravel, over a foot thick, overlay the natural brick-earth. This gravel extended about 6 feet north of the old frontage, and seems to have been the northern edge of the Roman road running along Cannon Street—or possibly a spread of material immediately to the north of this road.¹

Goldsmith House, Goldsmith Street (Fig. 1)

On the west side of this site the natural brick-earth had been removed and then re-dumped, for below the dumped brick-earth was found a small pit containing Neronian sherds. A rubbish pit containing pottery of the period Nero-Vespasian had been cut through the dumped brick-earth. Overlying the latter in the western half of the site was the debris of a building destroyed by fire, in which was found pottery of the late 1st-early 2nd century. The base of this building was constructed of large bricks of mud and straw lying on sleeper beams. Gravel deposits were found concentrated at the western



Incised slab of Purbeck Marble from St. Swithin's Church, Cannon Street

GOLDSMITH HOUSE.

SCALE 10 5 0 10 20 30 FEET.

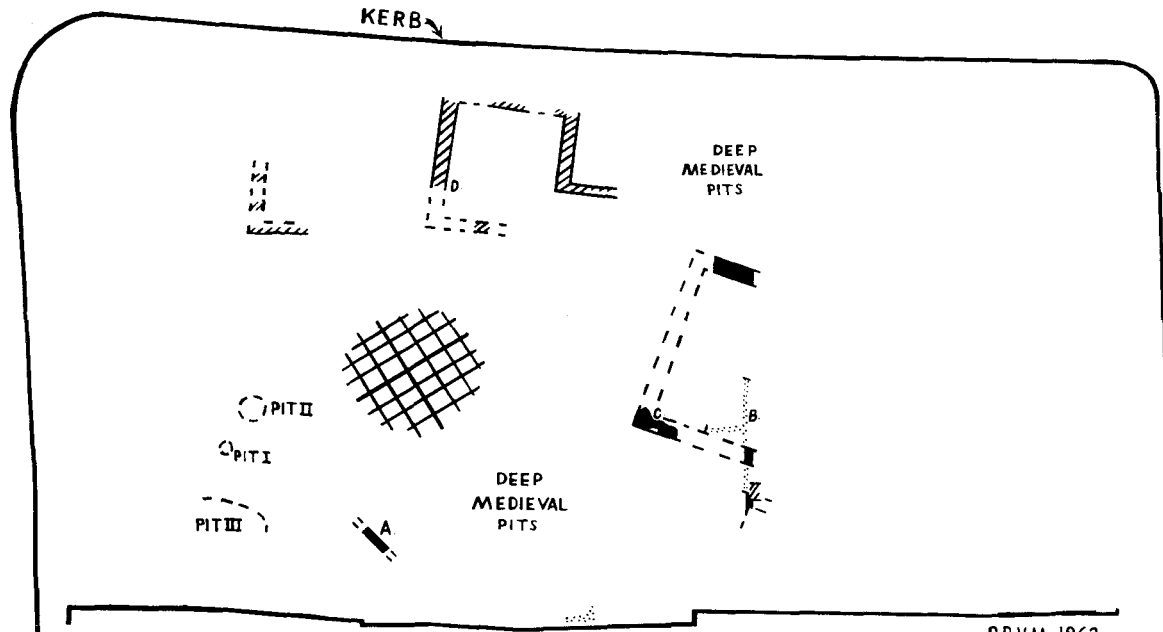


GOLDSMITH STREET

KERB

GUTTER LANE

WOOD STREET



P.R.V.M., 1962.

KEY

- ROMAN PIT
- ROMAN WALL.
- /// MEDIEVAL WALL.
- ... ROMAN CEMENT FLOOR.
- ⊞ SITE OF ROMAN DAUB-BRICK BUILDING

Fig. 1

end of the site, and it seems possible that these were a spread from a Roman road which probably ran from Cheapside to the south gate of the Cripplegate fort. In the central area, part of a room with ragstone walls and an *opus signinum* floor was found sunk into undisturbed brick-earth (B). On the floor were a number of late 1st century sherds. Overlying this were the ragstone and chalk foundations of an undated second building (C), which may well have been Roman, as it seems to have approximately the same alignment as the Roman fort and the Roman east-west road to the south which was replaced by the mediaeval Cheapside.

Crooked Lane

In several places, along the line of Crooked Lane, gravel deposits containing Roman pottery were found overlying the natural gravel. These probably indicate the presence of a Roman road, the southern continuation of the north-south road bounding the western side of the basilica and forum, traces of which were seen east of Birchin Lane in 1935.²

Bush Lane (Fig. 2)

Two Roman building periods were revealed on a small site between Bush Lane and Cannon Street Station. At the north end of the site, the structure of Period I consisted of part of a large room with a cement floor and brick walls on ragstone foundations 9 ft. wide and 8–10 ft. in depth below the floor (B). A ragstone foundation 6 ft. thick ran eastwards under Bush Lane. Both the east and south walls of the large room had an exterior offset of 1 ft. The cement floor of the room overlay a Flavian rubbish pit. At the south end of the site two parallel east-west walls of ragstone with double courses of bonding tiles were found. These were 3 ft. thick, and on the north side of the southern wall there seems to have been a recess 2 ft. deep and at least 7 ft. wide. Between the walls there was a ragstone and flint concrete platform 7 ft. thick (A). On the north side of the northern east-west wall was a semi-circular apse of ragstone with courses of bonding tiles, enclosing a cement floor in the middle of which stood a brick structure 5 ft. 6 in. thick, which did not extend right across the apse. It was seen in section only, and may have been the base of a pier or pedestal. Late 1st century pottery was found in a destruction layer overlying the thick ragstone platform. Traces of a second period building containing at least two hypocausts were found overlying the ruins of the first period building in the northern half of the site.

Barclays Bank, Lombard Street (Fig. 3)

It was hoped that this site might throw further light on the dating of the forum, the cement floor of which has been provisionally identified on neighbouring sites. It soon became apparent, however, that these levels had for the most part been removed in previous building excavations. Instead, evidence was found of a sequence of stone buildings apparently earlier than the construction of the forum.

The earliest feature on the site was a U-shaped ditch running approximately north-north-east, containing pottery of the Claudian period. It was evidently filled in after a very short time, for a refuse pit containing Claudian pottery and glass had been cut into the filling. The glass included fragments of the painted Locarno ware that is characteristic of this period.

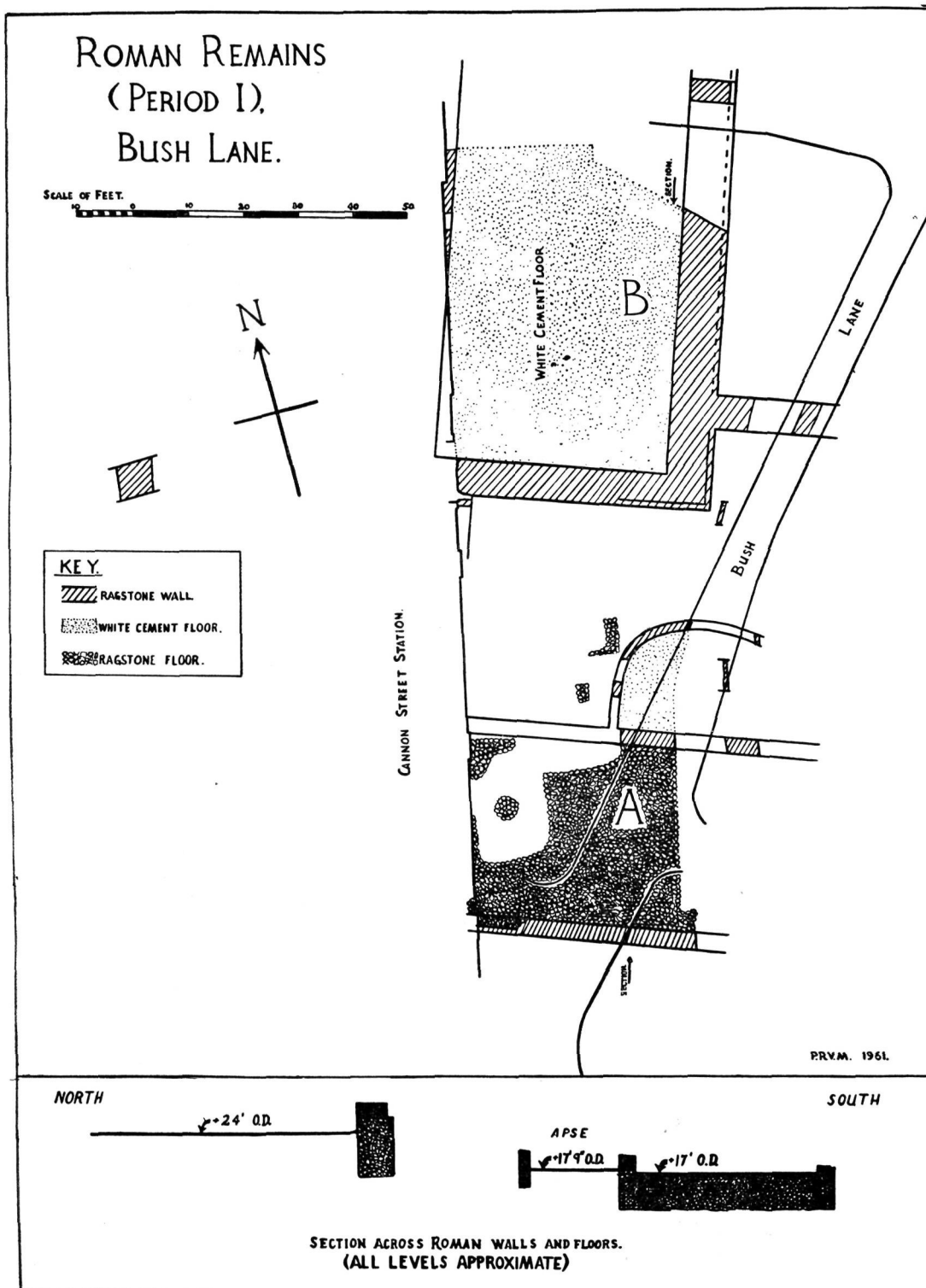


Fig. 2

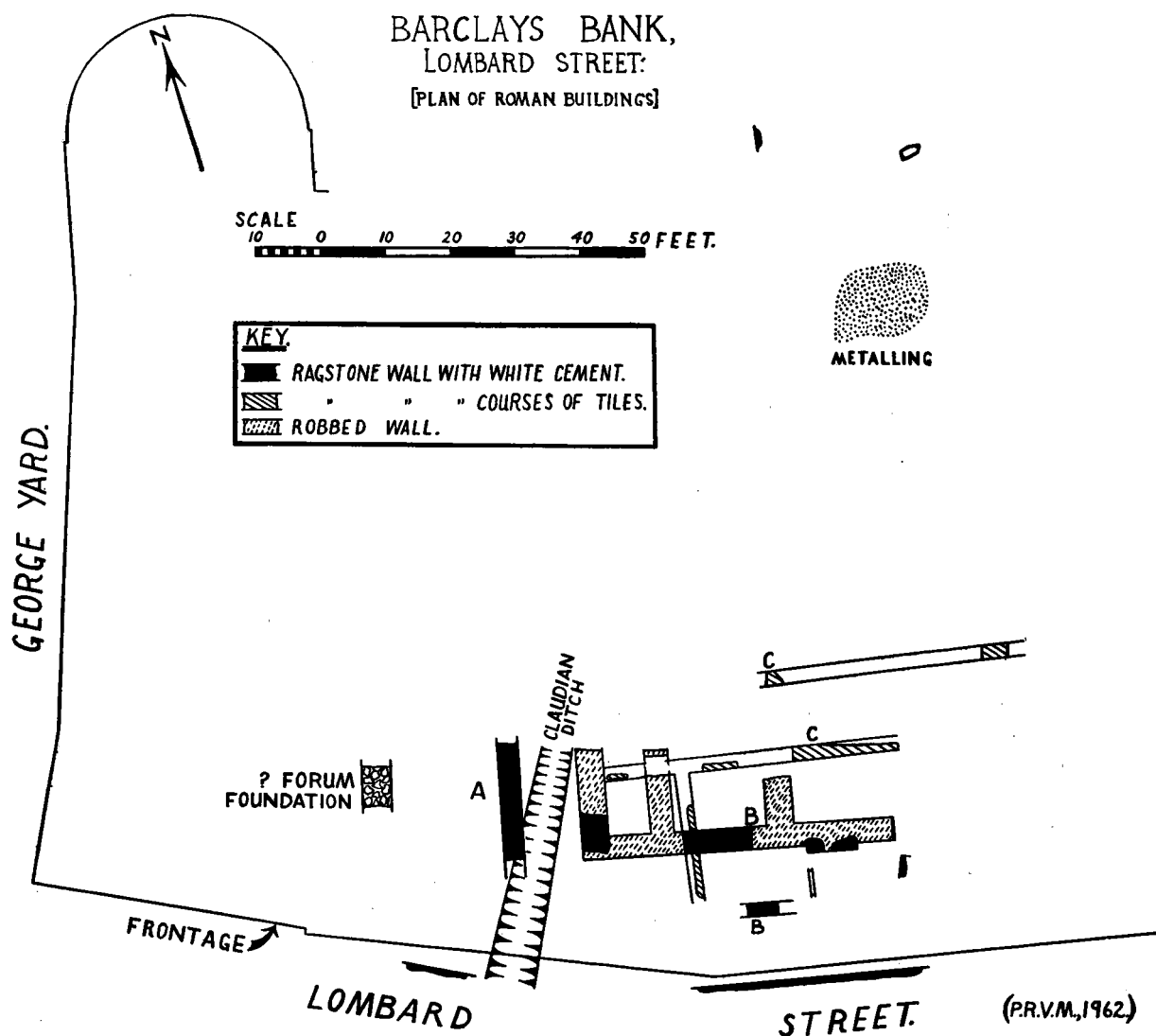


Fig. 3

Overlying the ditch was a ragstone wall with white mortar (A), against which a layer of refuse of the period Claudius-Nero and a burnt layer, possibly Boudiccan, had accumulated. Immediately to the east of the ditch were walls of exactly similar character (B); unfortunately not stratigraphically related to the first, and these had been extensively robbed in the 13th century. Within this building the floor level seems to have been represented only by a layer of gravelly earth, which may of course have been covered originally with wooden boards. Above it was a layer of occupation debris containing pottery of the period about A.D. 60-80, piled against the wall, and this in turn was buried beneath layers of dumped brick-earth, which survived to a thickness of 3 ft. and contained sherds

of about the end of the 1st century. Similar deposits of brick-earth, sand, building debris and other dumped material were found beneath a Roman cement floor and overlying earlier Roman buildings on the sites of 17–19 Gracechurch Street in 1935, and of All Hallows Church in 1939.³ It seems likely that these represent make-up to level the site before the laying of the forum floor, and that the buildings beneath antedate the forum and were demolished when it was built. Unfortunately the fate of the ragstone building with white mortar is not clear, as the layer overlying its walls and the brick-earth make-up was a disturbed one which, though containing pottery of the late 2nd century, is possibly of a much later period. The robbing of these walls in the 13th century does not of course necessarily mean that the structure survived the building of the forum, and it seems very unlikely that it did. The date of its construction is equally obscure. It seems to have been occupied during the Flavian period, but if the wall of similar structure and alignment overlying the Claudian ditch is part of the same building, the evidence suggests that it might be a survivor of the Boudiccan destruction. It is, however, difficult to accept such an early date, for traces of an even earlier building of a different construction (C), consisting of ragstone, *brown* mortar and courses of bonding tiles, underlay its walls on a different alignment. Even more surprisingly, from this earlier wall came a squared stone block and probably also a fragment of a stone slab resembling a paving-stone. In this context these pieces should perhaps be described as ‘diverted from their original purpose’, rather than ‘re-used’, but even so they are unexpected finds in a building that should belong to a very early phase of Roman London.

It is interesting to note that on the adjoining site of All Hallows Church, Lombard Street, excavated in 1939, there was similar evidence of two phases of Roman building in stone, both antedating the cement floor and piers which should belong to the forum.

Knight-rider Street

Excavations on a large site in Queen Victoria Street have revealed a great length of the long ragstone wall which runs for the most part under the northern edge of Knight-rider Street. The wall is about 4 ft. wide with a foundation about 5 ft. deep, above which there are traces of bonding tiles. The foundation has in places been built between horizontal planking, the impressions of which have been preserved in the cement. The wall extends in a straight line for more than 400 ft., and it is probable that the curved wall found west of Friday Street in 1906⁴ was a continuation of it, giving a total length of nearly 600 ft. No offset walls to the north or south have ever been observed. On the present site traces of a second wall 4 ft. 4 in. thick, with a foundation constructed in a similar manner and with courses of tiles above, have been found about 32 ft. south of the long wall and seemingly running almost parallel with it.

Paternoster Development Site, Newgate Street

On this large site between Newgate Street and St. Paul’s Churchyard the earliest traces of general occupation found during the builder’s excavation were of the late 1st century. A stream-bed passed from north to south across the western part of the site, almost exactly coinciding with the Ward boundary.⁵ It was evidently a continuation of the two streams found on the site of Christ’s Hospital in 1908–9. These joined near the north-west corner of the present site and the stream-bed then continued south almost parallel with Warwick Lane. On the east bank in the northern half of the site was found a building with ragstone walls with courses of bonding tiles. Inside the building were a

cement floor, a tiled floor through which ran an open tiled drain, and a herringbone pavement. Several feet south of the building was a small drain containing a few late 1st century sherds. A double stoke-hole, containing late 1st century pottery, with flues radiating upwards and outwards indicated the former existence of a hypocaust. On the opposite bank of the stream were found a brick-built drain and the flint wall of a building. A careful watch was kept for the main east-west Roman road to Newgate, which should have been seen on the northern edge of the site. Considerable quantities of dumped gravel were seen all along the northern part of the site, and in several places near the old building frontage this seemed to be rammed hard like road-metalling. No trace of a drainage ditch or definite road edge could be seen, however, and it is possible that the edge of the raised roadway was here represented only by a sloping spill of gravel, extending in places for a considerable distance. It is likely that the main part of the Roman road lies under the modern street. Traces of two probable north-south roads were seen—one immediately east of the stream, and the other in the eastern part of the site, possibly heading in the direction of Aldersgate. Pottery sherds of the late 1st century were found in the gravel metalling of the former road, and in the filling of what appeared to be a drainage ditch immediately to the east of it.

Near the eastern end of the site, under Paternoster Row, a portion of a pavement of coarse red tesserae set in white cement was seen.

67-69 Watling Street

Excavations in the basement at the north end of this building revealed part of a coarse red tessellated pavement.

Lambeth Hill

Excavations on both sides of Lambeth Hill have revealed two chalk platforms resting on piles. Roman walls have been observed resting on the lower platform, and it seems at this stage of the excavation that the Romans had terraced the steep slope down to the river's edge. There are also traces of earlier Roman walls underlying the lower platform. It is hoped that further details will be obtained as the excavation proceeds.

NOTES

- 1 The northern edge of this road was uncovered on the site of St. Swithin, London Stone. (*J.R.S.*, 1961, p. 185). If it continued on the same line, the edge should lie immediately beneath the old building frontage on the site of 143-7 Cannon Street.
- 2 MS. notes by Mr. F. Cottrell in Guildhall Museum.
- 3 MS. notes by Mr. F. Cottrell and Mr. A. Oswald in Guildhall Museum.
- 4 *Archaeologia*, Vol. LX, p. 219.
- 5 The boundary between Castle Baynard Ward and Farringdon Ward Within. The eastern boundary of the northern extension of Castle Baynard Ward approximately follows the line of the stream.

II. POST-ROMAN

Paternoster Development Site, Newgate Street

Many chalk walls, presumably mediaeval, were found, including two undercrofts, one near the middle of the eastern half of the site, and the other at the south-east corner. The latter was investigated by Professor W. F. Grimes on behalf of the Roman and Mediaeval London Excavations Council.

Site of St. Swithin's Church, Cannon Street (Pl. 1)

An incised slab of Purbeck Marble, 2 ft. 7 in. square, was found re-used as building material in the foundations of the church. It has an incised drawing of a lady holding a heart in her hands, and the following inscription in Lombardic lettering round the bevel of the edge:—

+ LE QWER : IONE : REFU (?)
LA FEM[ME : DE] SIRE : FU
LKE : DE : SEINT : E[DMOND :
GIT] : ICI : PRIEZ : PUR : LALME :

The missing portion, indicated in the square brackets, can be restored with some confidence, for Fulke de St. Edmond, who was Sheriff of the City of London in 1289–90, left money to provide a chantry in the Church of St. Swithin London Stone for his own soul and the souls of his two wives who predeceased him. One of these was named Joanna, and it was clearly her heart that was buried beneath this stone.

Goldsmith House, Goldsmith Street (Fig. 1)

In the northern half of the site the remains of a mediaeval building were found. It had ragstone walls which were covered on the inside with white-painted plaster (D).

St. Mary Axe House

On this site between St. Mary Axe and Goring Street, the modern basement extended below the level of the foundations of the City wall, but traces of a black silt-filled ditch, presumably the City Ditch, containing pottery of the 16th-17th centuries, still remained to the north of the line of the wall.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDS FROM THE COUNTIES OF LONDON AND MIDDLESEX ADDED TO THE COLLECTIONS OF THE LONDON MUSEUM DURING 1961

Communicated by the Staff of the Museum

Note: The grid references refer to Ordnance Survey 6 in. or 25 in. plans.

A. Bronze Age

FELTHAM, Middlesex (TQ 077725 approximately): in quarry of Hall and Co., Clockhouse Lane was found about 1959 an unlooped, low-flanged **bronze palstave** (axe) with a developed undercut (i.e. overhanging) stop, (length 15·4 cms., maximum width of cutting edge 6 cms.). This axe (Fig. 1a) is of the Middle Bronze Age and of the period c. 1300–1000 B.C. or slightly later, according to current theories of dating. It has been recorded in the Oxford Bronze Implements Catalogue. Presented to the London Museum (61.86) by J. W. Simons, Esq.

B. Roman

CITY OF LONDON (TQ 325807 approximately): in 1960, during sewer-works in Upper Thames Street, between Dowgate Hill and Queen Street were found a quantity of Roman **shoes** and pieces of **leather**. The material, which included studded soles, a toe of a sandal and tooled leather pieces, was donated during 1961–2 by Mr. Alan Carter, the finder, mainly to the Guildhall Museum; a few examples were presented to the London Museum (62.107/1–21).

C. Dark Ages

‘THAMES AT LONDON’: the following late Saxon and mediaeval objects, dredged from the river at an unknown date, were presented to the London Museum by D. Henderson, Esq., of Dundee. A T-shaped early medieval **axe** of iron (see Fig. 1b): the length of the blade is 21 cms., and the length from the blade to the socket 14·5 cms. (61.173/1). A mediaeval iron **axe** of Ward Perkins Type II in the *Medieval Catalogue* of the London Museum (see Fig. 1c): the length is 22 cms. and the breadth at the cutting edge 15·8 cms. (61.173/2). A second medieval iron **axe** of Ward Perkins Type II (see Fig. 1d) with maker’s mark on one cheek; the length is 20·5 cms. and the breadth at the cutting edge 10·8 cms. (61.173/3). A late Saxon iron **spearhead**, 36 cms. long with a long (18·5 cms.) heavy socket retaining a portion of the shaft and rivets; at the junction of the blade and the socket (see Fig. 1e) are three bands of chevron ornament (61.173/4).

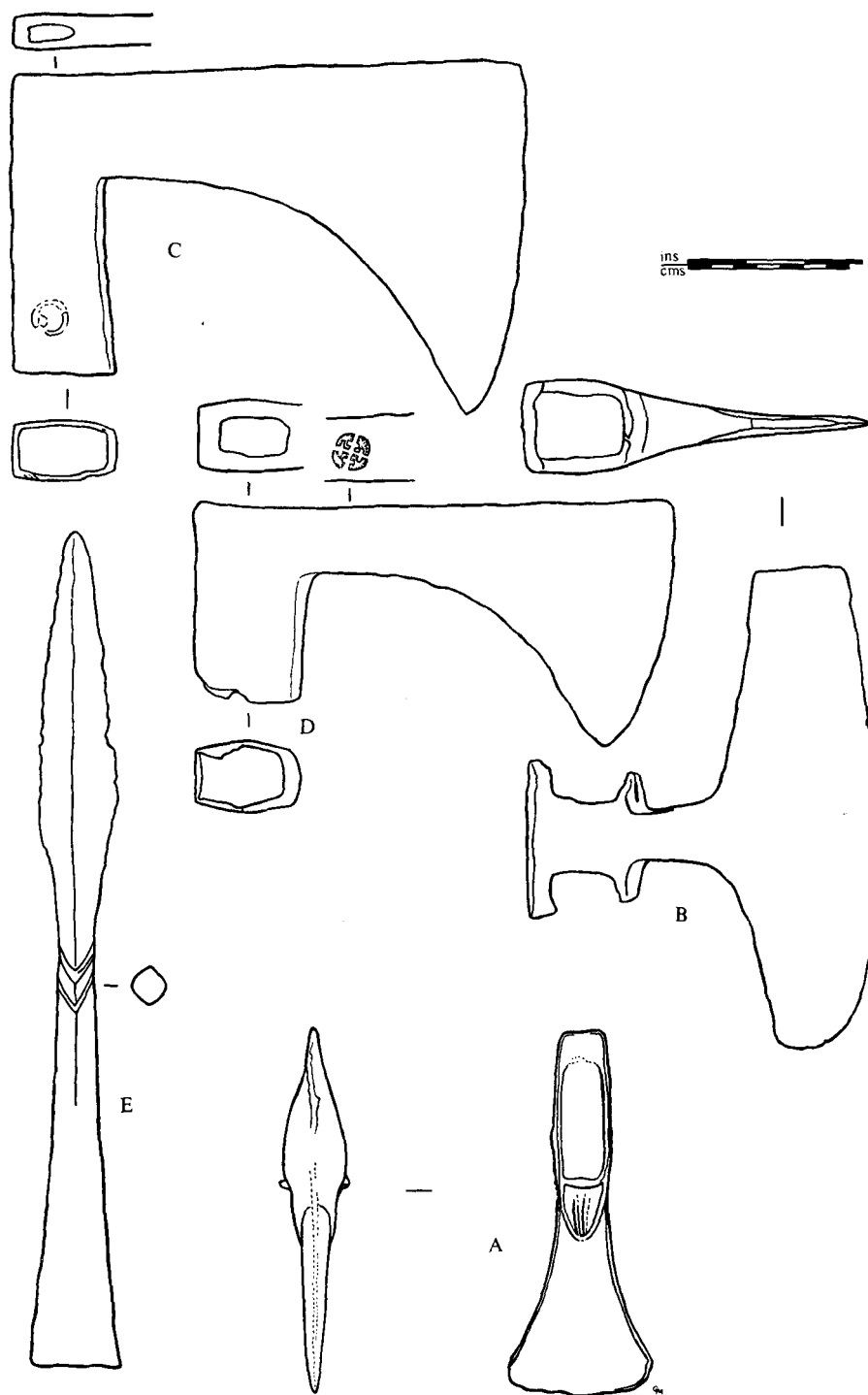


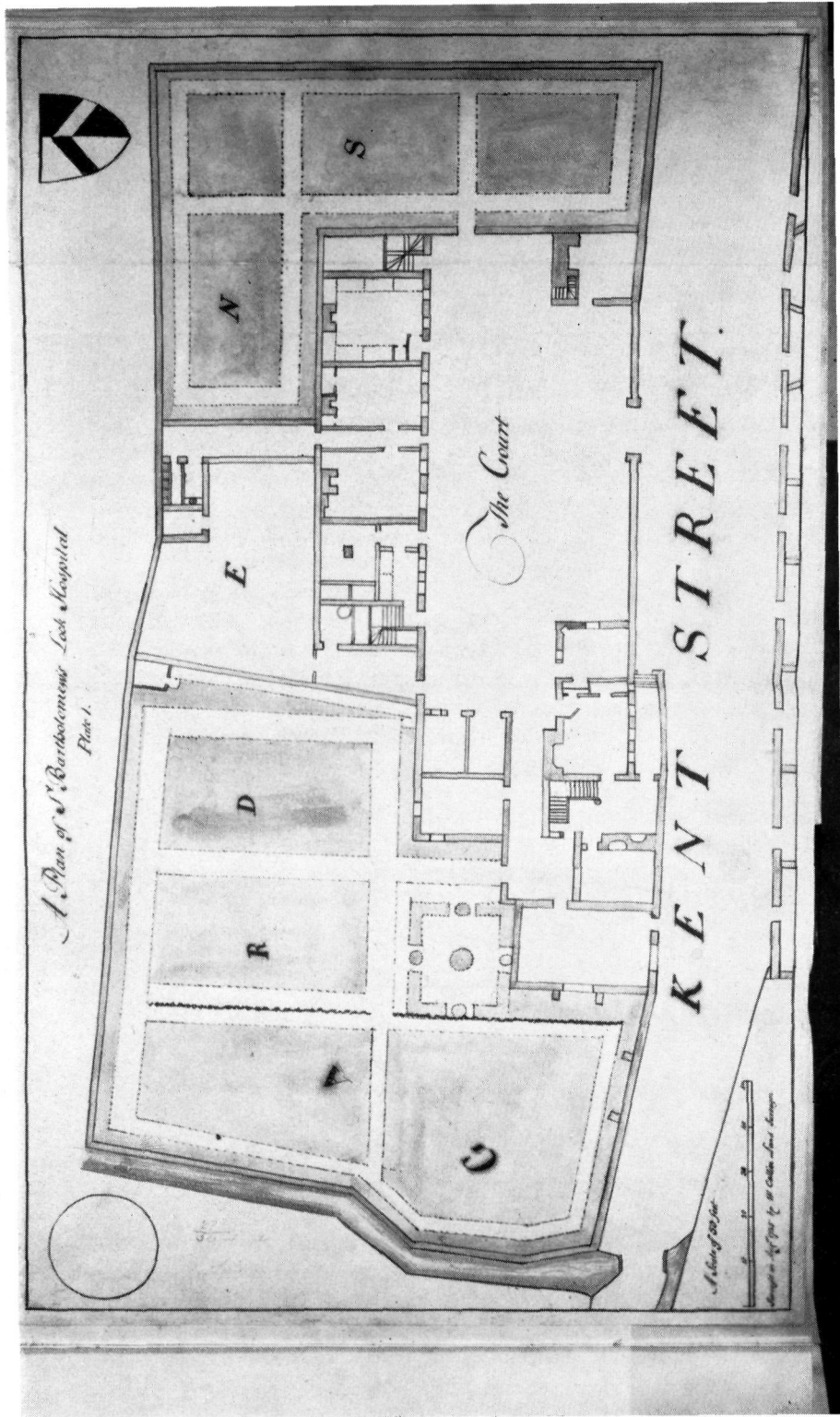
Fig. 1

D. Mediaeval and Post-Mediaeval

TWICKENHAM, at Teddington, Middlesex (TQ 163708 approximately): as a surface find in a garden at Udney Park Road was discovered a hiltless bronze **toy dagger**, two-edged, with quillons twisted to make an S-curve and with prominent cusped écussons; the length is 5.9 cms., and the maximum breadth 1.7 cms.; it is of about the 15th century. Presented to the London Museum (61.201) by Mrs. V. Bell, the finder.

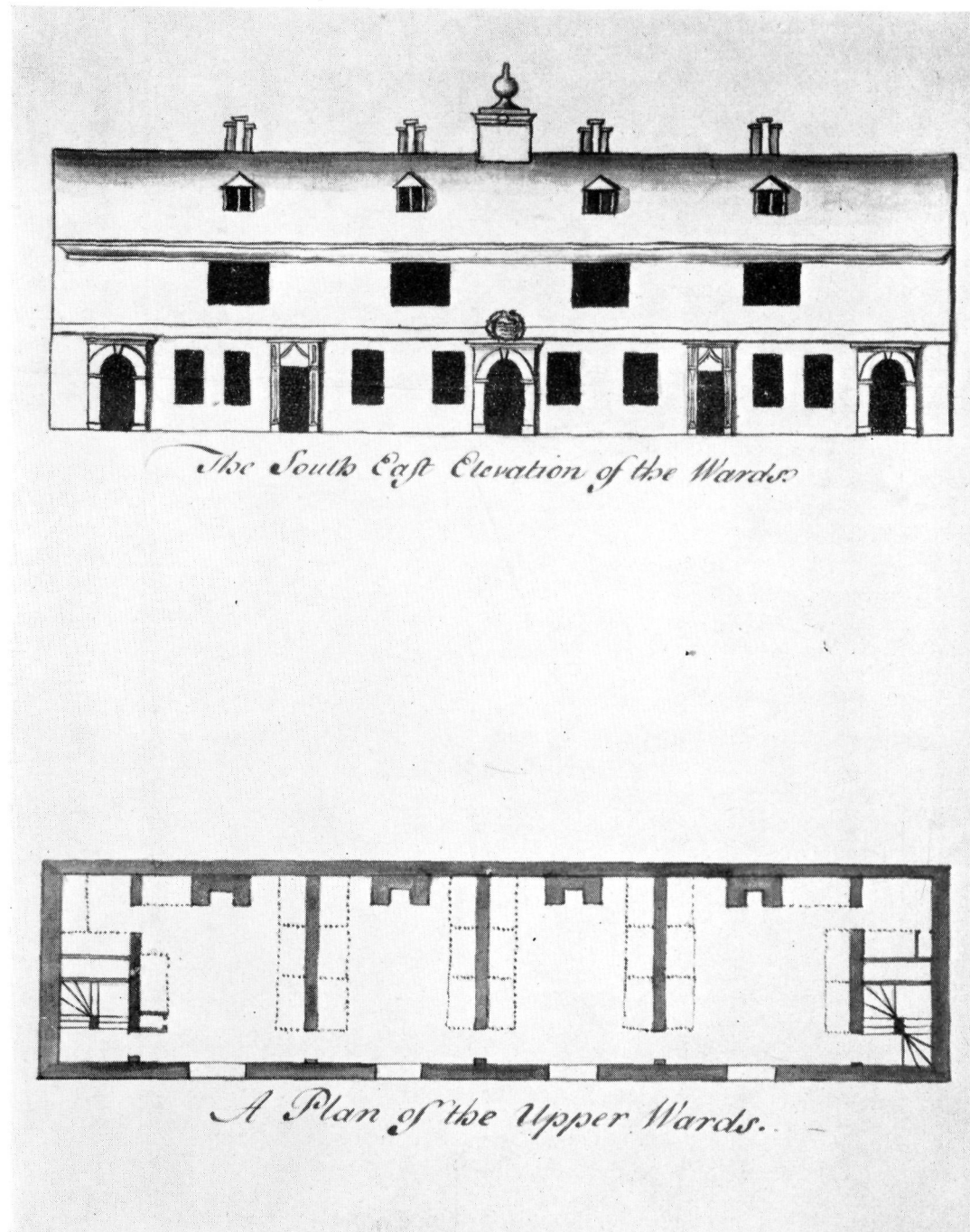
BERMONDSEY (TQ 33257955): in the cellars of Messrs. Crofton Ltd., Paper Merchants, 150–154 Bermondsey St., was found on 8 February, 1961, during excavations for stanchions, a quantity of **17th-century pottery** fragments forming a coherent chronological group. This included a piece of coloured Dutch or Hessian ware, a fragment of majolica base, fragments of green and yellow-glazed kitchenware and a base of a vessel of pinkish cream ware with some clear glaze, having a triangular opening in the side. It has been suggested that this was a 'fire pot' or heater. The material was presented to the London Museum (61.31/1–18) by B. W. Hatt, Esq.

WESTMINSTER. The London Museum has acquired (61.94) the nail-studded **oak doors** from the Strand entrance of **Northumberland House**. It has been conjectured that they are contemporary with the carved portal of *c.* 1609 by (?) Gerard Christmas. The maximum height is 13 ft. 4 in., the overall width excluding hinges 9 ft. 4 in., and the thickness $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. See Plates 4 and 5 of the London County Council *Survey of London*, Vol. XVIII, *The Strand* (1937).



By courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum

The Lock Hospital, Southwark
Ground plan by W. Collier, 1745



By courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum

The Lock Hospital, Southwark
Elevation and plan of the wards, c. 1745

ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDS IN SOUTHWARK AND BERMONDSEY, 1961

BY PETER R. V. MARSDEN
Guildhall Museum

ROMAN

Joiner Street, Bermondsey

An excavation in a bombed cellar revealed the surface of the Roman marsh into which a drainage ditch, containing mid-2nd-century pottery, had been dug. In a silt layer containing material of the late 2nd century were found fragments of pottery crucibles with traces of gold adhering to their inner surfaces, together with two balls of blue frit and a piece of a tube of white pipe-clay, presumably a goldsmith's blow-pipe.

18-20 Southwark Street, Southwark

Excavations revealed a wattle-and-daub building which had been destroyed by fire, and in the debris was found a quantity of mid-1st century pottery. Two barrel-wells (one containing pottery of the late 1st-century), a late 1st-century drainage ditch, and an area of gravel metalling containing a few late 1st century sherds were also found. The timber from the barrels has been identified as possibly native to southern Spain.

Park Street, Southwark

On this site a peaty deposit containing Roman sherds has been found overlying the original Roman marsh surface, while above the peat a silt layer indicating flooding from the Thames contained scattered sherds of the late 2nd century.

SOME 17th-CENTURY FINDS FROM CRIPPLEGATE

Mr. K. D. Hore, of Sanderstead, reports that in 1956 he and Mr. R. I. Little exposed a section on one of the bombed sites between Fore Street and the City wall, behind what is now Cripplegate House (national grid reference, 324816).

Part of a small cauldron was found, together with a leather shoe, and clay pipes dating these finds to the end of the 17th century. A complete base of Rhenish ware was also found on one of the slopes of what was apparently part of the City ditch. The cauldron is now in the possession of Mr. Little, and the remaining finds are in the hands of Mr. Hore.

REVIEWS

Four Centuries of Merchant Taylors' School, 1561–1961. By F. W. M. Draper. (Oxford University Press, 1962: x + 260 pp. Illustrated. 30s.).

Few people derive any satisfaction from reading the history of other people's schools or colleges or clubs—if, indeed, of their own. Books of this class have too often been incompetent—self-congratulatory and uncritical, without any reference to the world in which the institution lived. The literary type that the school history most resembles is the abbey chronicle of the Middle Ages, narrow and blinkered, and unreadable except under compulsion. But the story of a school's development and its responses to the challenges of succeeding centuries ought to be something that can be presented in its own right to the attentive but not specialist reader; and here with the Merchant Taylors' School quatercentenary Dr. Draper has shown that it can be done.

A devoted alumnus, with a proper pride in the achievements of O.M.T.s in many activities and callings, Frederick Draper is too good an historian to be seduced for a moment by the notion that the school has ever lived on its own. It was a London school, compared by parents and outside opinion generally with the other London schools, and it had to hold its position by being as good as they were, or better. Sometimes it was, sometimes it was not. Three head masters stand out as heroes of Draper's story: Richard Mulcaster, the first, under whom six of King James' translators of the Bible were schooled; James Hessey, the nineteenth-century rejuvenator (how was it that so many schools were able to get a virtual re-founder a century or more ago—Arnold at Rugby, Thring at Uppingham, Dyne at Highgate? The opportunity was certainly there, but the supply of great men was astonishing); and Spencer Leeson, later head master of Winchester and Bishop of Peterborough, who moved the school to Sandy Lodge in 1933.

Draper's wide reading and liberality of mind appear throughout the story, in which apt quotation and felicitous references are constantly present without obtrusion. He has clear views about what was well and ill done, so far as the evidence shows, at different periods, and he does not evade the issues; but when he criticizes, restraint and charity are allied to candour. Without Mulcaster's championship of English, he says, Edmund Spenser would never have grafted his English rose, the *Faerie Queene*, on to the briar of the Renaissance; but he does not fail to point to later forgetfulness of this excellent beginning. New information is given about the school during the plague and after the fire of 1666; a move to Kentish Town was involved, and only in 1674–5 were the new buildings in Suffolk Lane ready. Chapter XV, 'The Last Years of Suffolk Lane', is particularly good, an imaginative reconstruction from several sources of life on the old site before the move to Charterhouse Square in 1875. References to schools in 18th-century France and 19th-century Sweden illuminate aspects of English school discipline by showing that it was not uniquely harsh. Enough biographical information on O.M.T.s is given to allow the range of their activity to appear (the stage fills a surprisingly prominent position throughout), and incidentally the range of Draper's own sympathies; here is plenty without pedantry.

With so much to choose from, there are naturally a few places where the reader would like to start a discussion. Can we really agree, for example, that 'there were no classes in Tudor society, only differences of position'? Middlesex Hospital dates from 1745; Francis Hawkins (1794–1877) cannot have been a founder, as suggested (p. 121). What were the other Merchant Taylor schools, outside London, that pop up on p. 181 for the first time? Could not London topographers have been given a little more information about the successive buildings, with plans? Would it have been too risky to venture the suggestion that the school of 1675, well illustrated here, was designed by Robert Hooke? He certainly did work for the Company at their hall in 1673. Edward I'Anson's name might have been mentioned as architect of the Charterhouse Square buildings of 1875—he was an O.M.T. But these small points arise only because of the great wealth that is offered.

The printers-and-publishers have produced a nice book, in clear type with pleasing illustrations (which must have taken some trouble to collect). But their proof-readers might have been more careful and removed a few little blemishes; they should surely be able to spell Wykehamist, Waddon (Surrey) and Roydon (Herts.) without error, and to avoid having Admiral Byng shot in the year 1705, when he was one year old.

This is a book that the Merchant Taylors' Company and School, in particular, and the London historian and the more general reader can welcome and salute. When the next centenary approaches, Draper's successor will have to add, of course, but we may well doubt whether he will find aught to remove from this account or much to amend; for it is conscious of the importance of its subject, free from complacency and cant, urbane and readable.

MICHAEL ROBBINS

The Victoria History of the Counties of England: A History of Middlesex, Volume III, edited by Susan Reynolds. (Published for the Institute of Historical Research by the Oxford University Press, 1962: xxij + 326 pp. Illustrated. £7 7s. 0d.).

Volume III of the *Victoria History of the County of Middlesex* continues the topographic survey of the county. Volume II, which began it, was published in 1911, and Volume I, which will contain general articles on the geology and pre-history of the county, is in preparation. This volume, just published, also contains the index to both Volumes II and III. The resumption of publication after such a long lapse of time—just over fifty years—is most welcome, and has been stimulated, apparently, by local enthusiasm and the generous provision of funds from the local authorities to enable a special staff to be appointed.

Users of the V.C.H. will be familiar with the format perpetuated in this volume: the text in double columns; references inserted at the foot (or, rather, in the lower quarter) of the page; and general essays on the hundreds under discussion, followed by a full account of the social, economic and topographical history of each parish from early times to the present day, with special sections on churches, schools, and charities. The sketch maps are good, but too few, and the half-tone illustrations are sparse. The Institute might be a little less parsimonious in this direction.

Superficially, therefore, there is little difference between Volume III and the earlier Volume II. However, there is an inevitable increase in the use made of local documentary

material (since its availability has increased) and there is a more conscientious recording of what is going on today.

The area dealt with in this volume is the south-western part of the county from Shepperton to Ruislip; and it covers the remainder of Spelthorne Hundred, the whole of Isleworth Hundred, and the major part of Elthorne.

The economic history of this area and its transformation from agricultural land in mediaeval times to the Great West Road subtopia and dormitory suburbs of today is fully recorded with reference to physical features, land tenure and social pressures. It is all done in a pleasantly simple style of writing in a way to interest and entertain the general reader as well as the professional historian. The accounts of churches and schools include brief architectural descriptions.

The houses of great architectural interest are not as well described as might be hoped. Syon and Osterley get fairly full treatment, but Swakeleys, for example, is passed over in a few words without a reference to the published monograph on the house. There is perhaps too much reliance on the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments volumes here.

This criticism of source material may also be extended to the use of 'personal' information. 'Ex. inf. a member of the Staff' and similar entries appear, honestly, but rather often, in the references. In one particular case, part of a building is reported as having been allegedly standing in 1957, whereas a visit to the site would have revealed that it was still standing in 1962. But these are minor blemishes. To have covered such a large area and in such detail is an enormous task, to which changes in staff must have added considerable difficulties: the authors have discharged it admirably, and produced a splendid book.

MARIE P. G. DRAPER

Guide to the records in the London County Record Office, Part I: Records of the predecessors of the London County Council except the Boards of Guardians. BY IDA DARLINGTON. (London County Council, 1962: 64 pp. Illustrated. 7s.).

On the eve, apparently, of another great reorganization of metropolitan government, the London County Council has issued the first part of a guide to its records, compiled by Miss Ida Darlington, its archivist and librarian. It is now generally agreed that every record office needs a systematic published guide if it is to be used as efficiently and widely as possible, so this publication is a notable occasion for the L.C.C. records and their users. Covering 57 pages, it surveys the records of the council's predecessors, except the Boards of Guardians, but including authorities linked with the guardians like the Metropolitan Asylums Board. Some of the bodies included were in fact formed after the L.C.C., though they later handed over their functions to it, the most recent being Festival Gardens Ltd. which opened the funfair at Battersea.

The story starts, however, much earlier, with the appointment of commissioners of sewers for the parts of the Thames valley around London in the reign of Henry VIII. These commissioners, at first concerned only with land drainage and the prevention of floods, enlarged their scope under the pressure of 19th-century conditions, were joined by other *ad hoc* bodies, and were finally merged in the Metropolitan Board of Works in 1855. Some of the series listed here therefore begin in the 17th century, and a few in the 16th.

Most seem from the list to be full, with correspondence, contracts, and financial records (including rate-books), as well as minutes or orders. Many 18th- and 19th-century maps and plans are listed. Historically perhaps the most interesting records here may be those of the London School Board. Together with Sidney Webb's Technical Education Board, with its 'whisky money', the school board was a striking example of 19th-century radical and educational endeavour, and its spirit, rather than that of the oligarchical Metropolitan Board of Works, set the tone of the L.C.C. when it was formed.

The evolution of London's government has been far from simple, but this guide explains clearly the origin of each new authority in the paragraph which introduces each set of records and there is a helpful diagram by way of illustration. The prospective searcher would probably have welcomed a map, superimposing the various boundaries on modern ones: the records of London are of more than local interest, and many who wish to consult them may be quite unaware of what areas were included in these defunct jurisdictions. In exchange the few half-tone plates giving five sample reproductions from so wide a selection of documents could have been sacrificed. Even they will hardly make this a 'popular' volume, and it is hard to see what other purpose they serve. Apart from the lack of a map, the work looks thorough, systematic, and easy to use, and has a full contents list and index.

Miss Darlington is to be congratulated on the first part of her guide, and all students will hope that whatever happens to the L.C.C. the remaining parts, covering far larger accumulations though they do, will be published before too long.

SUSAN REYNOLDS

OBITUARY

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL WILLIAM LE HARDY, M.C., F.S.A.

The name of William Le Hardy will be remembered with gratitude by historians of Middlesex present and to come. His death, suddenly, on 28 December, 1961, brought a sense of deep loss to those who had known and worked with him.

He was the first County Archivist for the Counties of Middlesex and Hertfordshire. He held the former post in a part-time capacity from 1947 to 1956. To his drive and initiative is due in large measure the rapid development of the Middlesex Record Office on modern lines and the growth of its record holdings. He was one of the leading local archivists in the country, and the preservation of records and their accessibility for research were the chief aims of his working life. As an archivist he never lost sight of the point of view of the user of the documents in his care, and to those who sought his help he was generous both of his time and knowledge. Many will recall the zest with which he would enter into their problems and bring to bear on them his own great experience of records and record-searching. Acknowledgments of indebtedness to his help are to be found in the prefaces and footnotes of many works of scholarship.

It was almost inevitable that Colonel Le Hardy should find his career and life interest in records, for in this he followed his grandfather, Sir William Hardy, his great-uncle, Sir Thomas Hardy, and his father, William J. Hardy. He assumed control of his father's firm of record agents, Hardy and Page (later Hardy and Reckitt), in 1919 and it was as a record agent that he first became associated with the two counties whose records he was to serve so well. He succeeded his father as editor of the Calendars of Sessions Records of the Counties of Middlesex and Hertfordshire and began those of Buckinghamshire. As editor of the Middlesex Sessions Records, on behalf of the Standing Joint Committee of the County of Middlesex, he made a positive and important contribution to the printed sources for the study of the County's history. His racy and most readable introductions, as well as the calendars themselves, are rich in information and provide a valuable guide to the material for local studies in records of this kind.

Colonel Le Hardy's activities were many and diverse. In the First World War he served as an officer with the Royal Sussex Regiment and received the Military Cross. Between the wars he was Commanding Officer of the 23rd County of London Regiment, T.A., and in 1949 became the Colonel Commandant of the Hertford Army Cadet Force. He was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in 1923 and was a founder member of both the British Records Association and the Society of Archivists. He became a member of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society in 1949 and was elected a Vice-President in 1952, an office he held until his resignation from the Society in 1958. He was a contributor to the Society's *Transactions* and served on the short-lived Records Committee appointed in 1957.

His rich personality and genial presence will be sadly missed in the councils of the societies to whose deliberations he brought the experience of his long and eminently practical career.

E. D. M.

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incorporating the
Middlesex Local History Council

Volume 21 Part 2

1965

Bishopsgate Institute, Bishopsgate, London E.C.2

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London and Middlesex Archaeological Society

107th Annual Report of Council for the year ended 30 September 1962

There were twenty-two meetings, including lectures on 27 October: *Ornaments in Norman Architecture*, by G. Zarnecki, Ph.D., F.S.A.; 10 November: *Recent Excavations at Nonsuch Palace*, by Martin Biddle, B.A.; 8 December: *Recent Excavations in London and Southwark*, by Peter Marsden; 19 January: Annual General Meeting and Presidential Address on *The Phoenicians*; 9 February: *The Progress of the Victoria County History of Middlesex*, by H. P. King, M.A.; 17 February: *The Civic Heraldry of London and Middlesex*, by C. W. Scott-Giles, O.B.E., M.A.; 9 March: *Recent Archaeological Work in London and Middlesex*, by Francis Celoria, Ph.D., B.A.; 6 April, *Excavations at South Mimms Castle*, by Dr. J. P. C. Kent; 28 September: *Excavations at Northolt*, by J. G. Hurst, M.A., F.S.A.; and visits on 7 October: *West Drayton Local History Exhibition*; 21 October: *The Custom House*; 4 November: *The Royal Hospital, Chelsea*; 10 November: *Lloyd's*; 2 December: *British Museum Map Room*; 20 January: *Victoria and Albert Museum*; 17 March: *Lambeth Palace*; 4 April: *Lincoln's Inn*; 26 May: *Cowdray Park, Petworth House and Easebourne Priory Church*; 16 June: *Eastcote*; 6 July: *Courtauld Institute of Art*; 7 July: *Hendon and Mill Hill*; 22 September: *Verulamium*. The Stow Service was held on 7 March at St. Andrew Under-shaft, the address being given by Professor J. Hurstfield, B.A., F.R.Hist.S. The Essay Prize was won by Elizabeth Meaker, of Burlington School. The Pepys Service was held at St. Olave, Hart Street, on 30 May, and the address was given by Capt. A. F. P. Lewis, C.B.E., R.N.(Retd.), on *Samuel Pepys and Trinity House*.

The North Middlesex Archaeological Research Committee has continued work on South Mimms Castle under the direction of Dr. J. P. C. Kent. Remains of a tower and gatehouse were found on the motte and there is evidence to suggest that the former had a lead roof and rooms rendered internally in plaster. An Historic Buildings Preservation Committee has been set up to act as a liaison Committee with other interested bodies to collect information and to investigate buildings in danger of demolition.

The Southwark Archaeological Research Committee was formed in June to co-ordinate the efforts of various bodies interested in excavating in Southwark. Work was carried out at 199 Borough High Street in an unsuccessful attempt to trace the line of Stone Street. Mr. Norman Cook is Chairman of the Committee, Mr. Maitland Muller, of the Cuming Museum, is Secretary and Mr. T. A. N. Henderson, Treasurer. Mr. S. Frere represents the Surrey Archaeological Society.

The Roman and Mediaeval London Excavation Council during work on the site of St. Swithin, London Stone, revealed foundations of a pre-Fire Church; Roman remains were found in the Paternoster Row and Lambeth Hill areas; and on the site of St. Alban, Wood Street, further evidence was discovered of the Cripplegate Roman fort.

Membership at 1 October 1961 was 429, and at 30 September 1962 was 422, made up as follows: Life Members, 49; Honorary Members, 8; Student Members, 11; Annual Members, 354. There are 22 Affiliated Societies. The Council records with deep regret the death of H. F. Bateman, many years a member of Council, and J. G. Bentley, Auditor. Cmdr. Bridgmore Brown has completed 50 years as a member of the Society. He was

Hon. Secretary 1913–1931 and 1936–1948 and Chairman of Council 1952–1956. Mr. A. J. Gritten has retired from the office of Hon. Librarian, a position he has held for 21 years.

Transactions, Volume 20, Part IV, and three issues of the *Bulletin* were published. An Aldis Epivisor has been purchased.

London and Middlesex Archaeological Society

108th Annual Report of Council for the year ended 30 September 1963

There were twenty-two meetings, including lectures on 12 October: *Sir Thomas More's Great House at Chelsea*, by Basil Marsden-Smedley, O.B.E., M.A.; 9 November: *Hadrian's Wall*, by Miss D. Charlesworth, M.A., F.S.A.; 17 November: *The Story of Regent's Park*, by A. J. D. Stonebridge, F.L.A.; 14 December: Social Evening, informal talks by Norman Cook, H. V. Radcliffe and Michael Robbins; 18 January: Annual General Meeting and Presidential Address on *The Modern Museum and its Services*; 8 February: *The Reconstruction of London Churches after the War*, by Ivor Bulmer-Thomas, M.A.; 8 March: *Roman London*, by R. Merrifield, B.A., F.S.A.; 5 April: *The Survey of London*, by Dr. F. H. W. Sheppard; 27 September: *Some Vanished Churches of London*, by G. L. Barnes; and visits on 6 October: *West Drayton Local History Exhibition*; 13 October: *Fulham Palace*; 1 December: *St. Paul's Cathedral Library*; 19 January: *Public Record Office*; 16 February: *St. Vedast and St. Nicholas Cole Abbey*; 16 March: *British Museum Iron Age Collection*; 20 April: *Chelsea*; 25 May: *Winchester*; 13 June: *Westminster School*; 22 June: *Shepperton and Sunbury*; 5 July: *Old St. Thomas's Hospital Operating Theatre*; 13 July: *Harrow*; 21 September: *Boston Manor House*. The Stow Service was held on 2 April at St. Andrew Undershaft with an address by the Rector, Archdeacon G. D. Leonard, M.A. The Essay Prize was won by Christiana Hardyment of the Lady Eleanor Holles School. The Pepys Service was held at St. Olave, Hart Street, on 29 May and the address was given by Professor Thurston Dart on *Samuel Pepys and Music*.

The Historic Buildings Preservation Committee has proved its worth and has established satisfactory relations with planning authorities and the Ministries concerned. It is to organise a course of instruction on the recording of historic buildings.

An Archaeological Research Committee was set up in May. It is arranging a conference of archaeologists from London and Middlesex and a course of lectures on archaeological pottery drawing. A survey of the extent of archaeological knowledge of the area is being prepared by Dr. Celoria, and Mrs. Eades and Mr. Henderson are making copies of all the Ordnance Survey record cards and maps of ancient sites in London and Middlesex.

The North Middlesex Archaeological Research Committee has continued work at South Mimms Castle and on the survey of Grim's Dyke, use being made of the Society's recently purchased proton-gradiometer. A site examination was made of the Hundred of Gore Moot and of the area affected by the new Hendon Motorway through Brockley Hill.

The Roman and Mediaeval London Excavation Council reports Roman remains found on the St. Alban, Wood Street, site, below the foundations of the mediaeval church. A limited excavation was carried out on the Bermondsey Abbey site.

A new Policy and Publicity sub-committee was recently formed to consider the future policy of the Society and means of publicising its activities. *Transactions*, Volume 21, Part I, was published and three issues of the *Bulletin* were circulated. The new Hon. Librarian, I. D. H. Dawson, F.L.A., has greatly improved the Society's Library by re-arrangement and re-siting. A slide cabinet has been purchased and a catalogue of slides compiled by Mrs. Eades.

Membership at 1 October 1962 was 422, and at 30 September 1963 it was 438, made up as follows: Life Members, 48; Honorary Members, 8; Student Members, 11; Annual Members, 371. There are 24 affiliated Societies. The Council records with deep regret the death of a Vice-President, Sir Sidney Fox, and of two former members of Council, William Kent and E. H. Rann.

EDITOR'S NOTES

1. The Annual Reports of Council are now published in an abbreviated form in order to make more room for contributors' papers.

2. The Editorial Sub-Committee will be glad to consider papers submitted for publication in *Transactions*. Contributors are asked to note that:

- (i) Papers should be typed in double spacing, on one side of the paper. In general form, and in points of detail such as abbreviations, quotations, and references, papers should conform as far as possible to the usual style of *Transactions*.
- (ii) All papers, except the briefest, should begin with a summary of their aims, main points, and conclusions.
- (iii) Line drawings should be in Indian ink on good quality white board. Lines and lettering should be bold enough to admit of any necessary reduction. Where required a scale should be included.
- (iv) Photostat copies are seldom suitable for reproduction. When photographs are supplied, they should be of the highest possible quality, and have a glazed finish.
- (v) Full details of 'House rules' are obtainable from the Editor on request.

3. The Editor takes this opportunity of thanking contributors for their support and co-operation, which are much valued.

LONDON AND MIDDLESEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

BALANCE SHEET—Year Ended 30 September 1962

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1961 £	LIABILITIES	1961-1962		1961 £	ASSETS	1961-1962	
		£	s. d.			£	s. d.
63	Subscriptions Paid in Advance ...				Investments at Cost:	688	13 3
300	Provision for Publishing Transactions: Volume 21, Part 1... ..			788 (657)	£949 12 1 4% Consols ...	100	0 0
	Reserved for:				£100 0 0 5% Defence Bonds ...		
	Building Restoration Fund ...	102	13 0		(Market value at 30.9.62: £575.12.0)		
	Library Purchases Fund ...	58	12 0		Cash at Bank and in Hand:		
	Prize Essay Fund ...	8	8 0		Martins Bank Ltd.:		
	General Roy's Baseline Plaque Fund	75	0 0		General Account ...	52	0 3
	Proton Magnetometer Construction Fund	60	5 0	294	Publications Account ...	1	4 11
217	North Middlesex Archaeological Re- search Committee (see <i>contra</i>) ...				Deposit Account ...	75	0 0
52	Schools Section (see <i>contra</i>)				In Hands of Honorary Officers ...	3	1 7
19	Accumulated Funds:				Cash at Bank held for Associated Bodies:		
	Life Members' Compositions Fund:			71	Martins Bank Ltd.:		
	Invested 1891-1957 £ s. d.				N.M.A.R.C. Account ...	53	10 3
	*Deduct 1891-1921 228 7 6				Schools Section Account ...	27	9 1
	Awaiting Investment 406 10 9						
	General Fund:				Debtors:		
	*Life Compositions				Income Tax Recoverable on Seven- year Deeds of Covenant—1962	59	3 4
	1891-1921 ...	228	7 6		Claim	3	12 9
	Less Deficit at 1.10.61 ...	135	9 6	64	Southwark Archaeological Excava- tion Committee	1	18 5
	1961-1962 ...	92	18 0		Sundry		
		82	0 3		Grant promised by The Marc Fitch Fund to <i>Transactions</i> , Volume 21, Part 1		
					Projector at Cost	119	7 2
					Less Aggregate Depreciation to date	49	7 2
					Stock of Publications and Library ...	Not valued	
566		174	18 3				
		648	4 0				
£1217		£1381	13 10	£1217		£1381	13 10

(* In accordance with resolution passed at the Annual General Meeting—19 January 1962.)
We have examined the above Balance Sheet and attached Income and Expenditure Account with the books and vouchers of the Society as submitted by the Honorary Treasurer. We have verified the Bank Balances and Securities with the Society's Bankers.
In our opinion and to the best of our knowledge such accounts are correct and in accordance with the books and records of the Society.

(Signed) S. W. HOWARD
M. C. MINNITT

Honorary Auditors, 2 December 1962.

LONDON AND MIDDLESEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

1961 £	EXPENDITURE	1961-1962 £ s. d.	1961-1962 £ s. d.
	Publishing <i>Transactions</i> , Vol. 20, Part 4:		
	Printing Editorial Section ...	328 13 5	
	Printing Annual Report, Balance Sheet, etc. ...	65 2 10	
	Despatching ...	14 5 6	
	Deduct Provision at 30.9.61 ...	300 0 0	
15	Publishing Bulletin:	108 1 9	
	Inaugural Expenses ...	25 9 3	
	Duplicating Numbers 1, 2, and 3 ...	69 5 0	
	Despatching ...	26 0 5	
—	General Printing and Stationery ...	120 14 8	
158	Postages, Telephone and Fares ...	107 10 11	
149	Rent (Bishopsgate Institute) ...	135 19 7	
10	Publicity ...	10 0 0	
45	Meetings ...	2 2 0	
46	Lecture—Schools Section ...	23 7 10	
8	Pepys and Stow Memorial Services ...	5 15 0	
11	Meeting of Affiliated Societies' Representatives ...	10 16 10	
13	Subscriptions, Donations and Grants:		
	North Middlesex Archaeological Research Committee ...	10 0 0	
	Northolt Manor Farm ...	15 0 0	
	Southwark Archaeological Excavation Committee ...	50 0 0	
	Sundry ...	14 13 0	
33	Library Purchases ...	89 13 0	
14	Purchase Tax ...	13 10 9	
5	Essay Prizes and Expenses ...	2 19 3	
—	Deduct Provision at 30.9.61 ...	8 8 8	
22	Sundry Expenses ...	21 11 5	
—	Depreciation of Projector ...	24 7 2	
316	Balance Carried Down, being excess of Income over Expenditure ...	256 11 10	
		£933 2 8	

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT—Year Ended 30 September 1962—continued

[illegible]

LONDON AND MIDDLESEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY
ABSTRACT OF ACCOUNTS OF ASSOCIATED BODIES

SCHOOLS SECTION

Chairman: Dr. T. Harper Smith, M.Th., B.D., St. Mark's School, S.W.6.

Hon. Secretary: C. W. Stewart, St. Leonard's School, S.W.16.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT—Year Ended 30 September 1962

1961	EXPENDITURE	1961-1962		1961		INCOME		1961-1962	
		£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.
7	Publishing <i>Bulletin</i> Numbers 12 to 18	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	2 0
—	Publishing <i>Historical Novels Book List</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	13	13 0
7	Sundry Expenses	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
28	Stationery and Postage	...	...	...	...	...	...	12	12 0
—	Balance Carried Down, being excess of Income over Expenditure	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
—		£42	—	£42	—	10	—	28	7 0
10	Balance Brought Down	...	...	...	...	Balance Carried Down, being excess of Expenditure over Income	...	...	8 6
19	Balance at Martins Bank Ltd. at 30.9.62	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
—		£29	—	£29	—	...	...	...	...
—		£27	9 1	£27	9 1	...	...	...	...
—		£28	15 6	£28	15 6	...	...	...	...
—		£27	9 1	£27	9 1	...	...	...	...
—		£27	9 1	£27	9 1	...	...	...	...
—		£27	9 1	£27	9 1	...	...	...	...

NORTH MIDDLESEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH COMMITTEE

CONSTITUENT BODIES:

London and Middlesex Archaeological Society
Barnet and District Record Society
Edmonton Hundred Historical Society
Enfield Archaeological Society
Hendon and District Archaeological Society
Historical Association (North London Branch)

The London Museum
Mill Hill and Hendon Historical Society
Ruislip and District Natural History Society
Stanmore, Edgware and Harrow Historical Society
Wembley History Society.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT—Year Ended 30 September 1962

1961 £	EXPENDITURE	1961-1962		1961 £	INCOME	1961-1962	
		£	s. d.			£	s. d.
—	Duplicating copies of 1960 and 1961 Interim Reports on South Mimms Castle	2	10 6	29	Subscriptions and Donations	25	4 6
3	Insurance Premiums	3	0 0	1	Sales of Reports, etc.	—	—
2	Subscription to Council for British Archaeology	3	13 6	5	Balance of Carnegie United Kingdom Trust Grant	—	—
7	Sundry Expenses	9	10 0				
—	Donation to London and Middlesex Archaeological Society re Proton Magnetometer	5	0 0				
23	Balance Carried Down, being excess of Income over Expenditure	1	10 6				
£35		£25	4 6	£35		£25	4 6
51	Balance at Martins Bank Ltd. at 30.9.62	53	10 3	28	Balance at Martins Bank Ltd. at 30.9.61	51	19 9
£51		£53	10 3	23	Balance Brought Down	1	10 6
				£51		£53	10 3

Cuming Museum, Southwark
Surrey Archaeological Society

REPRESENTATIVE BODIES:

London and Middlesex Archaeological Society
Guildhall Museum
London Natural

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT—Year Ended 30 September 1962

[illegible]

LONDON AND MIDDLESEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY
BALANCE SHEET—Year Ended 30 September 1963

1962 £	LIABILITIES		1962-1963		ASSETS		1962-1963	
			£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.
47	Subscriptions Paid in Advance:				Investments at Cost:			
	Annual Members ...	...	58	17 6	£949 12 1 4% Consols	...	688	13 3
	Corporate Members ...	...	7	7 0	£100 0 0 5% Defence Bonds ...	...	100	0 0
300	Provision for Publishing Transactions:				(Market value at 30.9.63 = £777.15.6)		788	13 3
	Volume 21, Part 1 1961-1962 ...	...	300	0 0	Cash at Bank and in Hand:			
	1962-1963 ...	...	307	13 11	Martins Bank Ltd.:			
	Reserved for:				General Account ...	...	82	3 9
	Archaeological Research Fund ...	...	100	0 0	Publications Account ...	...	19	17 1
	Buildings Preservation Fund ...	...	87	6 6	Deposit Account ...	...	25	0 0
	General Roy's Baseline Plaque Fund ...	...	75	0 0	In Hands of Honorary Officers ...	...	3	0 9
	Library Fund ...	...	42	11 7				
	Prize Essay Fund ...	...	10	10 0	Cash at Bank held for Associated Bodies:		131	1 7
305	North Middlesex Archaeological Research Committee ...	...	31	9 6	Cash at Bank held for Associated Bodies:			
54	Archaeological Research Committee ...	...	59	0 6	Martins Bank Ltd.:			
27	Schools Section ...	...	35	12 9	N.M.A.R.C. Account ...	...	59	0 6
	Southwark Archaeological Excavation Committee ...	...	31	9 6	Schools Section Account ...	...	35	12 9
					General Account: Southwark Archaeological Excavation Committee ...	...	31	9 6
	Accumulated Funds:						81	2 9
	Life Members Compositions Fund:				Debtors:			
	Invested ...	£ s. d.			Income Tax Recoverable on seven-year Deeds of Covenant—1963 Claim ...	...	66	9 7
	Awaiting Investment ...	94 6 3			Income Tax recoverable on Dividend ...	...	7	7 2
	General Fund:				The Marc Fitch Fund—Grant ...	...	246	0 0
	30.9.62 ...	174 18 3			Sundry ...	...	8	0 9
	1962-1963 Deficit ...	175 9 5					327	17 6
	Provision for Archaeological Research Fund ...	100 0 0			Projector at Cost ...	...	119	7 2
648			100	11 2	Less Aggregate Depreciation to date	...	56	7 2
					Proton Magnetometer at Cost ...	...	150	0 0
					Less Aggregate Depreciation to date	...	70	0 0
					Stock of Publications and Library ...	Not valued	80	0 0
							£1515 15 1	
							£1381	

We have examined the above Balance Sheet and attached Income and Expenditure Accounts and Schedules with the Books and Vouchers of the Society as submitted by the Honorary Treasurer. We have verified the Bank Balances and Securities with the Society's bankers.

In our opinion and to the best of our knowledge such Accounts are correct and in accordance with the Books and Records of the Society.

(Signed) S. W. HOWARD
M. G. MINNITT

Honorary Auditors, 12 January 1964.

LONDON AND MIDDLESEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY
INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT—Year Ended 30 September 1963

1962 £	EXPENDITURE	1962-1963			1962 £	INCOME	1962-1963		
		£	s.	d.			£	s.	d.
108	Publishing <i>Transactions</i> Vol. 20, Part 4:					Subscriptions:			
	Printing Offprints ...	54	12	6		Annual Members 1961-1962	8	18	6
	Publishing <i>Transactions</i> Vol. 21, Part 1:					1962-1963	490	0	0
	Sundry Expenses ...	3	5	0		Corporate Members 1961-1962	10	0	
108	Publishing <i>Bulletin</i> : Numbers 4, 5 and 6			57 17 6	647	(in arrear) 1962-1963	167	17	2
121	General Printing and Stationery			126 19 3		1962-1963			667 5 8
108	Postage, Telephone and Fares			147 7 9					36 15 0
136	Purchase Tax			144 4 8		Life Compositions			
3	Publicity			4 15 0		Donations:			
2	Rent			1 1 0	77	General Purposes	4	4	0
10	Sundry Expenses			50 0 0		<i>Transactions</i>			
23	Meetings			10 15 6					4 4 0
—	Meeting of Affiliated Societies' Representatives			43 2 6		Publications Account Income:			
11	Pepys and Stow Memorial Services			12 17 0		Dividends (less Income Tax)	35	12	6
	Subscriptions, Donations and Grants:			10 6 6		Interest	1	12	8
	North Middlesex Archaeological					Sales of Publications	62	3	6
	Research Committee	20	0	0	145	Income Tax Recoverable on:			99 8 8
	Southwark Archaeological Excava-					Seven-year Deeds of Covenant—			
	tion Committee	25	0	0		1963 Claim	66	9	7
	Wandsworth Historical Society	15	0	0		Dividend	7	7	2
	Sundry	20	2	0	64				73 16 9
90	Other Expenses, etc.			80 2 0					
20	Balance Carried Down, being excess of Income over			— — —					
	Expenditure			192 1 5					
£654				£881 10 1	£933				£881 10 1
	Appropriations:								
54	Publishing <i>Transactions</i> Volume 21, Part 1:			307 13 11		Balance Brought Down			192 1 5
20	Buildings Preservation Fund			— — —					
31	Library Purchases Fund			5 0 0					
8	Prize Essay Fund			10 10 8					
24	Depreciation of Projector			7 0 0					
35	Depreciation of Proton Magnetometer			9 15 0					
—	Proportion of Life Compositions for Investment			27 11 3					
25	General Roy's Baseline Plaque Fund			— — —		Balance to Accumulated Funds			175 9 5
82	Balance to Accumulated Funds			— — —					
£933				£367 10 10	£933				£367 10 10

LONDON AND MIDDLESEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY
SCHEDULE OF SPECIAL FUNDS—Year Ended 30 September 1963
ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH FUND

EXPENDITURE		£	s.	d.	INCOME				£	s.	d.			
Balance at 30.9.63	...	...	...	...	Provision from Accumulated Funds—General Fund				...	...	...
		£100	0	0					£100	0	0			
BUILDINGS PRESERVATION FUND														
Hire of Lecture Hall for Conference	5	5	0	Balance at 30.9.62	102	13	0		
Postage, Stationery, etc.	10	1	6									
Balance at 30.9.63	87	6	6									
		£102			13	0				£102			13	0
GENERAL ROY'S BASELINE PLAQUE FUND														
Balance at 30.9.63	£75	0	0	Balance at 30.9.62	£75	0	0	
LIBRARY FUND														
Building	17	9	0	Balance at 30.9.62	58	12	0	
Purchases	3	11	5	1963 Appropriation	5	0	0	
Balance at 30.9.63	42	11	7									
		£63			12	0				£63			12	0
PRIZE ESSAY FUND														
1963 Prizes	8	8	8	Balance at 30.9.62	8	8	0	
Balance at 30.9.63	10	10	0	1963 Appropriation	10	10	8	
		£18			18	8				£18			18	8

LONDON AND MIDDLESEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY
ABSTRACT OF ACCOUNTS OF ASSOCIATED BODIES

SCHOOLS SECTION

Chairman: Dr. T. Harper Smith, M.Th., B.D., St. Mark's School, S.W.6. Hon. Secretary: C. W. Stewart, St. Leonard's School, S.W.16.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT—Year Ended 30 September 1963

1962 £	EXPENDITURE	1962-1963		1962 £	INCOME	1962-1963	
		£	s. d.			£	s. d.
15	Publishing <i>Bulletin</i> Numbers 19-23	...	...		Subscriptions:	1	1 0
4	Publishing <i>Historical Novels Book List</i>	...	...		2 at 10/6	...	...
1	Stationery, Postage and Sundry Expenses	...	...		18 at 21/-	18	18 0
8	Balance Carried Down, being excess of Income over Expenditure	...	...	28	17 at 42/- less 50% to Parent Society	17	17 0
						37	16 0
				<u>£28</u>		<u>£37</u>	<u>16 0</u>
27	Balance at Martins Bank Ltd. at 30.9.63	...	...	19	Balance at Martins Bank Ltd. at 30.9.62	...	27 9 1
				8	Balance Brought Down	...	8 3 8
				<u>£27</u>		<u>£35</u>	<u>12 9</u>

CONSTITUENT BODIES:

London and Middlesex Archaeological Society
Barnet and District Record Society
Edmonton Hundred Historical Society
Enfield Archaeological Society
Hendon and District Archaeological Society
Historical Association (North London Branch)

The London Museum
Mill Hill and Hendon Historical Society
Ruislip and District Natural Historical Society
Stanmore, Edgware and Harrow Historical Society
Wembley History Society

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT—Year Ended 30 September 1963

1962	EXPENDITURE	1962-1963	1962	INCOME	1962-1963
£		£ s. d.	£		£ s. d.
2	Duplicating 1962 Interim Report on South Minims				
4	Castle	1 1 0			
4	Subscription to Council of British Archaeology ...	2 5 0			
5	Donation re Proton Magnetometer... ..	4 2 9			
—	Plastic covered Wire re Proton Magnetometer	3 0 0			
3	Insurance Premiums	8 5 0			
10	Sundry Expenses	5 10			
	Balance Carried Down, being excess of Income over				
1	Expenditure				
		<u>£24 4 0</u>	<u>£25</u>		<u>£24 4 0</u>
53	Balance at Martins Bank Ltd. at 30.9.63	59 0 6	52	Balance at Martins Bank Ltd. at 30.9.62	53 10 3
			1	Balance Brought Down	5 10 3
		<u>£59 0 6</u>			<u>£59 0 6</u>
		<u>£53</u>			

SOUTHWARK ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATION COMMITTEE

REPRESENTATIVE BODIES:

London and Middlesex Archaeological Society Guildhall Museum London Natural History Society Cuming Museum, Southwark
Surrey Archaeological Society

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT—Year Ended 30 September 1963

1962	EXPENDITURE	1962-1963		1962	INCOME		1962-1963	
		£	s. d.	£	£	s. d.	£	s. d.
40	Purchase of Tools and Equipment ...	...	...	21	12	6	18	0
—	Replacing Stolen Equipment ...	19	11	6	Donations and Grants:		25	0
—	Less Insurance Payment ...	17	1	6	Carnegie United Kingdom Trust...	0	50	0
—	Insurance Premiums (annual) ...	...	...	2	10	0	25	0
—	Excavation Costs (including Individual Insurance Premiums):	...	...	15	11	0	25	0
81	Blackhorse Court ...	...	...	4	7	6	25	0
—	70-80 Borough High Street ...	...	...	24	3	3	50	0
—	199 Borough High Street ...	...	...	10	8	0	25	0
—	St. Thomas Street ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
—	Winchester Palace ...	...	...	4	5	0	...	...
—	Repayment of Loan to London and Middlesex Archaeological Society ...	...	...	43	4	3	118	0
—	Balance Carried Down, being excess of Income over Expenditure ...	...	...	3	12	9	0	0
£121				31	9	6	£118	0
4	Balance Brought Down ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
—	Balance in Hand at 30.9.63	...	...	31	9	6	31	9
£4				...	...	...	6	6
£4				£4			£31	9
							6	6

RULES

1. TITLE. The title of the Society shall be the 'LONDON AND MIDDLESEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY'.

2. Objects. The objects of the Society shall be:

- (a) To promote the study of the history and antiquities of the Cities of London and Westminster, the Administrative area of Greater London and the ancient county of Middlesex;
- (b) To collect and publish the results of such studies in 'Transactions' or otherwise;
- (c) To procure the careful observation and preservation of antiquities discovered in the course of public and private building, demolition and excavation works;
- (d) To make researches and excavations, and to encourage suitable individuals and public bodies in making them, and to afford suggestions and co-operation;
- (e) To oppose and prevent, as far as may be practicable, any injuries with which historic buildings, monuments and ancient remains of every description may from time to time be threatened, and to acquire photographs, drawings, plans and other documents of archaeological interest relating to them;
- (f) To promote the practical study of archaeology by the formation of a library, by visits to places of interest, the reading of papers, the delivery of lectures and other means;
- (g) To encourage the study of local history and antiquities and to assist local societies formed for that purpose.

3. MEMBERSHIP. (a) The Society shall consist of:

- (i) *Annual Members*. Annual membership shall be open to individuals and institutions such as livery companies, universities, colleges, schools and public libraries.
- (ii) *Life Members*. Life membership shall be open to individuals only.
- (iii) *Honorary Members*. Persons who have rendered outstanding service to the Society or to the study of archaeology or history may be elected by the Council as Honorary Members.
- (iv) *Student Members*. Student membership shall be open to persons who are under 18 years of age and are attending a school, college or university, prior to graduation.
- (v) *Affiliated Local Societies*. Affiliation shall be open to any society in and around London and Middlesex having among its principal objects the promotion of the study of local history and antiquities.
- (vi) *The Schools Section*, formed to encourage an interest in Archaeology in schools in London, Middlesex and the Greater London fringe, is empowered to operate its own banking account and appoint its own Officers with the proviso that the Hon. Treasurer for the time being of the parent Society shall be its Treasurer. It will annually appoint two representatives to the Council.

(b) Every person or institution desirous of being admitted to membership shall complete the Society's application form which shall be forwarded to the Hon. Secretary, accompanied by the appropriate subscription or affiliation fee, for submission to the Council for election.

4. PRIVILEGES OF MEMBERSHIP. (a) *Annual Members* (including in the case of an institution two representatives of that institution), *Life Members* and *Honorary Members* shall

be entitled to admission to all meetings of the Society, to the use of the Library subject to such regulations as the Council may make, and to one copy of *Transactions*. A master or mistress of a school in membership may bring not more than two students of the school to any meeting unless numbers are restricted. Each Annual, Life or Honorary Member shall be entitled to one vote.

(b) *Student Members* shall be entitled to all privileges of membership, except that they shall not be entitled to vote, nor shall they receive a copy of the *Transactions* unless purchased under Rule 14(c).

(c) *Affiliated Local Societies* shall be entitled to describe themselves as 'affiliated to the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society'; to receive one copy of the *Transactions* issued by the Society for the year for which the Affiliation Fee has been paid; to the use of the Library for reference purposes; to be represented by two of their members at any conference convened by the Society for local societies; and to receive all such support and assistance in the conduct of their affairs as the Society can give. Each affiliated local society shall be entitled to one vote.

(d) New applicants, pending election by Council, shall be entitled to all privileges of membership except that they shall not be entitled to vote nor to receive *Transactions*.

5. A member desiring to resign must give notice in writing to the Honorary Secretary, and pay all subscriptions that may be due.

6. It shall be lawful for the Society at a Special General Meeting, by a majority of two-thirds of those present and voting, to remove the name of any member from the list of members of the Society without assigning any reason therefor.

7. Persons ceasing to be members shall no longer have any share or interest in the property and funds of the Society.

8. ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING. An Annual General Meeting shall be held in the month of January or February in every year, at such time and place as the Council shall appoint, to receive and consider the Report of the Council on the proceedings and financial position of the Society, to elect the Officers, Council and Auditors for the ensuing year, and for other business. Notice of the time and place of such meeting shall be sent to the members at least seven days previously.

9. OFFICERS. (a) The President shall be elected at an Annual General Meeting, on the nomination of the Council, to hold office for not more than three years. Upon retirement each President shall be styled a Past-President.

(b) Vice-Presidents, Trustees, an Honorary Treasurer, an Honorary Secretary, an Honorary Editor, an Honorary Librarian, an Honorary Photographer, and an Honorary Director of Meetings shall be nominated by the Council and elected for one year at each Annual General Meeting, together with such assistant officers as may be thought necessary. Any vacancies that may occur during the year may be filled by the Council.

(c) The property of the Society shall be vested in Trustees, who shall deal with the same as the Council may direct.

(d) At the Annual General Meeting, two members shall be elected Honorary Auditors to audit the accounts of the Society and to report thereon to the next Annual General Meeting. Any vacancies that may occur during the year may be filled by the Council.

10. COUNCIL. (a) The affairs of the Society shall be conducted by a Council, consisting of not less than 12 nor more than 16 members to be elected at the Annual General

Meeting of the Society together with the President, Past-Presidents and the officers appointed under Rule 9(b) as ex-officio members. Five, including three elected members, shall form a quorum. The Council shall, at its first meeting following the Annual General Meeting, elect from its own number a Chairman and Deputy Chairman.

(b) All the elected members of the Council shall retire at each Annual General Meeting, and the two senior elected members shall not be eligible for re-election for one year. A retiring member shall not be eligible for re-election unless he has attended at least three of the meetings held by the Council during the previous twelve months. No new candidate shall be eligible for election unless two members of the Society shall, fourteen days previously to the Meeting, have given to the Honorary Secretary notice in writing of their intention to propose and second such person as a member of the Council. Any vacancies that may occur during the year may be filled by the Council. The Council shall have power to co-opt.

(c) At all meetings of the Council, the President of the Society, or in his absence the Chairman of the Council or Deputy Chairman, shall preside. In their absence the Senior Vice-President present shall take the chair. If none of these should be present, the chair shall be taken by such member of the Council as the meeting may elect.

(d) The Council shall meet at least six times a year for the transaction of business connected with the management of the Society, and shall have power to make its own rules of procedure.

11. (a) The Council shall be empowered to appoint Local Secretaries in such places and under such conditions as may appear desirable.

(b) The effects and property of the Society shall be under the control and management of the Council, which shall be at liberty to purchase books, or other articles, or to exchange or dispose of the same.

(c) The Council shall have the power to publish such books, papers and other documents as it may deem fit.

12. A report of the proceedings of the Society and a list of members shall be issued from time to time as the Council may direct.

13. MEETINGS. (a) General Meetings shall be held at times and places appointed by the Council for the reading of papers, for visiting places of archaeological and historical interest, and for other purposes relevant to the objects of the Society.

(b) The Council may at any time call a Special General Meeting, and shall be bound to do so on a written requisition from at least ten members specifying the business to be transacted. A notice stating the time and place of such meeting and specifying the business to be transacted shall be sent at least fourteen days previously to all members entitled to attend and vote, and no other subject shall be discussed or business transacted at that meeting.

(c) At all General Meetings of the Society, the President of the Society, or in his absence the senior Vice-President present or the Chairman of the Council or Deputy Chairman, shall preside. If none of these should be present, the chair shall be taken by such member of the Council as the meeting may elect. At all General Meetings of the Society ten members shall form a quorum.

(d) At every meeting of the Society, or of the Council, the resolutions of the majority of those present and voting shall be binding. In the case of an equality of votes, the Chairman shall have a second, or casting vote.

(e) No polemical or political discussion shall be permitted at Meetings of the Society, nor shall topics of a similar nature be admitted in the Society's publications.

14. SUBSCRIPTIONS. (a) Each Annual Member shall pay a subscription of two guineas to be due on 1st October in each year; except that (i) a person under 30 years of age may pay one guinea, and (ii) a husband and wife may pay a joint subscription of three guineas, with entitlement to one copy of *Transactions* only.

(b) Each Life Member shall pay a sum of twenty-five guineas in lieu of annual subscriptions, provided that (i) an Annual Member who is an individual, having paid ten consecutive annual subscriptions, may compound for life on payment of fifteen guineas, and (ii) an Annual Member, who is an individual, having paid at least one year's subscription and being over 40 years of age, may compound for life on payment of twenty guineas.

(c) Each Student Member shall pay an annual subscription of seven shillings and sixpence to be due on 1st October in each year, and shall be entitled to purchase the current *Transactions* at the special price of ten shillings.

(d) Each affiliated Local Society shall pay an annual affiliation fee, to be due on 1st October each year, at the rate of one penny for each of its members on that date, subject to a minimum of five shillings and a maximum of one pound.

(e) No member whose subscription or affiliation fee is in arrear shall be entitled to any privilege of membership; and when any such payment has been twelve months in arrear, the Council shall have the power to remove the name of such member from the list of members, whereupon membership shall cease.

(f) Any person or institution submitting an application form duly accompanied by the appropriate subscription between 1st July and 30th September shall be deemed to have paid the subscription for the following year.

15. ACCOUNTS. An account of receipts and expenditure for the year ending on 30th September preceding, together with a statement of the liabilities and assets of the Society, duly certified by the Honorary Auditors, shall be submitted to each Annual General Meeting. Copies of these accounts shall be provided at that meeting and shall be supplied to any member on request.

16. Three-fourths at least of the composition of each Life Member shall be invested in trustee securities, only the interest being available for current disbursements. No portion of the principal so invested shall be withdrawn except under authority of a resolution passed in accordance with Rule 13(d) at a General Meeting of the Society.

17. The Society may borrow or raise money for the purposes of the Society on such terms as may be thought fit, and may deposit security against such borrowing under authority of a resolution passed in accordance with Rule 13(d) at a General Meeting of the Society.

18. ALTERATION. No alteration shall be made in the Rules of the Society except at a Special General Meeting.

Revised 1965.

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ANGLO-SAXON ARCHITECTURE IN THE 7th CENTURY

A lecture read to the Society on 14 April 1961

BY SIR ERIC FLETCHER, LL.D., F.S.A., M.P.

I have undertaken this evening to say something about some aspects of Anglo-Saxon architecture. That is a large subject. It is, indeed, too large. Hitherto it has been thought possible and convenient to treat of Anglo-Saxon architecture as if it were a separate organic whole. I doubt whether that approach is any longer desirable, if, indeed, realistic.

The Anglo-Saxon era covered roughly six centuries, from the mid-5th to the mid-11th century. Anglo-Saxon church architecture covered four-and-a-half of these centuries. It started with the coming of Augustine in 597, and lasted till the Norman Conquest in 1066. That is a span as long as from the reign of Henry VII to the present day. There have been many changes in architectural styles between, say, Henry VII's Chapel at Westminster and the new Coventry Cathedral. In the same way there were distinct differences between 7th-century buildings and those of the 11th century. I am therefore going to enter a strong plea for the study of our 7th-century buildings as a separate subject.

Indeed, the recognition of any pre-Conquest buildings as such is of comparatively modern origin. Thomas Rickman, whose *Gothic Architecture* appeared in 1817, was the first to essay a classification of English architectural styles. He put forward the names still in common use—Saxon, Norman, Early English, decorated, perpendicular, flamboyant. He lists twenty churches that he thought had been erected before 1000 A.D., and distinguishable from works of Norman date by their masonry, their forms, and their details. The list included Barton-on-Humber, Barnack, Wittering, Brigstock, Brixworth, Earl's Barton, Worth and Sompting. Others were added to this list in subsequent editions of Rickman, although the chapter on Anglo-Saxon Architecture was relegated to an appendix, until the sixth edition appeared in 1862. In the meantime, J. H. Parker, who published his *Introduction to Gothic Architecture* in 1849, contended that with the apparent exception of Bradford-on-Avon, there were no surviving churches in England earlier than the year 1000, but that immediately 'the long dreaded millennium had passed, the Christian world took a new start, and was seized with a furore for erecting stone buildings.'

In 1903 Professor Baldwin Brown published Volume II of his monumental work on *The Arts in Early England*. This Volume, considerably revised and re-published in 1925, dealt exclusively with ecclesiastical architecture in England before the Conquest. It forms the basis of all subsequent research and study. It was followed in 1930 by Sir Alfred Clapham's *English Romanesque Architecture*. It would be difficult to exaggerate the achievements of those two authors, who pioneered the identification and study of pre-Conquest buildings.

But over thirty years have elapsed since those works appeared. Considerable progress has been made since 1930. A number of monographs have appeared on individual churches. It has been possible to resolve some of the doubts expressed by Baldwin Brown

about particular buildings which he examined. Significant traces of other pre-Conquest structures have been revealed as a result of air-raid damage during the war. New light, in particular, has been thrown on some Anglo-Saxon monuments that were suspected, but could not previously with certainty be identified, as belonging to the 7th century.

Baldwin Brown has put forward a tentative chronology of Anglo-Saxon architecture, which substantially still holds good. He divided the four-and-a-half centuries of Saxon building into three periods: an early period *A* covering the 7th century and most of the 8th; an intermediate period *B* corresponding with the Viking invasions, and covering the 9th century and part of the 10th; and a third period *C* beginning with the monastic revival under Dunstan in the middle of the 10th century, and extending to the Norman Conquest. These three periods correspond with three reasonably well-defined phases of Anglo-Saxon history. The 7th century, running into the 8th, witnessed the spread of Christianity through the missions of Augustine in Kent, Birinus in Wessex, the Celtic mission in Northumbria, and the enthusiastic establishment of monasteries, minsters and mission stations under the inspiration of Wilfred, Aldhelm, Benedict Biscop and others. In the intermediate period of consolidation and Viking warfare, there was an inevitable reduction of architectural effort. A new era of vigorous development began in the middle of the 10th century under the inspiration of Dunstan, Oswald and Ethelbert.

Perhaps the most serious cause of confusion among previous writers, including Baldwin Brown, was their inclination to ascribe any particular church of pre-Conquest date to one or other of these three periods. There was a tendency to assume that the whole fabric of any surviving pre-Conquest church was a unitary construction, that is built at one and the same time. Such an assumption is, indeed, contrary to the current of probability. A church of the 7th century that has survived is at least as likely to have undergone modifications before the Conquest, as is the case with so many Norman churches that have been adapted, enlarged and changed through successive generations down to our own day. It is, however, more difficult to discern the changes that took place to a building within the pre-Conquest period. Detailed examination and survey during recent years has shown that a number of pre-Conquest churches contain features dating from more than one of the three periods of Baldwin Brown's classification. This is the case with such well-known structures as Brixworth, Bradford-on-Avon, Deerhurst, Wing and Bishopstone, all of which can now be claimed, with reasonable certainty, as 7th-century foundations. Moreover, since Baldwin Brown's time, new information has been contributed about the important early sites of Glastonbury and Jarrow. Evidence of other 7th-century buildings has been revealed—either in significant fragments, as at All-Hallows-by-the-Tower and St. Mary's, Prittlewell; by excavation, as at Whitby, Yavering, and Burgh Castle; or by research, as at Hexham and St. Mary, Wareham. Excavation on other 7th-century sites is in contemplation, notably at Winchester, and at Much Wenlock.

The progress thus made in recent years has emphasised the vital architectural distinction between an early Saxon church of the 7th century, and a late Saxon church of the century before the Conquest. To speak simply of a Saxon church has become an ambiguity. The need to keep this distinction clearly in mind is all the greater when we recall that there are no buildings to be found in England today, the foundation of which can surely be ascribed to the 8th, 9th or early 10th centuries. There is a gap of over 200 years. This is not to assert that nothing was built during that time, but that nothing then built appears to have survived.

What then are the architectural distinctions between an early Saxon church and a late Saxon church? And what is their significance? I am mainly concerned to put before you the accumulated evidence about Saxon architecture in the 7th century. But a 7th-century building cannot be recognised as such without a considerable acquaintance with the techniques of late Saxon as well as of Norman architecture. How does one identify a 7th-century church? One proceeds backwards. We know that a Norman church has definite characteristics, whether built in Norman England, or Normandy. All later types are identifiable. If a church contains no Norman or later characteristics, it is Anglo-Saxon. If a church, such as Barton-on-Humber, has a belfry of early-Norman workmanship, superimposed on a tower of quite different workmanship, with features unknown in any Norman church, then the main structure of the tower is pre-Conquest. If an early-Norman arcade pierces a nave wall, as at Arreton or Greens Norton, the fabric is almost certain to be Anglo-Saxon.

In addition to this, certain definite features of Anglo-Saxon workmanship are noticeably absent from the earlier post-Conquest churches. Such features include: 'long and short work', double-splayed windows, mid-wall shafts, through-stones, hood moulds, triangular-headed doorways and windows, western towers of the distinctive Lincoln type, relatively thick walls, and high naves. These characteristics of Anglo-Saxon workmanship which are seen in such perfection and charm at places like Earls Barton, Colne Rogers, Corhampton, Holy Trinity, Colchester, and elsewhere, were no doubt slowly evolved through long processes of trial and error, through the intermediate *B* period from which nothing survives. It is possible to reconstruct the stages through which this evolution took place. This in itself is a fascinating exercise, but it is not germane to a study of the English church in the 7th century. For my present purpose, I must stress that all these well-recognised and distinctive characteristics of late Anglo-Saxon architecture are absent from the early Saxon churches of the 7th century. Indeed, it has become a canon of interpretation, paradoxical though it may seem, that a 7th-century church is often to be identified by the absence of what have hitherto been thought of as normal Saxon characteristics.

Furthermore, churches containing some of these normal Saxon characteristics, of the century before the Conquest, can sometimes by careful survey, analysis, and, where possible, excavation, be shown to have been 7th-century churches rebuilt or modified in later pre-Conquest times. This has occurred at Brixworth, Wing, Bradford-on-Avon, Deerhurst, Bishopstone.

Let us take Bradford-on-Avon by way of example. The church, as we see it today, is substantially as it has existed for many centuries, but the building had long been put to secular uses until it was romantically discovered in 1858 as a church of great antiquity. William of Malmesbury, writing in 1120, recorded that in his day there was a church at Bradford-on-Avon generally stated to have been built by St. Aldhelm, who died in 709. Expert opinion was very dubious of the claim that this little church could be identified with the structure built by Aldhelm, standing in the days of William of Malmesbury. Baldwin Brown, for example, said that although 'Bradford-on-Avon appears in general character a singularly early church, when we observe its double-splayed windows and reckon up its pilaster strips, we begin to distrust the impression of great antiquity'. A careful examination of the fabric has revealed that the existing double-splayed windows are later adaptations of single-splayed windows of an early type, and that the pilaster strips are also later modifications on the flat surface of a very early church. This *ecclesiola*

in its original form can, therefore, now be identified as the 7th (or very early 8th) century church built by St. Aldhelm.

It would take too long in this paper to explain the process of reasoning whereby, as a result of close examination, similar conclusions have been reached at Wing, Deerhurst and Bishopstone. In each case detailed accounts have been published. There are no doubt other Saxon churches which require, and will repay, minute examination from this standpoint. At random, I would instance Great Paxton; Ickleton; Repton; St. Martin's, Canterbury; and Much Wenlock.

With our present state of knowledge we can list the following churches, or foundations, as providing reliable evidence of 7th-century foundations in this country. They are: St. Augustine's, Canterbury; St. Mary, Canterbury; St. Pancras, Canterbury; St. Martin, Canterbury; St. Andrew's, Rochester; Reculver; St. Mary, Lyminge; Lydd; Glastonbury; St. Peter-on-the-Wall, Bradwell; Brixworth; Deerhurst; Wing; Bradford-on-Avon; Bishopstone; Jarrow; Monkwearmouth; Escomb; Corbridge; and Hexham. There are other instances where, although the plans cannot be drawn with certainty, considerable parts of the original structure remain, e.g. St. Mary, Wareham; All Hallows; St. Mary, Prittlewell.

Apart from these buildings that have survived, we know from Bede and other literary sources, of a great many other foundations before the death of Bede in 735. These have been listed in an unpublished Thesis submitted in 1957 to the University of London by Mr. R. T. Timson for the degree of M.A. Mr. Timson's list does not pretend to be exhaustive. It includes minsters or churches at: York; Lincoln; Bardney, Lincs.; Coldingham; Medehamstede (Peterborough); Breedon; Ovington; Lichfield; Bermondsey; Woking; Ely; Barking; Wimborne; Dover; Folkestone; Beverley; Malmesbury; Frome; Sherborne; Chertsey; Barrow-on-Humber; Minster-in-Sheppey; Minster-in-Thamet; Burgh Castle; Elmham; Dunwich; Worcester; Hereford; London; Nursling; Towcester; Evesham; Croyland; Abingdon; Winchester; Wilton; Ramsey; Exeter; Wells; St. German's; Crediton; Wincombe; and Selsey.

It is not difficult to indicate why there is such a wide divergence, in architectural plan and technique, between the 7th-century churches and those of the later Saxon period. The 10th-century churches were indigenous—whatever they may have owed to Carolingian or other influence from the Continent, and I believe this influence has been largely exaggerated. They were built by native craftsmen, who over the years, by a process of trial and error, had acquired a pragmatic, though not a scientific, skill in the construction of stone buildings. The churches of the early period, on the other hand, were largely built by, or under the guidance of, foreign masons and craftsmen, whether from Gaul or Italy, or in Northumbria, from Ireland. The Anglo-Saxons in their pagan days built only in timber. The poorer buildings were of wattle and daub. The nobility had timber halls. The Anglo-Saxons had no experience of stone building. Although there were plenty of splendid stone structures remaining in the Roman towns for them to see and admire, the art of stone building is not something that comes naturally without an apprenticeship. We know from literary sources that Wilfrid and Benedict Biscop, in the latter half of the 7th century, brought masons and glaziers from the Continent. It is reasonable to assume that Augustine, Justus and Birinus did the same. In time, the unskilled Saxons would acquire the new technique and expertise, but no architect, without considerable experience, could design such churches as were built at Canterbury, Reculver, Brixworth,

Jarrow, or Wing. Whereas the Saxon churches of the later period enchant by the curious and distinctive characteristics of Anglo-Saxon workmanship, and whereas each has a unique distinctiveness of its own, they generally lack the scale, competence and workmanship of the 7th-century churches.

Before attempting a classification of the 7th-century churches in this country, we should notice the claims that there are even earlier survivals of Christianity in these islands. The situation in Celtic Ireland, where Christianity has a continuous history from the time of St. Patrick, is outside the scope of this address. A number of Ninianic sites have been traced, including those at Whithorn in Galloway, and St. Ninian's isle in the Shetlands. We shall find that the influence of Celtic construction, and arrangements derived from Celtic monastic traditions, predominate both in the north-east and in the south-west of England. Christianity had been introduced in the later years of Roman Britain, but the surviving material evidence is regrettably scanty. The small basilican building excavated at Silchester may or may not have been built as a Christian church. There is nothing that can plausibly be recognised as such at Uriconium or Caerwent. Excavations have not revealed any church at Verulamium. The evidence from Lullingstone and Frampton in Dorset suggests that one or more rooms in a Roman villa were appropriated as the venue for meetings for Christian worship. In the south-west of England, as in Wales, Celtic Christianity produced monastic establishments which have been carefully excavated in modern times—such as those at Glastonbury, Tintagel and St. Piran's in Cornwall. Bede records that King Ethelbert, after his conversion, allowed Augustine and his monks to 'build and repair churches in all places'. Gildas also indicates that there were several churches in Roman Britain in his day, circa 630. The word 'repair' suggests that there were in Kent some Romano-British churches that had survived two centuries of paganism sufficiently to be capable of restoration. The strongest candidate is, of course, St. Martin's Canterbury. A detailed re-survey of this historic building is overdue. The indications are that parts date from the Romano-British period, and that it was reconstructed by St. Augustine for the worship of Queen Bertha. There is also a small basilica at Lydd, on Romney Marsh, now incorporated in the modern parish church, which may date from the Roman period. If that suggestion is thought too fanciful, Lydd must be included in any catalogue of 7th-century or early 8th-century churches.

It will now be convenient to summarise our existing knowledge about these 7th-century Saxon churches in England. I will leave aside the Celtic foundations of the same or earlier date at Tintagel, St. Piran's, St. Helen's in the Scilly Isles, and Heysham Chapel on Morecambe Bay.

1. There exist today twelve Churches which in whole or in part date from the 7th century, namely, St. Martin's, Canterbury; St. Peter-on-the-Wall; Brixworth; Wing; Deerhurst; Lydd; St. Mary, Warcham; Bishopstone; Jarrow; Monkwearmouth; Escomb; and Corbridge.

2. There are eight others which survive in ruins, or of which the foundations have been exposed by excavation, and which, with two exceptions (Peterborough and Rochester), can still be visited—namely, St. Pancras, Canterbury; St. Augustine's, Canterbury; St. Mary, Canterbury; Reculver; Rochester; Glastonbury; Peterborough; and Lyminge. To these Yavering may now be added.

It is therefore possible to draw layout *plans* of some twenty Saxon churches of the 7th century.

3. There is literary evidence, supplemented by some excavation and research, which would justify the production, if not of accurate plans, at any rate of partial or provisional plans, of Christ Church, Canterbury; Hexham; and Ripon.

4. There is literary evidence of some value about the churches built at Abingdon and at York. There are also surviving structural fragments of 7th-century churches at All-Hallows-by-the-Tower, London, and St. Mary, Prittlewell, from which certain inferences can be drawn about the type of the original construction. Finally, there is Repton in Derbyshire awaiting a detailed survey in the light of knowledge gained elsewhere.

Meagre as is at present our total information, architectural and literary, of church building in the 7th century, yet it enables us to attempt various alternative lines of classification. Of these, the most generally accepted is the distinction between the southern or Kentish type of building, due to the Roman mission of St. Augustine, and the northern or Northumbrian type, some half-century later, inspired by Wilfrid and Benedict Biscop. It will be remembered that St. Augustine's mission arrived at a time when Italy had been overrun by barbarian invasions, and Italian art and architecture was in a state of decadence and decay. We know very little of the architecture existing in Gaul of the 6th and 7th centuries, which were probably the immediate source from which the Kentish builders derived their models. There are at least three distinctive features of these Kentish churches (including Bradwell in Essex) which appear to be without exact surviving parallels anywhere in Western Europe. Two of these are the triple arcading which divides the nave from the apse, and the stilted shape of the apse, the terminal curve being struck from a point well to the east of the chancel-arch. The third and most remarkable characteristic feature of the group is the lateral porticus. Broadly speaking, all the 7th-century churches listed above are either basilican in plan, or non-basilican. The large majority are non-basilican. They conform to the pattern of an aisleless nave, a chancel, and one or more lateral porticus. The form and position of these lateral porticus call for explanation.

Following the conversion of Constantine in 312, there was a prolific outburst of church building in the Roman Empire—at Rome, in Ravenna, throughout Italy, in Gaul, in North Africa, in Palestine and Asia Minor. They all followed a uniform Roman pattern, modelled on the Roman civil basilica. The design of St. Peter's at Rome was the same as that of the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem. Basilicas, large and small, were built with single or double aisles flanking a rectangular nave, and terminating in an eastern apsidal sanctuary. In Roman Britain we may reasonably suppose that the Constantinian pattern was followed for the seats of the British bishops from London, Lincoln and Colchester who attended the Council of Arles. It is on these grounds that the small basilican building discovered near the Forum at Silchester is commonly regarded as a Christian Church.

But there was an interval of nearly 300 years between Constantine and Augustine. By the end of the 6th century the basilican church had ceased, certainly in the west, to be the prescribed pattern. The standard plan in 7th-century England was a nave without aisles, with a western porch of entry, and one or more lateral porticus sometimes at the east end of the nave (e.g. St. Augustine's, Canterbury), sometimes at the west end of the nave (e.g. Bradford-on-Avon), but always entered from within the church. Of the churches listed above, this was the plan adopted not only in the Kentish group, St. Augustine's Canterbury, St. Pancras, at Reculver and Lyminge, but in other southern examples, as at St. Peter-on-the-Wall, Bradwell, at Glastonbury, Bradford-on-Avon, Bishoptone,

and Deerhurst. Nor is this characteristic confined to the south and west of England. It also occurs in the north, at Escomb and Monkwearmouth.

One reason for this fundamental change in plan from the tradition of church building in the 4th and 5th centuries, may have been the introduction of the monastic life based on the Rule of St. Benedict. The basilican church of the 4th and 5th centuries throughout the Empire was essentially congregational. The nave, chancel and porticus church of the 7th century was monastic. All 7th-century churches in England were monastic in the sense that they were served by monks, and were the centres or outposts of monastic life. The parochial system had not begun. There were, of course, different types of monastery, and the internal arrangements of the churches we have been considering are reflected by these differences.

The basic distinction between a basilican and a non-basilican church has until recently been obscured by a curious circumstance. Some churches that were originally built on a nave and porticus plan, such as St. Augustine's, Canterbury, and Reculver, were by the subsequent additions of further lateral porticus at both the north and south of the nave, transformed into churches which, on plan, judging from the foundations, resemble basilicas. On the other hand, at Brixworth, originally built as a basilica, the aisles were subsequently divided by cross-walls into a series of lateral chambers, or porticus.

Now one may well ask: what was the significance of the porticus? First, we must distinguish a porticus from a porch. A porch is used for entry into a church from outside. In the 7th century, entry into a church (apart from Celtic churches) was invariably from the west. Sometimes there was merely a west door leading into the nave. Sometimes there was a western adjunct, or porch, giving access to the church. By a confusion of terminology this porch was called a *porticus ingressus*. But the distinctive features of the 7th-century churches which concern us are the lateral porch on the north and south sides. Their situation relative to the nave and chancel is not uniform. At Reculver and Bradwell they are symmetrical, and overlap the nave and chancel. At Reculver they were both entered from the chancel. At Bradwell the north porticus was entered from the chancel, and the south porticus from the nave. The provision of adjuncts to serve the subsidiary purposes of the church and its services was common in North Africa and Syria throughout the 5th and 6th centuries, but seems to have ceased in the west.

We know that the lateral porticus at St. Augustine's Abbey were used for specific funerary purposes. St. Augustine and his successors were buried in the north porticus; King Ethelbert and his successors in the south porticus. Subsequently additional porticus were added each side of the nave. We also know that St. Ethelburga was buried in the north porticus at Lyminge, and Tobias, Bishop of Rochester, in the north porticus at Rochester. There was a reason for this. Until at least a date towards the middle of the 7th century, it was uncanonical for a burial to take place within a church—i.e. *in ipsa ecclesia*. Yet there was a natural desire to bury saints and kings as near to a consecrated shrine as possible. Technically, a lateral porticus, though connected by a doorway with a nave or chancel, was not for this purpose deemed part of the church itself. Hence the provision of a lateral porticus for sepulchral purposes. But a lateral porticus could serve other purposes. That projecting from the centre of the nave at St. Pancras has an altar at its eastern end, which shows that it was used as a chapel. This must also have been the purpose of a lateral porticus at the western end of the nave, which occurs at Bradford-on-Avon and

Bishopstone. Neither of these churches was built before the end of the 7th or the beginning of the 8th centuries.

It would appear that at some date after the middle of the 7th century, the rule prohibiting burials inside a church was relaxed. Perhaps an authority on early canon law or the customs obtaining in Rome, could give us a precise date. Or perhaps there was only a gradual relaxation of the rule. The provision of the additional porticus at Reculver and Deerhurst after the original foundation suggests that, with the extension of the monastery, it became necessary to accommodate the growing numbers of the community with additional chapels. This can be the only explanation of the transformation of the aisles at Brixworth into a series of adjacent chapels.

Brixworth was until recently thought to be not only the finest, but the only surviving example in England of a 7th-century church that does not conform to the standard pattern of aisleless nave, chancel, and porticus. Indeed, until some excavation was undertaken in the former north aisle at Brixworth, it was uncertain whether Brixworth was originally constructed with undivided aisles, or whether the aisles were originally divided into a series of porticus. It is now established that Brixworth in its original 7th-century form followed the pattern of the Italian basilica of the 5th century. But it is not the only surviving example of this type of construction. We now know that Wing in Buckinghamshire is also a 7th-century basilica. In addition, Wilfrid built or restored four churches in the north at Ripon, Hexham and York, and there is contemporary evidence from his biographer Eddius indicating that the churches at Hexham and Ripon were of basilican type. In the case of Hexham this has been confirmed by excavation. The evidence with regard to Benedict Biscop's foundations at Jarrow and Monkwearmouth is less clear, but it would appear that one at any rate of the early 7th-century churches at Jarrow was also a basilica.

For these reasons we can no longer say without qualification that the main division in 7th-century churches is between the Kentish and the Northumbrian group. Rather it is between the basilicas, and the non-basilican churches. The 7th-century basilicas are not confined to one geographical area. They occur in the north, at Hexham and Ripon, in the Midlands, at Brixworth and Wing, and possibly in the south as well, at St. Mary, Wareham, in London and at Lydd.

The basilicas at Hexham and Ripon were built by Wilfrid. It has been conjectured that those at Brixworth and at Wing were also due to his inspiration, even if he did not actually design and build them. Wilfrid had made four visits to Rome, was familiar with the classical churches of 5th-century Italy, and anxious to introduce Roman customs and ceremonial into England. It is significant that there is a crypt under the apse of the churches Wilfrid built in his monasteries at Hexham and Ripon. Crypts are also found under the apse at Wing, and, more doubtfully, at Brixworth. The only other known crypt is at Repton. The provision of a crypt would seem to exclude the necessity of a lateral porticus for sepulchral purposes.

The elaborate construction of Wilfrid's crypts at Hexham and Ripon indicates that they were designed partly for the protection and display of relics, and partly for processional purposes. At Wing, and probably elsewhere, the relics were housed in a walled chamber at the west end of the crypt immediately under the altar. In those days the altar was not a table at the east end of the chancel, but was a small, low, square altar built in the chord of the apse, or just within the stilted arch of the apse. The clergy sat on a stone bench

(*synthronos*) running round the apse. Remains of such a stone bench were found at Reculver, and a whole tier of such benches in the apse are still to be seen in the 5th-century Coptic church in Cairo. The celebrant probably stood behind the altar facing west. Great importance was attached to the relics being in close proximity to the altar. In the 8th century and later, when it had become permissible for burials to take place inside the church, we have numerous accounts of the body of a saint or founder originally buried in a porticus, or indeed outside the church altogether, being 'translated' or 'raised' to an altar within the church.

It would be interesting to develop a classification of 7th-century churches according to the purposes for which they were built. Some were cathedrals, and designed as the minster of a bishop's see, as at Canterbury; some were minsters of Benedictine monks, as at Ripon or Peterborough; some were churches in a royal residence, as at Reculver; some, and perhaps the most interesting, were the churches of double monasteries, often presided over by a royal princess, and perhaps serving administrative as well as religious purposes; others again, like St. Aldhelm's *ecclesiola* at Bradford-on-Avon, were small mission stations, used as centres for missionary propaganda in the surrounding area. If one attempts to obtain a synthetic or comprehensive picture of what conditions were like at a large Saxon monastery of the 7th century, one has to supplement partial knowledge of one site with partial but different knowledge of another, with indications from a third. Thus, the church at Jarrow has survived, but we know nothing of the domestic quarters in which Bede's remarkable library was housed, and where his literary masterpieces were written. On the other hand, excavations at Whitby and Llantwit Major tell us something about the disposition of the conventual buildings of Hilda's famous monastery, but nothing of the church itself.

As far as we know, nothing in the nature of a mediaeval cloister existed in England as early as the 7th century. The Anglo-Saxon monasteries were more akin to those of the Eastern and Celtic churches. The larger monastic institutions consisted in the multiplication of small churches, the provision of a separate cell for each monk, and a number of buildings for communal purposes, all included in some kind of compound. Monastic life was not essentially contemplative, or even enclosed: it was missionary and administrative. The multiplication of churches within the same enclosure followed both Celtic and Roman prototypes. There were three churches at St. Augustine's, Canterbury, three both at Monkwearmouth and at Malmesbury. There were a series of churches in London and at Glastonbury. Wilfrid built two at Hexham. There are indications that there were three churches at Much Wenlock. Sometimes churches of the same foundation were built on the same axial plane from east to west.

We would give much to know more about the material conditions in which English monasteries blossomed and flourished in the days of Wilfrid and Aldhelm and Bede, and of the kind of life pursued in such monasteries as Whitby and Jarrow and Glastonbury. A clearer picture must await further archaeological excavation and research, and would moreover take us into the wider field of ecclesiastical history, to which a study of Anglo-Saxon architecture is an essential ancillary.

THE BRASSES OF MIDDLESEX

Part XII

BY H. K. CAMERON, PH.D., F.S.A.

HAMPTON

I. *James Darell, Clerk of the Spicery, 1638; inscription and achievement; Nave (Plate 1).*

On the floor of the nave, about half-way down, and apparently undisturbed by successive restorations in this church is a marble slab, about 78 in. × 40 in. in size. Inlaid in this slab are two brass plates of good quality and excellent engraving. The upper one is an oval plate (15 in. high and 13½ in. wide at its maximum) upon which is a shield with helm, crest, and mantling.

Spaced 11½ in. below this is a rectangular plate, 9½ in. × 26 in., on which is engraved an inscription in English in seven lines of Roman capitals. A single engraved line around this plate makes a narrow plain border.

The inscription reads:

HERE RESTETH THE BODY OF IAMES DARELL ESQ. SOMETIMES
CHEEFE CLARKE OF THE SPYCERE TO OUR LATE SOVERAIGNE
KINGE IAMES OF BLESSED MEMORY & TO HIS MATHE THAT NOW
IS. 3^D SON TO IOHN DARELL OF CAILE HILL IN THE COVNTY OF KENT
ESQ. AND HAD ISSEW 4 SONNES AND ONE DAUGHTER BY
HIS LATE WIFE KATHERIN WAIDE DAUGHTER TO ROBERT
WAIDE GENT' & DEPARTED THIS LIFE THE 2 DAY OF SEPT: 1638

The pedigree of this family in the Visitation of Kent⁽¹⁾ for 1619 shows descent from James Darell of Cadehill, who died on 5 October 1521 and whose wife, Anna, daughter of Nicholas Dyker of Rotherfield Pipard (Berks.), died on 12 January 1562. Their son, George, married Mary, daughter of George Whithed of Normans Court, Hants. George died on 2 July 1578 and his wife on 21 June 1585. Their son, John Darell of Cadehill, married Anna, daughter and heir of Robert Horne of Winchester, by whom he had *first* George, who died *sine prole*; *second* Robert, who was made a Knight by James I on 1 April in the 12th year of his reign, and who died on 23 February 1643 at the age of 76; and *third* James, the subject of the present brass, who by his wife Catherine had children named by the Visitation as John, Robert, Marmaduke, Elizabeth and Anna. However, the inscription on the brass says he had four sons and one daughter.

The arms on the brass are described by Burke under Darell of Sesay Co. York, Cale Hill and Scotney, Co. Kent, with property also in Wiltshire, Sussex and Cornwall, all descending from William de Orrell. The shield bears *azure a lion rampant or armed langued and crowned gules, a mullet in dexter chief for difference*. There is clearly shown on the brass a cross crosslet fitchée on the body of the lion.

On the helm above is shown the crest: *out of a ducal coronet or a Saracen's head couped at the shoulders proper bearded sable wreathed about the temples argent and azure on the head a chapeau of the last, fretty of the third, tasselled or, turned up ermine*.

II. *Robert Tyrwhytt, Master of the Buckhounds, 1651, and Jane, his sister, 1656.*

The whereabouts of this brass is at present unknown. Of the two monuments in the church which commemorated this man, only one now remains. When Lysons wrote, it was on the south wall of the chancel, but it is now on the east wall of the north aisle, beside the organ. This is a stone monument to Robert Terwhit, second son of Robert Terwhit of Camringham, in Lincolnshire, by Anne Basset. It is a slate and stone tablet with moulded frame, entablature and pediment, with the figure of a woodman and shield.

The other monument was a rectangular brass plate, engraved with the following inscription in Roman capitals:

IN MEMORIE OF ROBERT TYRWHYTT ESQ^R MASTER
OF THE BVCKHOVNDES, AND ELDEST ESQVIRE OF THE
COVRT TO KING CHARLES; AS ALSOE OF HIS MOST
VS SISTER M^{RIS} LANE TYRWHYTT WHO
IN WISEDOME AND GODLINESSE (LIVEING AND
) WAS A TRVE PATTERN TO HER SEX,
SHE DYED VPON ST THOMAS DAY THE XXITH OF
BER 1656 AND IS BVRIED IN CAMRINGHAM
CHURCH IN LINCOLNE SHIRE; WHERE IS A
MONVM ENT IN REMEMBRANCE OF HER AND
HER PARENTS, THIS HER BROTHER DYED IN
HAMPTON COVRT THE VITH OF IANVARIE 1651 &
IS BVRIED VNDER THIS MARBLE, OF WHOME THE
MONVM ENT IN THE WALL FVRTHER MENTIONETH.

This inscription is transcribed from a rubbing in the library of the Society of Antiquaries in London. The rubbing is dated 7 September 1936 and, according to a marginal note, the brass was set on a blue marble slab with incised border, in the middle of the new chancel. It was partly covered and obscured by a heavy oak altar table. The measurements of the slab are given as about 71 in. × 35 in. The height of the inscription plate was 15 in., and the part exposed about 20 in. wide. Some 3–4 in. were covered and this part of the inscription, printed on the left of the vertical rule above, is conjectural.

Neither the marble slab nor the brass inscription could be found in the church in 1961.

It was recorded in the R.C.H.M. volume on Middlesex that an indent of a brass to a man and wife, with inscription, scrolls and shields of early 16th century date was lying in the churchyard, by the west doorway. There is a worn stone, but it is no longer possible to identify a composition.

HAREFIELD

The brasses in this delightful and still rural parish church commemorate members of two of the families who lived in the parish. In this account each family is dealt with in turn, and the brasses assigned numbers to indicate their chronological place in the combined series.

The Manor of Harefield was held by the Bacheworth family for many generations prior to 1284, when Roger de Bacheworth was Lord of the Manor paying a small quit rent to the honour of Clare.⁽²⁾ On his death his brother Sir Richard inherited, but in 1315, on becoming a Knight Hospitaller, and his wife taking the veil, he granted the Manor to Simon de Swanland who had married the daughter of Roger de Bacheworth. His son, William de Swanland, died in 1395, leaving the Manor to his only surviving son William, with Joanna his daughter as co-heir. William de Swanland died without issue, leaving Harefield for life to his wife Dyonisia and then to the heir of his sister Joanna. Joanna married first John Newdegate, the great-grandson of Sir Henry de Newdegate, of Newdegate and Charlwood in the County of Surrey. His elder brother William de Newdegate was Sheriff of Surrey and Sussex, 25 Edward III, and several times M.P. for Surrey. John Newdegate served in the wars of Edward III, was knighted and granted a fleur-de-lys as crest.

The son of John Newdegate and Joanna de Swanland, also John Newdegate, was living in Henry V's reign and married as his first wife Elizabeth, daughter of Walter Knoll of Crawley, by whom he had a son William who inherited the Manor of Harefield after the death of his great aunt Dyonisia (who was living at Harefield in 1445).⁽²⁾

This William died and was buried at Harefield in 1458, surviving his wife by fourteen years. The earliest brass now in the church commemorates this wife, who was Editha, daughter of John Bowett Esq., of Surrey.

The Manor of Harefield thereafter remained in the holding of the Newdegate family until 1585, when John Newdegate exchanged it (except for Brackenbury Farm which continued uninterruptedly in the family possession) with Sir Edmund Anderson, Lord Chief

Justice of the Common Pleas, for the Manor and lands of Arbury in Warwickshire. Harefield was ultimately bought back by Sir Richard Newdegate of Arbury in 1674, and Arbury and Harefield have remained in the possession of this family ever since.

- I. *Edith Newdegate, 1444, with inscription; two shields now missing; Mural, South Aisle (Plate 2).*

A small figure, 14 in. high, is of a lady in high-waisted gown with ornamental belt and full sleeves, her hair covered by a horned head-dress. On either side of the head are indents for shields now lost. Immediately below the figure is a rectangular plate 4 in. × 18 in. with a Latin inscription in three lines of blackletter, which reads.:

*Hic iacet Editha quondam ux Willi Newdegate
que obiit xi° die Septembr Anno dni m° cccc°
xliiii° cuius anime ppicietur deus Amen*

This lady was the daughter of John Bowett, Esq., of Surrey, and the wife of the first of the Newdegates to inherit the Manor of Harefield. An illustration of this brass appeared in *The Home Counties Magazine*, XI, 32.

- IV. *John Newdegate, 1528, in costume of a serjeant-at-law, and wife Amphylisia, 1544, in heraldic mantle, with 10 sons and 7 daughters and inverted inscription; Trinity lost; on recessed tomb chest at east end of south aisle (Plate 3).*

On a tomb chest recessed into the east wall of the south aisle, this brass is in a stone that has suffered considerable wear and flaking. The two principle figures are each about 18 in. high, the man on the dexter side and the lady close to the back wall of the tomb. They are turned slightly towards one another, with the hands in the attitude of prayer. Although the quality of the engraving is undistinguished the costume worn is of unusual interest. John Newdegate was a serjeant-at-law and is dressed in the costume of his rank. The serjeants-at-law, or *servientes ad legem*, were chosen from the barristers much as today Queen's Counsel are chosen, but their status and privileges were greater. They shared with Judges the wearing of the coif, which was a close-fitting skull-cap, tied beneath the chin and frequently covering the ears. It was made of white lawn or silk. The other garments bear similarity to ecclesiastical costume — in this instance a long cassock-like robe with close fitting sleeves, over which is another quite long robe with wider sleeves (like a surplice). An academic hood or tippet is worn over the shoulders with turned-down hood or collar. John Newdegate is holding a rolled-up scroll in his hands.

The interest of the lady's costume is in the armorial decoration of her gown. This representation of arms on gowns is not uncommon in early Tudor times and usually shows the impalement of the lady's own arms with those of her husband. In this instance the arms shown on either side are those of Neville (*gules, a saltire ermine*).

Apart from the armorial gown, the lady wears a fine pedimental head-dress, a large cross suspended by a chain around her neck, and a large girdle around her waist with three quatrefoil ornaments in the front from which is suspended a long pendant. The cuffs are turned back and show fur lining.

A scroll rises from the mouth of each figure to what was a representation of the Trinity above and in the centre. This is now lost. The man's prayer reads, 'Sancta Trinitas Un° deus'; that from the lady, 'Miserere nobis, miseris'.

Below the two figures is a Latin inscription in four lines of blackletter on a rectangular plate $4\frac{5}{8}$ in. \times $23\frac{1}{2}$ in. This has been laid upside down, a practice sometimes adopted when it was easier to read the inscription when placed this way round, although it is not evident that this reason would explain why this has been done on this tomb. The inscription reads:

Hic iacet humata corpa [sic] Johis Newdegate sebiens ad legem et Am
philisie uxor' ei' filie et Hered Johnis Nebell Armigi qui quidem
Johes Newdegate obiit xliii° die Augusti An° dni m°v°xxviii, et p̄dicta
Amphilisia xvi° die Julii An° dni m°v°xliiii° quor aiabs p̄piciet de°.

Beneath the inscription are two plates, that on the dexter side having upon it the figures of ten sons in civilian costume, and the other seven daughters, each with pedimental veil but uncovered hair, and the eldest with a girdle about her waist.

This John was son of John Newdegate of Harefield and Crawley in Surrey who in turn was son of William and Editha, the subject of brass No. I. His mother was Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Young, Justice of the Common Pleas, and heir to her brother Thomas Young of Bristol.

In the Visitations of Surrey⁽³⁾ Amphilis is described as the daughter of Thomas Nevill of Rolleston in the County of Nottingham. The ermine saltire on the heraldic mantle is ascribed to this branch of the family by Burke, but the inscription on the brass says 'daughter and heir to John Nevill'. The Visitations of Warwickshire⁽⁴⁾ describe her as the daughter of John Nevill of Mablethorp. William Vernon in his *Notes on the Parish of Harefield* published in 1872, shows in his pedigree chart of Newdegate that Amphilisia was the daughter of John Nevill of Sutton in Lincolnshire, and this descent is also given by Burke in his *Landed Gentry*. However, Vernon's chart contains a number of inaccuracies: he describes the monument and brass of John and Amphilisia at Harefield, but gives their dates of death as 1545 and 1550 respectively and states that they had ten sons and four daughters. As Sutton and Mablethorp are but three miles apart and the brass confirms the name of the father as John Neville, the Warwickshire Visitation comes closely to the description in *Burke* and may be accepted.

The names of some of the seventeen children are given in the Harleian Society pedigrees referred to above. In the Surrey Visitations appear Sibbell, who professed a religious life at Halywell, and Mary, who professed at Syon; John, William, Sebastian, Dunstan, Arther, Silvester, Jane, Barbara and Dorathey. In the Warwickshire Visitation are quoted, John, Sebastian, William and Charles, Mary a nun at Sion, Barbara wife of John Crug (see brass No. VII), Jane wife of Robert Dormer, and Isabell. Vernon in his chart describes Silvester and Duncan (*sic!*) as Knights of St. John, while he states that after the death of his wife in 1524 Sebastian became a Carthusian monk and suffered in 27 Henry VIII for opposing the King's supremacy.

John Newdegate not only held the Manor of Harefield, but held lands and property in the neighbouring counties of Buckinghamshire and Hertfordshire. In his will⁽⁵⁾ his first bequest is to his son and heir John a salt of silver with a cover, a standing cup with a cover of silver that 'was my faders', and a plain goblet without a cover. To his son William he left his lands and tenements in Chalfont St. Peter, in 'Rickmersworth' and in the City of London in the parish of St. Alphege Cripplegate. To Sebastian he left property in

Uxbridge. He left the Manor of Oxheyhall in the parish of Watford and other property in Watford to his wife Amphelis; after her death it was to be divided between his sons George and Dunstan and their lawful male issue, failing which it was to be given to John and Anthony, sons of his son John, and failing them, to Francis and Thomas, two other sons of his son John. To his wife he also left his manor called Herefeld Court. To his son John he bequeathed 'my cheyne of golde weying fourty pounds and more soo that he be good kynde and loving to his said moder and to his brethern'. He also left twenty pounds in money to William, and to Sebastian, George and Dunstan 'three score pounds of lawful money, that is twenty each and if any of them dies before he has his part delivered then his part to be divided between the other two'. The residue of his goods and chattels he bequeathed to his wife, whom he appointed his sole executrix. His son-in-law John Crugge was the overseer of his will.

VI. *John Newdegate, Esq., 1545, in civil dress, and wife Anne, with 8 sons and 5 daughters, all kneeling; inscription; mural at back of a recessed tomb on south side of chancel (Plate 4).*

This brass commemorates the son and heir of John Newdegate, the subject of brass No. IV. It is excellently engraved on good quality metal (almost certainly re-used plate) and comprises the kneeling figures of a man in civilian costume and his wife, with prayer desks before them, and children kneeling behind them. These figures are grouped on two plates, that on the dexter side having on it the figure of John Newdegate, with eight sons behind him (the head of one is lost), all on a tiled pavement and with a desk before the kneeling man having upon it an open Book. The man's costume is rich in appearance and beautifully portrayed. He has a shirt or undergarment with linen or lace collar high and close around the neck. Over this is a close-fitting coat or gown turned slightly open at the collar and with long sleeves ending in tight lace cuffs around the wrists. Over all is a fur-lined robe with long false sleeves. Fur lining can be seen on the turned-back collar, all down the front edges and inside at the bottom, where the folds lie on the floor. Square-toed shoes are worn, with plain buckle and strap. The hair is worn long, reaching to the bottom of the jaw and covering the ears. The sons behind are dressed like the father, but in simpler materials without fur.

On the other plate, facing towards her husband, is the lady kneeling before a desk decorated in a different way from her husband's and with an open Book upon it. Her costume is also rich with lace and fur, with a high-necked partlet buttoned at the neck, long slashed sleeves with lace cuffs and an over-gown with wide short sleeves, fur-lined at the sleeves, down the front opening and revealed by the folds on the floor. The collar is turned back and edged with ornamental material. A girdle around her waist is fastened by an ornament in front. The headdress is a very fine example of the pedimental style and, in the falls behind the shoulders, retains resin residue that at one time would have been coloured. Behind the lady kneel five girls whose costume is similar though simpler. Their head covering is somewhat unusual, being in the form of a bonnet over the back of the head coming over the ears on either side and with a straight and simple veil hanging down from the crest behind them. The girdles and pendant differ with each figure.

Although in general style and facial expression these two plates are closely similar, there are one or two noticeable contrasts. The lady's face and her hands are bigger in size than her husband's and the man's hands are more stiffly drawn.

The height of the two figures is 15 in. and the width of the plates 16 in. and 13 in. respectively.

Beneath these two plates is a rectangular plate $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. \times $29\frac{1}{4}$ in. Inside a thin line border to the plate is a well engraved inscription in five lines of blackletter:

Off yo^r charite pray for the Soules of John Newdegate Esquyer & Anne
his wyff y^e whiche John Decessyd the xixth day of June in the yere of o^r Lorde
God a Thousand fyve hundred fourtie & fyve and the said Anne Decessyd y^e
day of in the yere of o^r Lorde God a Thousand fyve hundred
On whose Soules and all Christen Soules Jhu have mercy Amen.

The brass was evidently put up at or shortly after the death of John Newdegate, his widow surviving him, but the date of her death was never filled in. Indents indicate that there were prayer scrolls arising from the mouths of the two figures and also that there were two shields at head-height on either side of the principal figures.

This very fine tomb chest in the chancel, with recess and canopy above (illustrated on Plate 53 in the Middlesex volume of the Royal Commission for Historical Monuments) is clearly of early 16th century design, yet this brass to John Newdegate and his family is not part of the original monument. There has been an earlier brass associated with the tomb. This can be identified by a rather uncertain outline of indent of scroll between the two principal figures of the later brass, and by the much more clearly defined indent for an inscription-plate in the position of the present one, of the same height, but extending $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. on the dexter side beyond the present inscription. On top of the tomb itself there is also an indent of a figure in shroud, illustrated herewith (*Plate 6(a)*).

It is noteworthy that this brass is probably a palimpsest. The two figure-plates are of thick sheet which, at the edges, shows evidence of incised lines on the reverse side. The inscription plate is of three pieces which have been neatly joined. Although the destructive practice of polishing is no longer practised in this church, there has been a period within recent times when it was, and the effect on this plate has been to reveal the different colour of metal plugs in former rivet holes, this again suggesting previous use.

In a parish in which the Newdegate family were so prominent it would seem unlikely that they could appropriate to their own use a tomb of this magnificence so soon after its construction unless it had been built by them; and the most reasonable explanation would be that the earlier brass commemorated a recent member of the family, or even John himself, and that the wife had a new brass erected to include herself and the children with an inscription devoid of Catholic sentiment. The date, following closely upon the Reformation, would support the view that the family had complied with the royal wishes and removed an earlier inscription, replacing it with one in the current idiom. This is of course pure speculation. If it is a correct assumption, Mrs. Newdegate and her executors must have learnt worldly wisdom from the fate of Sebastian Newdegate eight years earlier.

Anne Newdegate was, according to the Warwickshire Visitations, the daughter and heir of a Hilton; Burke's *Landed Gentry* calls him Nicholas Hylton of Cambridge, and this is repeated by Vernon, who says she died in 1546, but as all his other dates are wrong little reliance can be placed on this.

A probable son of this family, born posthumously to John Newdegate, was George, son of John Newdegate, whose baptism on 18 October 1545, occurs in the Parish registers. The grandfather's will mentions other sons: John, Anthony, Francis and Thomas.

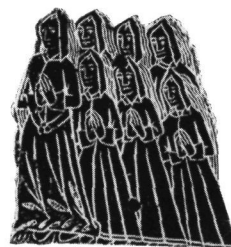


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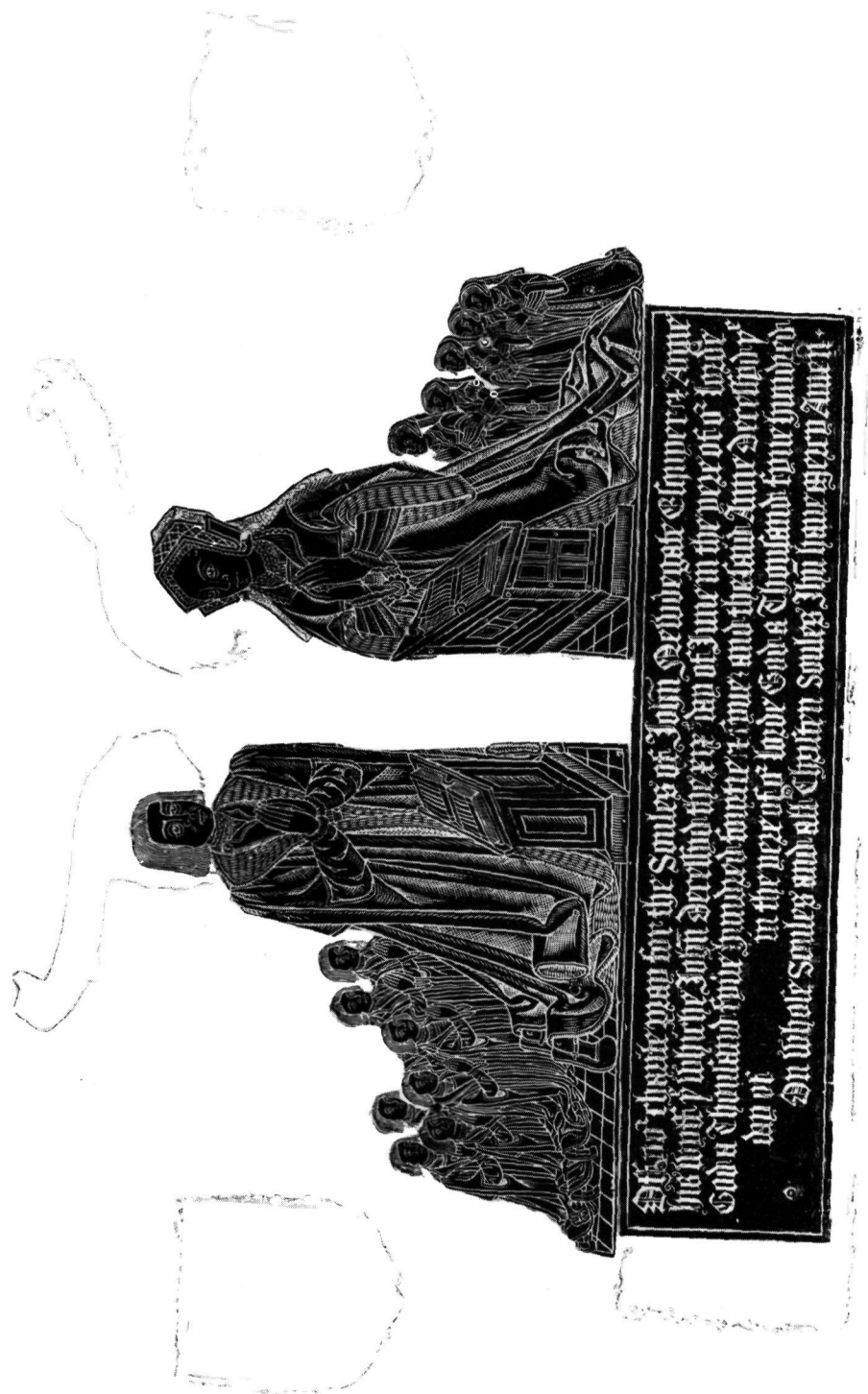
HAMPTON I
 James Darell, Esq., 1638



HAREFIELD I
Edith Newdegate, 1444



HAREFIELD IV
John and Amphilisia Newdegate, 1528



HAREFIELD VI

John and Anne Newdegate, 1545

VII. *John Crugge, gent, 1533, and wife Barbara [Newdegate]; inscription only; now hung in the vestry (Plate 5(a)).*

John Crugge, as quoted above, was overseer of the will of John Newdegate, serjeant-at-law (brass No. IV), whose daughter Barbara he had married.

The brass is a rectangular plate, now 5 in. × 20 in., broken and mutilated, which has been repaired and mounted in a frame. It is palimpsest, having on the reverse side part of the figure of a skeleton engraved some thirty years earlier (*Plate 6 (b)*). On the obverse is the following inscription in five lines of blackletter, some now being lost at the ends:

“... Charite pray for y^e sowll^e of Johⁿ Crugge son of Will^m Crug...
 ... Exest^e gentilmā & Barbara his wif whiche Johⁿ Crugge died at Here...
 ... y^e Countie of Midd^e y^e xviii day of december An^o dni m^o v^o xxxiii...
 ... y^e reign of Kyng Henry y^e eight xxvth & y^e said Barbara died...
 ... ay^e of An^o dni m^o v^o o whose soull^e Ihu have m...”

The date of death of the wife was never filled in. The inscription describes John Crugge as the son of William Crugge of Exeter. The Devon connection is further established by John Crugge's will,⁽⁶⁾ in which he leaves lands and the manor of Coveton in the County of Devon to his wife Barbara for the term of her life. There is also mention of property at St. Madron in Cornwall. The will refers to his sons John and William and to a daughter. This brass was for some time in the church at Astley in Warwickshire. It is mentioned by Lysons in his account of Middlesex parishes as being then (1800) at Harefield, on the floor of the Brakenbury chapel, or south aisle. A rubbing in the Society of Antiquaries' library made in 1896 records that it was then at Astley, but a note in Mill Stephenson's handwriting tells of its return to Harefield in 1913. It is loose and is now kept for safety in the vestry.

* * * * *

In another part of the parish of Harefield is a mansion known as Breakspear and said by Camden to have been so called after a family of that name. A member of this family, Nicholas Breakspear, appears to have been elected Pope in 1154 under the title of Adrian the Fourth. This mansion was in the possession of the Ashby family from the 15th to the late 18th century. The first of the family of whom there is record is George, the subject of brass No. II.

II. *George Assheby and wife Margaret, 1474; inscription only; mural in north chapel. (Plate 5(b))*

A rectangular plate, 3 in. × 17 in., has upon it the following inscription in Latin in three lines of blackletter:

Orate p̄ aiabz Georgii Assheby et Margarete ux̄is sue qui
 quide Georgi^o obiit xx die februarii & dict^a Margareta xxiiii^o
 die Septēbr^{is} A^o dni millio CCCC^o lxxiiii^o q^{uo} aiabz ppiciet de’.

- III. *George Assheby, Esq., one of the Clerks of the Signet to Henry VII, and Chief Clerk of the Signet and Councillor to Henry VIII, in armour, 1514, and wife Rose [Eden] with 4 sons [repaired in 1912] and 3 daughters, 3 shields and inscription; engraved ca. 1537 at the same time as (V); on the floor of the north chapel.*

This brass, on the floor of the Breakspear (North) chapel, consists of three shields, the figure in armour of George Assheby and of his wife, standing and facing towards one another in three-quarter-face view, with a rectangular inscription-plate below their feet, and below this, one plate (mutilated) with four sons and another with three daughters.

Although the date of Assheby's death is given as 1514 the style of costume portrayed on the brass is some twenty years later, and it may be concluded that this was engraved at the same time as the brass to his son (No. V).

The two principal figures are each 26 in. in height, the man in armour of the mid-Tudor period with skirt of mail, but otherwise covered by plate, with hands bare and head uncovered. The sabatons are very square-toed and he stands upon a mound of grass.

The lady's costume is closely similar to that of Margaret Newdegate (No. IV) with slashed sleeves to the dress and wide fur-edged and fur-lined shorter sleeves to the over-mantle. The buttoned lace neck treatment of the partlet is very much like the Newdegate brass, but the pedimental headdress is rather more stiff in appearance on this Assheby figure.

The inscription, on a plate 5 in. × 28 in. is in five lines of blackletter and reads:

"Here lyethe George Assheby Esquier one of the Clerk of the sygnet to Kynge
Henry the vii and Chyeff Clerke of the sygnet and Counsellor to Kynge Henry
the viiith and Rose his wyffe whiche George Decessyd the xiiiith day of Marche
in the yere of o^r lorde God M^occccxiiii and the sayd Rose Decessyd the ...
day of in the yere of o^r lorde God M^oV^o whose soules God ydon".*

The effigies of the four sons below are in plain civilian costume. A corner is broken from this plate and the upper part of the two eldest boys is missing. The three girls are in simple dresses with caps and veils hanging behind their heads.

The three shields at the top of the brass measure $6\frac{3}{4}$ in. × $5\frac{3}{4}$ in. and bear the following arms: the dexter shield has *azure a chevron or between three eagles displayed, double-headed argent*, for Ashby; the centre shield has Ashby impaling *quarterly 1 & 4 sable a cross engrailed or for Peyton, 2 & 3 argent a bear rampant sable muzzled or for Bernard*; that on the sinister side has Ashby impaling *argent on a fess gules three garbs or between two chevrons azure each charged with three escallops of the field* for Eden. The Eden impalement is for his wife, Rose, whose brother Richard Eden is referred to in George's will.⁽⁷⁾ This will includes the following interesting items: he asks to be buried either at the 'blake ffryers in London or else at the monastery of Christeschurch'; he requests the executors to find 'some honest priest' to intercede for his soul; and he leaves 20s. to the building of Harefield church, sums of money to his daughters Anne Assheby and Elyn, and a 'guylt cupp' to Anne. To his wife, Rose he leaves 'such goods as shall sufficiently find my sonne Thomas

to scole and to be put to such learning as she her brethren and other my ffrendes shall think . . . till he shall come to the age of 21 years'. He bequeaths to 'my saide sonne my signet wth my Armes in it which was my Granntfathers and bequeathed unto me by my ffader in his last will'. After these specific bequests he leaves the residue of his estate to his wife Rose who is the sole executor.

(It is interesting to recall (mentioned in Part VII of these notes⁽⁸⁾) the brass at Edmonton to Nicholas Boone and his wife, on which the inscription dwelt upon the translation of temporal into eternal marriage. Nicholas Boone's will of December 1523, revealed that in fact he had married twice, his second wife being Rose Ashby, a widow, to whom he in turn left the residue of his estate and whom he made his sole executrix. He left his property in Edmonton to Rose, but after her death it was to go to his brother Bede Bone and his lawful heirs. However, his land and tenements in Chigwell, Essex (which at the time of writing I perhaps erroneously said were left to Rose) were to go, after the death of his wife, to Thomas Ashby 'my wyfe sonne'.

(The similarity of names and the evidence that Thomas Ashby was well under 21 in 1514/15 when his father's will was proved makes convincing the theory that Rose Ashby who, curiously with four sons, is shown on this brass at Harefield, having buried her husband, subsequently moved to Edmonton with her son Thomas under age and lived to bury another husband, whose grave was adorned with a brass put down at the death of his first wife.)

Shortly after the death of George Assheby, in 1516, one Prior Docwra leased Moor Hall farm (whereon was the Knights Hospitallers' Chapel, recently so wantonly destroyed) to Rose Assheby for 40 years, at £19 per annum, to maintain a chaplain for the parish church, and to administer the Sacrament to the parishioners. In 1520 another lease was granted to Rose Bower, widow, at £20 per annum.⁽⁹⁾ At first sight this might be thought a mis-spelling for Boone, but would there have been a need for a new lease to the same person after only four years? Moreover, Rose Boone was not widowed until 1523. The date 1520 may more likely be that of Rose Assheby's move to Edmonton and perhaps marriage to Nicholas Boone.

This brass to George and Rose Assheby, having become loose, was repaired in 1912, when it was found that the whole composition, with the exception of the plate with the sons upon it, was palimpsest. Parts of no fewer than eight earlier brasses were re-engraved on the reverse side to make up the Assheby memorial. A full account of these reverses, and illustrations of both obverse and reverse, have been given by Mill Stephenson.⁽¹⁰⁾ The main effigies and children were also illustrated in Vol. XI of *The Home Counties Magazine*.

V. *William Assheby, gent, in armour, and wife, Jane, 1537, with one son and seven daughters and inscription, 2 shields now lost; on the floor of the north chapel.*

This brass lies on the floor of the north chapel alongside No. III. It is smaller but engraved at about the same time. The two standing figures are again turned towards one another. The armour worn by William Assheby is similar to that of George and typical of this period. The lady's costume resembles that of Rose, but is simpler. There is no fur edging shown down the front of the overmantle but there is a long pendant from the girdle

with pomander at the end. The two figures are 20 in. high and immediately below is the inscription in five lines of blackletter on a plate 5½ in. × 21 in.:

Off þoʀ charyte þy for yʰ good Astate of Wm Assheby gantyllmā
and for the Soule of Jane his wiff which Jane decessyd yʰ xxviiith day
of October the yere of oʀ lord God M V^cxxxvii and yʰ said Wm
Assheby decessyd yʰ day of the yere of oʀ lord god
M V^c on whose Soules Jhu have mercy Amen.

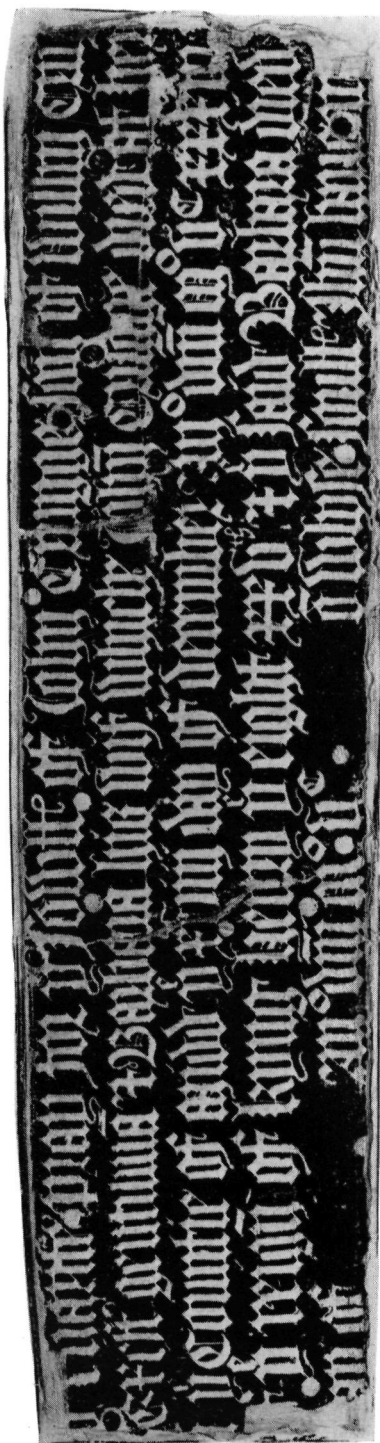
The brass was evidently laid down on the death of the wife, and the date of William's death was never filled in. Below the inscription is on the dexter side the small figure of a son in civilian dress and on the other side seven daughters. Above are the indents for two shields, now lost.

Vernon in his account of the church describes this William as the son of George, but Mill Stephenson refers to him as his brother. The only son mentioned by name in the will of George Assheby was Thomas, a minor at the time of his father's death. And provision was made for Thomas Ashby in the will of Nicholas Boone, suggesting he may have had no inheritance at Harefield. However, the brass of George Assheby shows four sons. Also there is record in the parish registers of the baptism on 5th February, 1540, of Francis, son of Thomas Ashby.

Like the other Ashby brass described above, this is made from re-used metal taken from six earlier monuments. These too, have been described and illustrated by Mill Stephenson⁽¹⁰⁾ while the obverse has been illustrated in *The Home Counties Magazine*, volume XI.

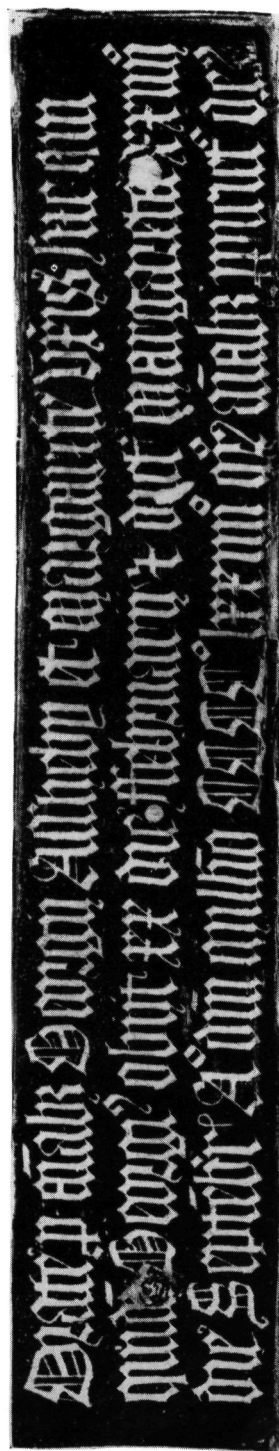
NOTES

- 1 *Harl. Soc.*, 42, 1898, p. 186.
- 2 See Lysons, *County of Middlesex*, 1800, p. 105; taken from a cartulary compiled by John Newdegate in the reign of Henry VIII.
- 3 *Harl. Soc.*, 43, 1899, p. 27.
- 4 *Harl. Soc.*, 12, 1877, p. 39.
- 5 P.C.C. 37 Porch.
- 6 P.C.C., 12 Hogen.
- 7 P.C.C., 10 Holder.
- 8 *Lond. & Mdsx. Arch. Soc. T.*, Vol. XIX, Pt. 2.
- 9 See *St. Paul's Eccles. Soc. Trans.*, II, p. xlii.
- 10 *Mon. Brass Soc. T.*, VI, pp. 235-240; *P.S.A.*, 2 S, XXIV, 214, 215.



(a) HAREFIELD VII

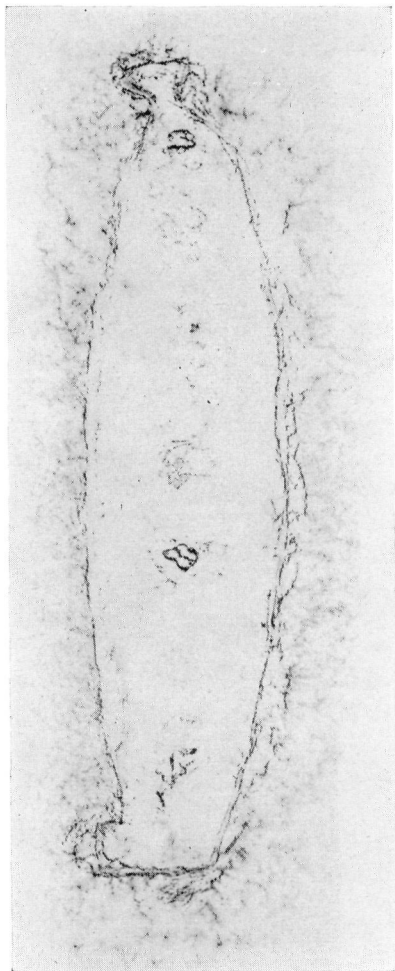
John and Barbara Crugge, 1533



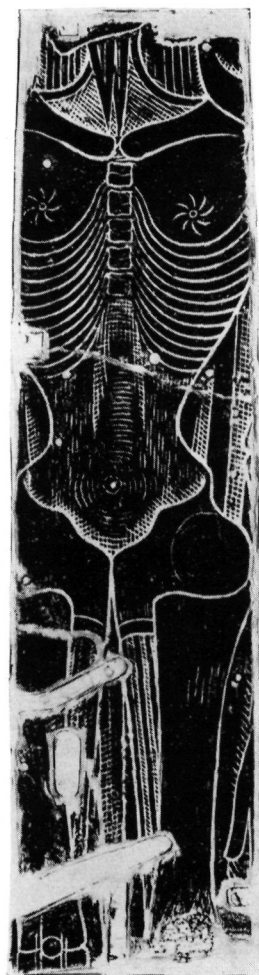
(b) HAREFIELD II

George and Margaret Assheby, 1474

PLATE 6



(a) HAREFIELD
Indent for figure in shroud on
tomb in chancel, associated
with No. VI



(b) HAREFIELD
Skeleton, c. 1500, on reverse
of No. VII

THE COUNTY HALL SHIP

BY PETER R. V. MARSDEN

INTRODUCTION

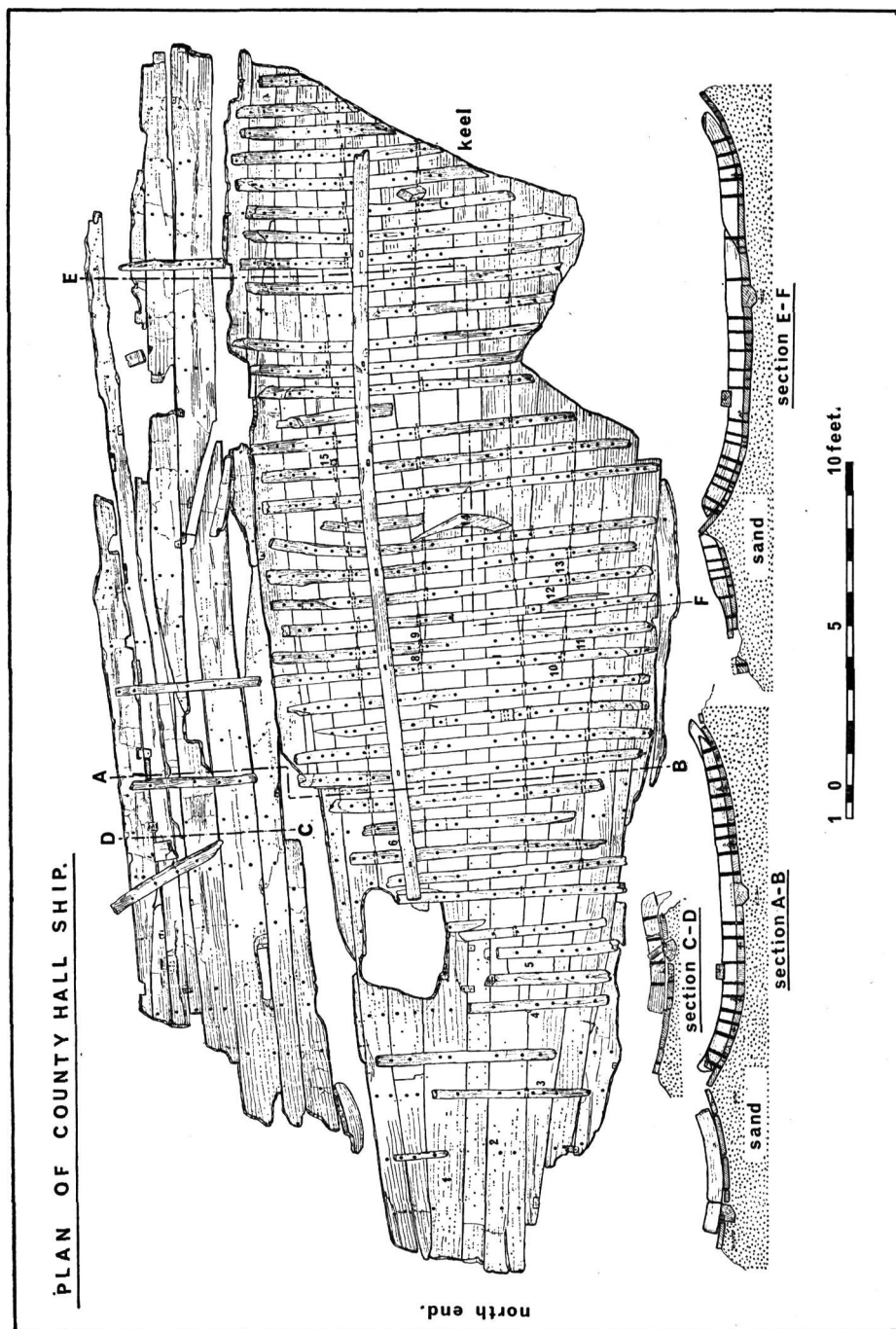
The ship was discovered on the site of the County Hall, London, in the early part of 1910. The site lies on the south bank of the Thames, between Westminster Bridge and Charing Cross railway bridge. At the time, the London County Council, 'having regard to the great importance' of the wreck, had it excavated, and, on 25 October 1910, resolved to have it removed to one of the vaults of the then new County Hall, where its timbers were treated for preservation. On 1 August 1911 the Council decided to offer the ship to the London Museum on permanent loan. The offer was welcomed by the trustees of the Museum, and the ship is now exhibited in a special annexe there.

A pamphlet was published by the London County Council dealing exclusively with the ship, and a second edition of this was published in 1912. It was entitled *Ship of the Roman period discovered on the site of the new County Hall*, and was written by W. E. Riley, Architect of the Council, and L. Gomme, Clerk to the Council. The former gave an excellent description of the remains, which has been used here with a few alterations and additions, while the latter wrote a chapter entitled 'Historical Notes', where it was argued that the County Hall ship was 'one of Allectus's vessels that endeavoured to escape in the fight of London, but was overtaken and destroyed' by the fleet of Constantius in 296 A.D. This is a conjecture entirely unsupported by the evidence⁽¹⁾ and it is not pursued here. The pamphlet has long been out of print, and a re-publication of the report, bringing it up to date, is now overdue. I am most grateful to the Clerk of the London County Council for permission to quote extensively from its pamphlet, and I am indebted to Miss Jean Macdonald of the London Museum, for her help in many ways. The London County Council is to be congratulated on its quick appreciation of the importance of the ship, and for ensuring its complete publication and preservation.

DESCRIPTION OF THE SHIP (see Fig. 1)

The remains of a ship of the Roman period (end of the 3rd century A.D.) were discovered in February 1910, but could not be uncovered until the summer. It lay N.E.-S.W., with its north end towards the shore, 21 ft. 6 in. below the level of Belvedere Road, 350 ft. north of Westminster Bridge approach, and 300 ft. east of the Embankment retaining wall. Because it is not possible to tell which end was the bow and which the stern, compass points are referred to throughout this report. For explanations of the ship-building terms used in this paper, the reader is referred to the glossary at the end (p. 117).

The preserved portion of the ship is built of oak throughout. Three fragments from different parts of the ship (i.e. keel, plank and rib) have been identified by Dr. Metcalfe of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, Surrey, as being from one of the species *Quercus robur* or *Quercus petraea*. These two species grow in central and northern Europe, but not in Mediterranean lands.



Key:

1. Coin of Carausius
2. Paste bead
3. Coin of Tetricus under rib.
4. Piece of pottery under rib to cover hole in plank.
5. Clay packing to stop leak, covered with oak board one inch thick.
6. Pulley block under keelson.
7. Ram's horn.

Fig. 1

8. Piece of pottery.
9. Part of brooch in limber hole.
10. Piece of pottery
11. Coin of Allectus
12. Belaying pin
13. Large iron nail.
14. Detached rib.
15. Large flint embedded in planking.

The vessel is carvel-built, and the measurements of the remains *in situ* were approximately 38 ft. in length and 18 ft. in width, but as a considerable portion of the south end is missing, it is difficult to determine its original size (see *Plate 1(a)*). As far as can be judged however, it would appear to have been between 60 and 70 feet in length with a beam of between 15 and 16 feet, and with a depth of at least 6 feet.

The keel (*Fig. 2, A*) is straight and measures $8\frac{1}{2}$ in. in width, and $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. in thickness, chamfered on both lower edges to 3 in. on the flat. Along the centre of the upper face of the keel, are numerous $\frac{5}{8}$ in. trenails (wooden pegs). These appear for a distance of about 12 ft. from the north end of the remains, but none were found beyond this. It has been suggested that these were to hold a false keel, but this would be possible only if the trenails go right through the keel—a point which it is not possible to ascertain. Draw-tongued joints were used to secure the garboard strakes to the keel at intervals of about 6 in., the oak tongues being 5 in. by $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $\frac{1}{4}$ in. and secured with $\frac{5}{8}$ in. trenails. This method is also used for fixing the strakes to one another. The joints and construction throughout indicate the vessel as a fine piece of carpentry, and no caulking of the seams apparently was necessary. Near the north end the upper face of the keel is $\frac{3}{4}$ in. above the general surface, but at a distance of about 7 ft. it becomes flush. The garboard strakes are 3 in. in thickness, and from 13 to 15 in. in width. The remainder of the strakes average $10\frac{1}{2}$ to 15 in. in width, and in thickness those near the keel are 3 in., thinning down to 2 in. at the sides. They are long planks commencing with a feather heading (*Fig. 2, B*), widening to the centre and scarfed (*Fig. 2, C*) in places.

Very little iron was used in the construction. One instance noted is that where each strake starts with its feather head, a large headed nail is driven into the board already fixed (*Fig. 2, B*). The nail was probably used for extra strength as otherwise this portion of the joint would be weak.

The portion remaining of the east side is much damaged, and has been severed from the main structure. In this section is a fender or wale, 6 in. square, for protecting and stiffening the side of the vessel (*Fig. 2, D*), and also for receiving cross-bearers which probably carried a deck. At centres of about 3 ft. notchings $6\frac{1}{2}$ to $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. long, $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. deep, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide, were found on its top surface (*Fig. 2, E*). The end of two cross-bearers or deckbeams were discovered in the wale, each being fixed by two iron nails.

The side keelson (*Fig. 2, F*) is housed on to the ribs on the east side, 2 ft. to 3 ft. from the keel, but the corresponding one on the west side is missing. It measures $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. in width by $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. in thickness. Iron nails were used for fixing it in position, and at intervals of about 3 ft. mortices are cut, probably to hold timber uprights or stanchions to support the cross-bearers. The mortices measure about $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. long, $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. deep.

Most of the ribs near the north end are lost, but the broken trenails remain showing their position. These give the distance of about 1 ft. 9 in. from centre to centre of rib. This dimension decreases at a distance of 6 ft. from the north end of the remains, where the ribs average 10 in. from centre to centre, which dimension generally holds, except at a distance of about 22 ft., where there is a space of 1 ft. 5 in. on the west side. No trenails in the strakes were found to indicate that a rib had been fixed here.

The ribs are about $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. broad, $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. deep, and are cut to shape, every alternate rib being carried up the sides. Knee timber, or timber cut to the natural curve of the grain, has generally been used in the construction. One length of rib was found following the grain of the wood (*Fig. 2, D; Plate 1(b)*); it evidently belonged to the side of the vessel;

its upper end curves round and continues with a tenon which was probably fixed into a waling piece, possibly the gunwale, above the deck level.

The ribs and strakes are fixed together by oak trenails $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. in diameter, averaging about 6 in. centre to centre, but no regular pitch was observed. Where the keel is raised above the garboard strakes, the ribs are slightly notched, but in no case are the ribs fixed

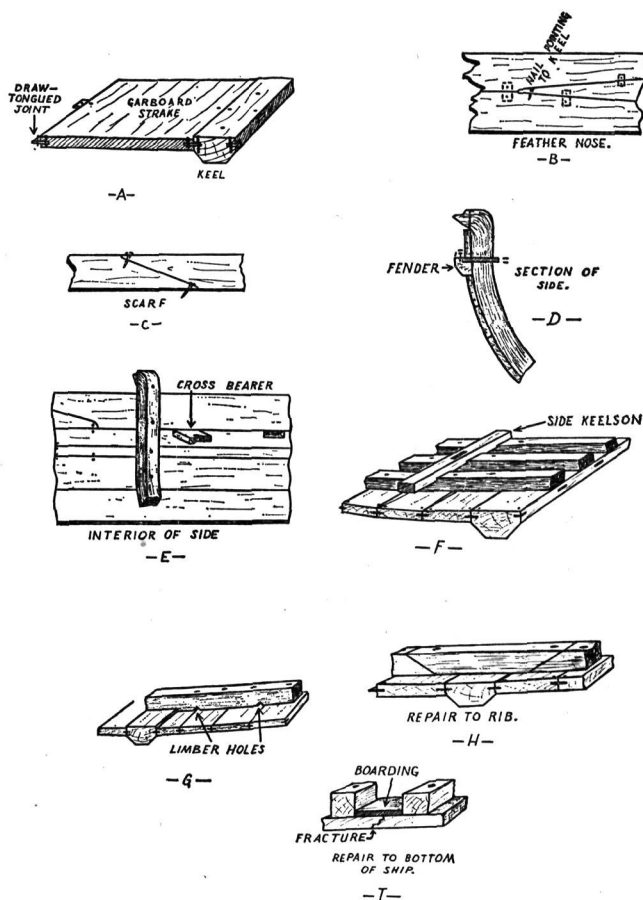


Fig. 2

Sketches to illustrate the construction of the ship. *Not drawn to scale.*

to the keel (Fig. 2, G). A length of curved rib was discovered in the bottom of the vessel (Fig. 1, no. 14). It thins off to a feather point at one end; one face is straight for a length of 1 ft. 8 in. It is either a portion of a lap joint, or the end of a rib, which feathered off against an upright bulwark. Two limber holes (Fig. 2, G) are cut into the underside of the ribs on either side of the keel; these holes permitted the bilge water to flow, probably to a position near the centre of the vessel where the water would be more accessible for throwing overboard.

Evidence of damage and repair is apparent. Three of the ribs have had their centre portions renewed (Fig. 2, H). The boards in many places show signs of fracture, and above

these are short lengths of thin oak boards (*Fig. 2, I*) In one case a sherd of Roman black pottery was tightly wedged and embedded in stiff clay beneath a rib. On further examination it was found to be filling a hole at the end of a feather head of one of the lower strakes. In spite of every precaution, these joints were evidently a source of weakness. Several large iron nails were found driven through the strakes into the ribs, most probably for the purpose of superseding broken trenails.

A large hole is shown on the plan near the north end. The cause of this fracture is not clear, but below the vessel and 2 ft. away from the hole, a portion of timber was found, measuring 2 ft. 5 in. long, and 10 in. in diameter, which may have been part of a mast. It is therefore possible that the hole was caused by the breaking of the mast.

EVIDENCE FOR DATE

The ship was covered by 7 ft. of silt and 14 ft. of made ground, but at other points near the ship, the silt amounted to 14 ft., and the made ground 7 ft. The vessel was lying on top of a stratum of sand and gravel, and from the deposit of shelly sand which had drifted under the curved portions, it may be concluded that it sank in a quiet pool at the edge of the river. It is probable that at this period the river was a clear, running stream, as not only did the vessel rest on clean sand, but there was a deposit of about $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. of sand inside it.

The objects found inside the ship include: bronze coin of Tetricus the Elder (Emperor in Gaul) 270–273 A.D., discovered beneath the rib nearest the north end; bronze coin of Carausius (Emperor in Britain) 287–293 A.D., also beneath a rib; bronze coin of Carausius (Emperor in Britain) 287–293 A.D.; bronze coin of Allectus (Emperor in Britain) 293–296 A.D., (both of these latter coins were lying directly on the bottom of the ship); portions of Roman hob-nailed shoes and fragments of leather; several fragments of Roman pottery which agree with the date given by the coins; two light blue gaming counters; iron nails of various sizes; an oak pin encrusted with iron oxide; an oak pin burnt at one end; bones of domestic and wild animals, including a tusk of a boar and a fragment of an antler; a block to contain two pulleys (*Fig. 3, No. 2*) and a belaying pin (?) (*Fig. 3 No. 1*) found between the ribs beneath the keelson (both have been identified as Ash (*Fraxinus* sp.) by the Director of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew); several large rounded stones, each about 3 lb. in weight, one of which was partly embedded in a strake (one of these stones, preserved at the London Museum, is a septarian nodule from the London Clay).

Clearly the coins are the principal objects for dating, and these show that the ship sank after 293 A.D., but probably not long after that date. The fragment of a coarse, grey ware flanged bowl (*Fig. 3, No. 3*) found inside the ship agrees with this dating.

PRESERVATION

As a matter of historical interest, the method of preserving the timbers of the ship should be recorded, but it must be noted that the method employed in 1911 probably would not be used today. When found, the timbers were in a soft and waterlogged condition. On drying a detached fragment it was found that the wood toughened, but shrank and cracked very considerably. After experimenting it was found that a treatment of several coats of glycerine gave the best results. A total of thirteen coats of glycerine were given to the timbers, and this kept them sufficiently damp to shrink slowly and give

tenacity to the wood. The last two coats contained mercuric chloride, to act as a preservative and to prevent the growth of fungi, and in all $5\frac{1}{4}$ cwt. of glycerine were absorbed by the timbers.

REMOVAL FROM THE SITE

As the decision of the London County Council to remove the vessel was not given until October 1910, the difficulty of removal had been increased by the construction of a

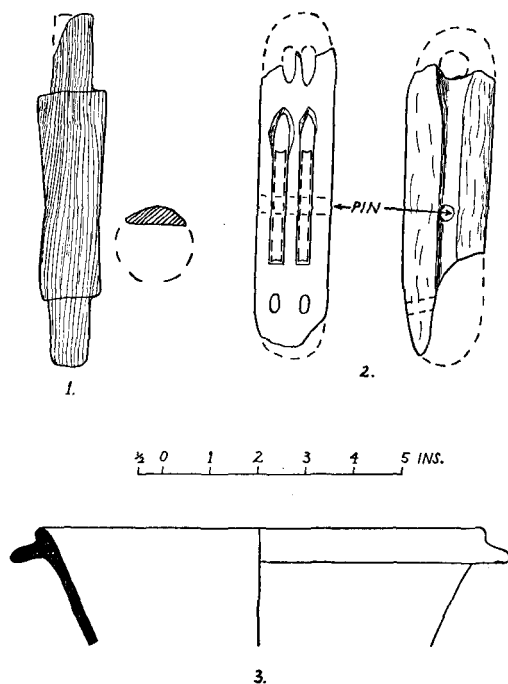


Fig. 3

concrete raft round the vessel. The timbers were so fragile and soft that they could, at that time, be cut like cheese. It was possible to lift the vessel only as a whole; any other process would have destroyed it.

A strong cradle was therefore built under the largest portion. Wood runners 14 in. by 6 in. and 40 feet long, were first sunk on either side to about 2 ft. below the lowest part of the vessel. On these runners longitudinal bearers were placed, by removing the sand below the vessel at intervals until the whole had been placed in position. Packing pieces cut to shape were inserted between the bearers so that the boarding of the vessel should rest upon them. The whole framing was bolted together and felt inserted between the bearers, and runners, to reduce vibration on removal. The weight of the ship and the cradle was calculated at 10 tons. Lifting jacks were used to raise it out of the excavation to the level of the raft, which was 6 ft. above where the ship lay. It was then conveyed on rollers to one of the vaults where it remained until its subsequent removal to the London Museum on 24 August 1911.

RECONSTRUCTION AND NOTES

The plan (*Fig. 1*) shows that the preserved portion of the ship lay at about the middle of the vessel, extending for some distance towards the north end. It can be seen that the strakes are curving in towards that end; and also the beginning of the rise of the keel towards that end has been noted. The east side of the ship had fortunately collapsed outwards, thus ensuring its preservation, and it is not difficult to reconstruct it onto the main portion of the vessel. As the missing west side would have conformed in shape to the east, a complete cross-section of the ship can be drawn (*Fig. 4*). This shows that the ship had a beam of 15–16 ft. and a depth amidships of probably little more than 6 ft.

Every alternate rib was carried up the east side and fortunately the upper end of one of these has been preserved. The end of the rib curves out beyond the side of the ship and

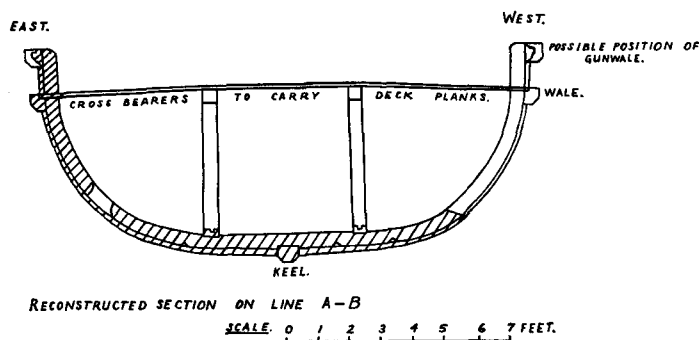


Fig. 4

terminates with a tenon (*Fig. 2, D; Plate 1(b)*). If all of the other ribs which continued up the side terminated in the same way, then it is possible that the tenon fitted into a mortice in the gunwale. Below the missing gunwale there is a wale into which the ends of the deck-beams fitted. The deck-beams are rather small in section but the frequency at which they occur—at intervals of less than 3 feet—would compensate for their small dimension. The distance between the deck-beams corresponds with the distance between the mortice-holes in the side keelson, which presumably held the bottoms of a series of upright stanchions supporting the deck-beams.

There is little evidence to show how the ship was propelled. There is, however, no arrangement for rowing on the preserved east side, and this fact, together with the size of the vessel, the discovery of a pulley block, and what were thought to be part of a mast and a belaying pin, indicates that the ship was probably propelled by sail.

The characteristic features of the construction of the County Hall ship are the carvel build and the draw-tongued joints by which the planks are held to each other and the keel. It is interesting to compare this construction with the many wrecks of the Roman period which have been investigated in the Mediterranean area. The most important Mediterranean wrecks include the Albenga ship,⁽²⁾ the Lake Nemi ships and boats,⁽³⁾ the Grand Congloué ship, the Titan ship, the Draumont ship, the Mahdia ship, the Monaco ship,⁽⁴⁾ the Chretienne 'A' ship,⁽⁵⁾ and the recently discovered Fiumicino ships and boats. Like the County Hall ship, all of these Mediterranean vessels were carvel-built and their strakes were held together by draw-tongued joints.

Recent research has been carried out into the question of exactly how the Mediterranean ships were built. It has now been shown⁽⁶⁾ that the shell of the ships was constructed first, and that the ribs were inserted after. In some of the ships the nails holding the planking to the ribs had been driven through draw-tongued joints showing that the planking had been in position before the ribs.

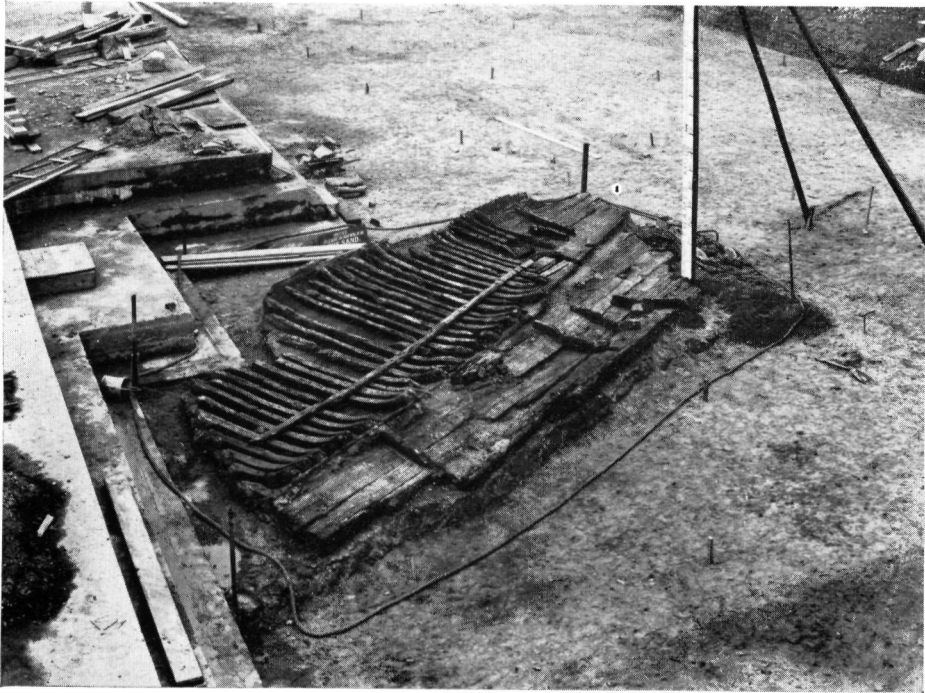
There is no record to show that the excavators of the County Hall ship found any of the trenails, which held the planks to the ribs, driven through draw-tongued joints. However, there is sufficient other evidence to show that the ribs of the ship had been inserted *after* the shell of the vessel had been constructed. Firstly, the plan of the ship shows that there are some instances where the rib had overlaid draw-tongued joints (*e.g.* below the sites of the ribs first and second from the north end of the wreck), and if the planking had been attached to a pre-erected framework of ribs, then surely the ship-builder would have made his draw-tongued joints elsewhere than beneath the ribs. Secondly, had the ribs been erected first, then one would have expected them to have been attached to the keel, but instead the keel was only attached to the planking, by draw-tongued joints. And thirdly, in the original report it is stated that 'where the keel is raised above the gar-board strakes, the ribs are slightly notched (beneath)'. The notches can only be explained if they are minor alterations to fit in with the variations in the previously constructed shell of the ship.

The species of timber used to construct the County Hall ship shows that the vessel was not built in the Mediterranean area, but somewhere in northern Europe. The method by which the ship was constructed appears to have originated in the Mediterranean area, and there is no evidence to show that this method of construction was used in northern Europe before the Roman occupation. This means that the ship-builder who was responsible for the construction of the County Hall ship was well acquainted with the Mediterranean method of shipbuilding, and in fact may have been of Mediterranean origin.

It has been suggested that the County Hall ship was a barge⁽⁷⁾, but since the discovery of the ship, two further vessels of the same period have been found in London, both of which were barges. These other vessels, found at New Guy's House in 1958 (see the following paper) and in the river Thames at Blackfriars in 1962, had an entirely different shape and construction from the County Hall ship. Each had a wide flat bottom, and the Blackfriars ship had no keel. Unfortunately it is not known if the New Guy's House boat possessed a keel, but the Blackfriars ship shows that the barge shape was known at that early date. A barge normally works in rivers and estuaries, and the main purpose of the flat bottom is to enable the barge to sit upright on the river bed at low tide. The rounded bottom and projecting keel of the County Hall ship, however, show that the vessel was not a barge. The shape of the bottom is more like those of Roman merchant ships in the Mediterranean, and it would probably be more correct to say that the County Hall ship was a sea-going merchant ship, which, owing to its small size, was probably largely confined to coastal work.

The size of a ship is shown by its tonnage, and there are various formulae for working this out. For the purpose of uniformity the formula used here is which has already been used in connection with an ancient ship in use in the Mediterranean.⁽⁸⁾

$$\frac{\text{Length of keel} \times \text{beam} \times \frac{1}{2} \text{ beam}}{94} = \text{tonnage}$$



Photograph: London County Council

General view of the County Hall ship *in situ*



Photograph: London County Council

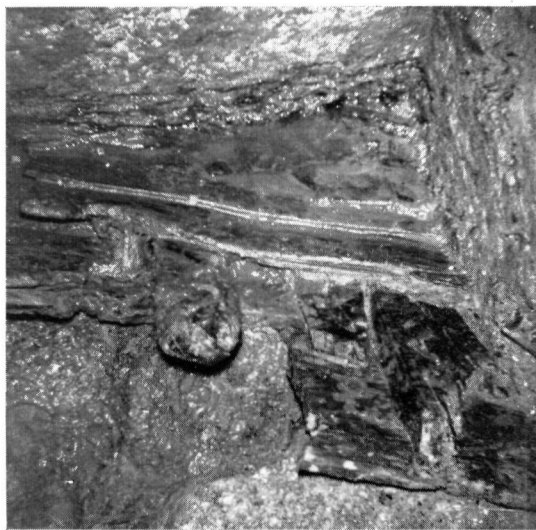
The County Hall ship: end of rib, and broken end of deck-beam

PLATE 1



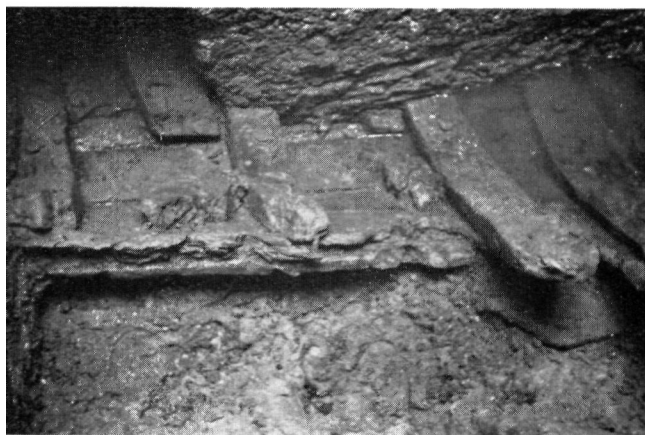
Photograph: A. L. Tucker

(a) The New Guy's House boat: Cutting II, north end of boat



Photograph: A. L. Tucker

(b) The New Guy's House boat: Cutting II, showing loose floor planks



Photograph: A. L. Tucker

(c) The New Guy's House boat: Cutting II, after removal of loose floor planks



Photograph: Guildhall Museum

(d) The New Guy's House boat: Samian Ware vase, Déchelette form 72, from Cutting IV, level V

As the length of the County Hall ship appears to have been about 60–70 ft., it is reasonable to assume that the length of the keel was in the region of 50 ft. The formula then becomes:

$$\frac{50 \times 15 \times 7\frac{1}{2}}{94} = 59 \text{ tons}$$

Because the length of the keel is not exactly known, this tonnage figure is only a rough estimate, but it is sufficient to give the approximate size of the ship.

We are now in a position to compare the County Hall ship with those in use in the Mediterranean during the Roman period. Recent research⁽⁹⁾ has established that most of the Roman merchant ships in the Mediterranean were between about 70 and 340 tons, but that occasionally ships of well over 1000 tons were built for special purposes. The County Hall ship therefore falls into the smallest class of merchant ship, and it gives us a more complete view of the construction of one of these vessels, than has hitherto been discovered.

GLOSSARY

Carvel construction. The planking of a ship laid edge to edge.

Caulking. The wadding driven into the seams between the planks to make them watertight.

Ceiling. The inside planking of a ship.

Clenched nail. A nail which has been driven through the planking and rib and the pointed end bent down against the inner face of the rib.

Garboard strake. The first line of planks laid on a ship's bottom next to the keel.

Keelson. In this case a longitudinal timber resting on the ribs at the bottom of the vessel, but not in the centre.

Side frame. A rib attached to the side of a ship only.

Strake. A line of planks running the length of a vessel.

Trenail. A wooden peg.

Wale. A heavy strake running fore and aft below the gunwale.

NOTES

- 1 *London in Roman Times*, 1946, London Museum, p. 154.
- 2 N. Lamboglia and F. Benoit, *Scavi sottomarini in Liguria e in Provenza*, 1953.
- 3 Guido Ucelli, *Le Navi di Nemi*, 1950.
- 4 F. Benoit, *L'épave du Grand Congloué à Marseille*, 1961.
- 5 F. Dumas, *Épaves antiques*, 1964.
- 6 L. Casson, 'New light on ancient rigging and boat-building', *The American Neptune*, vol. XXIV, no. 2 (April, 1964), p. 88.
- 7 G. S. Laird Clowes, *Sailing ships, their history and development*, 1959, p. 29.
- 8 L. Casson, 'The Isis and her voyage', *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, vol. LXXXI, 1950, p. 55.
- 9 L. Casson, 'The size of ancient merchant ships', *Studi in onore di Aristide Calderini e Roberto Paribeni*, vol. I, 1956, p. 236.

A BOAT OF THE ROMAN PERIOD DISCOVERED ON THE SITE OF NEW GUY'S HOUSE, BERMONDSEY, 1958

BY PETER R. V. MARSDEN

THE SITE

The site (*Fig. 1*) of New Guy's House lies in Bermondsey and is bounded by Sparricks Row in the north, by Snows Fields in the south, by Weston Street in the east, and by Great Maze Pond in the west. Excavations for the foundations of this new building commenced in 1957, and the writer carried out a rescue-excavation until 1960, when the contractor's excavations finished. A complete site report will be published later in these *Transactions*.

HISTORY OF THE DISCOVERY AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

On 8 March 1958 workmen digging a foundation trench in the south-west corner of the south-west wing of the hospital uncovered the remains of a timber structure lying on the natural gravel at a depth of about 16 feet below road level. The structure appeared to be part of a boat, which, in view of its considerable depth and its relationship to Roman rubbish nearby, was possibly of Roman date.

Permission was requested in 1959 for a small archaeological excavation to be carried out at the northern end of the vessel, and this was readily given by the site contractors, Messrs. Y. J. Lovell & Co. Ltd. They also generously assisted in a practical way by excavating and shoring up a trench to a depth of 16 feet, where the boat lay, and also by filling up the two trenches afterwards, all at their own expense. The unfailing help given by this company, and especially by Mr. E. G. Finn (the manager), Mr. Simpson (the site agent) and Mr. Sharpe (the site clerk of works) is most gratefully acknowledged.

The Governors of Guy's Hospital were most co-operative in granting permission through the Clerk to the Governors, Mr. B. Lees Read, to excavate on the Hospital land; and thanks are due to an enthusiastic party of volunteers, mainly from the London Natural History Society, who so readily gave up their weekends to work hard in wet and muddy conditions. The photographic assistance of Mr. M. Minns and Mr. A. L. Tucker was also appreciated.

Mr. Norman Cook, M.A., F.S.A., Keeper of the Guildhall Museum, kindly read the original of this report, and made a number of useful suggestions; Mr. George P. B. Naish, F.S.A., of the National Maritime Museum, kindly assisted in various ways; and the Director of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, kindly identified the timbers and caulking of the boat.

CONSTRUCTION OF THE BOAT (See Fig. 2)

The remains of a boat of the second century were partly uncovered by workmen in 1958 in Cutting I (see Fig. 5), a foundation trench at the south-west corner of the south-west wing of New Guy's House. The north end of the vessel was carefully excavated in Cutting II in 1959 (Plate 1(a)). The vessel lies roughly N.N.E.-S.S.W., at about 6 in. below Ordnance datum (Newlyn), and below about 7 ft. of silt and 9 ft. of post-medieval rubbish, which lie below the present street level. For explanations of the ship-building terms used in this paper, the reader is referred to p. 117 of the preceding paper.

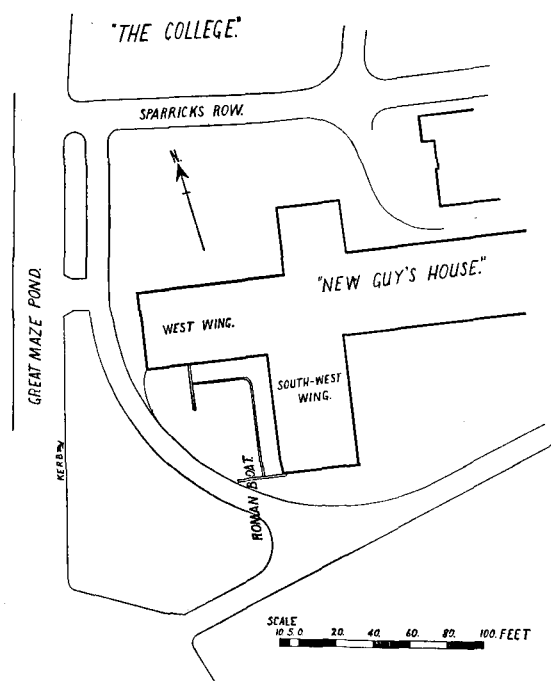


Fig. 1

Plan of part of New Guy's House to show site of Roman boat.

The boat is of oak (*Quercus robur* type) and of carvel construction.⁽¹⁾ From the north end of cutting II to the south end of cutting I the distance is 22 ft., and it is possible to reconstruct the general shape of the north end of the vessel. The sides of the boat for the whole 22 ft. are curving in towards that end. The excavations did not uncover enough of the vessel to determine which end was the bow and which the stern, so references are made to compass points. The width of the vessel at 22 ft. from the north end is about 12 ft. 6 in. and its greatest width, deduced from the curvature of the exposed portions, is probably about 14 ft. The dimensions of the beam probably indicates that the length of the vessel was in the region of 50 ft.

The keel curves upwards and measures 6 in. in width at the southern end of Cutting II, narrowing to 5 in. at the northern end of the Cutting, and below rib 6 it is 4½ in. in

thickness.⁽²⁾ The outer-hull planks fit into rabbets on each side of the keel at the north end, and are secured by numerous iron nails. The joint is probably made watertight by a caulking which consists of the epidermis of a root, but as all the internal tissues have become disorganised, the root cannot be identified.

The portions of the outer-hull planks rescued from Cutting I, and those removed from Cutting II, were found to have a yellow substance adhering to the outside of them. Fragments of three of these planks were preserved by boiling them in alum and this bleached the wood. The yellow substance had disappeared, and instead, adhering to the outside of the planks, were traces of pitch.

In Cutting II the outer-hull planks, which average between 9 and 12 in. in width, are 1 in. thick. Only one seam, on the east side of the boat, has any caulking, and this is of crushed hazel twigs (*Corylus avellana*). A sample of caulking removed from the side of the vessel showed that the hazel twigs lie across the upper edge of the lower strake.

A great deal of iron was used in the construction of the vessel; not only are the outer-hull planks nailed to the ribs from the outside, but each 'U'-shaped rib is nailed to the centre of the keel with one large iron nail (*Plate 1(c)*). The head of the nail fastening each rib to the keel stands about 1 in. proud of the top surface of each rib, indicating that a plank was originally nailed in place along the keel-line inside the boat, but this has since been removed (*Fig. 3, B*). In Cutting I the long clench-nails that fastened the outer-hull planks to the ribs were clenched over the top of the ribs. Overlying the ribs were ceiling planks lying edge to edge, which had been fastened to the top of the ribs by iron nails. The ceiling planks were of oak, and were three-quarters of an inch thick.

Several fragments of ribs and strakes, recovered from Cutting I, contained small recently broken oak trenails, the most complete of which was three-eighths of an inch in diameter, and 1½ in. long. The small size of these trenails and their scarcity indicates that, unlike those used in the County Hall ship, they could not have added much, if anything, to the strength of the boat's construction.

The 1959 excavation (Cutting II) shows that in this section of the boat clench-nails also fastened the outer-hull planks to the ribs. No ceiling planks were found here, but instead, loose planks, ¾ in. thick and between 3 and 7 in. in width, lay on the ribs inside the vessel over the keel and formed a floor (*Plate 1(b)*). Attached to the outside of the outer-hull on the west side of the boat was part of a long timber, rectangular in section, approximately 3 in. in width and 1½ in. thick. This was probably a fender but as the corresponding position on the east side of the boat was not examined, this interpretation is not certain.

Two forms of ribbing were used in the construction of the north end of the boat. Firstly, there were the 'U'-shaped crooks (ribs 2, 4, 6, 7 and 8) cut from the natural tree (knee timber), approximately 4½ in. broad and 3 in. deep and only this type was nailed to the keel. Secondly, there were side frames (ribs 1A and B, 3A and B, 5A and B) lying at an angle to the keel, nailed to the inside of the outer-hull planks on each side of the boat opposite each other. These latter did not pass over the keel, and as three pairs of this type were used only, it is obvious that their sole purpose was to strengthen the hull of the vessel in this area (*Plate 1(c)*). It should be noted that rib 8 was scarfed twice (*Fig. 3, A*), once on the west side and once over the keel. In Cutting I the ends of the ribs were found to taper on two sides, and this feature indicates that very few planks of the side of the boat were missing. The tapering possibly indicates that only the gunwale is

missing; in this case, the tapered part should probably stand vertical, and as it does not (see *Fig. 2* section G-H), it is possible that the main body of the boat has been slightly flattened by the overlying weight of clay.

Evidence of damage was apparent. Rib 1B was missing and the iron nails still in place show that it was wrenched out, apparently after being hit by something, as is indicated by the hole in the plank behind. Rib 6 was found to be split in three places above the keel.

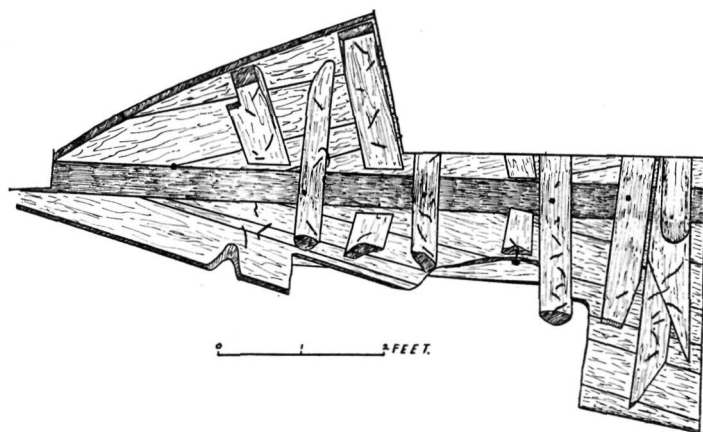


Fig. 3(a)
New Guy's House boat after removal of loose planks in Cutting II.

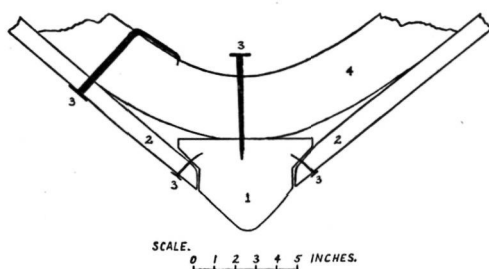


Fig. 3(b)
Section across keel to show construction
1, keel; 2, strakes; 3, iron nails; 4, rib.

This may have been due to subsequent earth pressure, but as this was the only split rib in Cutting II, it is unlikely. Some of the outer-hull planks had fallen off, due to decay soon after the vessel was abandoned, and these broken planks were found in the surrounding silt.

COMMENTS

The New Guy's House boat is probably in the region of 50 ft. long, with a beam of about 14 ft. That it was not more than 3 or 4 ft. deep amidships is indicated by the maximum depth of water in the stream in which the boat lay being less than 3 ft., and by the tapering ends of the ribs exposed in Cutting I. Although the method of propulsion and whether the boat had a keel are unknown at present, it seems safe to assume that this light, beamy vessel, with a low freeboard, was some form of river craft, probably a barge.

In the Mediterranean area many wrecks of Roman ships have been investigated, and although carvel built, like the New Guy's House boat, they possessed one basic difference. The planks of the Mediterranean ships and boats were all held to each other by draw-tongued joints. This feature was not found in the New Guy's House boat, but it did exist in the *County Hall ship*, also found in London. It has been shown that in constructing Roman ships where draw-tongued joints have been used, the shell of planking had been built up first and the ribs inserted after.⁽³⁾ In the New Guy's House boat, where no evidence was found to show that the planks had ever been edge-joined, it seems most likely that the planks had been attached to a pre-erected framework of ribs by the clenched iron nails. As the method employed in constructing the New Guy's House boat has not been found in the Mediterranean, it would seem that it was a local method of shipbuilding. The boat, being a river craft, was presumably built in the Thames-Medway region.

The clenched nail technique has also been found in the great Roman barges discovered in Lake Nemi, Italy, but it is not yet possible to say whether the Romans introduced it into Britain. In 1962 a large, flat-bottomed barge-like craft of the 2nd century was discovered in the bed of the Thames, at Blackfriars in the City of London. This vessel was somewhat similar to the New Guy's House boat in construction in that its planks were not edge-joined by draw-tongued joints, and its planks were held to massive ribs by long clenched iron nails.

If the estimated size of the New Guy's House boat is correct, then about one-sixth of the vessel was destroyed during the recent building operations. The boat now lies buried under lawns and small roads in the grounds of the hospital, and the excavated portions of the boat, shown to be remarkably complete, indicate that the rest of the boat is in an excellent state of preservation. As the boat is an example of a previously unknown method of ancient boat building, its complete excavation would add considerably to our knowledge of early ships in Britain and north-west Europe.

EVIDENCE FOR DATE

The boat lay on the bed of a tributary of the Thames, which, for the purposes of this paper, is called the Guy's Channel. In Roman times this meandered across the marshland east of the Roman suburb in Southwark. It was probably formed naturally by surface water cutting a channel for itself through the earlier silt deposits of the marsh, revealing the top of the Pleistocene river gravel which formed its bed.

Section A-B, *Figs. 4-5* (Cutting I), across the east side of the boat, shows it to be lying on a bed of vegetable debris or peat, which had formed on the bottom of the Guy's Channel over the river gravel and a layer of green-grey silt. The river gravel in this area lay at about 2½ ft. below the Roman marsh surface (see section J-K). The layer of peat

continued up the side of the vessel and may have been deposited in the slack water between the side of the boat and the east bank of the Guy's channel, which seems to have lain a few inches away.

Section C-D (Cutting II) shows the various silt layers in and around the northern end of the boat. Level A was a very sandy silt, which gradually merged into the natural sand and gravel at its base. This layer was clearly deposited under the upward curving keel, as section A-B shows no silt under the main body of the boat. The sandy nature of silt

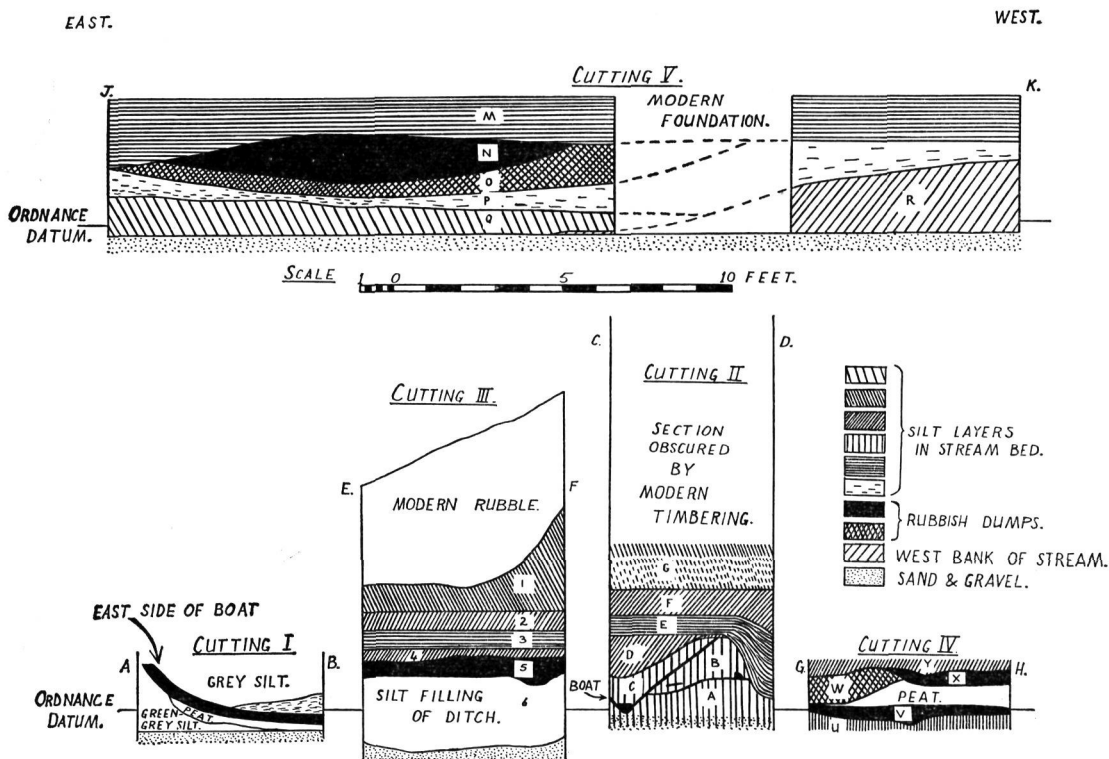


Fig. 4
Sections across the Guy's Channel.

layer A was possibly due to the northward flowing water in the Guy's Channel eddying around the north end of the vessel, and consequently stirring up the sand below, so that both silt and sand were mixed and deposited together. Level A was probably formed soon after the boat was abandoned, as no boat's timbers were found in it.

Silt layers B and C were deposited simultaneously while the vessel was rotting in the Guy's Channel, for it was in these two layers only that broken boat's timbers, outer-hull planks in layer B, and various shaped timbers, not necessarily from the boat, in layer C, were found. In layer B were found 33 small Roman pottery sherds, only a few of which were fairly closely dateable. The dateable sherds were of the period A.D. 190-225 (for a full report on these sherds see later), and indicate the period at which the vessel was

abandoned. As well as pottery, several fragments of Roman hob-nailed shoes, animal bones and a few oyster shells were found in this stratum. Level C contained three small undateable Roman sherds and a few fragments of Roman shoes, mixed in amongst the driftwood and loose timbers. This accumulation of driftwood at the north end was not found in such quantity in Cutting I, and it seems to indicate northward-flowing water.

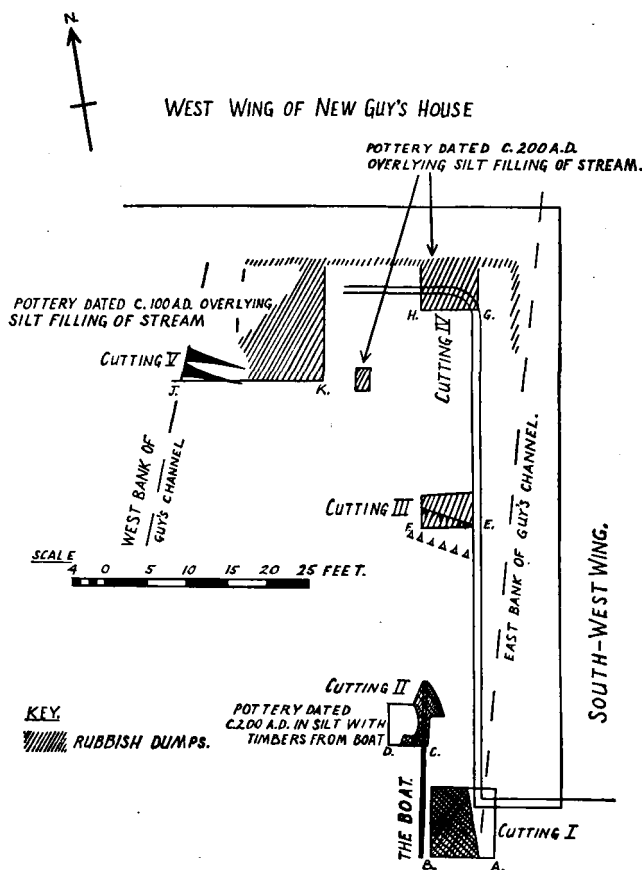


Fig. 5
Plan of the remains in the Guy's Channel.

Above layers B and C were a series of well-defined silt deposits. Level D contained numerous freshwater shells, and two Samian Ware sherds, one of which was of Antonine date. Level E contained only plant remains. Level F contained numerous freshwater shells similar in preservation to those found in layer D. Level G extended up to within about 9 ft. of the street level, where it was overlaid by post-medieval debris. It was 3-4 ft. thick and contained numerous freshwater shells which were in a distinctly different state of preservation⁽⁴⁾ from those in layers D and F below.

Not a single medieval sherd or object was found on this very large site during the whole period when rescue work was being carried out by the writer. It is important to note

that there were at least $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet of sterile silt over the boat between the highest silt layer containing Roman remains (level D) and the 16th–17th century rubbish deposits.

A similar series of silt layers were exposed in Cutting III (section E–F), several feet north of the north end of the boat, where a late 3rd or early 4th-century drainage ditch was found to have been cut through the silt filling of the Guy's Channel. Section E–F shows level 5, a rubbish dump containing a considerable quantity of pottery of the first half of the 4th century (*Fig. 6*, nos. 18–26), overlying the silt filling of a ditch. Covering level 5 was silt layer 4, which contained numerous freshwater shells similar to those in level D in Cutting II, and, in addition, a few sherds of the 4th century (*Fig. 6*, nos. 27–31). Level 3, like level E, contained only plant remains. Level 2, like level F, contained freshwater shells, in a similar state of preservation to those in level 4 below. And level 1, like level G, contained freshwater shells in a distinctly different state of preservation to those in the silt layers below.

These comparisons show that levels D and 4 are one and the same layer, and that it was deposited in the 4th century. Section C–D shows that no silting occurred on this site in the Guy's Channel between the end of the 2nd or beginning of the 3rd centuries (layers B and C) and sometime in the 4th century (layer D).

Section J–K (Cutting V) shows a layer (Q) of silt overlying the gravel. Above this is another layer of silt (P) on the top of which is a rubbish dump (O) containing pottery of *circa* A.D. 100 (*Fig. 6*, nos. 34–37). This means that the western margin of the channel (see *Fig. 5*) had silted up by about 100 A.D., but since the evidence of the deposits surrounding the boat shows that it was abandoned about one hundred years later, it seems probable that a clear channel remained open on the eastern side of the stream, through which the boat passed to its final resting place. It is significant that the silt (U) in Cutting IV (section G–H), which is on the opposite side of the channel from Cutting V, is overlaid by a rubbish dump (V) dated to *circa* A.D. 200 (see *Fig. 6*, nos. 1–10)—about the date of the abandonment of the boat. Also found in the dump, in level V, was a slightly worn coin of Marcus Aurelius, dated to 180 A.D. (*Roman Imperial Coinage*, Commodus 663). A layer of peat, not silt, separated rubbish layer V from the rubbish layers W and X. The latter two rubbish dumps each contained a considerable quantity of pottery of the early 3rd century (*Fig. 6*, nos. 11–17). Overlying the rubbish deposits was silt layer Y, containing freshwater shells in a similar state of preservation to those in level D in section C–D, and in addition a few sherds of the second half of the 4th century (*Fig. 6*, nos. 32–33). This layer can therefore be equated with level 4 in section E–F, and level D in section C–D.

It may be concluded that silt layer U in section G–H was deposited at the same time as, and therefore is the same as, layers A, B and C in section C–D. Pottery from layer B in section C–D is of the period 190–225 A.D., while pottery in rubbish layer V in section G–H shows that the underlying silt layer cannot be later than about 200 A.D. It seems, therefore, that the boat was abandoned at about 200 A.D.

SUMMARY OF DATING EVIDENCE

It is clear that the Guy's Channel, in which the boat lay, was silting up at the end of the 2nd century A.D. Pottery found in the silt together with the broken boat's timbers in Cutting II indicate that the boat was abandoned about 200 A.D. This date was confirmed in Cutting IV, where the silt was overlaid by a rubbish dump dated to *circa* 200 A.D.

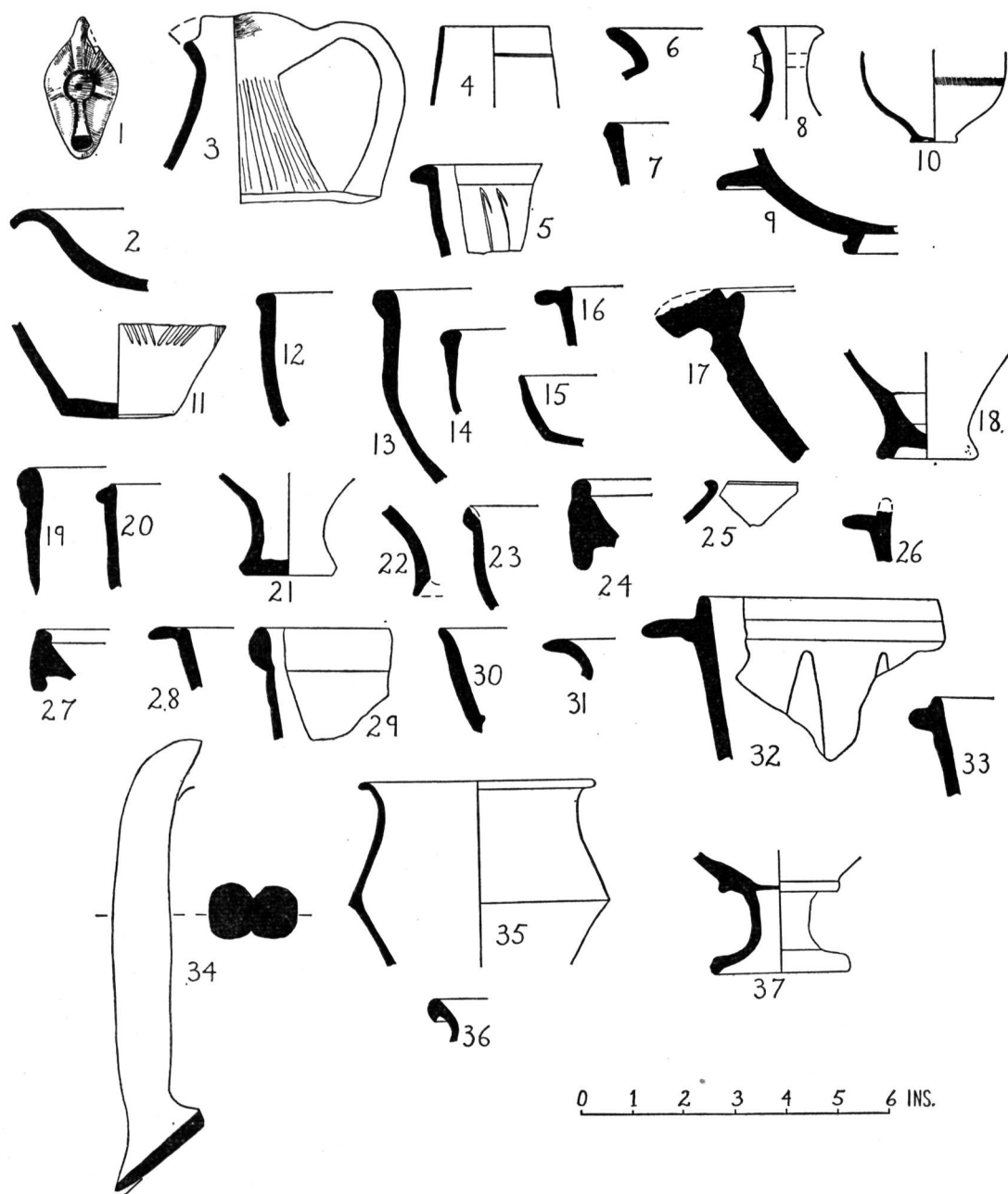


Fig. 6
Pottery Drawings.

A period followed during which the Guy's Channel was dry. Pottery evidence indicates that flow resumed sometime in the second half of the 4th century, when a layer of silt was deposited, up to one foot thick in places, and which finally sealed the boat and the rubbish dumps.

The stream continued to flow presumably throughout the Dark Ages and medieval period, although no dating evidence for this was found on the site. Only this assumption can account for over 3½ ft. of sterile silt overlying the Roman deposits. There is, however, documentary evidence (e.g. Rocque's map of 1746 which shows a long, narrow pond at this point) indicating that the Guy's Channel existed in the 18th century, but only as a stagnant, water-filled stream bed which was covered in places by roads and buildings. The post-Roman silt was eventually covered by thick rubbish deposits during the 16th and 17th centuries.

THE FINDS

Abbreviations and Bibliography

- Southwark:* *Excavations in Southwark*, 1959, K. M. Kenyon. Research Paper No. 5 of the Surrey Archaeological Society.
- J.W.:* *Excavations at the Jewry Wall Site, Leicester*. K. M. Kenyon. Report of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries, No. XV.
- O. & P.:* *An Introduction to the Study of Terra Sigillata*, F. Oswald and T. D. Pryce.
- Wroxeter I:* *Report on the Excavations on the site of the Roman Town at Wroxeter, Shropshire, in 1912*, J. P. Bushe-Fox. Report of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries, No. 1.
- Richborough I-IV:* *First to Fourth Reports on the Excavations of the Roman Fort at Richborough, Kent*, J. P. Bushe-Fox. Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries, Nos. VI, VII, X and XVI.
- Colchester:* *Roman Colchester*, M. R. Hull. Report of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries, No. XX.

Section C-D, layers B and C

Mr. Norman Cook, F.S.A., Keeper of the Guildhall Museum, kindly reports:

'The pottery from layer B consists of 33 very small scraps of Roman pottery, mostly splinters of Samian ware. While the bulk of this material would, as far as it is possible to judge from such very small evidence, seem to date to the early years of the second century, there are five sherds which are more important as evidence. One of these is a piece of mortarium which bears traces of what appears to be dark gloss of the normal Samian type, though the paste itself is buff in colour. Another sherd is a fragment of the base of a small Rhenish-ware beaker, and there are three scraps of Castor ware. Two of these appear to have been parts of rouletted thumb-pressed beakers, and the other sherd, by far the largest piece, is of a bag-shaped beaker decorated with scrolls *en barbotine*. The paste is of a light buff colour. These five fragments bring the date of this deposit down to the end of the 2nd century or the beginning of the 3rd century, say between 190 and 225 A.D.

Layer C contained three small sherds only. One is part of the gritted base of a Samian mortarium, another is part of a fumed-ware beaker with vertical "burnished" lines, which presumably had a cavetto rim, though this is missing. The third sherd is a quite indeterminate fragment of black ware. In the absence of any rim forms on the two dark sherds it is impossible to be certain of the date of this deposit, though presumably it is after the middle of the 2nd century A.D., in fact, it could be of the same date as deposit B.'

Other finds from layer B include: 3 Roman leather hob-nailed shoe soles; 1 sole of a Roman hob-nailed sandal, with incised decoration on upper surface; 1 sole of a Roman child's sandal; 1 iron nail with square-sectioned shank and flat head of Roman type; and 2 fragments of Roman brick.

Other finds from layer C include: 1 fragment of a Roman leather sole of a hob-nailed shoe; 1 fragment of leather with stitch holes down one side; and 4 iron nails with square-sectioned shanks and flat heads (Roman type).

Section G-H, level V (hereafter see *Fig. 6*)

1. Lamp. Light brown ware with mica-dusted surface. London Museum type IIIb, 2nd century. See *London in Roman Times* (1946), London Museum, p. 68.

2. Samian Ware dish, Dragendorff form 36. Leaves *en barbotine* on rim, Cf. *O. & P.*, pl. LIII, no. 19, dated *c.* A.D. 160.

3. Jug neck of 'figure-of-eight' type with rim joined in middle. Dark grey ware. Vertical burnishing on neck.

4. Rim of vase. White ware with silvery brown slip. Double grooves below rim.

5. Large dish. Rim rounded in section. Grey ware, with polished silvery surface, burnished tick decoration on outside. Cf. *J.W.*, fig. 19, no. 20, early 3rd century, but type typical of Antonine period (see *J.W.*, p. 83).

6. Cavetto rim jar. Dark grey ware, polished on outside. Cf. *Southwark*, fig. 26, no. 1, end of second century.

7. Bowl, side gradually increasing in thickness to form rim. Dark grey ware. This is a local type which seems to have been introduced in the 2nd century, and existed until the 4th century.

8. Flagon neck. Buff ware, slightly micaceous. On level of handle there are slight indications of rings. Cf. *J.W.*, fig. 45, no. 7, *circa* A.D. 150-160; fig. 48, no. 25, down to A.D. 200. Ring-necked jugs seem to cease to occur after the beginning of the 3rd century (*J.W.*, p. 111) and this Bermondsey example belongs to the end of the series.

9. Samian Ware, Dragendorff form 38.

10. Lower half of Rhenish ware beaker. Pink ware with almost black surface. Horizontal zone of routelling. Cf. Erich Gose, *Gefäßstypen der römischen Keramik im Rheinland*, 1950, fig. 13, no. 194, A.D. 200-250.

Other finds from this layer: Samian Ware, Déchelette form 72 with 'cut-glass' decoration (Cf. *O. & P.*, pl. LXXVII, late 2nd century); Samian Ware, Dragendorff form 33 (Cf. *O. & P.*, pl. LI, no. 11, mid 2nd century); Samian Ware, Déchelette form 72 (*Plate 1(d)*) of this Report), late 2nd-early 3rd century (published in *Antiquaries Journal*, vol. XL, 1960, p. 195); and coin, As, commemorative issue in memory of Marcus Aurelius, struck after his death in 180 A.D. (*Roman Imperial Coinage*, Commodus, 663).

Dating. The date of this layer is *circa* A.D. 200.

Section G-H, level X

11. Base of cooking pot. Grey ware. Slightly sagging base. Combed decoration, and smoothed surface below decoration.

12. Bowl with rounded rim. Light grey ware, with buff surface.

13. Bowl with oval-sectioned rim. Dark grey ware.

14. Bowl, with side thickened to rim. Light brown ware.

15. Shallow dish. Dark grey gritty ware. Burnished surface.

16. Flanged rim of bowl. Grey ware. Cf. *J.W.*, fig. 19, no. 21, late 2nd-3rd centuries.

17. Mortarium rim. Slightly downward curving rim. Pink ware with buff surface.

Other finds from this level: fragment of thin, hard Castor Ware with decoration *en barbotine*, late 2nd-3rd centuries (cf. *Southwark*, p. 75); several fragments of Rhenish-ware beakers, of thin, pink ware with black surface.

Dating. The contents of this layer are not much different in date from layer V, and it probably dates from the early 3rd century.

Section E-F, level 5

18. Base of pot. Very hard fine grey ware. Surface almost vitrified.

19. Bowl, with rim oval in section. Pink ware.

20. Side of flanged bowl. Black ware.

21. Base of pot. Pale pink ware with dark brown slip.

22. Base of pot. Grey ware.

23. Side of bowl, with rim oval in section. Grey ware.

24. Mortarium rim. Hammerhead type. White ware. This is a late type.

25. Castor Ware rim fragment. White ware with dark brown slip.

26. Flanged rim of bowl. Black gritty ware with pale grey slip. This is a fourth century type.

Other finds from this level: two fragments of Castor Ware, of white ware and dark slip, with decoration *en barbotine*.

Dating. Most of the pottery seems to be of the 3rd century, but nos. 24, 25 and 26, take the date into the first half of the 4th century.

Section E-F, level 4

27. Mortarium rim of 'hammerhead' type. Grey ware. Cf. *Wroxeter I*, fig 20, no. 218 type. 4th century.

28. Flanged rim of bowl. Dark grey gritty ware. Polished grey surface. Cf. *J.W.*, fig. 19, no. 22, common from early 3rd-mid 4th centuries.

29. Rim of bowl. Brown ware. Local Southwark type. Cf. *Southwark*, fig. 15, nos. 20-25 for type.

30. Side of dish. Grey gritty ware. Burnished surface.

31. Cavetto rim. Black ware. Cf. *Southwark*, fig. 24, no. 3, early 4th century; *Richborough III*, pl. XL, no. 321, c. 400 A.D.

Other finds from this layer: fragment of thick white Castor Ware, with dark slip and rouletted vertical lines.

Dating. The pottery from this layer goes down to the 4th century A.D., but the excavations have shown that it is the same as level Y in section G-H, which is dated to the second half of the 4th century.

Section G-H, level Y

32. Side of bowl, with heavy flanged rim. Black gritty ware. Polished surface. Decoration of burnished loops. Cf. *Southwark*, fig. 26, no. 12, late 4th century; *J.W.*, fig. 55, no. 8, second half of 4th century.

33. Side of bowl with flanged rim. Grey ware with polished silvery outer surface, and white polished inner surface. Cf. *Southwark*, fig. 26, no. 11, late 4th century.

Dating. The date of this layer is the second half of the 4th century.

Section J-K, level O

34. Amphora handle. Pink ware with white slip. This type was in use throughout the first century. Cf. *London in Roman Times*, London Museum (1946), pl. LV, no. 4.

35. Carinated beaker. Fine light grey ware. Cf. *Richborough I*, pl. XXVI, no. 77, where it is attributed to the first half of the second century. The type is of first-century origin, but continues into the second century.

36. Rim of cooking pot. Grey ware. Cf. *Colchester*, fig. 56, no. 52, c. A.D. 100.

37. Lower half of incense bowl. Red ware with grey core. Cream-coloured slip. This type is normally found in deposits of the beginning of the 2nd century.

Dating. The date of this layer would seem to be about A.D. 100.

NOTES

- 1 Carvel-build is a characteristic feature of Roman ship construction. In Britain at the end of the Roman period, carvel construction was superseded by the north-west European clinker build, the carvel construction apparently having fallen into disuse, until the early 16th century when it was re-introduced for the construction of bigger ships. *Sailing Ships: their History and Development*, by G. S. Laird Clows, p. 46.
- 2 This timber is more likely to have been the stem or sternpost, but for convenience is called the keel.
- 3 L. Casson, 'New Light on ancient rigging and boatbuilding', *The American Neptune*, XXIV, No. 2 (April, 1964), pp. 84-90.
- 4 The freshwater shells in layers F and D were filled with silt, while those in layer G were filled with water. The difference was extremely marked. In addition an analysis of the freshwater shells by Mr. C. P. Castell, of the Department of Palaeontology, British Museum (Natural History), confirms the correlation of the layers of silt in the various cuttings.

JOHN STOW

An Address delivered at the Church of St. Andrew Undershaft on 15 April, 1964
in the presence of the Rt. Hon. Clement James Harman, Lord Mayor (*locum tenens*),
on the occasion of the Society's Annual Stow Commemoration Service.

BY T. F. REDDAWAY, M.A., F.S.A., F.R.HIST.S.,

READER IN THE HISTORY OF LONDON AT UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON

We are gathered together today to commemorate John Stow, citizen and merchant taylor, once a worshipper in this very church. Born in 1525, the eldest child of Thomas Stow, citizen and tallow-chandler, he was in his very essence a Londoner. His father, his grandfather and his great grandfather lived and were buried in the parish of St. Michael, Cornhill, and John, the boy, was apprenticed within the city to John Bulley, a merchant taylor. Admitted to the freedom in 1547 he set up in business for himself, first not far from Aldgate and then within the parish in which we now are, there to live until his death in 1605 in his eightieth year.

'Tall of stature, lean of body and face—very sober, mild, and courteous'; he gave to his business less and less attention as he came under the spell of that historian's passion which has brought to him an immortality on earth denied to all but a handful of his contemporaries. It was probably in recognition of his *Chronicles of England* that his company honoured him with a pension, but it was at the age of 75 that he published his *Survey of London* and won for himself a reading public which has lasted from that day to this.

The tale of this man's life is well known and no words of mine can add to that knowledge. The best tribute I can pay to him and to his memory is to describe for you a little of the background against which he wrote. The Survey which he compiled, walking a little painfully through the streets and courts and alleys, was a survey of a London which was changing fast. He noted with distaste the spread of its houses and the encroachments made upon its surrounding fields. But such things had to be. All through his life, all London—the city, Southwark, Westminster and the out-parishes alike—had been in the throes of expansion. When he was a child they had held perhaps fifty to sixty thousand inhabitants. When he looked on them as an old man these figures had increased four-fold. Many things had combined to bring about this expansion, distasteful though it was to the antiquarian, backward-looking part of Stow's mind. The discovery of the Americas, the closing by the Turks of the overland route to the Indies, and the opening by the Portuguese of a new route round the Cape of Good Hope had helped to move Europe's centre of gravity from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic and the North Sea. England had gradually ceased to be a war-torn island at the far end of the trading world. The firm rule of the Tudors had brought internal stability and with it, the enhancement of the capital. The court and parliament could centre on London, and its citizens prospered on the trade they brought. Stow had turned to history for his main career, but, as a merchant taylor, he knew well the rich orders court patronage brought to those who

could satisfy both the courtiers' love of ostentation, and the determination, whatever the sumptuary laws, of the city wives not to be wholly outshone by those of Whitehall and St. James's.

Strength at home had meant greater strength abroad, and the citizen of Cheapside or Cornhill was often the merchant adventurer or the participant in the developing adventures to Russia or the Levant. It was no accident that Richard Hakluyt's *Voyages* begin in the period which saw Gresham found a Royal Exchange in which the growing community of London's merchants could meet and transact business.

That these merchants could do so, owed much to events at home and abroad, and of these the most important was, surely, that which we call the Reformation. Stow, as an apprentice, had seen it beginning to affect London. As a man of middle-age he witnessed the inflow of foreign protestant refugees. The dissolution of the monasteries gave London much needed space in which to house its increasing population, persecutions in Europe sent immigrants to hasten that growth and new skills to ensure its continuance. The sheer space which became available is only apparent when statistics are set down or examples given. In and around the city lay 23 important religious houses. Pleasant enclaves, with their cloisters, courtyards and gardens, they were, in the modern parlance, 'ripe for development' and by Stow's death nearly all had been thus developed. The friars, white, black, grey, crutched and Augustinian, remain as names in the topography of modern London, but Stow actually watched the change-over. Three examples may illustrate the process.

Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor and monarch of Spain, the Low Countries and the newly discovered American Indies, had lodged in the Blackfriars a few years before Stow was born. Before Stow's death, James Burbage, the Shakespearian actor-manager, had converted a part of the buildings into the Blackfriars theatre and the whole precinct had been developed and built over. Now *The Times* newspaper stands on one part of it, as proudly conscious as ever Burbage was of a part to be played and of critics to be convinced. The abbey of St. Mary Graces became first a depot for naval stores for the new Tudor fleets and, much later on, the Royal Mint we know today. We owe Winchester House and Winchester Street to the courtier, Sir William Paulet, and his son, the Marquis of Winchester, who acquired the Austin Friars from the Crown, first to live in and then to sell. Sooner or later, nearly all the monastic sites were built over, either with courts and alleys, crowded in order to house London's increasing thousands, or with buildings for commerce or the work of the port.

It was to a London thus evolving that the religious refugees came. In England the bulk of the population gradually accepted the change from the catholicism of Rome to the protestantism of the Elizabethan settlement and no revolt was either prolonged or widespread. But in many lands in Europe the older order had resisted strongly, and religious wars and persecutions sent thousands from France and from Flanders to seek new homes in England. Many came to the established or half-assimilated alien communities of London and the Home Counties. The city corporation and the magistrates of the adjacent areas, pressed by an anxious Privy Council, made returns of the names, trades and origins of all they could track, and French and Dutch protestant congregations struck deep roots in the very heart of the city.

Hence it was that the land-hunger, so familiar today, was every whit as pressing in the London of John Stow. Any historian of London's livery companies, greater or lesser,

can cite examples, with detail unknown to Stow, but which help to build up his picture, of cautious development of garden ground just outside the walls—between Fleet Street and Holborn, where the newspaper emperors now hold sway; in what is now Redcross Street; or by the road running south from London Bridge. The demand for great houses remained strong, though the owners might change. The demand for a roof of any kind ensured the building and sub-division so disliked by Stow and by all the authorities of his day, royal and civic alike.

For Stow was also to see, though not always to record, other aspects of this growth. Dearth and disease, war and poverty, were seldom absent from sixteenth-century Europe, and England, if relatively unharmed by war, had no immunity from the other three. London, corporation, livery companies and citizens alike, had constantly to plan against the possibility that harvests might fall short of needs increasing with the increasing population. Stow does not fail to notice men who, before his day, met the occasional famine by timely measures. He described Adam Bamme, the goldsmith, who as mayor in 1390–91 procured corn from beyond the seas, but he does not expatiate on the device regularly adopted from about the year of his own birth, by which the companies were compelled to lend money to the corporation in order to secure sufficient supplies. Unpopular, but effective, this was too normal, too recent, to gain more than an oblique reference from him. Of the poor, and the masterless men, twin nightmares of Elizabethan rulers, he also speaks little. Bridewell is mentioned, but not the great Elizabethan poor law which came into being in the years which saw the publication of the first and second editions of his *Survey*. And there is no mention of the mutinous assemblies of ex-soldiers and sailors, discharged servants and ex-retainers who, in 1589, threatened to sack the Royal Exchange and to pillage the booths at Bartholomew Fair. It was then and in the following year that the mayor had to call out a double watch, day and night, and ‘the honest and discreet inhabitants . . . well and sufficiently weaponed’ did duty night and day by rota. To face such troubles, William Fleetwood, the fiercely energetic Recorder of the city, led midnight searches to round up all who could give no good account of themselves. In 1590 one such midnight sweep collected a contingent for despatch at first light down river to serve in the campaign in the Low Countries. Others were dealt with by the justices, the country born being despatched to their own parishes and the Londoners sent for correction in Bridewell. All this found no place in Stow’s *Survey*.

So, too, with public health. Stow chronicles action in London during the Black Death of 1349 but ignores the urgently-needed house for those infected in his own day. It came, built in the 1590’s on three acres north of the city rented from St. Bartholomew’s hospital, the buildings financed in part from a fine, in part from the proceeds of a captured Portuguese galleon, in part from a loan. The old man ignored its story, but that is no reproach to him. His self-appointed task was to look back into London’s past, to search through evidence traditional and documentary, to perambulate, to see and to set down. And the picture he drew, the account he set down is as moving and as vivid today as when it first appeared new-minted and bright with the vigorous impress of his splendid enthusiasm. No tribute can be too great for him and I hope that the warmth in which his memory is still held is shown by this worshipful assembly today.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDS IN THE CITY OF LONDON, 1962

Communicated by the Staff of the Guildhall Museum

I. ROMAN

8-10 Cooper's Row (Fig. 1)

The rebuilding of this site has uncovered the length of the Roman city wall which was formerly enclosed by Barber's Warehouse. It stands to a height of 13 ft. 3 in. above the base of the sandstone plinth (section C-D). The wall was constructed of ragstone with courses of bonding tiles, and an offset on the inside of the wall in the middle of each bonding course. The wall was 7 ft. 6 in. wide immediately above the plinth, and was built on a foundation of brown clay with flints and ragstone mixed with cement. A deep disturbance into the natural gravel beyond the east face of the wall was filled with dark grey gravelly earth containing a few fragments of Roman tiles. It is probable that this disturbance was the filling of the Roman defensive ditch, although the outline of the ditch was not seen and its exact limits could not be defined. The surface of the natural gravel lay at 33 ft. 2 in. above Ordnance Datum (Newlyn).

Excavations on the line of the Roman city wall immediately south of the railway viaduct, where it had not previously been recorded, revealed an internal turret bonded into the wall, and a section across the Roman bank behind the city wall immediately to the north of the previously recorded remains. The turret was rectangular in shape and measured internally 10 ft. 4½ in. long × 5 ft. ½ in. wide. Its walls were 2 ft. 10 in. thick and composed of ragstone with a triple course of bonding tiles, corresponding in level with the triple course of tiles on the inner face of the city wall. The foundation of the turret was identical with that of the city wall into which it was bonded. The small part of the white cement floor of the turret which remained was 2¼ in. thick.

About 4 ft. north of the north wall of the turret a section was exposed across the bank behind the city wall. Unfortunately a straight section could not be obtained, but the structure of the bank could be clearly seen by cleaning up the zig-zag section revealed by the builders (section A-B). It was composed of grey earth and gravel, presumably taken from the foundation trench of the city wall and the defensive ditch. The top of the stratum (level a) immediately below the bank contained a considerable amount of charcoal and a scatter of pottery, evidently deposited just before the building of the wall. The pottery included fragments of Castor Ware decorated *en barbotine*, probably of the second half of the 2nd century.

Although a careful watch was kept there was no sign of any Roman stone buildings on this site, and there was no trace of a perimeter road behind the bank, although the Roman strata were undisturbed in this area.

Copthall Close

On a site at the east end of the block of buildings between Copthall Close and Great Swan Alley, shallow excavations exposed the black mud which represents the flood-silt

of the Walbrook valley, and in it were found sherds of the 4th century. The actual stream bed of the Walbrook is thought to be east of the site.

Blackfriars Bridgehead Improvement Scheme

The construction of coffer-dams and the excavation of the river bed inside them have been taking place some 120 ft. south of the present north bank of the river, between Puddle

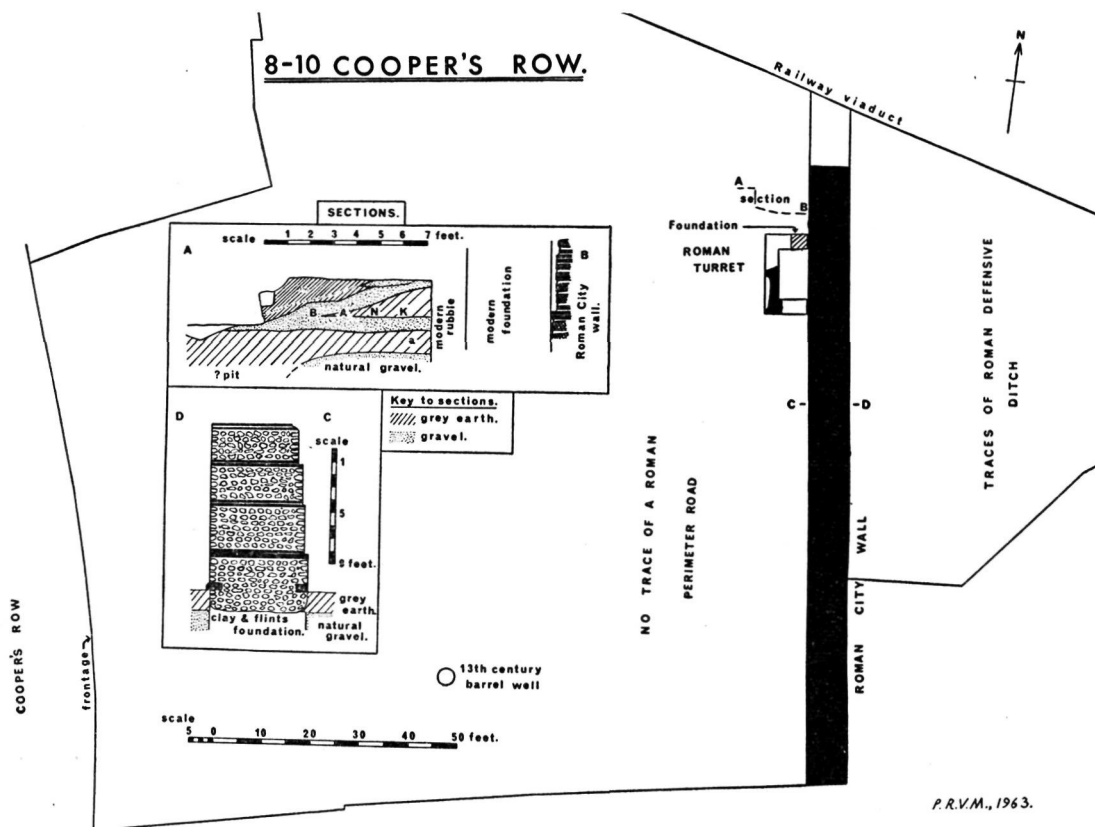


Fig. 1

Dock and the Victoria Embankment. Cofferdam no. 1, which lies opposite Puddle Dock, has produced a collection of Roman pottery sherds, one of which has a *graffito*. In addition there was one almost complete Roman jug of unusual form. Shaped baulks of timber, which had evidently come to their final resting place as river drift-wood, were found in the grey Roman river gravel deposits.

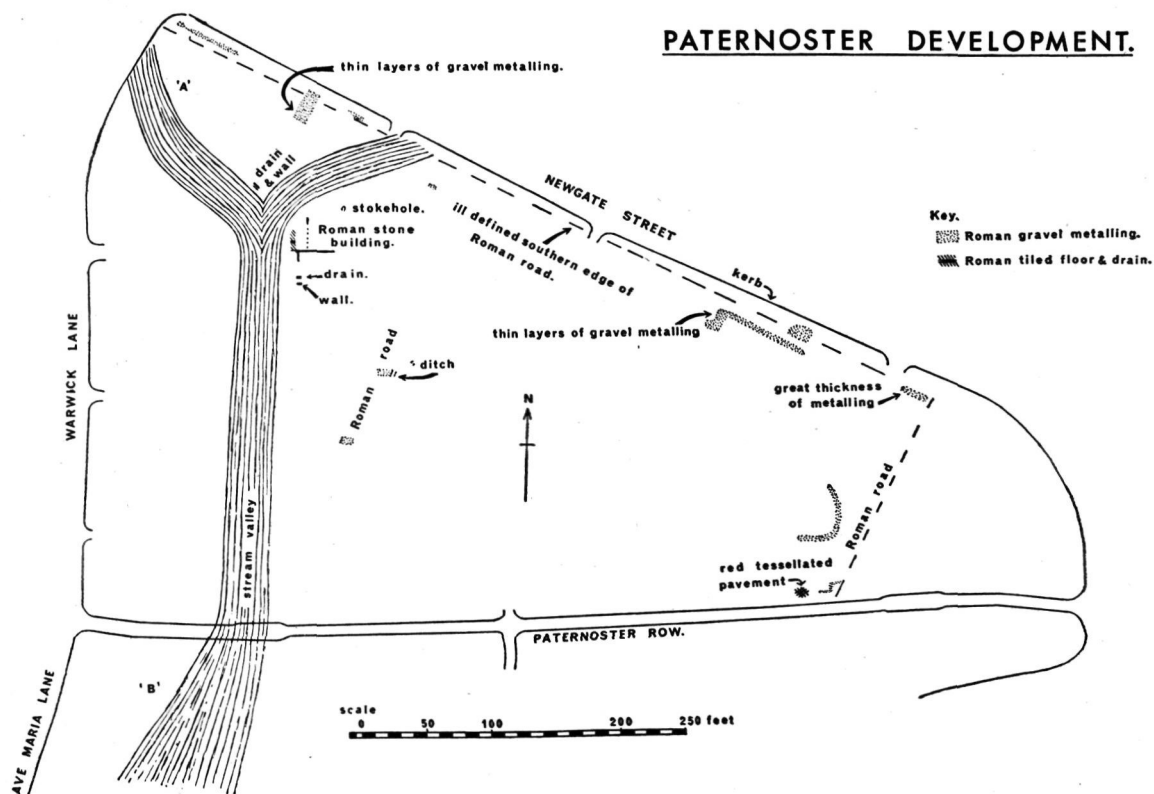
Paternoster Development, Newgate Street (Fig. 2)

Further excavations in the western tributary of the stream at the west end of the site (area A) revealed the filling of black peat and pebbly grey sand in the bottom 7–8 ft. of the stream bed.⁽¹⁾ Roman pottery, including a Samian ware cup, Dragendorff form 27,

of the 1st century, with a stamp probably of INGENVVS, was found in this deposit. Overlying the peat and sand was a layer of yellow sand which contained pottery of the late 1st century.

Another part of the stream (area B) was uncovered at the south end of the site, and this showed that the stream turned towards the south-west.

In the north-west corner of the site, and along the old Newgate Street frontage, was found a layer of hard gravel metalling, 10½ in. thick, which lay directly below the modern



P.R.V.M., 1963.

By courtesy of the Journal of Roman Studies

Fig. 2

cellar floor and immediately above the natural brickearth, the surface of which is at 43 ft. above Ordance Datum (Newlyn). The metalling is clearly closely associated with the Roman main road leading to Newgate, if it is not part of the roadway itself. In some areas, however, relatively thin layers of gravel metalling extended for some distance to the south of the probable line of the road, most of which must lie beneath the modern Newgate Street.

St. Vedast House, Foster Lane

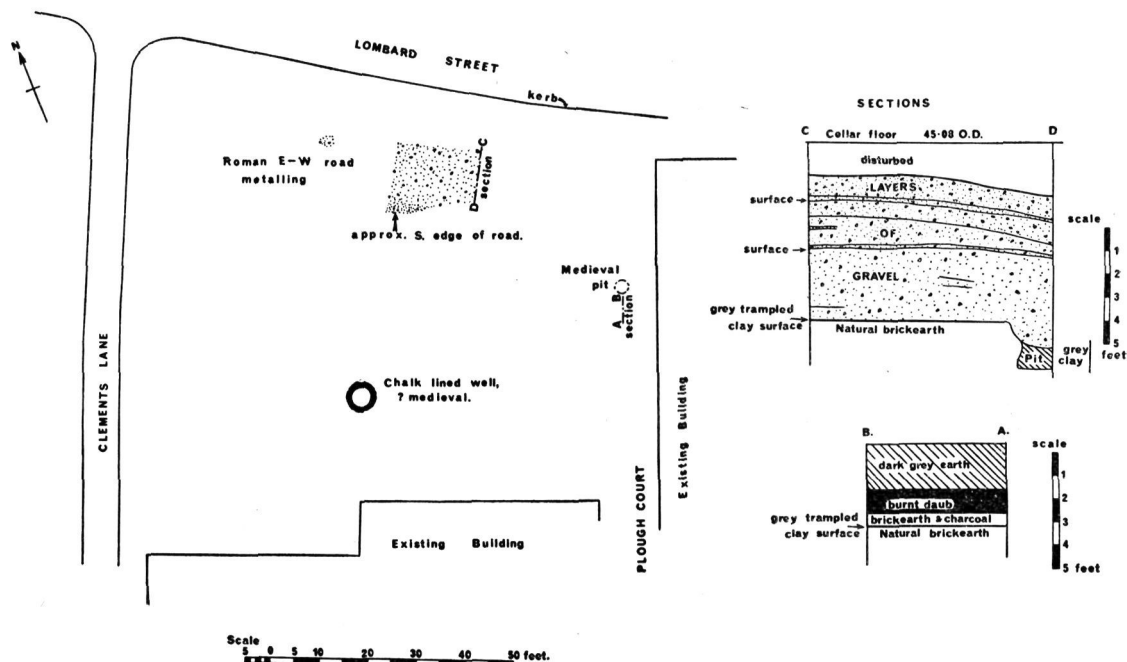
Excavations on this site exposed gravel metalling 18 in. thick at the south (Cheapside) end of the site. It overlay one inch of grey clay which in turn overlay the natural

brickearth at 42 ft. 6 in. above Ordnance Datum (Newlyn). The metalling lies in the probable course of the Roman east-west road leading to Newgate.

30-32 Lombard Street (Fig. 3)

This site was much disturbed by numerous deep modern foundations, but, nevertheless, it was possible to locate the main Roman east-west road which in this area apparently bounded the south end of the Forum. The Roman road was 6 ft. 3 in. thick and built of

30-32 LOMBARD STREET.



P.R.V.M., 1963.

By courtesy of the Journal of Roman Studies

Fig. 3

layers of hard gravel metalling. The first layer directly overlay the grey trampled surface of the natural brickearth and therefore was one of the earliest features on this site, although an earlier pit, seen only in section, bore witness to some occupation of the area just before the metalling was put down (see section C-D). Section A-B, which lay to the south of the road, showed the same trampled surface of the natural brickearth, but here it was overlaid by brickearth containing charcoal, which was covered by a layer of red burnt daub one foot thick. This burnt daub layer was, in fact, found over almost all of the site. It is therefore significant that no trace of burnt daub lies beneath the earliest levels of gravel metalling in section C-D, and that these occupy a position in the stratification corresponding with the deposit of brickearth and charcoal in section A-B (i.e. immediately above the trampled surface of the brickearth). The man-made deposit of

brickearth and charcoal lay *beneath* the burnt deposit and is presumably of Claudian date, representing the make-up for the earliest buildings, and the lowest levels of road metalling must therefore be of equally early date. It would appear, therefore, that the main east-west road is one of the earliest features of Roman London.

This part of the City was first occupied during the Claudian period⁽²⁾ and most of the sites in this area have revealed extensive traces of burnt daub associated with pottery of the middle of the 1st century. This is usually ascribed to the destruction by Boudicca in 60 A.D., and, although no closely dateable pottery was found in the burnt daub on this site, it is reasonable, in view of its stratigraphical position, to assume that it belongs to the same period.

No traces of Roman buildings were seen on the site apart from the burnt daub of the early destruction layer. This, however, contained also red and white painted wall-plaster, so these early houses, although constructed of wattle and daub, had some pretensions and were not merely huts of native type.

II. MEDIEVAL

8-10 Cooper's Row

Apart from the beautifully preserved medieval wall which is intact up to the sentry-walk, the only other medieval structure was a very deep barrel-well, containing pottery of the 13th century, found at the south end of the site.

40 Basinghall Street

A builder's excavation exposed, above the natural brickearth and gravel, a layer of grey clay overlaid by black mud, which evidently indicates the onset of marshy conditions on this site. This probably took place in post-Roman times as the black mud contained, near its base, two sherds of Pingsdorf ware of the 10th-12th centuries. There was no definite Roman deposit on this site and no Roman pits were observed. Several chalk foundations, presumably of medieval date, were seen, and workmen's finds included a few very fine green-glazed jugs of the period *circa* 1300, said to have come from a pit or well.

III. POST-MEDIEVAL

St. Alban, Wood Street

The inscriptions on some lead coffin plates of the 19th century were recorded during the removal of burials from this site prior to rebuilding.

NOTES

- 1 An account of the finds on this site in 1961 appeared in vol. 21, part 1 (p. 75) of these *Transactions*.
- 2 See, for example, report on Barclays Bank site, in Lombard Street (immediately opposite Nos. 30-32) in 'Archaeological finds in the City of London, 1961', published in Vol. 21, part 1, (p. 72).

ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDS FROM THE COUNTIES OF LONDON AND MIDDLESEX ADDED TO THE COLLECTIONS OF THE LONDON MUSEUM DURING 1962

WITH A SECTION ON OTHER MATERIAL ADDED TO
THE MUSEUM DURING THE YEAR

BY FRANCIS CELORIA, PH.D.

Note: The grid references refer to Ordnance Survey 6 in. or 25 in. plans.

A. Palaeolithic

YIEWSLEY, Middlesex: pointed **Acheulian handaxe** of mottled ochreous flint, $15.5 \times 9.5 \times 4$ cms. Bought from finder, R. Garraway Rice, 1924 (62.34).

B. Bronze Age

SUNBURY COMMON, Ashford, Middlesex: **bone fragments and soil** in glass bottle from a bucket-shaped urn 1871. Presented via the Cuming Museum, Southwark (62.101).

C. Roman

CITY OF LONDON (TQ 325807): group of **Roman footwear** and **leather** fragments found in 1960 during road work along Upper Thames Street, between Dowgate Hill and Queen Street (62.107).

61.15 from the same group, recorded in these *Transactions* (Vol. 21, Part 1, p. 78).

THAMES AT ISLEWORTH: two pieces of **Roman ware**; (i) base, (ii) rim of uncertain date, found in 1961 on Thames foreshore (TQ 177766) at Isleworth, by Brentford and Syon House (62.117/1-2).

WANDSWORTH: two **Roman burial urns** and fragments. See *Plate 1*. These vessels (68.72) of grey ware were dug up on 16 March 1962 by Mr. F. Clatworthy in his garden (TQ 2384575720) at 4, Bemish Road, Putney (Wandsworth M.B.). The pots, which included fragments of at least three other vessels, were said to be found within a few inches of each other 'some six feet down'. In one or more of the urns were burnt bones which were spilled when the pots broke up as the garden soil was being worked over. The black bands and the brushed and other decorations are uncommon in the London region. Mr. A. W. G. Lowther, A.R.I.B.A., F.S.A., has noted pottery from the Farnham (Surrey) area with similar features. Until further information is available the pottery might be regarded as being of the 3rd-4th century A.D. A cinerary urn, $8\frac{3}{4}$ in. (22.3 cms.) high, of grey ware, with ovoid shape, turn-over rim and lattice decorations,

was found before 1919 'in a hole 12 in. square, on the site of temporary school. St. Anne's Hill, Wandsworth'. The urn is in the London Museum (A.20902).

D. Medieval and Post-Medieval

CITY OF LONDON: **wood clog** of type in use in Netherlands and North Belgium *c.* 1880; incised ornament but encased in iron. Excavated in 1961 in Hatton Garden at junction with Cross Street, at depth of 16 ft: Information from Mr. B. W. Spencer (62.28).

THAMES FORESHORE, LAMBETH: **clay pipe** of Oswald type 12A (1820–1870); shield on spur, grooved bowl marked 'E. Church Kings Cross' (maker's name?) (62.34).

MARBLE ARCH, LONDON: iron **manacles** and associated bones found near Marble Arch by the site of the Tyburn tree in September 1961 (62.96).

HAREFIELD, Uxbridge, Middlesex: **hone** (circular cross-section) of grit similar to that found at Charnwood, Leics. Found in earth floor of the Moor Hall Chapel after demolition. Possibly medieval (62.72).

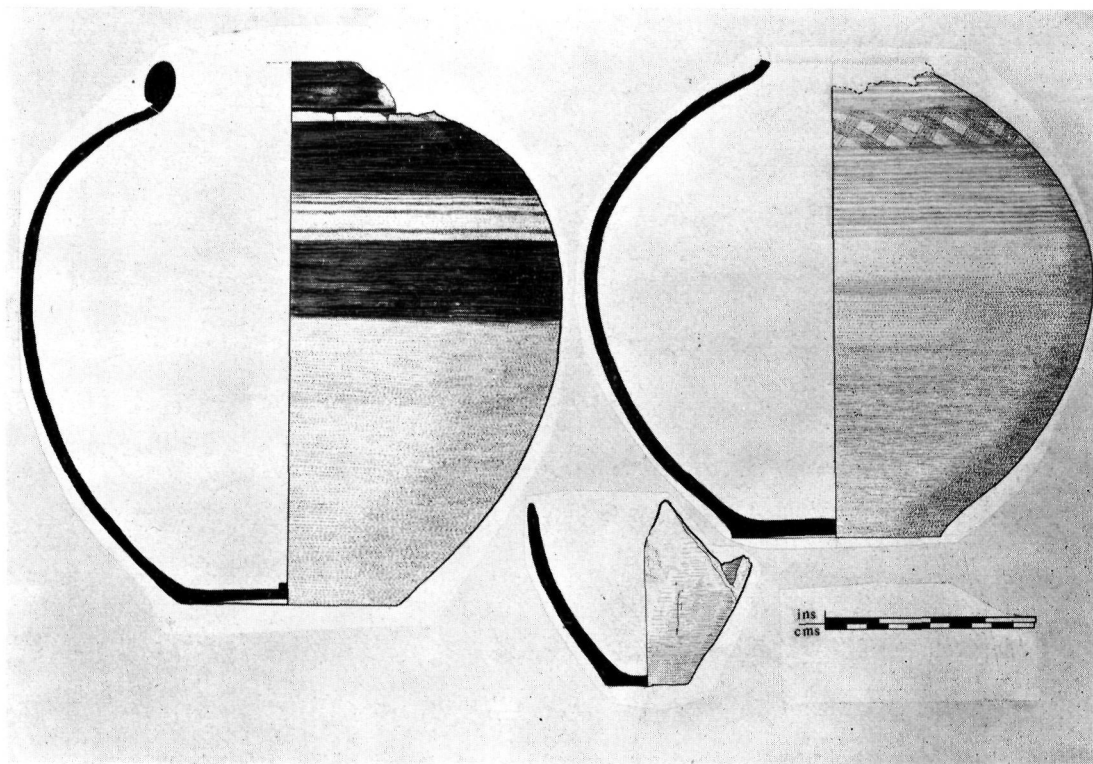
THAMES AT ISLEWORTH: **iron shears**, corroded, length 20 cms., found on 22 May, 1961 on Thames foreshore (TQ 177766). Probably post-medieval (62.115).

THAMES AT ISLEWORTH: curving iron **axe-head**, length 14.5 cms., length of cutting edge 5.5 cms. Found on 23 June 1961 on Thames foreshore (TQ 177766) at Isleworth, by Brentford and Syon House. Possibly medieval (62.116).

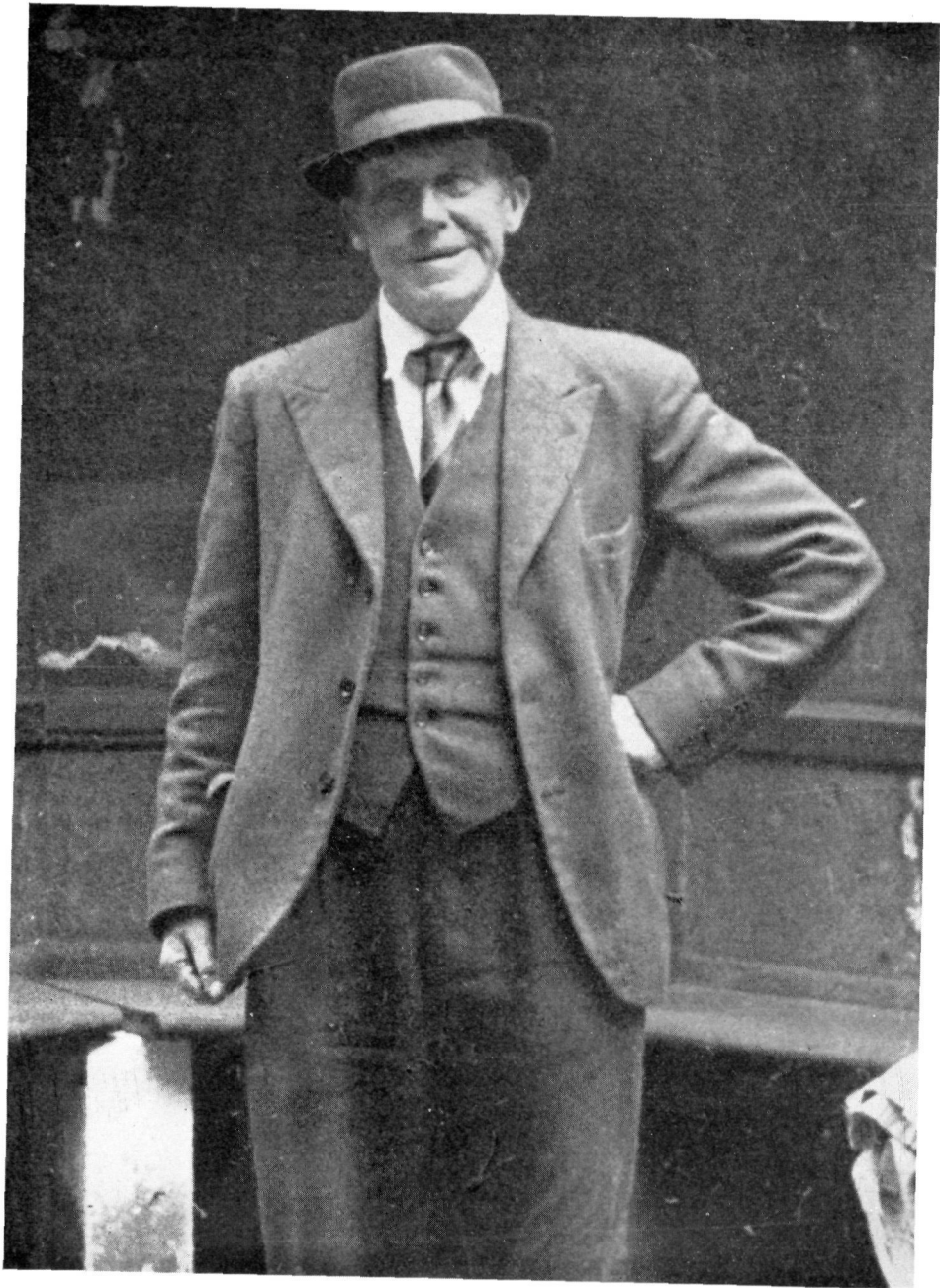
FOLKLIFE AND RELICS OF LONDON HISTORY ADDED TO
THE MUSEUM IN 1962

- 62.2 Late-19th-century **cream can**, tin-plated, with brass label; oval section.
- 62.5 **Wax statuette** of Queen Anne.
- 62.22 **Coke bucket** presented to Charlotte Despard, a suffragette.
- 62.25 **Pandean pipes** used by Punch and Judy entertainer, mid-19th-century.
- 62.38 Late-19th-century **weighing-machine** used in surgery at 31, Carlton Vale, N.W.6.
- 62.42 Silver **doll's porringer**, with mark, apparently, of R. Bayley; *c.* 1710.
- 62.52 **Mechanical doll** and **pram** (patents of 1868).
- 62.74 Two silver gilt **flacons** hall-marked 1714 and marked 'For the use of MARYBONE Chapell . . . 1724'. Silver-gilt **alms dish**, 1724; patterned silver and gilt **alms dish**. Originally church plate of St. Peter's, Vere Street.
- 62.75 Copper plate with engraving of Moorfields section of a **map of London** of *c.* 1553–1559 on the back of a painting by M. van Valkenborgh of *c.* 1595. See M. R. Holmes, *Moorfields in 1559* (H.M.S.O., 1963); and I. D. Darlington and J. Howgego, *Printed Maps of London, circa 1553–1850* (London, 1964), pp. 14–19, 51.
- 62.124 Iron **quoits**, late-19th-century, as used in villages in N.W. Middlesex and
(1–7) S.W. Herts. The diameters are 6½ in. (16.5 cms.) and 6 in. (15.3 cms.), the units weighing about 3 (1.36 kg.) and 2½ lb. (1.13 kg.) respectively. Given by R. F. Turney, Chorley Wood.

- 62.132 Small green **leather trunk**, initialled 'E.B.' in studs, made by R. Dixon, 49 High Holborn. This firm of R. Dixon was in business at that address from 1813 to 1823 (information from Guildhall Library). Given by James Thorn, Hammersmith.
- 62.150 London **tin-glaze** ('delftware') **charger**; polychrome with pomegranate and grapes (*c.* 1640–1650).
- 62.173 Early-19th-century **Jacquard loom**, used by Huguenot silk weavers; salvaged from Moss Street, Bethnal Green from bombed premises. (9 ft. 4 in. × 5 ft. × 6 ft. height.) Loan by L.C.C.
- 62.174 **Panelling** and two **chimney pieces** (one of stone, *c.* 1600, and a mid-17th-century oak one) from 14 Garratt Lane, Wandsworth. Lent by L.C.C.
- 62.175 Pinewood **chimney-piece and panelling** of *c.* 1757–8 from 31 John Street, Holborn. Loan by L.C.C.



Roman burial urns from Wandsworth (*see p. 140*)



William Kent, F.S.A., from a photograph taken in 1946 by H. E. Chiosso

ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDS IN SOUTHWARK, 1962

BY PETER R. V. MARSDEN

GUILDHALL MUSEUM

ROMAN

275-287 Borough High Street, Southwark

The rebuilding of this site revealed a layer of loamy soil immediately overlying the natural gravel of the flood-plain river gravel terrace. In this loam was a scatter of Roman pottery and tile fragments, but a lack of any clear stratification in the soil indicated that this site lay outside the Roman settlement. The site lies across the line of Stane Street as suggested by Dr. K. Kenyon⁽¹⁾, but no sign of the Roman road was observed in the undisturbed sections.

City House, Southwark Street, Southwark

Borehole sections on this site revealed a layer of peat seven feet thick at about Ordnance Datum (Newlyn) overlying 2 ft. of grey silt, and covered by more grey silt. This peat, which lies at the Roman land level in this area, shows that the site is part of the marshland west of the sandspit on which the Roman settlement had been built.⁽²⁾

Petrol filling station at the junction of Tennis Street and Long Lane, Southwark

Excavations below the cellar floors showed that the Roman deposits had been largely removed. Several pits were recorded, and in one of these were found a few Roman sherds, probably of the late 1st century, and part of a human skull.

POST-MEDIEVAL

275-287 Borough High Street, Southwark

Pottery dating from the late 15th century was found only at the Borough High Street end of the site, while a scatter of Tudor and later deposits over the whole site indicated the proximity of occupation on or close to the site from the Tudor period onwards.

NOTES

1 *Excavations in Southwark*, 1959, by Dr. K. Kenyon. Research Paper no. 5 of the Surrey Archaeological Society, fig. 2.

2 For sandspit and marshes see *Illustrated London News*, March 10, 1962, 374-375.

OBITUARIES

WILLIAM KENT, F.S.A.

William Richard Gladstone Kent, who died on 9 May 1963 in his 78th year, had been a member of the Society since 1930. He was elected to Council in 1947 and served until 1950, being re-elected in 1954. He was a very regular attender and took a keen interest in all the work of the Society, but ill-health caused him to resign in 1955 and thereafter his presence at meetings was infrequent. He will be very much missed by all who knew him.

His enthusiasm for the study of London history dated from 1904, when he entered for a London County Council staff examination and discovered that this was one of the optional subjects. The interest thus aroused remained with him all his life and much of his spare time was spent in acting as a London guide. He wrote upwards of 20 books and their titles give an indication of the scope of his studies: *London for Everyman*, *London for Shakespeare Lovers*, *London for Dickens Lovers*, *London for the Curious*, *London for Americans*, *London Worthies*, *An Encyclopaedia of London*. His knowledge of London history and legend was unusually comprehensive and though the majority of his books contain little original research *The Lost Treasures of London*, issued to members in 1947 in place of the usual *Transactions*, is a valuable record of the destruction wrought by enemy action during the war of 1939-45. He himself suffered a grievous loss when his own library was destroyed by an incendiary bomb which burnt his home in Union Road, Clapham, in 1941.

Fifty Years a Cricket Watcher, the title of another of his writings, recalls yet one more of his enthusiasms and the selection of titles quoted must certainly include *Testament of a Victorian Youth*, the first and only published volume of his autobiography. He was an ardent student of Shakespeare (and a firm believer in the Earl of Oxford as author of the plays), a member for many years of the Society of Cogers, a supporter of the Dickens Fellowship, the Johnson Society and the Lamb Society, was President of the Clapham Antiquarian Society 1947-54 and elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in 1948.

E.E.F.S.

ERNEST RANN

Our old friend Ernest Rann died on 15 May, 1963, after an operation. He made a brave fight, but his age was against him, for he was 93. He joined the Society in 1920 and was at one time a member of Council. His wife also belonged to the Society.

Almost until the end of his life he was a working journalist, writing articles regularly for *The Times*, *The Birmingham Post*, and many articles on London for *The Christian Science Monitor*. To help him in the accurate presentation of facts he accumulated an enormous number of newspaper cuttings, running into many thousands. These were all neatly docketed and pigeon-holed.

Perhaps the most remarkable thing about him was his prodigious memory, which he preserved to the end of his life, everything he knew being as neatly arranged in his mind

as the cuttings were in his pigeon-holes. He was a great book-lover and his study was lined from floor to ceiling with books dealing in many cases—though he was a Worcestershire man—with his beloved London. He was a keen freemason, having been *Master* (in 1928) and then secretary of the Gallery Lodge, the members of which were parliamentary reporters. His great joke was to describe himself as a descendant of a famous highwayman of the same name as himself.

We say farewell to a very remarkable man.

F.W.M.D.

NOTES

Three Sixteenth-century London Names: 'S. Thaphins', '4. Canti', and 'Canon Strete'

Recently two plates of a large-scale copper-engraved map of London made in the middle of the sixteenth century have been discovered and one is now in the London Museum. Many of the names on these plates are phonetically spelled or betray an imperfect acquaintance with English. Three of the names which are of special interest are noticed here.

St. Alphage, London Wall, is called 'S. Thaphins' on the copper plate and also on the map of London in Braun and Hogenberg's *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*; other similar versions of the name are 'S. Tapius' (with the engraver's mistake 'u' for 'n') on the map attributed to Agas, and 'S. Taphyns' on Norden's map of 1593. An early variation of the name 'St. Alphage' is 'St. Alfin' in the Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester, c. 1300. The transference of the final 't' of 'saint' is found also in 'tantony' (bell), 'tawdry' (lace), and S. Towlles or Tooley (street), from St. Anthony, St. Audrey, and St. Olave, respectively. The loss of 'l' before 'f' can be seen in 'half', Ralph pronounced Rafe or Rauf, and the occasional pronunciation of 'golf'.

The intersection of Gracechurch and Lombard Streets is called '4. Canti'. Its meaning is literally 'four corners' and occurs thus in Stow (*Survey of London*, ed. Kingsford, i. 202): "Then by the foure corners (so called of Fen church streete in the East, Bridgestreete on the South, Grasse streete on the North and Lombard streete on the West)."

Hitherto the earliest noted occurrence of 'Canon' or 'Cannon' Street with one 'n' was on Leake's map dated 1666, and with two 'n's on the title-page of a book dated 1664; the form 'Canon Strete' on the copper engraving precedes these by more than a century. The common forms during the sixteenth century were Candlewick, Canwick, and the like. (See E. Ekwall, *Street-names of the City of London*, 1954, and Arthur Bonner, 'Some London Street Names' in *Lond. & Mdsx. Arch. Soc. T.*, New Series, III (1915), esp. pp. 211-3.

STEPHEN POWYS MARKS

A note on an old custom

On October 26, 1962, *The Times* reported the ancient ceremony in which the City Comptroller rendered the quit rent service due to the Crown from the Corporation of London for the Moor in Shropshire and a tenement called the Forge in the parish of St. Clement Danes on the site (roughly) of Australia House. For the Forge he counted six horseshoes and 61 nails and presented them to the Queen's Remembrancer, who said: 'Good number.' For the Moor the Comptroller cut a faggot with a billhook and severed it in two with a hatchet. He then gave billhook and hatchet to the Queen's Remembrancer, who accepted them with the words: 'Good service.'

The Tudor diarist, Henry Machyn, reports the second part of the ceremony on September 30, 1561, a week after Merchant Taylors' School was founded. Machyn, a Freeman of the Merchant Taylors' Company, was a funeral furnisher or undertaker. He began the diary as a record of business transactions and ended by jotting down current events of importance as they came to his notice. Of the above ceremony, or the part of it relating to the Moor, Machyn wrote: 'The xxx day of September my lord mayre and the althermen and the new shreyffes took ther barges at the iij cranes in the Vintre and so to Westmynster, and so into the Cheker, and ther took ther hoythe; and ser Rowland Hyll whent up, and master Hoggys toke ser Rowland Hyll a choppyng knyef, and one dyd hold a whyt rod, and he with the knyef cuted the rod in sunder a-for all the pepull; and after to London to ther plases to dener, my lord mayre and all the althermen and mony worshipfulle men.'

The true meaning of the ceremony is shown by Professor V. H. Galbraith in *Studies in the Public Records*. For centuries the payment of these two quit-rents took place before the Cursitor Baron at the Court of Exchequer. Now down to the year 1826—astonishing as it may appear—the only record of payments in the Exchequer was kept on wooden tallies. These were of hazel and the amount paid was marked on them. Galbraith says that the rent for the Moor was two knives for cutting tallies. These knives must be shown by a practical demonstration—'a-for all the pepull', as Machyn puts it—to be sharp enough to cut them properly. The faggots are of minor importance and do not appear in the earliest documents. The oldest record, that of 1212, mentions no wood at all, only the two knives. When the annual service was re-stated in 1272, it was laid down that the tenant must cut a hazel rod with each knife. Galbraith's explanation is that this rod represented an Exchequer tally and is borne out by Machyn's statement that Sir Rowland Hill cut a white rod with a chopping knife. Presumably this rod was painted white or merely peeled in order to show plainly the figures afterwards marked on it. The faggot, billhook, and hatchet are innovations that have intruded in the course of time. The ceremony was transferred from Westminster to the Law Courts in 1859 following the death of the last Cursitor Baron and the abolition of his office.

F. W. M. DRAPER

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THE RIVER-SIDE DEFENSIVE WALL OF ROMAN LONDON

BY PETER R. V. MARSDEN

During 1841 Charles Roach Smith recorded a length of Roman wall discovered during the construction of the sewer under Upper Thames Street between the foot of Lambeth Hill and Queenhithe. From its position, size and length, he assumed it to be a fragment of the river-side defensive wall of Roman London. From time to time other fragments of walling have been found under Upper Thames Street and Lower Thames Street, all of which have been thought to be further fragments of this Roman river-side defensive wall. The authors of the *Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, Vol. 3, Roman London*,⁽¹⁾ considered that as the wall contained so many fragments of re-used stone, and because its construction varied so considerably from the uniform character of the landward wall, it was a later Roman addition to the defences of the City, possibly dating from the same period as the solid bastions on the eastern side of the City wall, which also contained re-used stones.⁽²⁾

Post-war rebuilding along Upper Thames Street has thrown new light on the nature and purpose of some of the fragments of the supposed Roman 'river-wall'.⁽³⁾ Therefore this is an appropriate time to review the evidence for the existence of such a wall. The *R.C.H.M.*, being the most recent survey of the river-side defensive wall, has been taken as the authority, and on the accompanying plan (*Fig. 1*) the *R.C.H.M.* numbering system of the wall fragments has been used, while the later discoveries have been lettered, and each fragment is critically discussed below.

W.41⁽⁴⁾

Roach Smith records that:

The excavation of sewage . . . commenced at Blackfriars. The workmen having advanced, without impediment, to the foot of Lambeth Hill, were here checked by a wall of extraordinary strength, which formed an angle with the Hill and Thames Street. Upon this wall the contractor for sewers was obliged to open his course to a depth of about 20 ft.⁽⁵⁾ so that the greater portion of the structure had to be overthrown . . . It extends (as far as I had the means of observing) from Lambeth Hill to Queenhithe, with occasional breaks. In thickness it measured from 8 to 10 ft. The height [*sc.* of the wall] from the bottom of the sewer was about 8 ft., in some places more or less; it reached to within about 9 ft. from the present street, and 3 ft. from that which indicates the period of the fire of London, in this district easily recognised. In some places, the ground-work of the houses destroyed by the fire of 1666 abut on the wall. The foundation was made in the following manner. Oaken piles were first used; upon these were laid a stratum of chalk and stones, and then a course of hewn sand-stones from 3 to 4 ft., by 2 and 2½ ft., firmly cemented in the well-known compound of quick lime, sand and pounded tile. Upon this solid substructure was built the wall, composed of rag and flint, with layers of . . . tiles. . . . Many of the large stones above mentioned are sculptured and ornamented with mouldings, which denote their prior use in a frieze or entablature of an

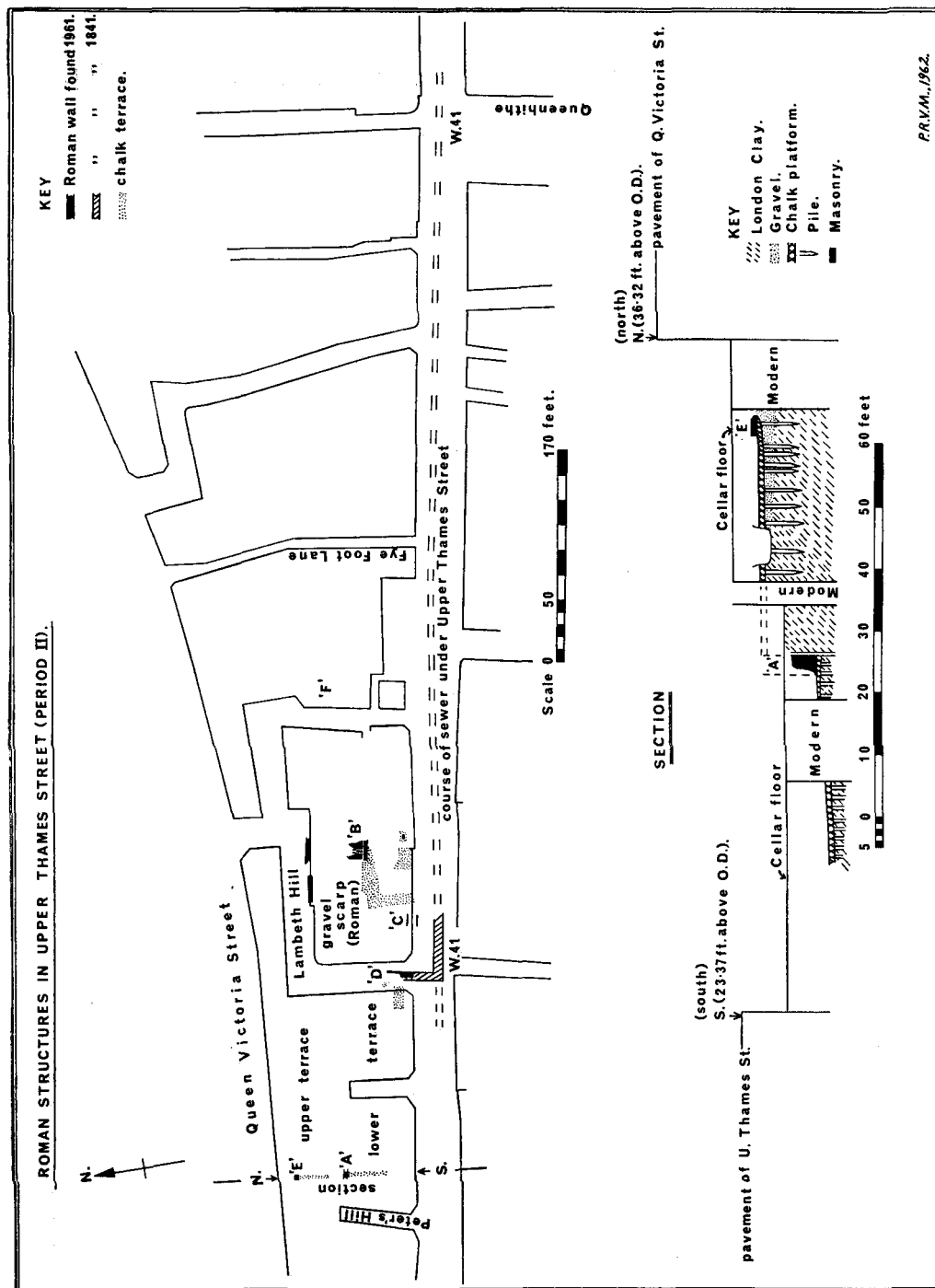


Fig. 1

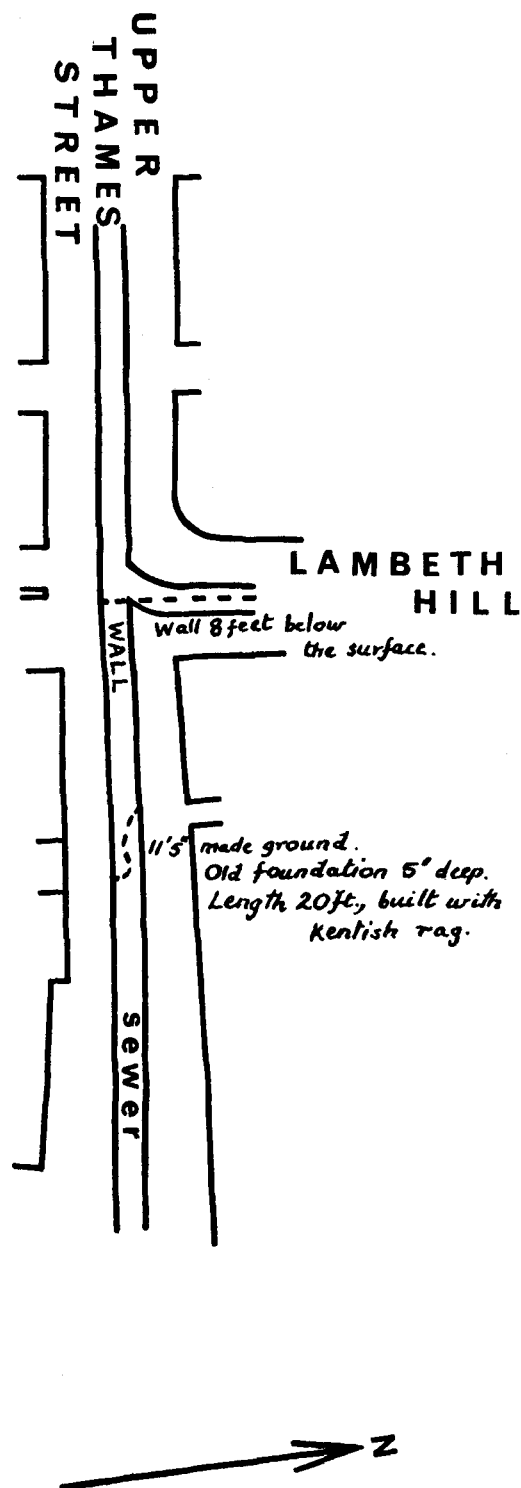


Fig. 2

Copy of Sewer Plan 378, with note on Plan 315 added

edifice, the magnitude of which may be conceived from the fact that these stones were weighing in many instances, upwards of half a ton . . . I observed, also, that fragments of sculptured marble had been worked into the wall, and also a portion of a stone carved with an elegant ornament of the trellis-work pattern. . . .⁽⁶⁾

Roach Smith says that the top of the wall lay about 9 ft. below the present road surface, and that the wall was standing about 8 ft. high; therefore the base of the wall lay about 17 ft. below Upper Thames Street, or at about 6 ft. above Ordnance Datum. What he meant when he said that the wall 'formed an angle with the [Lambeth] Hill and Thames Street' has been the subject of much dispute.⁽⁷⁾ Fortunately excavations for the new Salvation Army Headquarters during 1961–2 have provided the answer, for this large site straddles Lambeth Hill for a considerable distance on both sides, between Queen Victoria Street and Upper Thames Street. In addition to this, Sewer Plans 378 and 315 of the City of London Commissioners of Sewers, now in the Records Department of the Corporation of London, have the position of the walls forming the angle marked on them with notes on the wall levels and construction (*Fig. 2*).

Briefly, the excavations on the Salvation Army site revealed two main Roman building periods. Only slight traces of period I were found, and these consisted of ragstone foundations in the southern half of the site. Period II (*Figs. 1 and 3*) was most important in that it related to the supposed 'river-wall' uncovered by Roach Smith. The steep slope between Queen Victoria Street and Upper Thames Street (now a slope of 1 : 8, even though the construction of Queen Victoria Street caused the top of the slope to be lowered by many feet) was terraced in Roman times. The upper surface of the higher terrace, or platform, which was

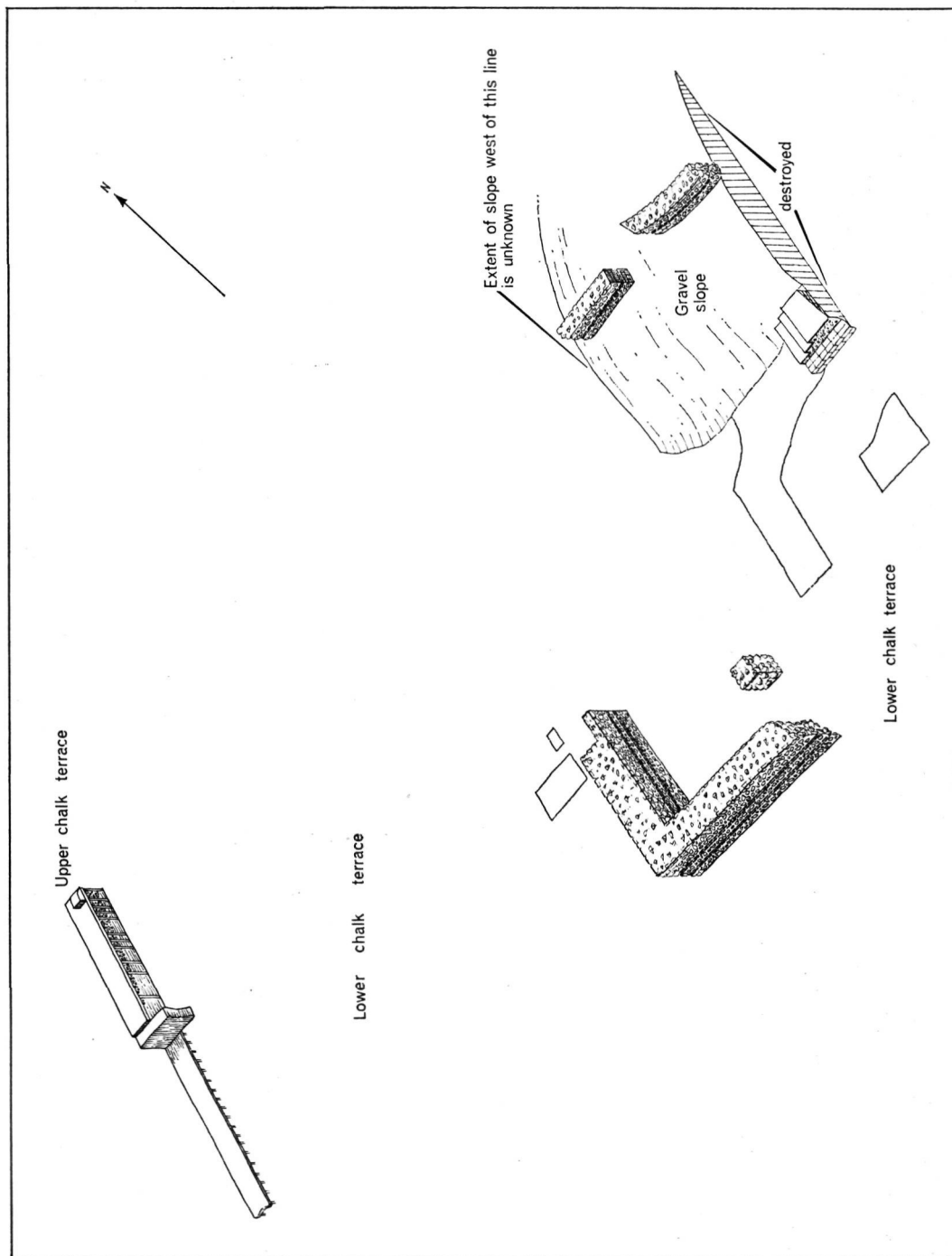


Fig. 3
Perspective view of Roman structures of period 2, discovered on the Salvation Army site during 1961-2

built of rammed chalk on a foundation of timber piles, lay at 15 ft. 9 in. below the pavement surface of Queen Victoria Street, or at 20 ft. 7 in. above O.D., and at what appeared to be the northern edge of the upper chalk platform was a large block of reddish-brown sandstone with a bevel, apparently part of a plinth (*Fig. 1, 'E'*). The upper chalk platform did not appear to extend as far east as Lambeth Hill itself, because a section through the previously undisturbed Roman strata under Lambeth Hill revealed the steeply-sloping natural gravel extending down to the northern edge of the lower chalk platform or terrace. Between the upper and lower chalk platforms at the west end of the site, there stood a retaining wall (*Fig. 1, 'A'*) of re-used mortar set in cement, which contained at its base a beautifully tooled limestone block. This retaining wall must have originally stood to a height of about 9 ft. (the difference between the two terrace levels in the middle of the site) only 4 ft. of which remained. Both chalk platforms gently sloped down towards the river; and the lower chalk platform, near the Thames Street frontage at the west end of the site, was found to lie at about 9 ft. 4 in. above O.D., while to the east, just east of Lambeth Hill, it lay at 7 ft. above O.D.

The lower terrace or chalk platform was also built of rammed chalk one foot thick resting on numerous circular oak piles; and at one point two stone blocks, which may have been re-used, were found lying irregularly in the chalk. To the east of Lambeth Hill a wall (*Fig. 1, 'B'*) was found resting on the lower chalk platform. This structure belonged to the second phase of building on the site. The remains of the first phase were covered by the chalk platform, and evidently were the foundations of buildings which were destroyed before the terracing of the hill. From its level above the lower chalk platform and its method of construction, it is quite clear that the southernmost wall recorded by the *R.C.H.M.* in Brooks Yard in 1924 (*Fig. 1, 'C'*) was also a wall of the second period of this site. The plan of Roman London in the Report of the *R.C.H.M.* suggests that this fragment was a portion of Roach Smith's wall. It is, however, quite clear from the documents in the City Engineer's Department, that the sewer, and Roach Smith's wall, lay some yards to the south, near the middle of Upper Thames Street. It is hardly necessary to state that no sign of any sewer was found running along the southern frontage of the site on the line shown on the *R.C.H.M.* map.⁽⁹⁾

No clear evidence of any walls of period II were found to the west of Lambeth Hill, except the retaining wall above-mentioned, and after a careful search only one wall was found which fitted Roach Smith's description of a wall making 'an angle with the Hill and Thames Street'. This wall (*Fig. 1, 'D'*) was found while excavating the site of the old Lambeth Hill in 1961, and it ran northwards up the centre of the carriageway of Lambeth Hill, from the new Thames Street frontage, which now runs across the bottom of the old street. It stood 7 ft. in height and had two thicknesses, for at the south end of the Hill more than 4 ft. 4 in. of thickness remained, although the west side, or face, of the wall had been cut away by the Lambeth Hill sewer, while at its north end, which was undisturbed by the sewer, its total width was only 1 ft. 6 in. It was built of ragstone with double courses of bonding tiles at intervals of 2 ft. 6 in., all set in white cement. At the south end, where it was wider, several rectangular limestone blocks were found at the base of the wall, similar in size to Roach Smith's 'hewn sandstones'. The base of the wall was level with the top of the lower chalk platform, but unfortunately the excavation was not deep enough to show whether it was built on a foundation of piles.

The western face of wall 'D', which had been cut away by the Lambeth Hill sewer, is

fortunately recorded on City Sewer Plan 378, where the western face of the wall is sketched in Indian ink and beside it is the note 'wall 8 ft. below surface' (*Fig. 2*). On this plan wall 'D' runs south into the centre of Upper Thames Street where it meets and forms a corner of the main wall (W.41) running along Thames Street as far as Queenhithe. This latter wall is sketched in pencil from the foot of Lambeth Hill as far as Brooks Yard, and beside it is the note 'wall 8 ft. below the surface'. Sewer Plan 315 has a confirmatory note beside the line of the Thames Street sewer at the foot of Brooks Yard, which reads '11 ft. 5 in. [?] made ground and old foundations 5 ft. deep. Length 20 ft., built of Kentish rag'. These sewer plans prove that wall 'D' is directly connected with the wall W.41, with which it forms an angle as Roach Smith states, and in addition they show the actual position of Roach Smith's 'river-wall'.

At the eastern end of the Salvation Army site it was found that the river gravel scarp extended further southward than it did at the western end, and that during period II this gravel had a retaining wall (*Fig. 1*, 'B') built around the west and south sides of it. The retaining wall on the west side of the gravel was aligned nearly at a right angle to the northern frontage of Thames Street, and had been built in broad steps, three of which were revealed (*Fig. 3*). It was built of ragstone and white cement, with double courses of bonding tiles at intervals, and immediately overlay the lower chalk platform. The southern retaining wall, which was aligned nearly parallel with the northern frontage of Upper Thames Street, and was partly bonded into the stepped retaining wall, was extremely interesting in that it was built of many large blocks of limestone—some definitely re-used. One of these was evidently a block from the limestone plinth, and it lay upside-down with its chamfered edge on the inside of the wall. It measured about 7 ft. long, 2 ft. wide, and about 1 ft. thick and, together with several other blocks of a comparable size, strongly recalls Roach Smith's description of massive re-used stones. The blocks found in 1962 were set in *opus signinum* like those in Roach Smith's wall. The walls and other remains of period II on the Salvation Army site are therefore remarkably similar in method of construction and level above O.D. to Roach Smith's wall, and it seems probable that the chalk foundation over the piles beneath the latter wall was a southward extension of the lower chalk platform.

In the light of the additional evidence of Sewer Plan 378 it is clear that Roach Smith's wall and the wall found in 1924 formed part of the complex of walls and terraces of period II found in 1961 on the Salvation Army site, which certainly do not seem to have had a defensive purpose. Roach Smith's wall was apparently about 700 ft. long, so it would appear that the period II walls north of Thames Street extended as far as Queenhithe. It is interesting to note that Roman walls were found in 1845 built on large hewn stones laid on wooden piles under the old Fish Street Hill, now the eastward arm of Lambeth Hill, about 95 ft. to the east of the Salvation Army site,⁽¹⁰⁾ and that in 1962 Professor W. F. Grimes found two red sandstone blocks together, overlying the natural gravel (*Fig. 1*, 'F') in a cellar just east of old Fish Street Hill.⁽¹¹⁾

W.42⁽¹²⁾

In June 1839, in deepening a sewer in Thames Street, opposite Vintners' Hall, there were 'discovered the perfect remains of an old Roman wall running parallel with the line of the river' at a depth of 10 ft. 'The wall was formed of alternate layers of flint, chalk

and flat tiles and offered considerable obstructions to the workmen, from the firmness with which the materials were fixed together.'⁽¹³⁾

The only comment one can make about this wall is that if it were Roman, it is surprising that it did not contain any ragstone.

W.43⁽¹⁴⁾

'In Thames Street, opposite Queen Street, about two years since, a wall, precisely similar in general character [to W.41], was met with; and there is but little doubt of its having originally formed part of [W. 41].'⁽¹⁵⁾

W.44⁽¹⁶⁾

In 1868 a wall, 200 ft. long, 10 ft. high and 12 ft. thick was found under Cannon Street Station, and the *R.C.H.M.* suggests that 'it may have formed part of the city-wall'. But the wall is clearly stated to have been 'running nearly in line with Bush Lane'⁽¹⁷⁾ (*i.e.* aligned approximately north-south), and cannot therefore have been a river wall. It was presumably part of the great building found in Bush Lane in 1961.⁽¹⁸⁾

W.45⁽¹⁹⁾

'In 1927, between the ends of Bush Lane and Little Bush Lane, a foundation of chalk blocks was encountered and an indeterminate edge on the S. side seemed to trend more N. of E. than the line of the trench. This foundation may represent either the foundation of the river wall or the debris fallen outwards.'

The writers of the *R.C.H.M.* are clearly suggesting a comparison between this find and the chalk 'foundation' of Roach Smith's wall (W.41), which we have seen is almost certainly part of a terrace. Even if W.45 is part of a similar chalk platform or terrace, it is no evidence that the 'river-wall' was ever built here.

W.46⁽²⁰⁾

A fragment of what was supposed to be the river-wall was found at or near the south-eastern angle of Suffolk Lane.⁽²¹⁾

W.47⁽²²⁾

Under the frontage-line of No. 125 Lower Thames Street and the adjoining pavement, a portion of a wall was exposed in 1911. The wall rested on gravel at a depth of 24 ft. below the present surface (about 1 ft. below O.D.).

'Large roughly-squared timbers, 12 ft. long and about 8 in. square, were first laid on the top of the ballast, across the thickness of the wall, these being held in place by pointed piles driven in at intervals . . . On these timbers were laid large irregular sandstones and ragstones bedded in clay and flints. Three layers of these stones showed in the face above which was a bond of two [the drawing shows three] rows of tiles. Some chalk with other stone formed the core, the whole being cemented with mortar. The total height of the masonry remaining was 3 ft. and its width 10 ft. Some of the stones were apparently re-used though no moulded stone appeared in the small piece uncovered.'⁽²³⁾

W.48⁽²⁴⁾

A Roman wall, 'of extraordinary solidarity and entirely formed of Kentish ragstone', was found in Lower Thames Street when the Roman building under the Coal Exchange was excavated in 1859. The plan shows that about 48 ft. of the length of the wall was uncovered and that it was only 6ft. 6 in. wide.⁽²⁵⁾ The construction of this wall differs

from the other fragments of the 'river wall' (where described) in that it was 'entirely formed of Kentish ragstone', from which it must be assumed that it did not contain courses of bonding tiles.

Conclusions

Between the Tower and Blackfriars, there are only five small fragments of Roman walls (W.42, 43, 46, 47 and 48) which might be used as evidence that a river-side defensive wall of Roman London ever existed. Clearly this is insufficient. The constructions of the only walls described in any detail (W.42, 47 and 48) vary so considerably that they cannot be regarded as part of the same structure.

It is true that Fitzstephen refers to a tradition, still surviving in the 12th century, that London once had a fortified wall in the south,⁽²⁶⁾ comparable with that in the north, and that this was destroyed by the Thames. Many years of archaeological investigation have failed to confirm this, however, and the continuing negative evidence makes it improbable that a fortified river-side wall, in any way comparable with the landward city wall, ever existed. No doubt there were river-side walls in many parts of the city at most times, but these were probably merely wharves and revetments of embankments like those which exist today.

NOTES

- 1 Hereafter abbreviated to *R.C.H.M.*
- 2 *R.C.H.M.*, p. 80.
- 3 *Ibid.*, p. 79.
- 4 *Ibid.*, p. 92.
- 5 The base of the Upper Thames St. sewer casing at the foot of Lambeth Hill is 19 ft. 6 in. below the surface of Upper Thames St. Information from City Engineer's Dept.
- 6 *Arch.*, **29**, 1842, p. 150; *Illustrations of Roman London*, 1859, pp. 18-19.
- 7 *V.C.H.*, London, I, pp. 69-70, plan C.
- 8 *R.C.H.M.*, p. 93.
- 9 *R.C.H.M.*, Fig. 43, p. 124.
- 10 *Brit. Arch. Ass. J.*, 1st series, I, p. 45.
- 11 Information kindly supplied by Prof. W. F. Grimes, C.B.E.
- 12 *R.C.H.M.*, p. 93.
- 13 J. T. Smith, *Streets of London*, p. 380.
- 14 *R.C.H.M.*, p. 93.
- 15 *Arch.*, **29**, p. 151.
- 16 *R.C.H.M.*, p. 93.
- 17 *Lond. & Mdsx. Arch. Soc. T.*, **III**, 1870, p. 213.
- 18 *Lond. & Mdsx. Arch. Soc. T.*, **21**, Part I, p. 72.
- 19 *R.C.H.M.*, p. 93.
- 20 *Ibid.*, p. 93.
- 21 *Arch.*, **40**, 1866, p. 48.
- 22 *R.C.H.M.*, p. 93.
- 23 *Arch.*, **63**, p. 309.
- 24 *R.C.H.M.*, p. 94.
- 25 *Brit. Arch. Ass. J.*, 1st series, **24**, 1868, p. 296.
- 26 John Stow, *A Survey of London*, ed. Kingsford, 1908, 1, p. 8.

THE FARM ACCOUNTS OF THE MANOR OF HENDON, 1316-1416

BY ELEANOR LLOYD, B.A.

In the fourteenth century farm accounts were usually kept by tally, and as few farmers could read or write, figures were seldom entered on paper; still less frequently are written accounts preserved to the present day. Thanks to the care of the monks and their successors, the yearly account rolls of the Manors of Westminster Abbey have survived in excellent order and condition from the days of the Monastery, often in regular sequences, which adds to their historical value. Findings from the rolls of the Manor of Hendon for the years 1316 to 1416 are here described.

The first date, 1316, marks the taking possession of Hendon by the Abbot of Westminster following the gift by Royal Charter of Edward I in 1295⁽¹⁾ in soul alms for his Queen Eleanor, after an alienation of nearly a hundred and fifty years. The coincidence of the exact century ending in 1416 is due to the death in that year of John atte hegge, who farmed the manor, collected the rents, and made the accounts for the very long period of forty years from 1376; after his time there is a deterioration in the regularity of accounting—apparently there was no one of equal ability to take his place.

Until these farm accounts were examined, historians of Hendon seemed to suppose that the farming community there kept its rustic peace undisturbed from Saxon times. The writer hopes to achieve two aims, to show how Hendon did, at the time of the Black Death, emerge to play a worthy part in the national crisis, and then to demonstrate how farm accounts may be used in history.

In the fourteenth century Hendon was an established settlement of scattered farms and cottages lying along the east side of Watling Street, with its southern end bordering the 'vill' of Hampstead, five miles from Charing Cross. Its church and manor farm stood, as the name of Hendon implies, on the high down, about a safe mile away from the traffic on the highway, surrounded by the fields and woods of the demesne, gradually yielding to cultivation.

Farm accounts are often thought dull and they do repeat year after year under the same headings of income and expenditure. A long series, like this one, which covers a period of a century, can be used to illustrate economic change such as the introduction of cash payments made to avoid labour due, or the rise in wages and prices after the Black Death, which happened all over the country and has been recorded often by writers on the fourteenth century. In this paper the writer attempts to bring out only what throws new light on the history of Hendon and its people, especially at three eventful times:

1. The organization of the manor as the home farm of Westminster Abbey in the early part of the century.
2. The life and work of John atte hegge, the first man to lease the demesne, in the latter part, during the reigns of Richard II, Henry IV and Henry V.
3. The unexpected effects of the Black Death in Hendon, and the effort of the monks to combat them.

The reorganization begun in 1316, after Westminster Abbey resumed ownership, was carried out over a number of years. It was undertaken methodically and with no reasonable expense spared, so that much of the income from rents (about £24) and sales was used up in stocking the farm, repairing the mill, walls and barns, and building a new manor farm now to be called a Rectory, as the residence of the Abbot as Rector.

The head of the catering department at Westminster Abbey was the cellarer, and in accordance with the old tradition that drink comes before meat with Middlesex men, the granger was under him. A farm manager was appointed each year at Michaelmas when the farmers' year ended after the harvest and before the winter ploughing and sowing began. In addition to supervising the farm work and forestry, he had to collect rents both in cash and in kind and make his account to the granger who brought a clerk to write it. In the early years, a man from the estate department at the monastery called a 'serviens' made the account. Later the most capable and trustworthy local farmer (called 'prepositus'—i.e. placed first among his neighbours) was tried, and if he proved a success, continued for two or three years. In the quiet season (October to November) the Abbot himself came down to hunt in the Great Wood (now Highwood) and to hold a court (the perquisites of this and other courts are shown as a comparatively small sum in the yearly accounts).

The Norman plan of making a detailed survey of newly acquired property, instituted by William the Conqueror with his Domesday Book, was followed in Hendon and the procedure was the same on a small scale.⁽²⁾ A jury of twelve local farmers made a list of all tenants by name, the acreage of their holdings, the rent they paid yearly at the four quarters in money, in kind and in labour. The court consisted of three monks from Westminster. As the survey was made in 1321, five years after the takeover, it may be assumed that it represented the policy of the Abbot, and that its details were already in force. The accounts are based on it through the century and Hendon was to be the home farm for the Abbey. Its produce was not (as heretofore) to be sold, but its grain was to be delivered to Westminster to feed the monks, their servants, workmen, and the large numbers of visitors from Kings to beggars: its timber (thirty large oaks each year) went to continue the building of Henry III's new Abbey now nearing completion; its logs to make fires in the Abbey rooms, its firewood to heat the brewhouse and bakehouse ovens.

In the summer of 1320 the serviens, Sayer de Brokesheued, made several journeys to buy cattle at fairs at Staines, Burnham, Kingston and Stortford with the granger, Philip de Sutton. They bought farm horses at about 11s. 0d., 12s. 0d. with foal (eight in all), three cows averaging 12s. 4d. each, one pig and nine piglets for 9s. 6½d., and twenty-two fowls for 2s. 8d. The total was £7 2s. 8½d. and the expenses for each journey 14d.

That same summer a garden was being made behind the church by assarting (clearing a land from forest) up to the Downhegge Wood to the north-east, at a cost of 12s. 7d., followed by digging and planting at a cost of 4s. 5d., carried out by three men from Lotharlei (the old name for Mill Hill) who were paid 2s. 0d. for four days' work. The crop was peas and beans (our broad or horse beans), and there may have been apple and pear trees put in, as these were favourite fruits yielding about 10s. 0d. annually, in the survey.

The Abbot of Westminster, as Rector of Hendon, seems to have found the old Church farm inadequate to house his large train, and its barns too small for his home farm, hence the decision to build on demesne land in Parson Street where there was more room.

Under the heading 'Custos domus' during the first decade covered by the account,

there are long lists of building materials bought, and details of the wages of craftsmen, mostly from Westminster, who were paid 3*d.* to 4*d.* a day, nearly double the wage of local men. In the account for 1319 to 1320 a carpenter had meals at the manor farm table from 2 July to Michaelmas, and another carpenter had meals from 2 July to 6 August, and were charged with one quarter of wheat for their bread. In the account for 1319 to 1320 a tiler and his boy worked for eight days, and bread and meat for them and other workmen totalled £4 7*s.* 0*d.* The total expenses for the year 1321 to 1322 are high—£29 12*s.* 8½*d.*—including carpenters' wages for making doors and windows for the solar, with hundreds of nails. Evidently the house itself was under construction, and as there is no entry for either bricks or timber, it may be assumed that it was made of timber cut from Hendon Woods. The 1321 survey records a large house with curtelage and a croft newly erected in Parson Street. In 1326 there was a special account for the period of greatest activity—July 2 to Michaelmas—made by two monks and the serviens from Westminster. Rents amounting to £24 8*s.* 0½*d.* were collected, expenses being cut to balance exactly.

The process of roofing was perhaps unusual because the roofs of the three barns (the great barn, the hay barn, and the corn barn) were all thatched and then tiled over the thatch. Wages were paid for cutting reeds by men, and collecting the reeds by women; thousands of tiles were brought by cart from Westminster and there are bills for them and the various kinds of nails needed.

It looked as though the roofs would be on the three barns ready for the harvest, and the Abbot would be able to stay at his new Rectory for the first time when he came to hold his Courts and enjoy his hunting in the autumn of 1326. So the case is proved that Hendon's earliest manor house on the Parson Street site was built between 1319 and 1326, and called the Rectory. The last one, called Tenterden Hall after its last owner, was demolished in 1931.

G. M. Trevelyan in his *English Social History* writes:

The demesne lands of monastic manors, administered by the Abbey's own officials direct, had often been admirable examples of estate management and agricultural improvement, but in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the demesne lands of the Abbeys were increasingly let out on leases to laymen, who either farmed them or sub-let them to others. In this way the lay control and enjoyment of monastic wealth began long before the final Dissolution.

This happened in Hendon, and the first man to lease the demesne was John atte hegge whose forebear had been a jurymen for the 1321 survey. The accounts were made by him for the last forty years of our period, beginning in 1376 until 1416; and his lease was for the demesne with meadows and pastures, including customary works, on payment of £24 a year. All through his career he was arranging for the Abbey new leases of other farms and land to the more enterprising farmers to whom freedom from customary labour and dues paid in kind was an incentive. He also built up his own holding with new rents and leases, subletting as it suited him. It was no surprise, therefore, when the writer was fortunate enough to find his will at the Guildhall,⁽³⁾ to see that John atte hegge was a rich man by the standards of his time. Translated, this will reads:

In the name of God, Amen. Sunday 11 February in the fourth year of the reign of King Henry the fifth after the Conquest, A.D. 1416, I John atte hegge, sane in mind but sick

in body, make my will in this way. First I leave my soul to God omnipotent, blessed Mary and all his saints, and my body to be buried in the church of blessed Mary of Hendon aforesaid.

Item I leave to the High Altar for tithes forgotten 8s. 4d.

Item I leave to each priest being on the month and day of my death 12d., and to each order of friars of London 6s. 8d.

Item I leave to each of my godsons 12d.

Item I leave to be spent on the King's way towards London 100s.⁽⁴⁾

Item I leave to the highway towards the church of Hendon 40s.⁽⁴⁾

Item I leave for a breviary to be bought for the said church 26s. 8d.

Item I leave to Isabelle Moraunt 20s. and two cows.

Item I leave to Thomas Bukberd my kinsman a tenement called Slattons.⁽⁵⁾

Item I leave to Alice and Joan daughters of the said Thomas Bukberd 20s. or two cows.

Item I leave to Peter Goldesburgh and my daughter Joan all my lands and tenements with their appurtenances wherever they may be, or in whose hands, to her and to her heirs.

Item I leave to my executors all the debts which are owed to me to be disposed according to their will for my soul.

The residue of all my goods moveable or immoveable I leave to the said Peter and Joan my daughter that they may order and dispose of them for my soul as seems best. Of this will I make the said Peter Goldesburgh and Joan my daughter my executors.

Signed with my seal. Given at Hendon on the above day and year.

John atte hegge asks to be buried in Hendon Church and leaves enough money to it to give him a place of honour there. Immediately before the High Altar in the old part of St. Mary's Hendon, now the Lady Chapel, is a large floor monument, of which Mr. Francis Eeles (Ecclesiastical Commissioner) wrote in 1931:⁽⁶⁾

the earliest monument is the large slab of blue marble lying in the midst of the old chancel and containing the indent of a splendid fifteenth century brass, long since removed.

It needs only one more piece of evidence, now fortunately found, to prove that this is certainly the tomb of John atte hegge.

In Gough's 'Sepulchral Monuments' (1797)⁽⁷⁾ is this passage:

In Hendon Church, Middlesex, under two men praying to a cross, on which in a rich tabernacle sits a Virgin and Child:

'Hic jacet Johes Atte hegge qui obiit p'imo die Marcii anno d'ni MCCCCXVI. Et Angurie uxor ejus que obiit XI die Octob. anno d'ni MCCCCVIII.'

So the beautiful brass was there in 1797. Now there survive only the shining nails and indents which, though blurred, still tally with the Gough description. Peter Goldesburgh, husband of Joan atte hegge, was a goldsmith, as we learn from his will⁽⁸⁾ and the modest but dignified brass tablet in the church, both recording that he died in 1422. He, too, had an only child, his 'bona et jocalia Agnes', to whom he left the intriguing collection of gold and silver vessels and ornaments in their hiding places with his diamonds, baleys and pearls.

John atte hegge, born about the time of the Black Death of a respectable local family

farming probably at Cowhouse,⁽⁴⁾ in South Hendon, showed initiative and courage when as a young man he leased the demesne farm and at the same time managed the rest of the manor for Westminster Abbey. For forty years he was responsible for the whole of Hendon, with loyalties due both to the Abbot and to his own people. During the Peasants' Revolt, when relations between landowners and workingmen were badly strained, he kept the balance, for there is no record of rioting, burnings and bloodshed such as occurred at St. Albans and elsewhere. His place in history is with the forerunners of the yeomen of England whose independence and enterprise made the nation great in the century after him.

The plague known as the Black Death was brought into England by ship early in 1348 and spread over the country during the summer, reaching London by the winter of the same year. It is first mentioned in the Hendon accounts for Michaelmas 1348 to Michaelmas 1349, which give early evidence of the trouble in an estate near London. Unlike references in Court Rolls, it gives no list of tenants who died, but is based on some unexpected additions of routine entries about cattle, wages and food and such ordinary things. Taken together these details build up a scene of fear, tragedy and emergency which must have been suffered in many other places where no written account now survives.

The Hendon Farm accounts are continuous for the fourteenth century, indeed there are three of them for the crucial year 1348 to 1349.

When the first began at Michaelmas 1348, Henry le Whyte was serviens, as he had been for the previous two years. It was the time of winter ploughing, with harvests gathered and Christmas rents not yet due, when the account closed and Henry le Whyte disappeared. He may have died, an early victim, or simply gone away. Robert de Tarpesfeld, monk bailiff of Westminster Abbey, came down and appointed a local tenant, William de Houchon, to collect rents and act as prepositus for the time being. By 12 May 1349, when the granger, Richard Martyn, was superintending Houchon's account for the Easter quarter, Martyn fell victim to the plague and William Houchon either fled or himself died—the latter alternative seems more likely, as his animals were sold and there is no further mention of his name.

This second week in May seems to have been the worst week of the plague in the district north and west of London. On 15 May the Abbot of Westminster, Simon de Bircheston, died at the Rectory of Hampstead with twenty-six of his monks⁽⁹⁾ and almost certainly many of the villagers. Hampstead farm accounts cease altogether for six years from 1347 to 1353. The other great Benedictine Abbey at St. Albans, north of Hendon, lost Abbot Michael de Mentmore and forty-six monks about the same time, and Court Rolls of six manors of St. Albans in the British Museum give a total of over four hundred tenants who died (without mention of their families).⁽¹⁰⁾

We have no Court Rolls of this date to give definite figures for Hendon, and there are only seven people who may reasonably, because of definite statements like 'defunctus' or 'mortuus', or payment of heriot in the Perquisites of Court accounts, be assumed to have died of plague. Only one, Richard Martyn (mentioned above) was a monk, and as eight monks, mentioned by name, are stated to have been in the manor during the fateful time, it seems they had taken refuge there, and been more fortunate than the others at Hampstead, whose fate some of the Abbey authorities, including the Abbot's brother, Richard de Bircheston, inquired into from Hendon.

John Bond, who became prepositus on 12 May 1349, survived to hold the office for three more tranquil years. His task at the height of infection must have been terrible.

His account, normal at first sight, is remarkable for the large number of animals grazing in Hendon pastures that summer. When Houchon finished, Bond says he took over twenty-six cows (a fair average for the herd), but in his own account for 12 May to Michaelmas 1349 he counted seventy-five cows and a great increase in heads of cattle and horses. He records that they came in small groups accompanied by a *serviens* or *prepositus* from places in Middlesex, Hertfordshire and Essex, nearly all in May. A new granger, John le Henri, came from the Abbey to cope with the emergency, for on the back of John Bond's roll we find his more detailed account of which animals belonged to each manor, who was in charge of them, and what charges could be claimed, for board of the men and keep and care of the cows, oxen and horses. Were they ever paid? With the help from monks staying at the Rectory, who took tallies and held Courts, he organized the reception of these evacuees. It is from his bills for meals at the manor farm table that we get names, dates of arrival and departure, which, taken with Bond's wages bills, are particularly useful in helping to identify manors, by the wages of the local carters who drove their animals home when infection was less virulent.

In May 1349, for example, Abraham dele Clerk (*sic*), *serviens* of Mulsham, arrived with eight cows and calves. His board was charged till July, and on 22 September he took eight cows with six bull calves back to Mulsham. A Hendon drover named Rolf went to help on the journey and was paid one shilling for the return there at 2*d.* a day. This confirms that Mulsham is Moulsham near Chelmsford in Essex, 40 miles from Hendon, a journey not impossible to do with cattle, returning alone, in six days. Now Mulsham was a Manor of Westminster in the fourteenth century, and this leads to the discovery that all the other places from which men and cattle took refuge in Hendon likewise belonged to the Abbey—Aldenham (Hertfordshire), Ashford (Middlesex), Bermestre, Datchet, Greenford, Halleford in Shepperton, Hampstead, Kensington, Knightsbridge, Neasden, Rochford, Teddington, West Hampstead, Whitchurch. The invasion of Hendon by such numbers of strangers driving their cattle in May 1349 was therefore no panic-stricken flight, but an orderly evacuation from affected Westminster manors to the home farm of Hendon. Not only was the reception organized, but Hendon was under helpful supervision, at least till the end of the year, for the accounts mention by name eight monks who stayed at the Rectory during the year, and there may have been more. Thomas de Combrakt, first called 'brother', is soon 'monk bailiff', as was Richard de Bircheston, while Nicholas de Lytlington, who came as granger to take a tally in 1348, was promoted in 1349 'to inspect the state of the manor and ride on the same errand to Aldenham'. He became the great building Abbot in 1360, his special work the south west block of the Abbey with the Jerusalem Chamber and College Hall. Obviously promotions came quickly when so few were left.

Although casualties were lighter on the farm, labour shortage was still a problem during and after the Black Death, and we find these arrangements made:

- (a) No cattle were accepted without their own *prepositus* in charge.
- (b) Some, like William Borde of Rochford, who brought a plough team of oxen and horses (*affri*), has a carter, John Sanders, with him to look after them; otherwise the *prepositus* had to do it himself. William Herring, *prepositus* of Teddington with only two horses of his own, was deputed to 'look after the cattle in the field'.

- (c) The wages list is longer this year. Extra men were paid the usual 2*d.* a day to work in the dairy (milking?) and to act as carters and butchers. Later they drove the animals home, and it is interesting to read how many had with them calves, foals and bullocks born in Hendon. Some few sold a beast before going home, but most of the sales were for heriots from which we get the small authentic lists of dead tenants.

As the granger makes his detailed accounts of quarters of wheat eaten by men from Hertfordshire, Essex or Middlesex manors, and oats for the horses of visiting monks, it becomes clear that Hendon was a place for refuge from the plague in that critical summer of 1349. With Westminster Abbey itself badly infected, and all its evacuated monks dead at Hampstead, the Rectory in Parson Street, providentially built about twenty years before, provided a safer headquarters for the small body of monks who survived, on whom fell the reorganization of the abbotless monastery. So history was made in quiet Hendon.

NOTES

The Westminster Abbey rolls kept in the Muniment Room are well indexed and described. They are in Latin, and have to be transcribed before they can be translated. In this article the year is always mentioned to make easier reading, and from it the reference number may be obtained in the card index. The year runs from Michaelmas of each year to Michaelmas of the next, the date changing at the end of March.

- 1 1295 Charter of Edward I: W. A. doc. 17012 and 17013.
- 2 Brett James, *Transactions of London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, Vol. VI, Part IV, p. 559.
- 3 Will of John atte hegge of Hendon, 11 February 1416/7: London Guildhall, C.C.L., 359 Brown.
- 4 The different directions of the King's Way to London and the highway to the Church suggest that he lived in south Hendon. The name 'atte hegge' may derive from the only boundary of the manor which was a hedge—that to the south bordering Hampstead. Cowhouse is in that position and from it London would be south and Hendon Church north. No documents remain prior to 1316 owing to the alienation, so proof is circumstantial only.
- 5 Thomas Bukberd was prepositus of Cowhouse from 1420 onwards. His legacy, the field Slattens, lies on the present field path to Hendon from Page Street, Mill Hill. This is unfortunately the only piece of land named in the will. If John atte hegge had had more children surviving to divide his estate we might know more.
- 6 *The Parish Church of St. Mary Hendon—a short history and description*, by Francis Eeles (1931).
- 7 Gough's *Sepulchral Monuments of Middlesex*, Vol. 2, p. 27.
- 8 Will of Peter Goldborough: London Guildhall, 1422 More 97.
- 9 He was reburied later beneath the East Cloister by the Library door. The twenty-six monks have a communal grave nearby in the South Cloister.
- 10 Dr. A. E. Levett in *Studies in Manorial History*, Vol. 2, pp. 248-87.

THE TEMPLE CHURCH AND ITS RESTORATION

BY LT.-COL. WILLIAM W. DOVE, C.B.E., T.D., D.L., F.S.A., C.C.

The original home of the Knights Templar, which they built in 1145, was just north-east of Chancery Lane. Sixteen years later (in 1161) they moved to a new site between Fleet Street and the River Thames. Here they built their new home which they called New Temple, and also their new church, round in plan, as was the original one.

In 1312 Pope Clement V suppressed the Order of the Templars and decreed that all their property should pass to the Hospitallers—the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. King Edward II ignored this decree and granted New Temple to the Earl of Pembroke, but twenty-two years later (1334) Parliament decreed that all the Templars' lands should go to the Hospitallers. Edward III ignored this decree, but fourteen years later (in 1348) New Temple was conveyed to the Prior of St. John of Jerusalem upon the payment of £100 by the Prior to the King for the consecrated portion of the land and a rental of £10 per year for the remainder of the land and buildings.

All Templar and Hospitaller Churches throughout the world were built on the same plan as the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, namely with two parts, a round and an eastern choir, the latter usually with an apsidal end. The new Temple Church was on this plan, and the round portion had a floor diameter of 59 ft. 0 in., the lantern being 30 ft. 0 in. in diameter and carried on six clustered purbeck marble columns. The London Temple Church is smaller than its sister church in Paris, the corresponding dimensions being 62 ft. 0 in. and 35 ft. 0 in. The ground measurement of the Hospitallers' church in Clerkenwell was 65 ft. 0 in.: no portion of this church remains above ground level, but the outline of the round is indicated by granite sets on the surface of the road of St. John's Square. By contrast a Hospitallers' church in Little Maplestead in Essex, still intact though much restored, is only 35 ft. in diameter at ground level.

The first portion of the New Temple Church to be built was the round, which was dedicated to the Virgin Mary on 10 February 1185 by Heraclius, the Patriarch of the Church of the Holy Resurrection in Jerusalem, in the presence of King Henry II and his court. Heraclius also dedicated the Hospitallers' church in Clerkenwell on the same day, and in the same year the Manor of Maplestead was given to the Hospitallers. An interesting point is that whereas Templar churches were dedicated to the saints to whom the original churches had been dedicated, the Hospitaller churches were all dedicated to the order's patron saint, St. John the Baptist.

The choir to Temple Church, which comprises a central nave with two aisles, is 82 ft. long, 53 ft. wide and 37 ft. high. There are five bays with a stone-vaulted roof springing from the clustered stone columns. This portion of the church was dedicated 45 years after the round on Ascension Day 1230, King Henry III and his court being present on that occasion.

On the south side of the church, at the junction of the round and the choir, there once existed the Chapel of St. Anne, which was thought to have been built at the same time as the choir. It was of two storeys, the ceilings at both levels being stone-vaulted like the choir, and the area of each storey forming a double cube. It was in this chapel,

according to the historians, that novices were initiated into the Order of Knights Hospitallers. The chapel was also used as a depository for judicial records and writs. These were unfortunately destroyed in the disastrous fire known in the Temple as 'The Great Fire of 1678'. The fire spread so rapidly that in order to prevent it reaching the church the chapel was blown up with gunpowder. All that now remains of this chapel is the lower portion of the walls, which are now below the present ground level but can be seen by descending a brick manhole outside the church. It is recorded that this fire, which lasted over twelve hours, broke out about midnight in the chambers of one of the members named Thornbury who lived in Pump Court. All the buildings in this court, Hare Court and Brick Court and the Cloisters were destroyed. The River Thames, then considerably wider and consequently shallower than it is now (it did in fact extend almost up to the church), was frozen over at the time. The water supply for the hand-pumps was thus cut off, and they were fed with the beer from the Temple Cellars: needless to say, this supply soon ran out, and so gunpowder was used to blow up the chapel and prevent the fire spreading.

It is on record that the Lord Mayor went to the scene of the disaster with assistance. However, he could not resist this opportunity of pressing home the City's claim for jurisdiction over the Temple, and arrived at the scene with his swordbearer carrying the City sword upright, in front of him; distracted as the lawyers were, they would not suffer this indignity, and beat down the sword. The Lord Mayor departed angrily, but wrought his vengeance on the lawyers, for on his way back to the City he ordered a hand fire-pump coming from the City to help fight the fire to return, and then soothed his outraged dignity by getting royally drunk in a neighbouring tavern.

In the north-west corner of the choir is a narrow Norman doorway opening onto a winding staircase which leads to the triforium of the round; on the left of this staircase, about half-way up, is a penitential cell. This is built in the thickness of the wall and is 4 ft. 6 in. long and 2 ft. 6 in. wide, so constructed as to render it impossible for a grown man to lie down. Here were confined the disobedient brethren of the Order to suffer solitary confinement. The cell has two small openings to admit light and air, one looking eastwards so that the defaulter could see and hear the office being carried out at the High Altar, the other looking southwards into the round. At the bottom of the staircase there is a stone recess where bread and water for the defaulter were placed.

The triforium over the round was originally open to the sky having only a parapet around it. It may have been so built for defence purposes. What, however, is certain is that this roof was used by Londoners as a vantage-point to view the surrounding countryside, and this explains references to 'persons taking air on the leads of Temple Church'.

Over the period of years the church has undergone many restorations occasioned by general decay, neglect, fire and so on. In 1682 Sir Christopher Wren was the architect for a restoration which included a complete repaving of the church. He replaced the stone paving with black and white marble squares; added oak wainscoting to the walls up to the cill level of the windows; fixed a new altar and reredos executed by the famous carver Grinling Gibbons; provided a new pulpit and new pewing throughout; and added an organ screen between the round and the choir. The re-opening service after this restoration took place on 11 February 1683. The next major restoration was undertaken by Robert Smirke in 1825, when the whole of the inside of the walls on the south side of the choir and all the lower portion of the walls of the round were refaced with

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stone. The works were completed in 1827 at a cost of about £2,300. Restoration work was recommenced in 1840 under the supervision of Sidney Smirke and James Savage. In this scheme the outer walls of the choir and the round were rebuilt, a new roof (conical in shape) was put on the round, and the great wheel window at the west end of the church was opened up and repaired (this window had been blocked up with masonry or brickwork in 1700 when a house was built over the west porch). The paving Wren had put in was taken up, the floor level lowered, and specially designed ceramic tiles were made and laid. The Wren altar, reredos, pulpit and pews were removed and sold and were replaced by others of a new design; the accumulation of plaster and paint was removed from the columns and the building was restored generally to something like its original state. The Chapel of St. Anne, however, was not rebuilt. The initial estimate for this scheme was about £3,000, but more and more work was undertaken over the years, and the final cost was £53,000. The work was completed in 1846 and the Queen Dowager visited the church. She was the first Queen to have set foot in the church since Queen Elizabeth had done so some 300 years before.

The next large-scale restoration was made necessary by enemy action which caused the greatest fire and damage the Temple has ever suffered. It is interesting to note that whereas in the year 1678 the Temple Church was saved from destruction by fire by the use of explosive, it was fire and high explosive which destroyed it some 263 years later, for on the night of 10 May 1941 incendiary bombs rained down on the Temple and the Church, and very soon the wooden roofs of the round and choir were on fire. The blazing timbers in the centre portion of the round crashed to the ground within the walls, where the chairs and other combustible materials were soon ablaze. The round, now roofless, became a vast chimney for the blazing timbers which, fanned by the air rushing through the now glassless windows, turned the fire into an inferno which caused the stonework to split and crack with the heat; the most serious damage to the stonework being at the seat of the fire, namely ground level and 10 to 20 ft. above. Though a large number of incendiary bombs fell on the nave roof the fire which resulted did not penetrate the stone-vaulted ceiling; however, the blaze from the round very quickly spread to the pews and other woodwork in the choir, destroying everything of a combustible nature. Again, the heat played havoc with the stonework and the glass in the windows, and the church became a complete wreck. Only the walls, the stone columns (all badly damaged) and the stone-vaulted ceiling (partly damaged) remained—a very sorry sight indeed.

As soon as possible the Middle Temple Surveyor, the late Mr. George Swanson, made an inspection of the ruins, and organized immediate first-aid repairs. His first aim being to make the building as watertight as possible, he roofed over the choir and triforium with asbestos sheeting, and the round with a precast-concrete slab which when in position was covered with asphalt. The columns and voussoirs in the round were so badly shattered that they were in great danger of collapse, so a licence for the fabrication of a steel grillage to support the whole structure of the round was given by the Ministry of Works; the columns in the choir, though badly damaged, were not in such a bad condition as those in the round, and brick piers were erected round each of them. So the building remained until 1947, when a detailed survey of the damage was made.

Due to the unwillingness of the Ministry of Works to issue a building licence for work on the church until the repairs to the damaged chambers and Middle Temple Hall had been completed, restoration could not start until 1948, and the licence then issued was

only for work on the choir, the organ chamber and the vestries. It was almost six years to the day after the commencement of the work that the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Fisher, reconsecrated the choir in March 1954.

Work on the choir completed, the restoration of the round was started. This work entailed not only the complete restoration of the interior but alterations in the design of the triforium in order to give additional headroom, and a new design for the roof of the round more in accordance with that of the original building. The work on the round took four years, so after ten years of very exacting and detailed work the Temple Church was once more a complete building; and it was rededicated on 7 November 1958 by the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Fisher) in the presence of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, Prince Philip, Duke of Edinburgh and Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother.

The following brief description of the restoration may be of interest. I have referred to the way in which the fire split and cracked the stonework, and the damage caused in this way was enormous. However, it did reveal something which as far as I am aware was unknown, namely that the columns of purbeck marble, which had been treated with a varnish to give them the highly polished effect we so well remember, had in fact only a veneer of purbeck. We found that the original columns were of clunch, a soft stone which is very easily worked. It is thought that it was during the restoration of 1840–1845 that the clunch-stone of the columns, the face of which no doubt was badly decayed and worn, was roughly cut back to a solid face and the 3 in. purbeck marble veneer then fixed on the face of the old. Purbeck marble was extensively used in the structure of medieval cathedrals and churches, and also for monuments and grave slabs, but it has been little used in modern times; consequently the quarries had virtually ceased operating for many years, but when the restoration began I was able to arrange with Mr. W. Haysom (whose family had owned the quarry for generations) that he should restart quarrying, and so we were able to build the columns both in the choir and the round in solid purbeck marble.

Looking round the choir, visitors may notice that some of the columns are not perpendicular. This is not due to incompetence on the part of the masons but because when fixing the new columns we had to build off the original foundations (which survived undamaged beneath the floor) and finish at the springing of the original stone vaulting, which fortunately was still intact though damaged in places: over the period of 700 years there had been a certain amount of shrinkage in the subsoil, and this had caused some subsidence, the result of which visitors may now see. Before the fractured columns could be removed it was necessary to support the whole weight of the vaulted ceilings, arches and roof on specially-made wooden centres. These massive wood frames, supported on huge wooden legs from floor level, were wedged tightly under the stone arches and vaulting, where they remained until the new columns had been erected. The next operation was to remove the wooden centres and transfer the weight from them onto the columns. To do this we made use of bottle-jacks to take the weight while the wooden wedges between the centres and the arches and vaulting were removed, and on a given signal from the foreman the men on the jacks lowered them one quarter of a turn at a time until the weight had been transferred to the columns. It was, of course, only possible to carry out this operation one centre at a time, and the centres on the north and south side of the church were lowered alternately. This was a very tricky undertaking for it was not possible to know if the columns, which were not perpendicular, would deflect

in any way. It was estimated that the load coming down on to each column was about 80 tons, but thanks to the skill of the foreman, Mr. A. H. Bernard, and the team-spirit of all those who took part in this operation, it was completed without any mishap.

Visitors may remember that before the last war the vaulted ceiling and the arches were painted in Victorian floral stencil-work with the symbols of the two inns figuring in each bay. I am glad to say that I was able to persuade the Choir Committee responsible for the restoration of the work, under the chairmanship of Master Kenneth Carpmael Q.C., not to reinstate the damaged stencil-work but to do away with all of it, and I am sure the church now looks not only more magnificent but bigger than it did before, and has now much more of its original dignity and grandeur.

History has repeated itself in many ways throughout the existence of the building. In his restoration of 1682 Sir Christopher Wren took up the existing paving and replaced it with black and white marble; in 1846 Sir Sidney Smirke took this marble paving up and replaced it with specially designed ceramic tiles; in 1950 Mr. Walter Godfrey, the architect in charge of the restoration, had the ceramic tiles taken up and new purbeck Portland stone paving laid. However, Mr. Godfrey did not discard the tiles but had them laid in the new floor of the triforium. Again, Wren arranged his new pewing collegiate style, facing inwards, north and south, with a centre aisle; Smirke changed this and arranged his new pewing to face east without a centre aisle; Godfrey with his new pewing returned it to the collegiate style. Wren put in a new reredos; Smirke removed this and replaced it with one of his own design; the Wren reredos which had been sold found a resting place in the Bowes Museum at Barnard Castle, County Durham, and thanks to the generosity of the Trustees of that Museum it is now back in its original position. Smirke replaced the original flat roof of the round with a conical one; Godfrey reverted to the flat roof with battlements.

The stained glass east window, designed and made by Carl Edwards, is the gift of the Glaziers' Company. It depicts incidents in the history of the Temple, the coats-of-arms of the two inns being shown on their respective sides of the church. It is unfortunate that the whole of the window is not seen, part of the lower portion being obstructed by the reredos; but it was in position before it was known that Wren's reredos was to come back. All the other furniture in the church except the font, which was only slightly damaged, is made to Mr. Godfrey's design; the two chairs in the chancel were presented by the South African Bar Association and made in South Africa of South African timber by South African craftsmen.

In the round, there are nine monumental effigies of knights clad in chain armour. Some authorities think these effigies represent not Knights Templar (for effigies of such knights were always shown wearing the habit of their order) but associates of the Temple. Whoever they represent they are of great historic interest and certainly are monumental tomb slabs of knights of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Though steps had been taken to protect them from damage they were severely calcined when the building was destroyed. When the building work had been completed it was decided that they should be restored; and Mr. H. Haysom, the mason who had worked on the rebuilding of the church and round and was a brother of the Purbeck quarry owner, was entrusted with the task of piecing the fragments together—and an excellent job he made of it after eighteen months of infinite patience. The figures had already been thoroughly repaired about a hundred years ago when all the pieces then missing, such as noses, hands, and swords, were

restored in plaster. In a niche in the south wall at the east end of the church there is a Purbeck tomb of a bishop, said to be Silvester Du Evenden, Bishop of Carlisle 1247–1255. Fortunately this escaped with very little damage.

In the restoration of 1840 all the mural and other monuments were removed from the nave of the round and fixed on the walls of the triforium, as were also the two magnificent seventeenth-century monuments of Plowden and Martin. In 1936 my firm was entrusted with the work of removing these two monuments from the triforium and re-erecting them in the position they now occupy. Fortunately they were bricked up during the war and so suffered no structural damage, but the paintwork had deteriorated and they have now been thoroughly cleaned and redecorated.

During the rebuilding operation we made some interesting historical finds and in giving a brief description of them I shall in places quote from the paper which Mr. Walter Godfrey read to the Society of Antiquaries in 1951. He says:

It seems to have been the usual practice with these round churches to build a short unaisled chancel terminating in an apse.

When the damaged pavement of the choir was removed my first desire was to discover if there remained any foundations of the original apsidal termination of the old chancel. The ground had been very much disturbed by burials, and the large brick channels for heating pipes which were built in line with the piers, on their inner sides, had removed all traces of lateral foundations. I did, however, find part of a cross-wall of unusual thickness, the eastern face of which was some 47 ft. distant from the round. The foundations were not far below the surface and the eastern face was tolerably intact, but on the west the stonework was broken away. I judged it to have been about 5 ft. thick, and it would appear to have represented either a square east end, or more probably the chord of the apse.

I had resigned myself to my disappointment in failing to discover more definite evidence when it was noticed that part of the walls of the south aisle continued down below the floor, indicating as we thought at first that this section at least of the choir had been built with an undercroft. The walls had been rendered with a fine plaster and were in an excellent state of preservation, and it was resolved, with the ready consent of the Benchers, to have the area fully excavated.

The necessary building licence to proceed with the work was obtained, thanks to the assistance given by Mr. Chettle, F.S.A., of the Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments. As a result of the digging a chamber 42 ft. long, 13 ft. wide and 6 to 7 ft. high was disclosed, the western wall of which was roughly in line with the west wall of the choir. On the north and south sides there was a stone seat along the full length of the walls, on which were slender wall shafts, one in each corner and two in between, thus dividing the building into three bays. The bases of the shafts are still intact and traces of carving on the lower moulding could be seen. The shaft in the south-west corner was complete, with the original capital carved with stiff foliage and a bead enrichment, and from this capital it was possible to date the building to the latter part of the twelfth century: the building therefore could not have been the undercroft of the choir as the latter was not built until the thirteenth century. There was no trace of any stone paving, but it would seem by the way the ground had been rammed that, had there been, it would have been laid direct upon the earth. The walls were plastered, and circles incised in the plaster

with compasses (evidently done by the mason when setting out the curves for the arches when building the thirteenth century choir), are still clearly visible.

There had evidently been an altar at the east end, for on the south wall there is a double piscina, square in plan, the eastern basin being rebated for a cover. East of the piscina are two stone lockers still retaining the hinges for the doors, and on the south wall the vertical joints of the splays of two windows, one window in each bay, still remain. The windows had been built up and the inside plastered, evidently while the building was still in use. On the eastern end of the north wall there is a small section of mural decoration, and a very faint hint of colouring can be seen on the south wall.

Mr. Godfrey was of the opinion that the slender columns would not have been strong enough to support an upper building, and therefore that this could never have been an undercroft but a building outside the church. As the ground sloped southwards the windows now blocked up would originally have been functional. But what was the building?

There is a vast amount of evidence that the Templars played a great part, not only in fighting for the Christian faith, but in allowing their houses and buildings to be used as depositories for public and private treasure. It is recorded that monies collected in the national subsidies in medieval times were often ordered to be delivered at the New Temple, London; further, Kings and their richer subjects made use of the House of the Templars, as we today use a bank. Certainly the Round Church in Paris was used as a Royal Treasury, so it seem likely that this building, which came to light as a result of enemy action, was used for a similar purpose. In fact it would have had a dual purpose, for it was also used as a chapel, the double piscina indicating this, while the cupboards appear to have afforded security.

The supposition that the building was used as a treasury was reinforced by the fact that the windows had not only been bricked up but plastered on the inside. Stow relates that the Templars acted as bankers, jewels and other personal possessions being deposited with them for safe keeping. While Hubert de Burch, Earl of Kent in 1232, was a prisoner in the Tower, King Henry III heard that much of his treasure was stored in the Treasury of the Temple and ordered the Master of the Temple to deliver it to him. The Master refused to comply without the Earl's consent: this was easily obtained, and the key to the Treasury House was then delivered to the King. Stow also relates how in 1282 King Edward I, while at the Temple on the pretext of looking for his mother's jewels which were kept in the Treasury House, entered it, broke open the coffers of persons who had deposited monies there, and left with cash to the value of some £1,000. It is possible to view the remains of the supposed treasury, and access is obtained by means of the stairs within the south porch.

Another interesting discovery was the tomb of John Selden, the exact position of which was not known. Anthony Wood in *Athenae Oxonienses* says that the grave was on the south side of the round walk. Aubrey in his *Minutes of Lives* says:

On Thursday 14th of December [1654] he was magnificently buried in the Temple Church . . . His grave was about 10 ft. deepe or better, walled up a good way with bricks of which also the bottome was paved but the sides at the bottome for about 2 ft. high were of black polished marble wherein his coffin (covered with black bayes) lyeth and upon the wall of marble was presently let down a huge marble stone of great thicknesse with the inscription:

Hic Jacet Corpus Johanni Seldeni qui obit 30 die Novembris 1654.

In the Temple Church register the record reads:

John Selden esquire a learned and judicious antiquary and of the Honourable Society of the Inner Temple—a benchman was buried in the Temple Church neare the steps where the Saints bell hangeth—in a sepulcher of marble 5 ft. in the ground with the inscription:

‘Haec Inhumatur Corpus Johannis Selden j Decem Anno Domini 1654.’

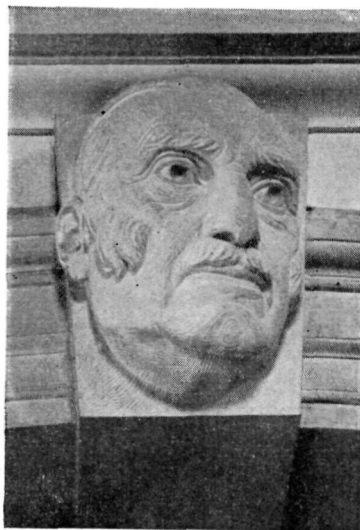
In the above position was found the grave of marble cased in brick, with the inscribed marble slab still in position, though fractured across. The inscription varies slightly from the Temple records.

Two other brick tombs were found adjoining that of Selden, both without any inscription: one of these is believed to be the grave of Roland Jewkes (d. 1665), an old friend of Selden and one of his four executors. The tombs have not been disturbed but have been carefully sealed and remain in position on the floor of the newly discovered chamber, while let into the floor at the choir level over Selden’s grave is a large piece of glass paving so that it is possible to see the grave and read the inscription. These finds bring to light more of the history of this ancient Church.

The building had suffered such extensive damage from the fire that it was virtually a dangerous structure, so the work of restoration was not a simple operation but one requiring great thought and vision: before any stone or portion of the building could be cut into or removed steps had to be taken to ensure that no other portion would be weakened in any way by hasty action. Thanks to the untiring work, skill and patience of my general foreman, Mr. A. H. Bernard, the masons, carpenters, bricklayers, plumbers and labourers—in fact all the craftsmen who had a hand in the restoration work—this very complicated and dangerous undertaking was completed in ten years. It had originally been expected that the work would take 15 years.

I must record my most grateful thanks to Master Kenneth Carpmael Q.C., the Chairman of the Church Choir Committee which was responsible for the rebuilding work; to the late Mr. George Swanson, the surveyor of the Middle Temple, and to his assistant, Mr. W. Shephard, and his staff; and to the architect, the late Mr. Walter H. Godfrey C.B.E., F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A., and his son Emil, for the great encouragement and help they gave to me and my staff at all times.

Over the past hundred odd years my firm has been entrusted with the work of restoring many ancient and historic buildings throughout the country, and during my years with it I have always given such works special attention. I can say without hesitation that, in spite of the difficulties, the problems and the anxious moments with which the restoration of the Temple Church confronted me, no other undertaking has given me greater satisfaction or pleasure. I am indeed proud, not only to have been entrusted with this work, but to have had such a magnificent and keen team of craftsmen to carry it out; and I thank God that it was completed without any accident or mishap to any person or to any portion of the structure.



Colonel William Dove.
Carved corbel stone at
St. Mary-le-Bow, Cheapside

LONDON AND GLASTONBURY ABBEY IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES

BY IAN KEIL, B.A., PH.D.

In the later middle ages Glastonbury Abbey, the wealthiest of English monasteries, had frequent contact with London.⁽¹⁾ These connexions arose from the Abbey's position as landlord and the abbot's duties as a tax collector and important figure in the affairs of church and crown. In this essay we consider both the kinds of business it transacted and the significance of its London properties.

Once London had become the centre of the national administration in the early twelfth century, the great barons, bishops and heads of important institutions found it necessary to stay in London for varying periods of time at fairly frequent intervals. This soon encouraged the growth of various private connexions between the city and influential people who established permanent quarters for themselves and their servants in London. Glastonbury had acquired a house in London before 1168, for a grant in April of that year from Pope Alexander III to Abbot Henry de Blois (1126-71) mentions a house there.⁽²⁾ Perhaps Abbot Henry built it for he concerned himself with advancing the power and prestige of his monastery besides having interests in affairs of state and his own ambitions within episcopal politics.⁽³⁾

Abbots of Glastonbury received summonses to all parliaments and sometimes to the king's council. In addition the abbots acted as tax collectors for the crown, convocation and the provincial chapter of the Black Monks. Many of these duties required the abbot or his representatives and servants to visit London. The routes they followed varied, perhaps according to the season of the year or with the business to be transacted. Two of them can be traced.⁽⁴⁾ They both passed through manors belonging to the Abbey: the more direct one lay from Glastonbury through Mells in Somerset and then to one of the manors clustered about Chippenham, or to Winterbourne Monkton in Wiltshire, and after this travellers sometimes stopped at Ashbury before making their way to Reading and so to London. The other, favoured by the chamberlain and some other officials, went by the road through Ditchet and Batcombe in Somerset, thence to Longbridge Deverill, Idmiston or Damerham in Wiltshire and so to Winchester and finally to London.

By the fourteenth century there were many connexions between Glastonbury and London. Among the more important of them were financial transactions relating to tax collection and the Abbey's own needs, and the purchase of rare or unusual goods required for the Abbey's religious and domestic uses. Unfortunately very few of the obedientiaries' accounts or abbots' registers have survived to enable us to calculate the volume and value of the business done in London, although the examples available suggest that these were substantial.⁽⁵⁾ The largeness of the sums of money involved made it convenient for the Abbey to employ agents who usually seem to have been goldsmiths. Their functions resembled those of modern bankers: they accepted deposits of money from clients, arranged loans on behalf of clients and earned interest for themselves by loaning some of the funds left with them for a period of time. The relationship between one abbot of Glastonbury,

Walter de Monington (1342–75), and a goldsmith, John Hiltoft, during the mid-fourteenth century has been explored elsewhere.⁽⁶⁾ In later years the Abbey acquired property from a goldsmith, and from another it received help in paying for the travelling expenses of Abbot Richard Bere (1494–1525) when he went as a member of the English embassy to congratulate Pope Pius III on his election in 1503.⁽⁷⁾

Fish, spices and wax for candles occur most frequently in the obedientiary accounts, although the Abbey bought a great variety of merchandise in London. In 1308, for example, the chamberer purchased for the convent an unspecified quantity of woollen cloth called 'frison' and various spices, and for himself some ointments, shoes, and a medicament, made according to a special prescription, to treat his leg.⁽⁸⁾ The internal cellarer, the pittance, and the infirmarer sent to London for their fish, spices and even wine until the Dissolution in 1539. These contacts appear to have been unexceptional and suggest that the domestic economy of the Abbey depended for its more exotic items on the overseas trade of London.

In a few accounts we find references to the timing and cost of particular journeys to and from London, though it is impossible to say whether the expenses were typical of their period. The chamberer's accounts of the early fourteenth century show that most of the long trips to London or elsewhere were undertaken in the autumn or winter. Such timing reveals that roads did not necessarily become impassable for half of the year, as some writers have suggested, and that the Abbey took advantage of using the men, carts and animals not needed for agricultural work during most of these seasons. However, a few journeys occurred at other times in the year. One of these journeys made in the spring of 1309 is particularly well documented.⁽⁹⁾ It took nine days to go to and from London, a distance of 127 miles each way, making an average speed of just over thirty miles a day. Four men with horses and carts were involved in the trip, each man being paid fourpence a day by the Abbey chamberer. From this money the men provided some of the fodder for the horses.

The Abbey not only spent money in the London markets and did business with lawyers and goldsmith bankers, but it looked to London for a small part of its income from real estate. Again we have no information available about the beginnings of these acquisitions of property but by the time of Abbot Walter de Monington (1342–75) the Abbey had at least one house and appurtenances to lease. One lay in the parish of St. Benet Sherehog and Abbot Walter let it to John de Twiford(e) on 27 April 1357 for an annual rent of 20 lbs. of pepper.⁽¹⁰⁾ The same rental came to the Abbey at the Dissolution when the price of pepper was 7*d.* or 8*d.* a pound.

In common with most of the great landlords during the last quarter of the fourteenth century and the first half of the fifteenth century, the Abbey experienced the consequences of a decline in population, particularly reduced demands for land and for agricultural produce, which resulted in diminishing long established revenues. Glastonbury responded by changing its investment policy in an attempt to maintain cash revenues. It appropriated several benefices and obtained houses with land in urban areas whilst decreasing expenditure on agricultural land. Between 1401 and 1455 the Abbey increased considerably its London holdings with the help of grants of property licensed under the Statute of Mortmain.⁽¹¹⁾ In 1401 the abbot paid £22 into the Hanaper for a licence to allow John Carbonell, citizen and goldsmith of London and possibly the current financial agent of the Abbey, to grant to the Abbey in mortmain two messuages situated in the parish of

St. Sepulchre without Newgate.⁽¹²⁾ The property was in burgage tenure of the king. In return the Abbey undertook to find a lamp to burn daily at High Mass. More substantial properties came by the activities of agents acting on behalf of the Abbey in 1426 and 1427 when it received eleven messuages said to have an annual value of 10 marks.⁽¹³⁾ These properties all lay in the parish of St. Sepulchre. Finally, in 1455 several Somerset men acting as agents for the Abbey obtained thirteen messuages and seven cottages in the same parish with an annual value of 10 marks.⁽¹⁴⁾

Most, if not all, of the Abbey's holdings at the Dissolution appear in an account of the years 1539–1540 kept for the king's use.⁽¹⁵⁾ This shows that the London properties of Glastonbury had a gross annual value of £40 3s. 0d. and 20 lbs. of pepper, this representing about one-and-one-half per cent. of the net Abbey revenues. The main group of properties lay in the parish of St. Sepulchre without Newgate: Smithfield (£16 16s. 8d. per annum), 'Cocklane' (£3 12s. 0d. per annum), 'Cordlane' (16s. 0d. per annum) and 'Hosyerlane' (£13 18s. 0d. per annum). In addition the Abbey owned an inn called 'La Crowne' in Warwick Lane (£5 per annum), and a house in the parish of St. Benet (St. Sitha) Sherehog. There are references to two other Glastonbury holdings in the *Monasticon*: a messuage in 'Cowe Lane' and a hospice of the Abbey in Fleet Street, but the former cannot be identified with certainty and the latter is wrongly ascribed to Glastonbury.⁽¹⁶⁾

This short account of the connexions of Glastonbury Abbey with London indicates the ways in which the metropolis satisfied a variety of the Abbey's needs: exotic foods, wine and fish for its domestic economy, and the substantial financial transactions incumbent upon a great monastery fulfilling its obligations and maintaining its prestige. The question of investment in urban property by great landlords deserves fuller exploration and might well throw light on the changes in sources of income as a reflection of developments of the economy during the later middle ages.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author is much indebted to the Marquis of Bath for permission to consult manuscripts in his muniments at Longleat House. He is equally obliged to the custodians of other manuscript materials mentioned in the references. He must also thank T. F. Reddaway, Esq., of University College, London, for some valuable suggestions, but all omissions and errors are the sole responsibility of the writer.

NOTES

- 1 See the estimates of the net incomes of the major religious houses in M. D. Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, Cambridge, iii (1959), p. 473.
- 2 *The Great Chartulary of Glastonbury*, edited by Dom Aelred Watkin (Somerset Record Society, Taunton, lix (1947), lxiii (1952), and lxiv (1956), p. 129).
- 3 A useful biographical sketch of Henry de Blois appears in M. D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, Cambridge, 2nd edition (1963), pp. 286–93.
- 4 Particularly valuable for reconstructing parts of the itineraries of travellers to and from the Abbey were some of the manorial account files, Longleat manuscripts (L): 11272 (1300–1), 11271 (1302–3), 11215 (1304–5), 10655 (1312–3), 10656 (1313–4), 10761 (1330–1), 10632 and 10633 (1333–4).

- 5 The most comprehensive collection of obediendaries' accounts (Public Record Office. S.C.6. Henry VIII 3118) survive for the last year of the Abbey's existence, and these formed the basis of an article by Dom Aelred Watkin, 'Glastonbury, 1538-39, as shown by its account rolls' in *The Downside Review*, lxxvii (1949), 437-50. Other accounts of the sixteenth century revealing some parts of the domestic economy of the Abbey and contacts with London are external cellarers' accounts of 1529-30 and 1532-3, (L 10753 and L 10756), a guestmaster's account of 1516-17 (L 10749), a medarer's account of 1536-7 (transcribed and translated by Edmund R. Nevill in *Som. & Dr. N. & Q.*, xii (1912), and a pittancer's account of 1532-3 (P.R.O. S.C.6. Henry VIII 3114). Also see documents in footnotes 7, 8, and 9.
- 6 I. Keil, 'Banker and Customer in the Fourteenth Century' in *The Bankers' Magazine*, cxcviii (1964), 344-5.
- 7 For the property reference see below. The Abbey's receiver of barony income paid £403 12s. 11d. to a banker and a further £243 14s. 1½d. in London to other creditors to meet the expenses of the journey to and from Italy (L 10751).
- 8 L 1276 and also see I. Keil, 'The Chamberer of Glastonbury Abbey in the Fourteenth Century' in *Som. Arch. Soc. P.*, cvii (1963), 79-92.
- 9 L 7353.
- 10 British Museum Manuscript Arundel 2, fo. 31. John de Twiford(e) was probably a cutler who appeared before the mayor's court in 1382 on a charge brought by the goldsmiths as a result of his making gold-covered hafts for the Earl of Buckingham. This case formed part of a long drawn-out dispute between the goldsmiths and the cutlers (*Calendar of Select Pleas and Memoranda of the City of London, 1381-1412*, edited by A. H. Thomas, Cambridge (1932), 21, 68). Perhaps the same man caused Abbot John Chinnock (1375-1420) to sue him for 'intrusion' in 1415 (*Calendar of Select Pleas and Memoranda of the City of London, 1413-37*, edited by A. H. Thomas, Cambridge (1943)).
- 11 Without comparative material it is impossible to assess the effectiveness of this policy, though we may note that the Abbey's cash income reached its lowest levels during the 1450s. This was a time when most great landlords suffered from financial difficulties arising from the unsettled state of the country under Lancastrian rule. Although the Abbey attempted to augment its income by exchanges or purchases of property throughout the middle ages, in the later fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries it sought steady sources of money rent incomes from ecclesiastical benefices and urban holdings. See, for example, I. Keil, 'Impropiator and Benefice in the Later Middle Ages' in *Wilts. Arch. M.*, lviii (1963), 351-61. The Abbey also obtained some Bristol properties in the same period (*Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1396-99*, London (1909), 471).
- 12 *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1401-05*, London (1903), 17. Perhaps Carbonell had Somerset connexions for a family of that name held a knight's fee from Glastonbury Abbey in West Bradley as early as 1233. The name recurs in documents of the later thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries (*The Great Charters of Glastonbury*, as in note 2, pp. 204, 205, 209, 304 and 347.). A John Carbonell was appointed to a commission with others in 1381 charged by the king with the duty of arresting the then prior of Glastonbury who was said to be delinquent. The same Carbonell was warden of the Goldsmiths' Company (*Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1377-81*, London (1895) 632, and also see I. Keil, 'Profiles of Some Abbots of Glastonbury' in *The Downside Review*, lxxxi (1963), 356-9). Carbonell represented the ward of Farringdon Without on the Court of Common Council during part of the 1380s. In 1396 he underwrote part of a bond for 400 marks required for three goldsmiths arrested on a charge of murder. He seems to have been active as late as 1421 (*Calendar of Select Pleas and Memoranda Rolls of the City of London, 1381-1412* (as in note 10), 21, 29, 87, 238; and *ibid.*, 1413-37, (as in note 10), 113).
- 13 In April 1426 the Abbey received licences to alienate in mortmain seven messuages at the hands of Nicholas Auncel, Richard Marchant of Taunton and Walter Portman, worth 4 marks a year. In May of the following year the first named made over a further four messuages valued at 60s. 0d. annually (*Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1422-29*, London (1901), 331 and 477-8).
- 14 Among the grantors were two serjeants-at-law (Richard Choke and William Boef) and two members of the Cammell family named John. Richard Choke was buried at Glastonbury and the Cammells had close connexions with the Abbey—one of the family appears in a list of Glastonbury monks of 1456 (*Somerset Wills, xivth, and xvth centuries*, edited by F. W. Weaver (Somerset Record Society, Taunton, xvi (1901)), *passim*; and *Register of Bishop Bekynton*, edited by H. C. Maxwell-Lyte and M. C. B. Dawes

(Somerset Record Society, Taunton, xlix (1934), 1 (1935)) no. 1645). The licence under the statute of mortmain appears in *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1452–61*, London (1911), 205.

15 P.R.O. S.C.6. Henry VIII 3184.

16 See an unpublished M.A. thesis of the University of London of 1929 by M. B. Honeybourne, *The Extent and Value of the Property in London and Southwark Occupied by the Religious Houses (including the Prebends of St. Paul's and St. Martin's Le-Grand), the Houses of Bishops and Abbots and the Churches and Churchyards before the Dissolution of the Monasteries*, 366–9 and appendix IV, 474.

MARYLEBONE PARK

BY ANN SAUNDERS, B.A., PH.D.

The Regent's Park is one of London's best-known and best-loved areas but it is often forgotten that, before Nash planned its eccentric Circles in 1811, it had already had a long history as Marybone or Marylebone Park. For a century from about 1540, it was a royal hunting park—one of the nearest to the seat of government; for the next twenty years, it exemplified in miniature the history of the kingdom in the throes of civil war, and from then on till 1811 it provides us with a microcosm of Middlesex agriculture. It was originally emparked by Henry VIII, but the trees were cut down during the Commonwealth to build ships and the land was let out for farming. When the King returned to his throne in 1660, the trees could not be similarly restored and farming continued, the head leases, held by various noblemen and land owners, passing eventually into the hands of the Duke of Portland and Peter Hinde.

The 550 acres were divided at different times into three or four farms, whose extent and boundaries varied from year to year, depending on whether it was or was not a good season and on whether the land was farmed by a man or his widow. After a good year, a farmer would try to rent as much land as he could manage; in a bad one, he would try to sublet or would not take up his usual amount. The valuations in the Rate Books⁽¹⁾ therefore fluctuate annually and names come and go and re-appear but it is still possible to build up an overall picture of life and work in the area.

The western half of the Park was known as Marylebone Park Farm. It was probably being farmed by Thomas Baker in 1684. He was succeeded by his widow in 1711; in the following year George Daggett took the farm and remained there until his death in 1728. Daggett was a notable—even a notorious—local character. It is his name that appears against the farm on Rocque's map of the area published in 1745, nearly twenty years after the farmer's death. He was constantly receiving firm polite letters from William Thomas, the Earl of Oxford's Surveyor. Either his rent was overdue and proceedings had to be threatened against him, or he was diverting a local watercourse or shooting night soil in unsuitable places;⁽²⁾ and in 1725 he denied a right of way over his land to John Mist of Barrow Hill Farm so that the latter could neither carry dung northwards nor hay southwards across the Park. In March, he forced a party of carters to turn back so that they had to go right round the Park with their load.⁽³⁾ Eventually Thomas met Daggett and Mist and managed to settle the matter for the time, but when Daggett died the Land Revenue Office were careful to extract a guarantee of right of way from Francis, the next tenant, for which he was paid £9 8s. 0d. yearly as trespass money.⁽⁴⁾

The eastern half of the Park was usually divided from north to south. The central strip contained two farms, White House and Coney Barrow,⁽⁵⁾ which were generally farmed as one. They were in the hands of the Bilson family from 1684 till 1752. Subsequent farmers were the Gardners and William Kendall, whose name appears beside the farmhouse on Horwood's map of 1794. The easternmost strip lay almost entirely in St. Pancras, the farmhouse a bare hundred yards beyond Kendall's. This land was farmed by the

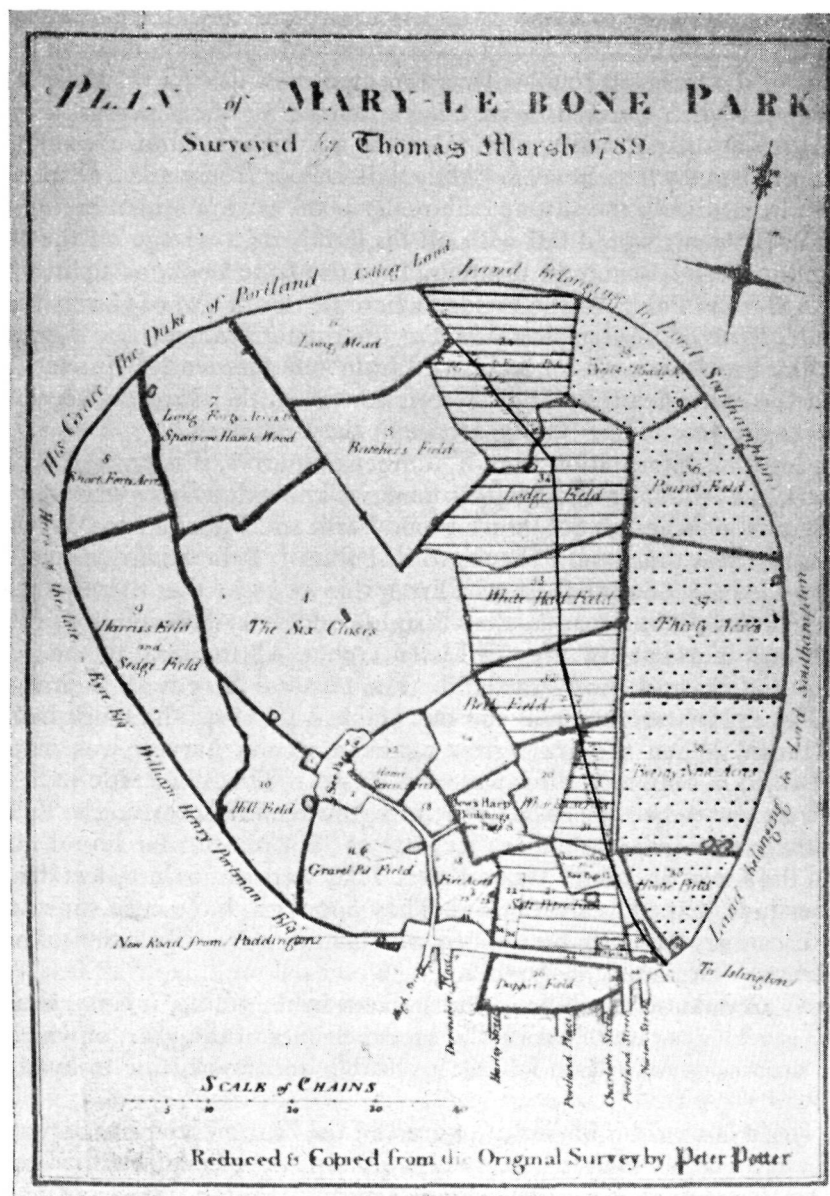


Fig. 1

Plan of Marylebone Park surveyed by Thomas Marsh in 1789

(By courtesy of the Crown Estate Commissioners)

This plan was reduced and copied into a Survey and Valuation made in 1804. Willan's farm is the eastern half of the Park; Kendall's farm has been shaded in; and Rhodes' farm, formerly Allaley's, is the eastern, dotted area. The boundary between St. Marylebone and St. Pancras runs through Kendall's farm. Gravel Pit Field, to the south of the Park, is shown in *Plate 1(b)*: the square enclosure in its right-hand corner contains John White's house, which appears again in the extreme left-hand corner of *Plate 2*.

Timms and the Halls in the first half of the eighteenth century, later becoming Allaley's farm and finally Rhodes'.

The tenants of the farms were all substantial men even though they might be behind-hand with the rent when it suited them. They attended Vestry meetings, they concerned themselves with the dilapidated condition of the old church (and even more with the problem of raising money for a new one), they built a Poor House and a Dispensary,⁽⁶⁾ and were generous in remitting the rates of the really poor, always remembering that a man evicted for non-payment would fall with all his family as a charge on the Poor House. Time and again, there is a note in the margin of the Rate Book, as against John Viers' name in 1740. He was living 'in the Fields', where the south end of Harley Street is now. 'Excused [poor(?)] & 6 children', it reads. For their entertainment, the farmers and their families had the fireworks and concerts of Marylebone Gardens, a quieter, more select Ranelagh, on the east side of the High Street, and when the Gardens were built over in 1778, there was the Jew's Harp Public House in the Park itself.

By piecing together information from a number of sources, it is possible to draw a picture of the Park in 1745-8. From Rocque's map, we know that there were only two fields under plough, one attached to St. John's Wood Farm and the other to Marylebone Park Farm. All the rest was grassland. The Swedish botanist, Pehr Kalm, visited England in 1748 and kept a journal of all that he saw. From this we know that there were three kinds of agriculture carried on in the area—hay-farming and dairy-farming in the Park and St. John's Wood, and market gardening in Lisson Green. All the land to the north—as far as Hampstead and beyond—was grassland. 'The meadow here is all their food and sustenance.'⁽⁷⁾ The fields were cut and the hay stacked in May, the work being done by itinerant Irishmen. When the grass grew again, a second harvest was reaped in July followed by a third in September if it were a good year. Then the cattle were turned into the fields till February when the grass was left to grow again. According to Kalm, manure was used to encourage growth, and as recently as 1958 six pits for liquid manure were discovered on the site of St. John's Wood Farm. They were some thirty feet deep and lined with brick, bee-hive shaped at the bottom. They appear to have been sunk at the end of the eighteenth century, judging by the bricks. This extensive cultivation of hay was due to St. Marylebone's proximity to London:

As there is an unknown number of horses kept in the stable, it is not wonderful that hay is very dear there, especially at some times of the year, of which these farmers situated near to London are well able and know how to avail themselves.⁽⁸⁾

A nobleman could not put his horse out to grass in the centre of the city nor could a drayman have a field there in which to pasture his animals. All vehicles, whether for passengers or freight, were drawn by horses; they were the primary source of power. Since the horses could not be put out to pasture, they had to be stabled and fed on hay, grain and mash, and the farms around London depended largely on the sale of their hay crops.⁽⁹⁾

The farms in Marylebone Park and St. John's Wood also supplied the capital with dairy produce and were thus seriously affected by the murrain or rinderpest which in 1745 attacked cattle all over the country. It was estimated that hundreds of thousands of beasts died in all.⁽¹⁰⁾ Papers were read to the Royal Society describing the progress of the malady and suggesting various remedies.⁽¹¹⁾ The disease came in from the Low Countries, started in Essex and spread alarmingly. A commission to consider what should be

done was set up in Middlesex and in February 1746 its findings became law for the whole country.⁽¹⁰⁾ The diseased beasts were to be destroyed and buried in lime, the hides slashed to prevent them being used for leather. Forty shillings compensation was to be paid for every dead cow. Inspectors were sent round to see that this was carried out properly and in time the sickness was brought under control, but not before farmers all over the country had been ruined in spite of the compensation paid. There were two local examples of this, both the sufferers being widows farming land in the Park. They were Mrs. Francis at Marylebone Park Farm and Mrs. Hall, living in a farm house just off the High Street, who rented the land on the Park's eastern boundary. They both went bankrupt and Mrs. Hall's creditors had to settle for 2s. 4½d. in the pound.⁽¹²⁾ William Bilson at Coney Barrow Farm could only take up three hundred pounds' worth of land instead of seven hundred as he usually did.⁽¹³⁾ Mrs. Anne Berry, who kept her cows where Portman Square is now laid out, had to be excused her rates, 'having had great losses by the death of cows'.⁽¹⁴⁾ She survived the crisis, for we find her name on a deed of 1782 concerning the development of the land she rented.⁽¹⁵⁾

The most dramatic reflection of the effect of the murrain is shown in the accounts of the Land Revenue Office⁽¹⁶⁾ for 1730–1752. In 1730, the profit from the Park was £1,222 12s. 6d; in 1743 it was £1,599 15s. 8d., but for the years 1745/6 the income was £661 2s. 5d., there being no proper entry at all for 1745; in 1747–8, it was £682 3s. 10d. and the three years 1749–51 yielded only £1,304 12s. 9½d. The disease continued to break out in various parts of the country until 1757. All the Park farms changed hands; Mrs. Francis' became Holmes', Bilson relinquished first half and then all his land to Gardner and Mrs. Hall's land on the east of the Park, after several short tenancies, became Allaley's farm.

It was in 1746 that John Willan was first mentioned in the Rate Books, when his name replaced Mist's for Barrow Hill Farm. In 1756 he took over the remainder of Mrs. Hall's land off the High Street, and in 1760 he became the tenant of Marylebone Park Farm in place of Holmes. He was dead by 1787 and his son Thomas took over the land. John Middleton, in his *View of the Agriculture of Middlesex*, published in 1798, described him as owning the largest farm in the whole county. Thomas Willan next took over a part of St. John's Wood Farm, and a plan made in 1799 by John Jones, the Vestry Clerk, shows that he was farming a good five hundred acres. In 1806, he appealed against his rating assessment and the valuation on Marylebone Park Farm was reduced by £40 to £2,346 whilst that on Barrow Hill fell from £975 to £800. It was probably on his ground that the Royal Society of Arts Committee for Agriculture tried out, during the winter of 1795–6, a mole-plough, the invention of Mr. Adam Scott, for the making of hollow drains. This clay soil almost defeated the machine, but after two days' trial, two hundred yards of perfect drain had been bored.⁽¹⁷⁾

There is a painting, executed by Ben Marshall in 1818,⁽¹⁸⁾ showing Willan riding a well-groomed chestnut horse in an open landscape. He wears a bottle-green coat, low-crowned top-hat and breeches; he sits his horse erect and confidently, holding the reins in one hand only. His hair is turning grey but the face is still young, the mouth and chin very determined. When Nash began to replan the Park, it was Willan who protested louder than anyone else, insisting that his cows would improve the landscape.⁽¹⁹⁾

Marylebone Park certainly was a pretty place at the turn of the eighteenth century. There are a number of watercolours in the Crace and Ashbridge collections which record

it as an idyllic pastoral landscape. Thomas Cooley's⁽²⁰⁾ wash drawings show long low cow-byres, cottages, one with a curious octagonal tower, and stout fencing—a little in need of repair but still strong enough to serve its purpose. In the Ashbridge Collection,⁽²¹⁾ there is a small water-colour by William Sherlock of the old four-square farmhouse and its yard with carts and farm implements, the cows reclining to chew the cud, and small clouds scurrying across a very clear blue sky. James Ward's oil in the National Gallery shows a proud white bull and several cows standing in the Tyburn as the sun sets behind them.

Around the main farmhouses were a number of cottages, some for farm labourers who often had to be excused their rates on account of poverty, and others let to gentlefolk almost as week-end cottages. The one with the octagonal tower (see *Fig. 2* and *Plate 2*) which was probably a pigeon-loft, was let to a Mr. Barling for ten guineas a year, and the Reverend Dr. Fountaine,⁽²²⁾ who had been headmaster of the Manor House School for young gentlemen in Marylebone High Street till it was pulled down in 1791, had another with a garden for twelve guineas. According to J. T. Smith's *Book for a Rainy Day*, the occupants of these cottages were extremely jealous of their privacy and one old gentleman went so far as to put up a notice, 'Steel traps and spring guns *all over* these grounds. N.B. Dogs trespassing will be shot.' Since Smith died in 1833, though his book was not published till 1845, his evidence was in fact contemporary.

Willan's and Kendall's farms each had a public house attached to them, the lease of the inn going with that of the farm. The Jew's Harp public house (*Fig. 2* and *Plate 2*) stood just east of Marylebone Park Farm. It must have been one of the prettiest inns near London. On the first floor,⁽²³⁾ reached by an external staircase, was a long room where dances and dinners were given. Outside was a wooden semi-circular arbour divided into bays, with a wooden soldier at the entrance to each, where tea and other refreshments could be taken. The proprietor, advertising in the *Morning Chronicle* of 1785, said that he 'had a stock of the best Wines, Spirituous Liquers, Cyder, Perry, Fine Ales, etc.' There were also skittle gardens, a kitchen garden and a rose garden. The Jew's Harp had replaced Marylebone Gardens (which closed in 1778) as a pleasant rendezvous for those who lived to the north of the city. Eastwards again, was the Queen's Head and Artichoke, which belonged to Kendall's Farm. It is said⁽²⁴⁾ that this public house had belonged to Queen Elizabeth's gardener, which would account for the name; and from surviving sketches, the building looks as if it might be old enough, though there is no real evidence as to its age. The Justices' Returns for 1630⁽²⁵⁾ state that of the five public houses in St. Marylebone, they had closed two; but, unfortunately, no names are given.

Gradually, south of the Park, buildings were increasing. In 1745, there was open country north of Cavendish Square, and the New Road (now the Marylebone Road) had been marked out on the fields in 1757 in order to provide London with its first by-pass. By 1790, the same road marked the northern limit of the houses. Where Mrs. Anne Berry had once pastured her cows near Tyburn, William Henry Portman was following the example of the Duke of Portland, and streets and squares were being planned and built. Until 1811, when the head leases were due to fall in, the Park would remain as farmland, an effective halt to northerly developments, but once the estate was again under the control of the Crown, there would be a unique opportunity both to increase the royal revenues and adorn the capital with a new and splendid estate. John Fordyce, an exceptional man with both vision and a grasp of practical detail, had been appointed Surveyor-General in 1793.



PLATE 1 (a)

(By courtesy of the Westminster Public Library Committee)

Willan's Farm, by William Sherlock, c. 1800 (see p. 182) From the Ashbridge Collection

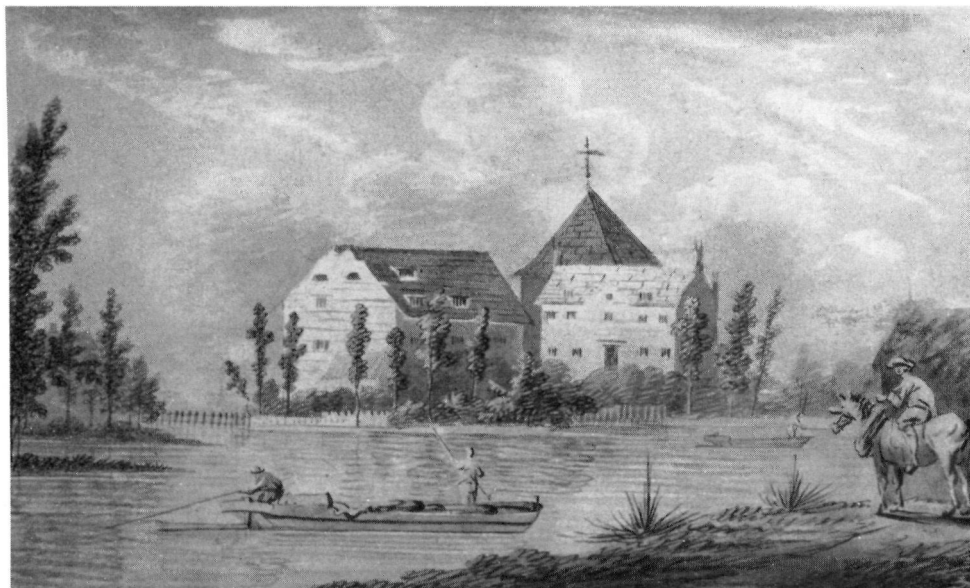
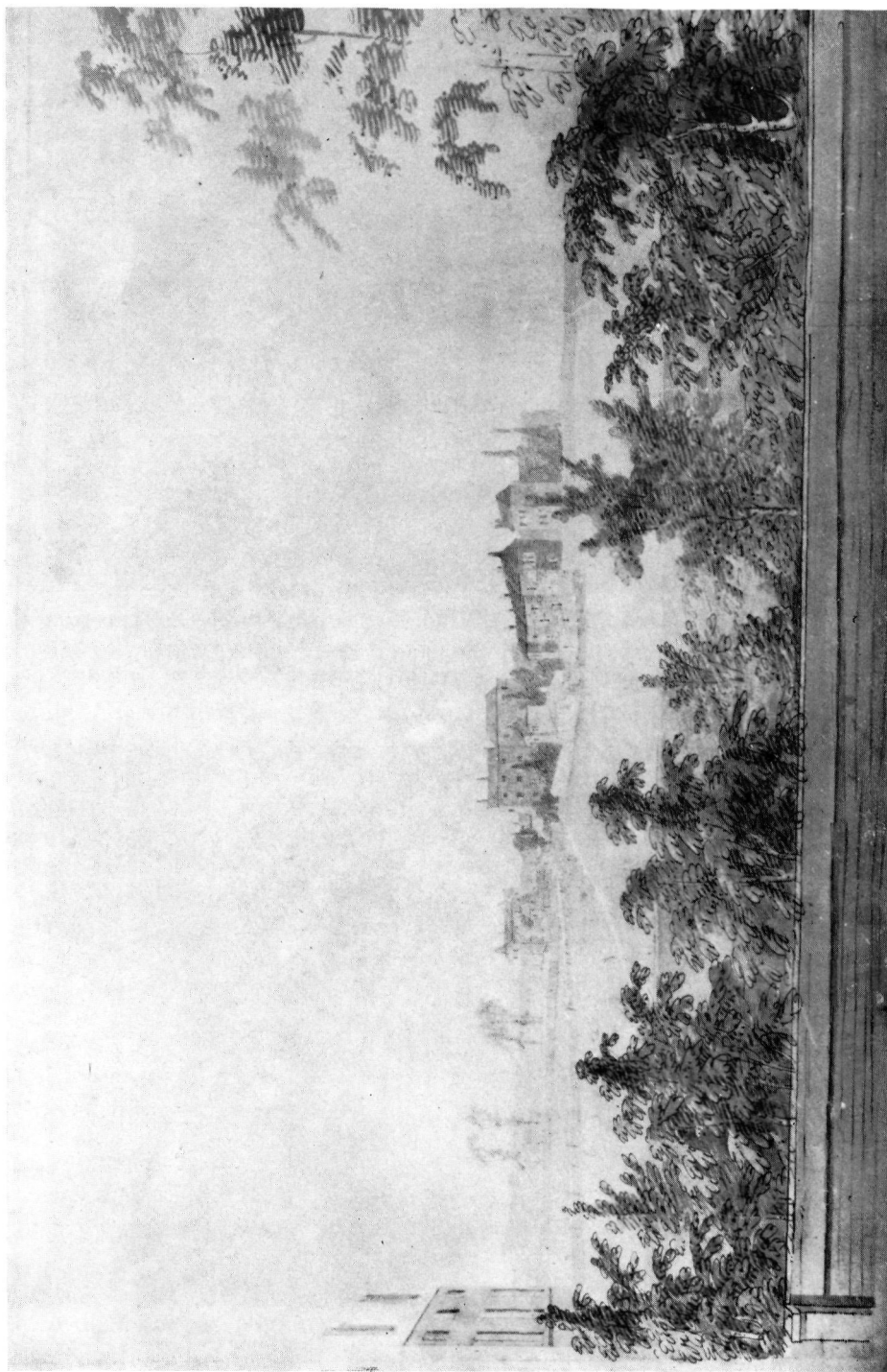


PLATE 1 (b)

(By courtesy of the Westminster Public Library Committee)

Willan's Farm, by Robert Marris, c. 1800 (see p. 182)

Willan's Farm comprised an extensive group of buildings and the two water-colours show different aspects. The water in Marris' foreground is quite a mystery. The buildings appear to be viewed from across Gravel Pit Field, but 1800 is early for such an extensive wet working. The boat is a large one, however, for casual fishing and the men could be using gravel pans. Possibly the artist exaggerated what he saw and made a lake from a small gravel working?



(By courtesy of the Westminster Public Library Committee)

The Jew's Harp and Village, by Robert Marris, c. 1800 (see p. 182)

The drawing was made from the north drawing-room window of 20 Devonshire Place and shows the garden wall in the foreground, with a small foundation and the New Road beyond. To the right is the house of John White. The group of buildings can be identified from the plan shown in *Fig. 2*.

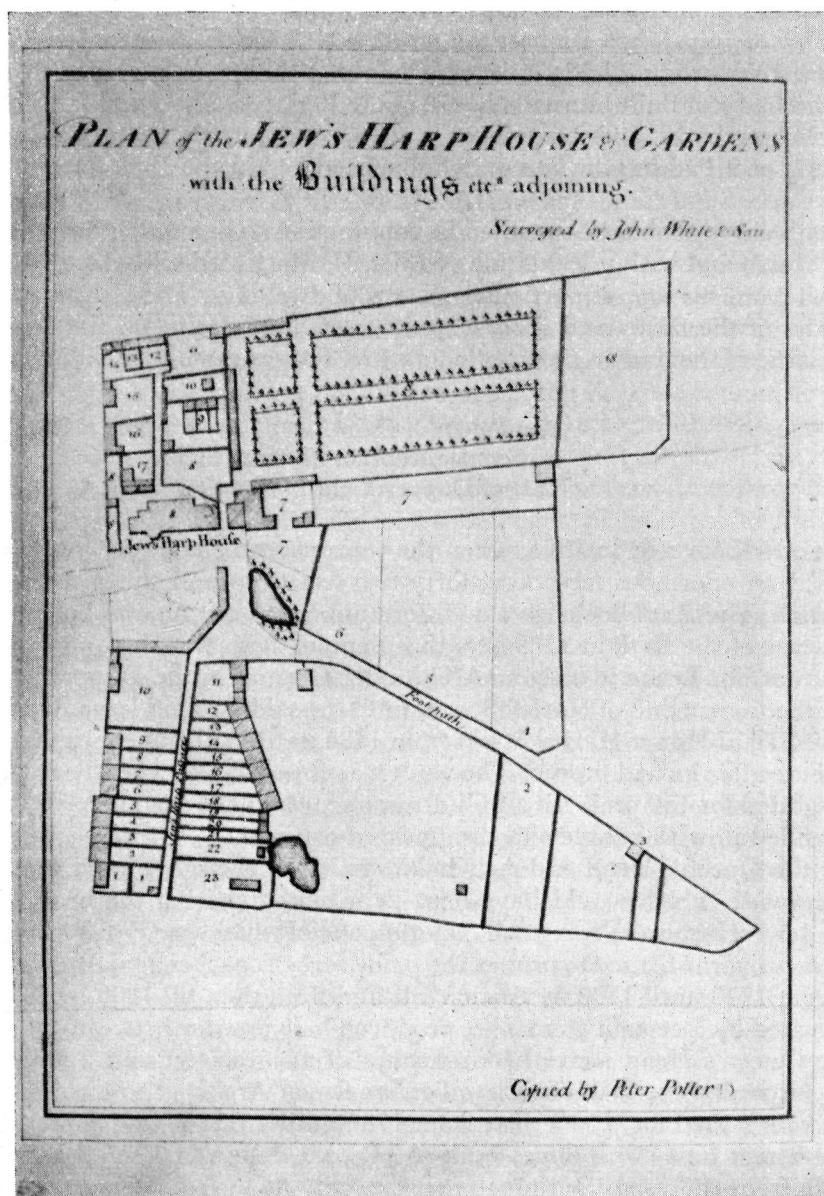


Fig. 2

Plan of the Jew's Harp House and Gardens by John White and son

(By courtesy of the Crown Estate Commissioners)

The plan is part of the 1804 Survey and Valuation. No. 14 is Mr. Barling's cottage with the octagonal tower—on the extreme left of the group of buildings in *Plate 2*. No. 8, the Jew's Harp, is the large building in the centre of *Plate 2* and to its left is Strahan's varnish manufactory. The row of buildings to the right were let to farm labourers, or, in some cases, as country retreats to city dwellers.

He at once commissioned a survey of the Park from George Richardson, and this was in preparation by 26 July, when Richardson wrote asking for ten guineas in advance to pay his chainsmen their wages of 12s. a week.⁽²⁶⁾ John White, the Surveyor to the Duke of Portland, who had just built himself a house in the Park (see *Fig. 1* and *Plate 2*), was asked to give advice on paths and boundaries and so was Joseph Pearl, a ninety-year-old labourer living at 9 Paddington Street, who had worked in the Park for more than forty years.

Richardson's survey should be studied in conjunction with another map made in 1789 by Thomas Marsh and with a Valuation of 1804,⁽²⁷⁾ illustrated with detailed plans, made by John White and his son, of particular groups of dwellings. These three documents fix the boundaries of the farms and show a number of buildings in nowise connected with agriculture, some of them of an unexpected nature. For example, there is in the Valuation an entry

Samuel Dash Esqre.	
Sufferance Rent for an Arch under	
part of Dupper Field	3 3s. od.

The arch was re-discovered in 1961, when the western sector of Park Crescent was being rebuilt. It was an enormous ice-house, forty-two feet deep and thirty feet in diameter, lined with brick. The Rate Books give no information, but an auction bill⁽²⁸⁾ for the sale of the head lease of the Park in 1789 says that Samuel Dash was then paying the Crown £1 19s. 4½d. rent 'for Leave to erect an Arch under Ground in the Dupperfield adjoining his house, at the Upper End of Harley Street, until the said Ground is wanted for Building on'. Dash lived at 17 Upper Harley Street from 1785 until 1791 but continued to pay rent for the ice-house after he had moved. The vault was covered over when Park Crescent was built and forgotten for 150 years till a bull-dozer uncovered the entrance.⁽²⁹⁾ Within a few hours it was filled in with rubble and disappeared again.

Adjoining the Queen's Head and Artichoke was a wheelwright's yard, run by Messrs. Bell and Chadwick, which would have been kept busy repairing the heavy farm carts; and near the Jew's Harp were two small factories, one of which (see *Fig. 2*) produced japan lacquer and copal varnish, used to protect the paintwork of coaches against minor scratches. It was run from 1777 until 1798 by Allen Wall and from then till 1805 by John Strahan. The other, owned by a certain John Tye, produced hair powder between 1785 and 1792.

Beside the Queen's Head were the workshops of an architect and a sculptor. James Wyatt, who succeeded Sir William Chambers as Royal Architect to George III, rented a large carpenter's yard for £50 a year from 1786 until 1812. Wyatt himself lived at 39 Queen Anne Street East,⁽³⁰⁾ a house built to his own design in 1777-8 and a bare ten minutes' walk from the yard. During the next twenty-five years, Wyatt was responsible for scores of buildings, among them Ashridge in Hertfordshire, Wycombe Abbey in Buckinghamshire, the Radcliffe Observatory at Oxford,⁽³¹⁾ Horace Walpole's Strawberry Hill and Castle Coole in Ireland. We may assume that the woodwork—the doors, lintels, window-frames, balustrades—for, at least, his London and home counties commissions was made in the Park. The London commissions included additions to Mrs. Montagu's house in Portman Square, 22 St. James's Place, Westminster, and the superb circular staircase for Devonshire House. These have been destroyed by bombing or speculators.

In an adjacent group of buildings, John Charles Felix Rossi had an artificial stone

manufactory. Rossi, whose father was an Italian doctor working in England, was apprenticed to another Italian, the sculptor Locatelli. He entered the Royal Academy Schools and there won a gold medal for sculpture and a travelling scholarship with which he spent three years in Rome. When he returned to England he worked for a time at Coade's Artificial Stone Manufactory⁽³²⁾ at Lambeth, as did so many other sculptors of the period, and then in 1798 he set up on his own in the Park and remained there till 1810. The Valuation describes the premises as 'A Cottage, Artificial Stone Manufactory and Stable etc. . . . £52 10s. 0d.' The manufactory would have meant a modelling room, a slow-fired kiln (since the larger pieces required two to three days' firing) and a drying shed. Whilst he was working in the Park, Rossi made a Hindoo Temple to the designs of Thomas Daniell, R.A., for the grounds of Melchet Park near Salisbury, the home of Major Osborne.⁽³³⁾ He also made the angels for the cupola of St. Marylebone Parish Church, though whether the work was or was not carried out in the Park we cannot be certain, for his bill of £300 15s. 0d. was not paid by the Vestry till 18 October 1814, well after the manufactory had been closed. It is worth noting that Rossi cast a bronze bust of Wyatt⁽³⁴⁾ who was, as it were, his next-door neighbour, and received at least three large commissions from him—a statue of Sir Edward Coke for Stoke Poges, plaques representing the signs of the zodiac for the Radcliffe Observatory and a marble St. Anthony of Padua for Font-hill Abbey.⁽³⁵⁾

Just south of Rossi's workshops, on the site now occupied by Park Square, was the most unexpected building of all. This was a temporary art gallery built to house the collection of Count Joseph Truchsess of Wurzach, Grand Dean of the Cathedral of Strasbourg and Canon of the Metropolitan Chapter of Cologne. The Count had made his collection, chiefly of German and Flemish works, with a few by French, Spanish and Italian masters, between 1783 and 1796, but he was then forced to move it from his home in Wurzach to Vienna because of the wars with Napoleon. It remained in Vienna till 1802, when the Count decided to take the whole collection to England⁽³⁶⁾ and sell it there. The paintings were duly packed into thirty-six crates and £4,000 customs duty was paid on them. The Count hoped that they would be purchased for the nation, but 'considering the rigid economy which the British Senate observes in the application of the public money in support of the fine arts and sciences, the grant of sixty thousand guineas for the purchase of a gallery of pictures was not to be expected.'⁽³⁷⁾ The Count therefore built a temporary art gallery in which the collection might be displayed. The architect was George Edwards of 13 Upper Titchfield Street, a former pupil or clerk of John White; the cost was about £8,000. An American, Benjamin Silliman,⁽³⁸⁾ who toured England in 1805, noted in his Journal for 5 July that he had been to see the collection housed in 'eight large rooms lighted from above, and so connected, that every successive room seems a capital discovery as one is impressed with the idea that every new apartment is the last'. There were refreshment rooms too, a refinement not to be found in any other gallery of the time nor for many years afterwards. The price of admission was one shilling. The collection, now known as the Truchsessian Gallery, was described at great length in *The Picture of London*,⁽³⁹⁾ receiving more space than was given to the Royal Academy. There were 966 pictures on display by 635 artists, including works by, or attributed to, Dürer, Rembrandt, Leonardo da Vinci, Holbein, Cranach, Aert van der Neer, Murillo, Poussin and Watteau. The Gallery issued its own catalogue, 135 pages long, with short biographical sketches of the artists represented; the lay-out and cross-referencing were excellent.⁽⁴⁰⁾

London, however, gave the Count's Gallery a poor reception. Farington noted in his diary for 21 August 1803:

Lawrence had been this morning to see the Exhibition of Count Truchesis [*sic*] pictures near the New Road, Marybone. He gave a most unfavourable account of them—saying that there was scarcely an original picture of a *great master* among them . . . There are 1,000 pictures and Lawrence does not think the whole are worth £2,000. The Count values them at £60,000.

The Count then proposed that gentlefolk should take up subscription shares to acquire the collection for Great Britain⁽⁴¹⁾ but unfortunately, in spite of an enthusiastic letter in the *Gentleman's Magazine*,⁽⁴²⁾ the response was insufficient. The Gallery remained open only until the spring of 1806 and in March, April and May of that year the contents were dispersed at three auction sales. In the Victoria and Albert Museum there are marked copies of the catalogues of the first two sales.⁽⁴³⁾ From them we know that none of the prices were high—£106 10s. 0d. for Correggio's *St. Catherine and Angels*, £262 10s. 0d. for his *Adoration of the Shepherds*, £315 for Guercino's *Susannah and the Elders* and £126 for Rembrandt's *Children Entertaining their Parents with a Serenade*, were among the highest, whilst a *Crucifixion* by Cranach fetched only three guineas and the majority of other lots changed hands on the same level.⁽⁴⁴⁾ The March sale brought in £3,152 15s. 6d. and that in April made £5,255 in all, so we may assume that the Count regained what he had expended in bringing the collection to England and in building the gallery but that he had hardly made a capital gain.

Compared with the sale of Lord Rendlesham's collection⁽⁴⁵⁾ in June of the same year, when fifty-eight paintings changed hands for £9,120 1s. 6d., the prices were shockingly low. J. T. Smith,⁽⁴⁶⁾ writing in 1833, seems to confirm Lawrence's contemporary suspicions. In his *Topographical and Historical Account of the Parish of St. Mary-le-bone*, he says, 'After they had been exhibited some time, a portion of the pictures were discovered to be copies of the Ancient Masters and the whole exhibition was consequently brought to the hammer.' The statement is probably partly true—in so large a collection, some of the works were almost bound to be copies or fakes. We must remember however that Truchsess came to this country with the specific intention of selling the paintings but that he actually sold only 676 works—two-thirds of the total collection. He no doubt retained the really valuable works, dispensing with the more worthless items to pay his heavy out-of-pocket expenses. When he died in 1813, the Art Gallery and Museum of Darmstadt⁽⁴⁷⁾ bought eighty-one of his paintings and they still hold an honoured place there.⁽⁴⁸⁾

Once the pictures were sold, the Gallery was soon disposed of too. Messrs. Skinner, Dyke & Co., who had conducted the auction of the paintings on the premises in the New Road, sold off the materials, furniture and fittings on 1 June 1806; the Gallery disappeared from the Rate Books and was presumably completely demolished.

This then was the Park that Fordyce and Nash contemplated as they planned a London *rus in urbe*—open farm-lands as far as the eye could see northwards from the end of Marylebone High Street, with only a few buildings, some of them of an unusual character, on its southern boundary. By 1811, the farm buildings, the public houses and the curious manufactories were all to come down and, regretted by many,⁽⁴⁹⁾ the grasslands were to make way for the greater glory of Nash's design.

AUTHOR'S NOTE

The writer of this article is hoping to produce a fuller study of the Regent's Park area, both before and after Nash's development, and would be most grateful for any information or suggestions from readers.

NOTES

- 1 The basis of this article is the St. Marylebone Rate Books, which start in 1684 and are complete from 1704.
- 2 B.M. Add. MS. 18238.
- 3 B.M. Add. MS. 18239.
- 4 P.R.O. MS. Crest 2/736.
- 5 Sometimes Coney Burrow, P.R.O. MS. Crest 2/736. Surely a reference to rabbits abounding in the area?
- 6 See F. H. W. Sheppard's *Local Government in St. Marylebone, 1688-1835*, Athlone Press, 1958.
- 7 Pehr Kalm, *Kalm's account of his visit to England on his way to America in 1748*, translated by Joseph Lucas, (1892), entry for 24 June 1748.
- 8 *Ibid.*
- 9 See also the present author's article in *Archives*, Lady Day 1962, on 'The Firm of Tilbury'.
- 10 Reports from Commissioners; Cattle plague, 1866. Command paper 3591, pp. VIII-XI.
- 11 Royal Society Transactions, 21 November, 1745; 12 December 1745; 9 January 1746.
- 12 P.R.O. MS. Crest 2/736.
- 13 *Ibid.*
- 14 St. Marylebone Vestry Minutes, II, 187.
- 15 St. Marylebone Public Library, DD. 478.
- 16 P.R.O. MS. Crest 2/736.
- 17 Middleton, *View of the Agriculture of Middlesex, 1798*, 289-91.
- 18 At present in the possession of Messrs. Knoedler, St. James's Street.
- 19 P.R.O. MS. Crest 2/741. Willan moved to Twyford when he was finally evicted. See Mrs. Basil Holmes' pamphlet *West Twyford, Middlesex*, 1908.
- 20 British Museum, Grace Collection: Views Portfolio XXX, supplement.
- 21 St. Marylebone Public Library, Ashbridge Collection 121.1, now reproduced as *Plate 1(a)*.
- 22 Thomas Smith, *A Topographical and Historical Account of the Parish of St. Mary-le-bone, 1833*, 32-5.
- 23 J. T. Smith *Book for a Rainy Day*, and watercolour in Ashbridge Collection.
- 24 J. T. Smith, *op. cit.*
- 25 P.R.O. MS. SP. 16. vol. CCXXXI.
- 26 P.R.O. MS. Crest 2/737.
- 27 Both in the possession of the Commissioners of Crown Lands. See Fig. 1. p. 179.
- 28 P.R.O. MS. Crest 2/736.
- 29 The ice-house has now been filled in with rubble and is underneath the garages behind Park Crescent West. Photographs and measurements were taken as carefully as possible in the few hours between its discovery and reburial and are now in the St. Marylebone Local History Collection at the Public Library.
- 30 Later 69 and finally 1 Foley Place. When the house was sold after Wyatt's death, the *Morning Post* for 27 May 1814 described it as 'a *chef-d'oeuvre* of taste and beauty'. It was demolished just before the war.
- 31 Now the Nuffield Institute of Medical Research.
- 32 For fuller accounts, see *Survey of London*, XXIII, 58-61, and *Architectural Review*, CXVI, 295-301.
- 33 *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1841, pt. ii, 243. 'Within the temple . . . is an elegant pedestal, surmounted by a bust of Mr. Hastings rising out of the sacred flower of the Lotus.'
- 34 Now in the National Portrait Gallery.
- 35 Anthony Dale, *James Wyatt*, 1956.
- 36 Mrs. Melesina Trench saw the Gallery in Vienna in 1800 and was introduced to the Count who said he thought he would come to England to sell the paintings (*Remains*, 1862, p. 86). Mrs. Trench was an amiable and much-travelled lady, the mother of Richard Chevenix Trench, the Archbishop of Dublin. She kept a journal and wrote a most sensible book on child-education.

- 37 C. A. Goede, *The Stranger in England*, 1807, III, 14-18.
- 38 Benjamin Silliman, *A Journal of Travels in England, Holland and Scotland . . . in the years 1805 and 1806*, 2 vols., 1810.
- 39 Published by Richard Phillips in December 1803.
- 40 Copy in the British Museum.
- 41 There were probably several proposals. Goede, *op. cit.*, who seems well-informed, says that ten thousand guineas were to be raised in units of ten and that premises were to be purchased to house the Gallery, the subscribers receiving a handsome return on their money from the entrance fees. The *Plan of Subscription* issued by the Count himself in January 1804, asks for 75,000 guineas. The subscribers were to be entitled to free entry and so were the donors of important paintings, the Gallery once being established. Artists were to be admitted free and allowed to study and copy. The pamphlet is a most sensible document, well-written and well-reasoned.
- 42 *Gentleman's Magazine*, October 1803, 25.
- 43 F. Lugt, *Repertoire des Catalogues des Ventes Publiques*, 1938. Nos. 7049, 7072, 7100. The Truchsessian sale catalogues have some delightful descriptions of the paintings for sale. Lot 75 was 'Annib. Carracci. The Assassination of Pompey, capital'.
- 44 G. Reitlinger, *The Economics of Taste*, 1962. This volume contains most helpful tables of selected sale prices from the middle of the eighteenth century to the present day.
- 45 Lugt, *op. cit.*, No. 7129. The V. & A. copy gives prices.
- 46 He must not be confused with the J. T. Smith who wrote *A Book for a Rainy Day*.
- 47 Then the Grossherzoglich Hessisches Landesmuseum, now the Hessisches Landesmuseum.
- 48 A full account of the Truchsessian Gallery is about to be published, in German, by Dr. Gerda Kircher. The title will be: *Die Truchsessen-Galerie, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des deutschen Kunstsammelns um 1800*.
- 49 J. T. Smith, *A Book for a Rainy Day*, 1905 ed., p. 24, and Ephraim Hardcastle (pseudonym of W. H. Pyne), *Wine and Walnuts*, 1824, II, p. 320.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDS IN THE CITY OF LONDON, 1963-4

BY PETER R. V. MARSDEN (*Guildhall Museum*)

INTRODUCTION

This annual report on archaeological discoveries in the City of London has been extended to include the results of all work carried out during 1963-4. Combining these two years has meant that there is less delay in the publication of recent excavations. Reference is made in this report to groups of excavated objects which have been recorded in the Museum Excavation Register (*e.g. E.R.915*). It is hoped that these groups will eventually be published, but they are now available for study on application to the Director, Guildhall Museum, London, E.C.2. Thanks are due to Mr. N. C. Cook, Director of the Museum, who dated the pottery groups; and he and Mr. R. Merrifield kindly read through this report and made many helpful suggestions.

A considerable number of sites were rebuilt during 1963-4 (*Fig. 1*), but of these only sites 4, 8, 10, 11, 12, and 14 were completely excavated, so there will be a chance of archaeological work by future generations on the remaining sites.

During October 1964 the City of London Excavation Group was formed, and rescue work was carried out at week-ends on parts of the Roman baths in Huggin Hill under the supervision of Mr. N. Farrant, to whom the staff of the Guildhall Museum are most grateful. The excavations of the Group are directed by the writer, and are sponsored by the Guildhall Museum and the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society.

The remains of the Roman baths in Huggin Hill stand out as being exceptionally well preserved, and the rebuilding of the site has only slightly damaged them. It is very desirable that the bath building should be carefully excavated at some future date and part of it might even be considered for permanent preservation.

ROMAN

Site 1. *Blackfriars Bridgehead Improvement Scheme* (*Fig. 2* and *Plate 1(a)*)

On 6 September 1962, during excavations connected with the Blackfriars Bridgehead Improvement Scheme, in the City of London, the first timbers of an ancient ship lying in the bed of the River Thames were brought to light. Subsequent archaeological excavations in the bed of the river during low Spring tides in October and November 1962 resulted in the uncovering of part of the starboard side and stern of the ship. In July 1963 the major portion of the forward half of the wreck was uncovered in a cofferdam (*Plate 1*), in which part of a new embankment wall was to be constructed. Most of the timbers were carefully lifted out and were brought to the Guildhall Museum where they have been treated for preservation.

CITY OF LONDON

Sites excavated 1963-4

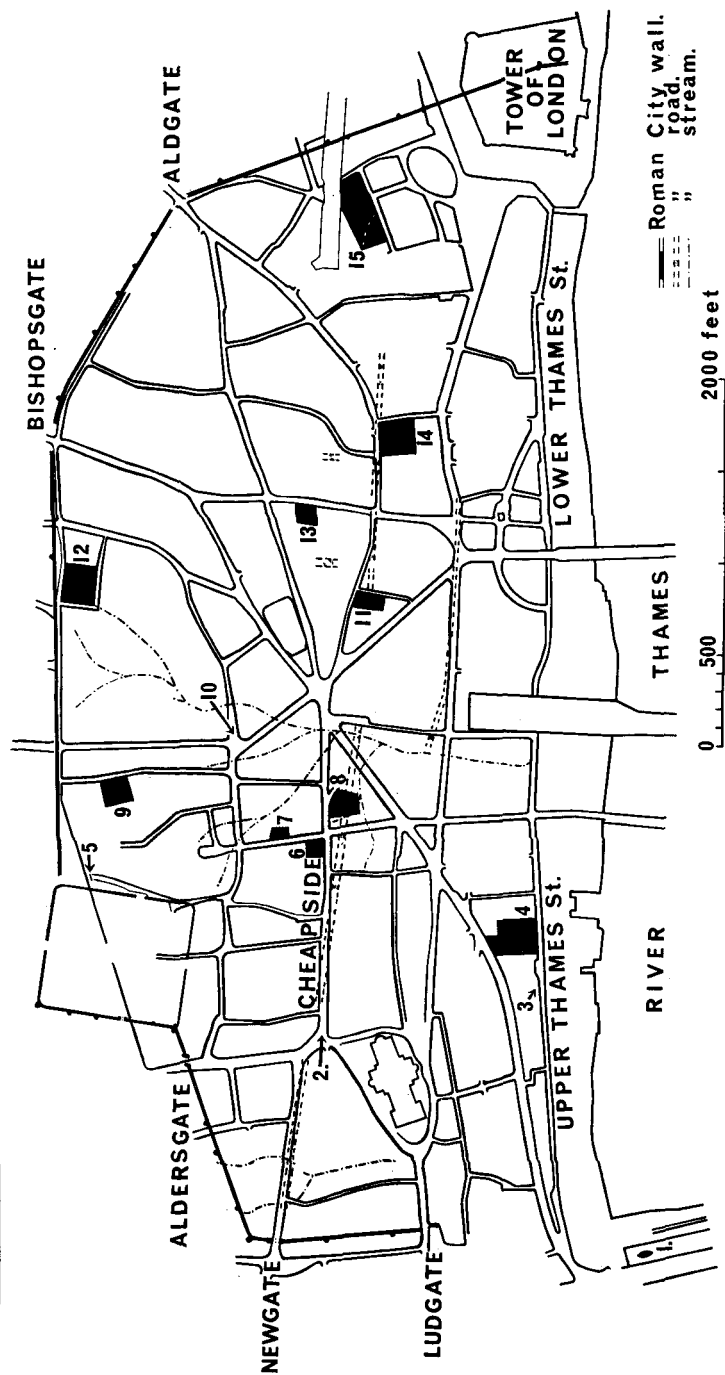


Fig. 1

The age of the ship has been established beyond all reasonable doubt by associated dateable objects. On the bottom of the ship was a layer of fine grey clay in which were found a piece of leather finely decorated with perforations in the form of a dolphin of typical Roman design, and two fragments of a Roman pottery bowl (*E.R.860*). Other objects in this layer included broken barrel staves and a wooden mallet which was possibly used for caulking.⁽¹⁾ Above the clay and still inside the ship, was a thick layer of coarse river gravel, which had been deposited after the ship had sunk. In this were found fragments of more than sixty different Roman pots, several dozen Roman shoe-soles, amphora bungs, a millstone (which was probably within the ship when she sank), and many broken Roman bricks and tiles (*E.R.854*). This pottery, which was of the second and third centuries A.D., had evidently been deposited after the wreck of the ship, but before the starboard side had collapsed inwards, for some of it was sealed by a portion of the collapsed side. The latter also covered a rectangular socket, cut in a floor timber,⁽²⁾ which seems to have been the mast-step. The collapsed side sealing the step was of great evidential importance, for lying directly in a recess at the bottom of the mast-step was a worn Roman bronze coin of the Emperor Domitian (*E.R.857*), which was minted in A.D. 88 or 89. (*Roman Imperial Coinage*, Domitian, 371). One other bronze coin (*E.R.858*), of the late third century A.D., was found in the general filling of the wreck. In view of this large quantity of dating evidence, all pointing to the one period, there can be no doubt that the Blackfriars ship is of Roman date. The bulk of the evidence points to the second century, but it is clear that material was still being washed into the wreck late in the third century.

The shape and construction of the ship, however, are like no other vessel of the Roman period which has so far been found. The reason for this seems to be that the vessel is of native British construction. The species of oak (*Quercus robur*?) from which all the timbers had been cut is native to central and northern Europe and is not found in the Mediterranean.

The bow of the ship had been flattened by the weight of overlying gravel and water, so early estimates of her length indicated that she was longer than she actually was. The length of the ship seems to have been about 55 ft., and her beam 22 ft.

The ship was clearly a river and estuary barge, because of her wide and reasonably flat bottom with no keel. That she sailed in the estuary of the Thames is shown by her cargo of ragstone, probably quarried in the Medway Valley, near Maidstone, and by the borings of the ship worm *Teredo* and another salt-water creature, *Limnoria*, in some of the timbers. Both *Teredo* and *Limnoria* cannot live for any length of time in fresh water, so the ship must have made regular visits to the salt water of the Thames estuary while the infestation was taking place.

The barge was carvel built⁽³⁾ and seems to have been double ended. Instead of a keel, there were two broad planks, which met in the centre and extended from the stempost, possibly as far as the sternpost. These two planks were about 3 in. thick, whereas all other planks were only 2 in. thick. The sides met the flat bottom to form a definite angle, or chine, of between 30° and 35°, and the planks were fastened to the floor timbers by long iron nails, with hollow cone-shaped heads (*Plate 1(a)*).

The floor timbers were mostly 8½ in. thick, and about 12 in. wide, and they were spaced between 5 and 16 in. apart. Cut into their undersides were limber holes for the flow of bilge water. Immediately aft of the mast-step, the floor timbers and the side frames were

covered with a ceiling of planks 1 in. thick, and on top of this was found some of the cargo of Kentish ragstone.

The starboard side had collapsed inwards, and the port side outwards. Owing to the lack of time, the former could not be investigated in detail; but the latter, which was much better preserved, was recorded in detail. It consisted of several broad oak planks, which had been fastened to side frames by iron nails. These side frames were in no way attached to the floor timbers. Instead, their bottom ends overlapped the ends of the latter, with which they alternated, and both floor timbers and side frames were attached to a single strake, and this formed the only link between them. The reconstruction of the collapsed side on to the bottom has given the shape of the ship to a height of about 7 ft. Unfortunately the gunwale and deck beams were not found, so the height of the deck above the bottom is not known. The shape of what may have been the upper part of one of the side frames suggests that a deck did exist, and presumably there was a hatch in it, aft of the mast, and over the hold where the cargo lay.

The coin found in the mast-step was not the least remarkable feature of the ship, and it is interesting to note that nowadays it is a custom to place a coin in the construction of a wooden ship, to bring luck to the vessel. It is surely more than coincidence that the coin, which lay reverse uppermost, showed the figure of Fortuna, the Roman Goddess of luck, holding a ship's steering oar. It seems likely that the coin, which was not a new one, was chosen because of its appropriate reverse type.⁽⁴⁾

Much research on the Roman methods of ship construction has been carried out in the Mediterranean, and it is now known that the form of each ship was built of planks first, and the ribs were inserted afterwards. One of the three ships of the Roman period to have been discovered in London, the County Hall ship found in 1910, was built in this way. The planks of the Blackfriars ship, however, had mostly been fastened to a pre-existing skeleton of ribs—a method of building a ship quite different from that employed in the Mediterranean, or from the contemporary clinker⁽⁵⁾ method of Scandinavia and the Low Countries. Clearly the Blackfriars ship is an example of a hitherto unknown method of early shipbuilding and it would seem likely that this was local. In 1958 a Roman boat was discovered at New Guy's House in Bermondsey, and it is now clear that this also had been built in a similar way. It is probable that the method of building the Blackfriars ship was derived from the shipbuilding of the Belgic or Celtic tribes of northern Gaul or the Low Countries, because these peoples also inhabited south-eastern England.

Perhaps the most significant feature of the Blackfriars ship is that she shows that within about a century of the Roman invasion of Britain, both the technique of barge construction and the barge shape were, to a large degree, established. This carries the history of the sailing barges on the Thames back to a much earlier period than has previously been suspected.

Nothing is known of the subsequent history of the Thames-Medway barge until the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and it is not yet possible to say whether it continued to be developed from Roman times onwards, or whether the form was created anew after an interval of centuries. The survival of the custom of placing a coin in the mast-step from pagan times to the present day is, however, a reminder of the continuity of tradition, and it may be suspected that there was similar continuity in methods of shipbuilding.⁽⁶⁾

NOTES

- 1 *Caulking*: the fibres filling the seams between planks to make them watertight.
- 2 *Floor timber*: a bottom rib in the ship.
- 3 *Carvel built*: with planks laid edge to edge.
- 4 Two Roman wrecks have recently been excavated in the Mediterranean and in each of these a coin was found in the mast-step. See *Mariners' Mirror*, 51, 33.
- 5 *Clinker built*: with planks overlapping.
- 6 For a full report on the ship see *A Roman Ship from Blackfriars, London*, by P. Marsden, Guildhall Museum, London, 1967, 5s.

Site 3. *Lambeth Hill* (Fig. 3).

In Upper Thames Street, near the north-west corner of No. 211 (now demolished), was recorded a Roman drain running in a westerly direction (Fig. 3). It was revealed in a series of holes for modern foundation pile caps, and consisted of a brick floor with brick walls on either side, and the floor was laid on rammed chalk. Its construction is very similar to a drain found near Bucklersbury in 1869 (*R.C.H.M.*, Vol. 3, *Roman London*, Fig. 31, p. 109).

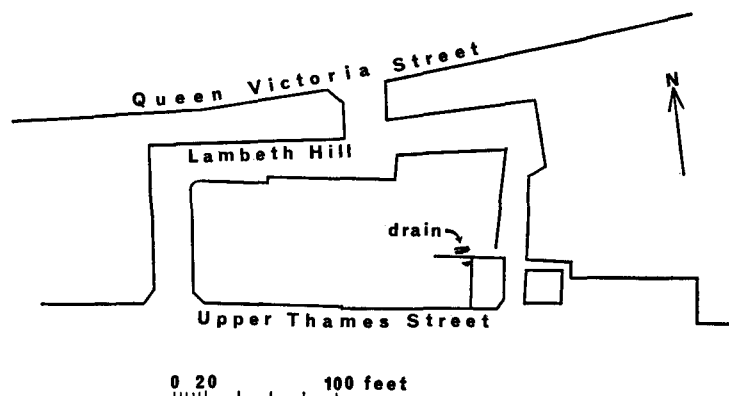
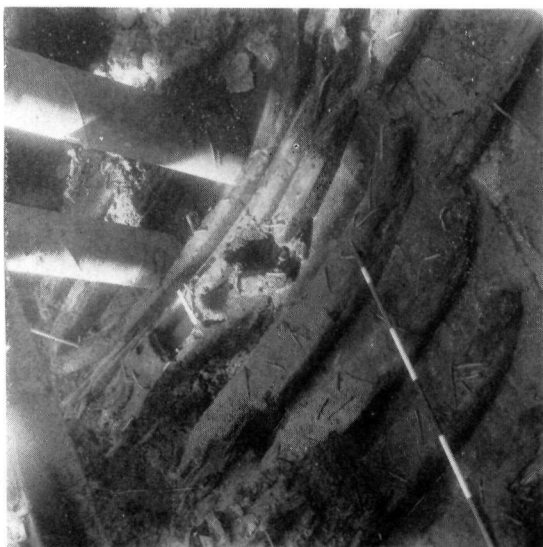


Fig. 3

Site of Roman drain in Lambeth Hill (*site 3*)

Site 4. *Huggin Hill, Upper Thames Street*.

Excavations for the foundations of a large office building on the west side of Huggin Hill were started in July 1964, and at an early stage Roman walls began to appear. The Museum obtained permission to excavate the site during the three days of August Bank Holiday week-end, and thanks are due to the many volunteers who took part. Special thanks are due to the West Kent Border Archaeological Group and to the Wandsworth Historical Society. In the following October the City of London Excavation Group was formed to carry out archaeological work at week-ends on this and other sites. Sponsored by the Guildhall Museum and the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, the excavations were directed by the writer and site supervision at week-ends was exercised by Mr. N. Farrant. During subsequent week-ends the archaeological excavations continued, and during the week-days the contractors' excavations were closely watched. The general result of this intensive work is described below (Figs. 4, 5 and 6).



(a)



(b)



(c)



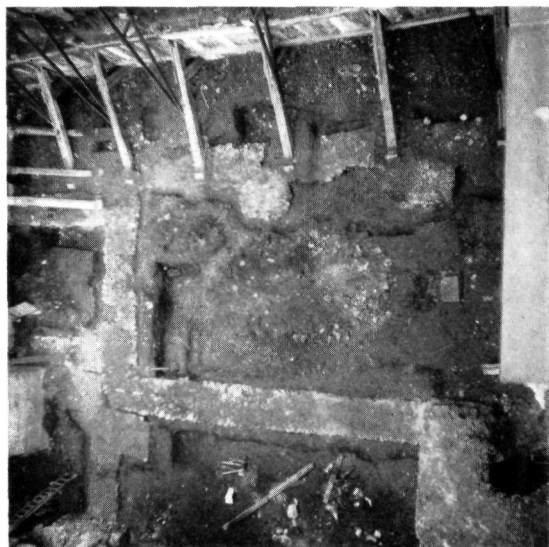
(d)

- (a) Bottom of Blackfriars ship (site 1), showing mast-step (centre), part of stone cargo (right), and part of collapsed port side (bottom right). View to north-west
 (b) Roman bath building, Huggin Hill (site 4): apse of room VII (caldarium) looking west
 (c) Roman bath building, Huggin Hill (site 4): flue channel in apse wall of caldarium: view to north-west
 (d) Roman bath building, Huggin Hill (site 4): niche and flue on outside of apse wall of caldarium: view looking east

PLATE 2



(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)

- (a) 3-6 Gracechurch Street (site 13): Roman walls (a) and (b): view to south-west
 (b) Foundations of St. Nicholas Acon church: view to east (site 11)
 (c) Apse at east end of St. Pancras church (site 8), showing rough stone foundations
 with plastered wall face above
 (d) Burial in nave of St. Nicholas Acon church (site 11)

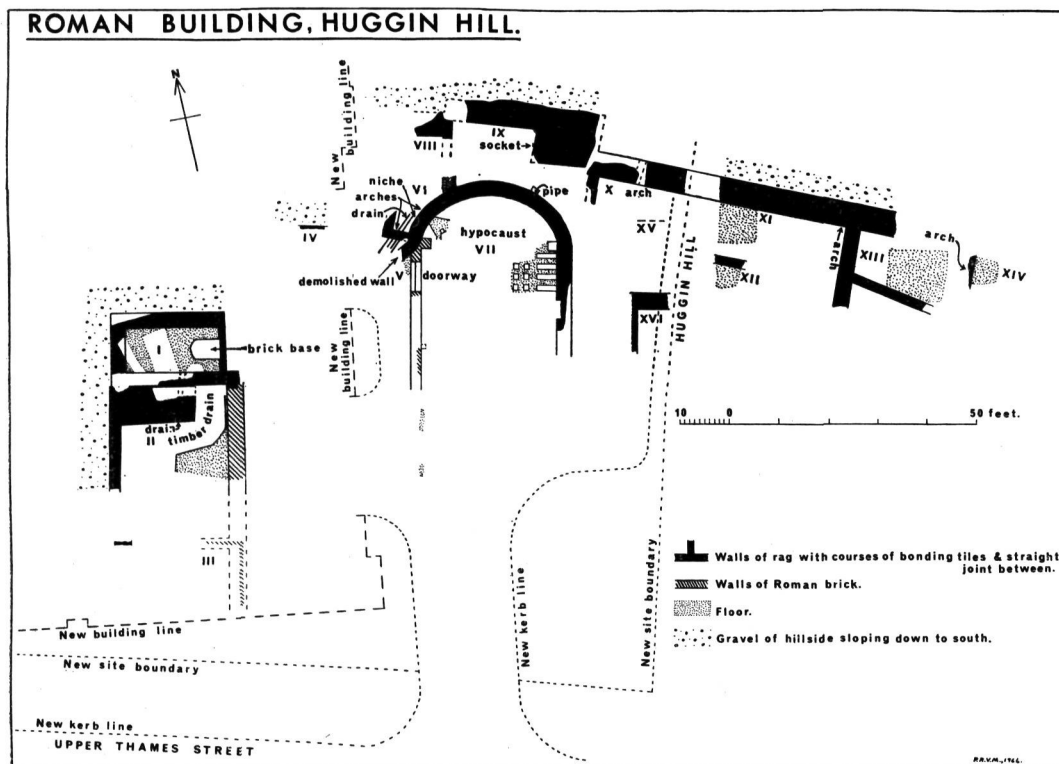


Fig. 4
(site 4)

PERIOD I (Fig. 4)

Most of the walls on the site were found to belong to a large Roman building, and this, from its size and layout, appears to have been a public bath building.

It had been constructed in an excavation dug horizontally in the slope of the hillside just above the river. The floors were on at least two levels; the lower, at the junction of the river gravel and the impervious London clay at between 12 ft. 6 in. and 14 ft. 4 in. above O.D.; and the second in the gravel at about 22 ft. above O.D.

Room I was a chamber measuring 19 ft. 3 in. long and 9 ft. 10 in. wide internally. Its walls, which had unfortunately been demolished almost to the floor level, were built of ragstone, with double courses of bonding tiles at vertical intervals of about 1 ft. 3 in. The north and west walls were 3 feet thick and the south wall 2 ft. 5 in. The north wall was faced on the inside with bricks laid horizontally, the outer part of the wall being of ragstone with courses of bonding tiles. The east wall, which was built entirely of bricks, was only 1 ft. thick, and against its east face was a very hard foundation of ragstone and white mortar at least 2 ft. 3 in. wide. There is some doubt as to the period of this foundation, which is shown on the large-scale plan (Fig. 5).

The floor of room I was composed of hard pink mortar overlying an extremely hard foundation of ragstone and white mortar more than 6 ft. 6 in. thick. The pink mortar floor

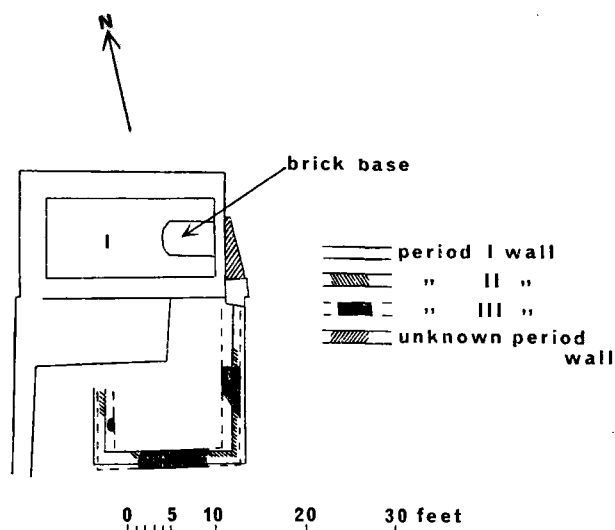


Fig. 5

Walls of periods II and III (site 4)

surface curved up against the faces of the north, south and west walls of the compartment, but at the base of the east wall there was a 3 in. quarter-round moulding. In the middle of the east end of the chamber was a tile base 3 ft. 10 in. wide and 5 ft. 11 in. long, which overlay the quarter-round moulding, and would seem to have been the base of a series of steps from a higher level to the east.

The west and north walls of room I acted as retaining walls set in the hillside, and the west wall continued south to form the west wall of room II. In room II a large buttress of ragstone, faced with horizontal layers of bricks, lay against the south wall of room I, from which it was separated by a straight joint. Passing through both wall and buttress from north to south was a brick-built drain. It would seem that room I was a cold plunge bath, and that the drain was used to empty the water, probably through an opening in the south wall to link up with the tile drain found about 7 ft. below the floor of room I. On the south side of the buttress a timber drain was found set in the London clay. The small tile drain probably emptied the cold plunge water into this, to be carried southwards into the Thames. On the south side of the wooden drain was a floor of pink mortar overlying a foundation of Kentish ragstone and hard mortar. The surface of this floor lay at about 12 ft. 6 in. above O.D., and it was bounded on its east side by a wall 3 ft. 6 in. thick. This was mostly built of courses of brick on a ragstone and mortar foundation. Further south in area III were found other pieces of walling indicating the presence of another chamber of the bath building. It is possible that these brick walls, which are so different from almost any other structure on the site (except the west wall of room VII), may indicate partial rebuilding of the baths.

In the area between rooms I and VII the Roman walls had evidently been demolished to a lower level and were therefore not seen in the excavation, but a modern builders' foundation trench did reveal the north face of a retaining wall, of ragstone with courses of bonding tiles, at the north end of this area (IV). A deep archaeological excavation also

revealed the corner of a brick structure resembling a hypocaust *pila* to the south of IV. Another deep excavation exposed a small piece of pink mortar floor in area V, on the west side of room VII. It also revealed a ragstone wall which had been demolished to a low level (see below).

The north end of room VII was apsidal (*Plate 1(b)*), and the chamber was 27 ft. wide internally. Its surviving mortar floor was at 14 ft. 4 in. above O.D., and on it lay the brick-built *pilae* of a hypocaust. The shape and construction of this room strongly suggests that it was the *caldarium* of the bath house. On the inside of the walls were found iron nails which originally held box-flue tiles to the inner face of the walls. The tiles had been broken away and fragments of them were found in the yellow brickearth filling the chamber.

Passing through the north-west end of the apse was an arched flue 1 ft. 8 in. wide, and 1 ft. 9½ in. high (*Plate 1(c)*). Its bottom was level with the floor of the hypocaust, and its purpose must have been to allow the passage of hot air between rooms VI and VII.

The north and east walls of room VII were built of ragstone with triple courses of bonding tiles at vertical intervals of 1 ft. 3 in. and the apse wall was standing a little over 7 ft. high. The west wall of the room, however, was built mostly of layers of brick upon a stump of ragstone walling, and, as in rooms II and III, this would seem to indicate partial rebuilding. At the north end of the west wall of room VII there was a doorway 5 ft. 9 in. wide. Its sill lay about 3 ft. above the hypocaust floor, indicating the level of the vanished floor which originally overlay the hypocaust. At about the same level was found a red clay water-pipe, with internal diameter of 2½ in., which passed through the apse wall. On the outside of the wall the end of the pipe was surrounded by a box of tiles and slabs of ragstone, which presumably formed a filter to stop the gravel, sand and rubble, which had been back-filled behind the apse wall, from being washed into the pipe. The gravel filling behind the apse wall was presumably dumped during the construction of the baths. The filter was filled with silt, and had evidently collected the dirt from the natural ground water as it passed into the pipe.

The sill of the doorway lay about 3 ft. above the hypocaust floor level, and just north-west of it, in room V, was found a ragstone wall which was bonded into the apse wall. It had been demolished to the level of the door sill, and the surviving top had been plastered over and painted white.

Room VI was bounded on its east side by the apse wall, which contained a rounded niche of unknown purpose to the south of the arched flue passage and 10 in. above it (*Plate 1(d)*). The niche was 2 ft. 6 in. high, 2 ft. 5 in. wide and 1 ft. 3½ in. deep, with a fairly flat bottom, and was roughly lined with mortar. The south and west walls of the room were built of ragstone, but joints between them showed that they were probably not built at the same time. The internal faces were left rough, but the outside faces were plastered and painted white.

Passing through the south wall towards the south-west was an arched flue passage, 1 ft. 11¾ in. wide and 1 ft. 9 in. high, with its bottom level with the bottom of the flue passage in the apse wall. The flue channel was traced for a distance of 5 ft. and continued beyond this point. Presumably it carried hot air between room VI and other compartments in the unexcavated area between rooms I and VII. In view of the fact that two flues lead from room VI, it is possible that this room contained the furnace. Running along the bottom of the second flue, and sloping towards the south, were the bottom boards of a timber drain or pipe 9½ in. wide.

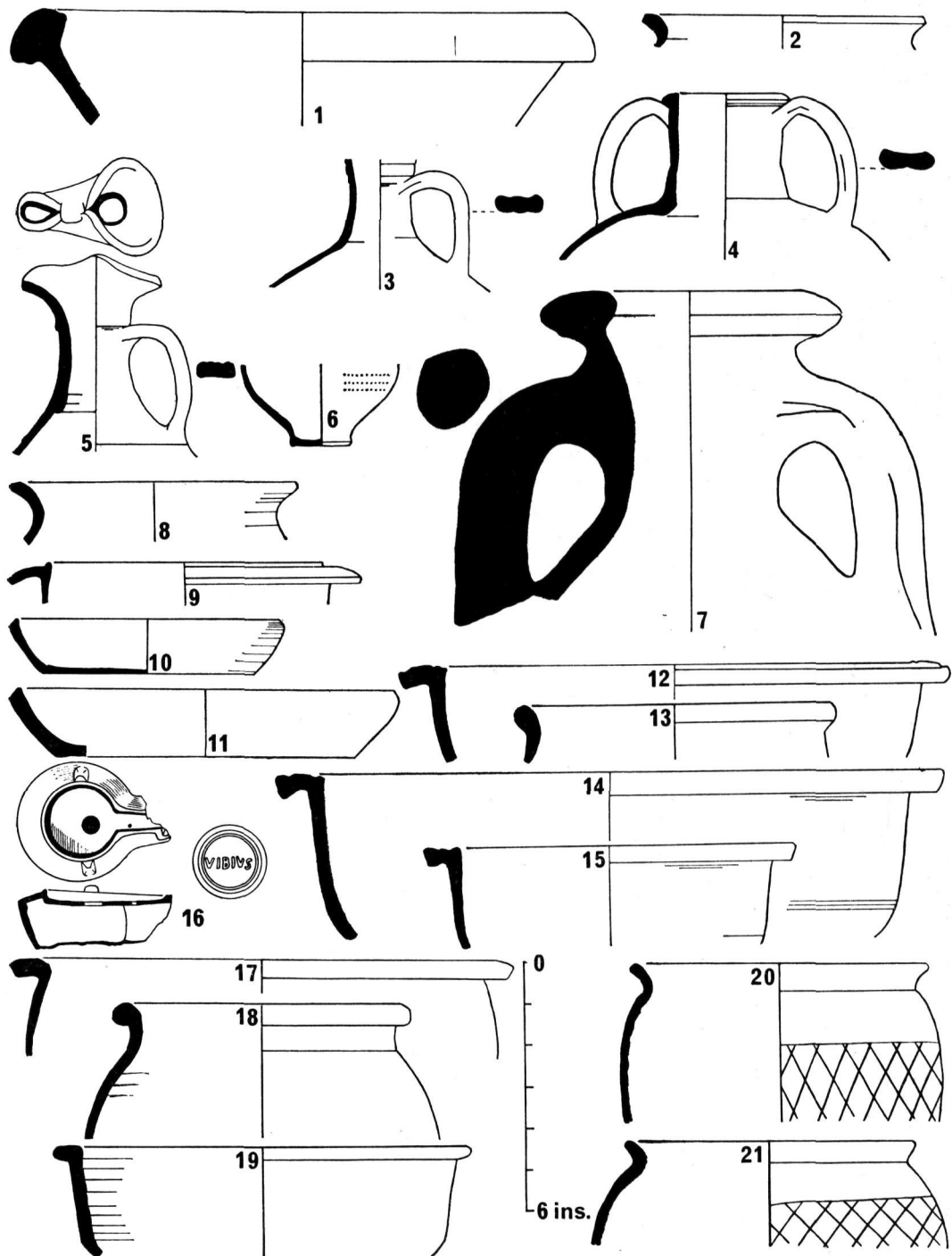


Fig. 6

Pottery dating evidence from Roman bath building, Huggin Hill (*site 4*)

The north walls of rooms VIII and IX were massive retaining walls supporting the gravel of the hillside, and on the south side of the wall in room IX there was a heavy buttress of ragstone and white mortar, containing some broken Roman bricks. This was separated from the retaining wall by a straight joint. The floor level of room XI was indicated by the level of the bottom of the white painted wall plaster on the south face of the retaining wall and on the west face of the buttress, and by a small patch of pink mortar flooring which survived in the north-east corner of the room. It lay at about 22 ft. above O.D. 2 ft. 10 in. above this was an upward sloping offset of $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. on the south face of the northern retaining wall. An interesting feature of this room was a small flat stone containing a round socket, probably of Purbeck marble, projecting from the west side of the buttress at floor level. In room IX, unlike rooms II and VII, there were layers of occupation debris beneath the earth filling.

The floor level of room VIII, as indicated by the bottom of the white painted wall plaster on the south face of the northern retaining wall, also lay at about 22 ft. above O.D.

On the east side of the buttress lay room X, the floor of which lay well below this level. This room was bounded on the west by a retaining wall, and on the north by a wall much disturbed by later pits and foundations. A tile archway, similar to that in the apse wall of room VII, was found passing through the northern wall.

Excavations during 1965 exposed two additional portions of the bath building. At XV was found the pink plaster facing of the south face of a wall, but the wall itself appeared to have been robbed at that point. No sign was found immediately west of Huggin Hill of a westward continuation of the north wall of XII. Just to the south, however, was discovered the north-west corner of room XVI, the internal faces of which were covered with white painted plaster. The floor of this room was not found and may have been at a level comparable with that of room VII.

An eastern extension of room X was found during rebuilding excavations in 1930 on the site of 11-12 Little Trinity Lane, on the side of Huggin Hill, by Mr. G. C. Dunning.⁽¹⁾ On that site this was found to be a massive retaining wall 5 ft. wide and standing 9 ft. 6 in. in height. It supported on its north side the gravel of the hillside and on its south side was a pink mortar floor which overlay the London clay. The floor level therefore presumably lay at about 12-14 ft. above O.D. which is the approximate level of the top of the London clay at this point. On the south side of the retaining wall were found a series of chambers, XI, XII, XIII, and XIV, with floors of pink mortar, with the exception of room XIII, where the floor was of bricks set in mortar 3 in. thick. Passing through the retaining wall in the north-east corner of room XI was an arch with its base level with the mortar floor. It was 1 ft. 9 in. high and 2 ft. wide. Another arch has found passing through the wall dividing rooms XIII and XIV.

PERIOD I: DATING EVIDENCE (*Fig. 6*)

Unfortunately very little dateable material was recovered from strata associated with construction and occupation of the bath building. The only pottery contemporary with the construction of the baths was found in the gravel and rubble back-fill on the north side of the apse of room VII. This consists of three sherds (*Fig. 6*, Nos. 1-3) (*E.R.949*), all of which are difficult to parallel from other sites. A few small sherds (*E.R.911*) were found in the earth and mortar foundation of the north retaining wall of room IX, but only two of these are closely dateable. Both are of the first century A.D. The period of the occupation

of the baths is represented by a few small sherds from the dark occupation debris of room IX (*E.R.910*), which have been dated to the first century A.D. (*Fig. 6, No. 4*).

These few sherds all suggest that the bath building was constructed not later than the Flavian period.

DESTRUCTION OF THE PERIOD I BATH BUILDING

The deep rooms II, III and VII were all filled with dumped brickearth, which only contained scattered building rubble. There was no demolition layer below this filling. It seems, therefore, that the walls were not demolished until after the brickearth had been dumped inside the building. In room VII the box-flue tiles were found to have been smashed and the fragments lay in the brickearth dumped into the hypocaust. Only one small piece was still attached to the wall. The floor which originally overlay the hypocaust in this room was missing, and no recognizable fragments of it were found in the room, so presumably it had been completely removed before the brickearth was dumped. In the clay overlying a patch of mortar floor, uncovered south of room VII, was found a broken piece of red tessellated pavement which had presumably come from some part of the building. Another fragment of pavement, containing small white tesserae, was found re-used as building material in the foundation of a period II wall overlying room II, and this may also have come from the baths. In the dumped brickearth filling of room VII were found, in addition to the broken box-flue tiles, a considerable number of fragmentary roofing tiles, and many pieces of painted wall plaster, in which red was the predominant colour. On several of these were graffiti, two of which (*E.R.935*) have been examined by Mr. R. P. Wright. He has read one fragment as:

...]S CAM[...

...] IV [...

and the second as QVINTVS.

When the building was demolished it would seem that it was intended to re-establish the hillslope, for the walls at the north end of the building, which were set more deeply into the hillside, were left standing to a height of about 10 ft., whereas the heights of the walls to the south decreased gradually towards the river.

The date at or after which the baths were filled with dumped clay is clear, for many sherds were found in the clay (see *Fig. 6, Nos. 5-21*) (*E.R.914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 923, and 940*). The pottery from these groups has been dated to the early second century A.D.

PERIOD II (*Fig. 5*).

After the clay had been dumped and the baths demolished, a room was constructed on the south side of the site of the cold plunge bath, room I. Only the foundations of the east, west and south walls survived. Its floor level must have been more than 19 ft. above O.D. The new foundations were several feet deep and were built of ragstone set in soft brown sandy mortar, containing in their lower part much re-used material, probably from the baths. This included fragments of painted wall plaster and the small piece of pavement with white tesserae mentioned above.

PERIOD III (*Fig. 5*)

Traces of a further rebuilding in this area were also observed. A somewhat narrower room with a length of about 17 ft. 6 in. (north to south), and a width of 12 ft. (east to west), now replaced the period II room. Its south, east and west walls overlay the foundations of the latter, and were built of ragstone with a single course of bonding tiles at the top of the surviving portion. The faces of the walls were extremely smooth due to the fact that the pointing was flush with the face of the stones.

No evidence was found to date periods II and III, but the construction of the walls of the latter phase show that it occurred during the Roman period.

PERIOD IV (*not shown on plan*)

Very slight remains of a later building survived. These consisted of foundations of ragstone set in a dark earth. One of these overlay the east wall of the period III chamber. No dating evidence was found, but it may be noted that the foundations of the fourth period, unlike most medieval foundations in the City, contained no chalk.

THE DATING EVIDENCE (*Fig. 6*)⁽²⁾

Pottery in gravel backfill on the north side of the apse of room VII (E.R.949)

1. Mortarium rim. Soft gritty cream coloured ware.
2. Rim of jar. Buff ware with black core.
3. Jug neck with single handle. Buff ware. Cf. for type, *Leicester*,⁽³⁾ Fig. 28, No. 2, dated late first-early second century.

Dating: No close parallels can be found for No. 1, but the texture of the pottery suggests that this group dates from the first century A.D.

Pottery from the occupation debris of room IX (E.R.910)

4. Jug neck with two handles. Hard sandy red ware.

Dating: This is an extremely small group. The jug neck is a first century form, and the only other closely dateable sherd, a fragment of thin fine hard grey ware with an orange slip, is also of first-century date.

Pottery from the dumped brickearth filling the baths

5. (*E.R.918*). Figure-of-eight jug neck, with a single handle; hard pink ware.
6. (*E.R.920*). Base of 'poppy-head' beaker, decorated with a zone of applied dots. Grey ware. Milky slip above bottom row of dots.
7. (*E.R.920*). Amphora neck, with two handles, one of which has a broken potter's stamp. Buff ware. Cf. *Leicester*⁽³⁾ Fig. 33, No. 3, dated early second-fourth century A.D.
8. (*E.R.940*). Rim of jar. Pale grey and buff ware.
9. (*E.R.919*). Rim of flanged bowl. Fine white ware.
10. (*E.R.915*). Dish. Fine buff coloured ware.
11. (*E.R.940*). Dish. Buff ware, burnt grey in places.
12. (*E.R.914*). Reeded-rim bowl. Pink ware.
13. (*E.R.914*). Rim of bowl. Grey ware with light red surface. Cf. *Leicester*, Fig. 24, No. 15, dated first-second century.
14. (*E.R.914*). Reeded-rim bowl. Sandy buff ware.
15. (*E.R.914*). Reeded-rim bowl. Pale pink ware.

16. (*E.R.920*). Lamp, stamped on base VIBIVS. Fine pink ware. Cf. *London in Roman Times*, London Museum Cat., p. 64, type IIIb. This type evolved about A.D. 100, and lasted throughout the second century.
17. (*E.R.924*). Rim of bowl. Grey ware.
18. (*E.R.924*). Rim of necked jar. Pink ware with grey core. Cf. *Leicester*, Fig. 42, No. 20, dated A.D. 125–130.
19. (*E.R.920*). Bowl of reeded-rim form, but without the reeded-rim. Buff ware.
20. (*E.R.923*). Cooking pot. Grey ware. Burnished rim and upper part of body, with burnished lattice decoration below. Cf. *Excavations in Southwark* by K. M. Kenyon, 1959, Fig. 21, No. 4, dated early Hadrianic.
21. (*E.R.923*). Cooking pot. Black ware. Burnished rim and upper part of body, with burnished lattice decoration below. Cf. *Leicester*, Fig. 26, No. 8, dated to *circa* A.D. 100.

Dating: The pottery found in the dumped clay filling points to a date before the middle of the second century, the most common type of pot from this level being the reeded-rim bowl, which is characteristic of the first half of the second century (see *Leicester*, p. 88).

NOTES

1 MS. records kept at the Guildhall Museum.

2 Grateful thanks are due to Mrs. Irene Wade who kindly drew the pottery.

3 K. M. Kenyon, *Excavations at the Jewry Wall site, Leicester*: XVth Report of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries, 1948.

Site 6. *Sun Life site, Cheapside* (Fig. 7)

No Roman stone structures were seen during the rebuilding of this site, but the level of the natural pebbly brickearth immediately east of Honey Lane lay at 34 ft. above O.D. (Newlyn).

The site contractor, while excavating at the S.W. corner of the site encountered water at a high level in the natural soil, and although no stream was found here it is possible that one may have existed under Honey Lane, or just to the west of the Lane.

More definite evidence of a stream was encountered in the eastern half of the site where the contractor also met water at a high level. Excavations beneath the cellar immediately west of the site of No. 93 Cheapside (now demolished) revealed a thick deposit of black silt in a hollow in the natural ground level. This stream valley extended to the north end of the site and the position of this stream is shown in Fig. 7.

In the area between Honey Lane and the last mentioned stream valley the level of the natural surface appeared to rise a little, and above it there were many layers of loose gravel which seemed to have been dumped. It is possible that the gravel was dumped in the Roman period to raise the land above the rising water level.

Site 7. *Atlas Assurance site, King Street*, (1963) (Figs. 7, 8 and 9)

This site lies on the east side of King Street, and immediately north of Prudent Passage. Thanks are due to the Atlas Assurance Company for granting permission to dig on their site, and to the volunteer diggers from St. Paul's School for working so hard during their Easter holiday.

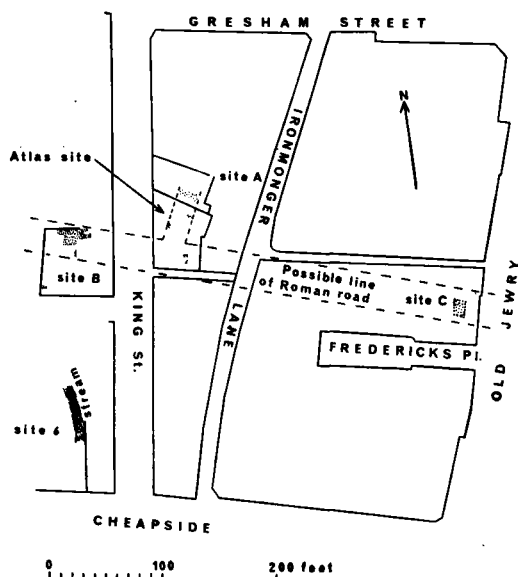


Fig. 7

Roman features near site 7 (also showing site 6)

The purpose of the excavation was to test the possibility, based on earlier discoveries on sites nearby, that two Roman roads might have passed across this site. The excavation did in fact reveal Roman gravel metalling where each of the roads was thought to lie.

One of these roads was thought to have crossed the south end of the site on an approximately E.-W. alignment (*Fig. 7*). Trench 3 was dug across its suspected line, but the Roman deposits were found to have been much disturbed by later pits. The natural sub-soil was pebbly brickearth, which on other sites in this area is usually found to occur close to the junction of the brickearth and the underlying gravel.

In two corners of trench 3 (*Fig. 9*, section E-F) layers of typical gravel metalling immediately above the natural surface survived to a height of 3 ft 7 in. There were four layers of metalling and between them were thin layers of earth in which were found a few pottery sherds of the first century A.D. (*E.R.813*). The thickness of this metalling, together with the similar discoveries on neighbouring sites, (*Fig. 7*, sites B and C) suggests that there may have been a road here, but in view of the disturbed nature of the Atlas site considerable uncertainty still remains.

Trenches 1 and 2 were dug to locate the second Roman road which seemed to be aligned approximately N.E.-S.W. Trench 1 revealed a complex of Roman strata which were difficult to interpret (*Fig. 9*, section A-B) in this narrow cutting. Immediately overlying the natural pebbly brickearth there was a thin trampled surface (level 1), and this was overlain by a deposit of dumped clean brickearth (level 2). In the latter were found a few Roman sherds (*E.R.827*). Level 2 formed a small bank, near the west end of the trench, which abruptly stopped with an even steep sloping face about 8 in. high. Along the bottom of this was a slot which, in view of the smooth side above, may have contained the edge of a wooden plank which lay against the clay face.

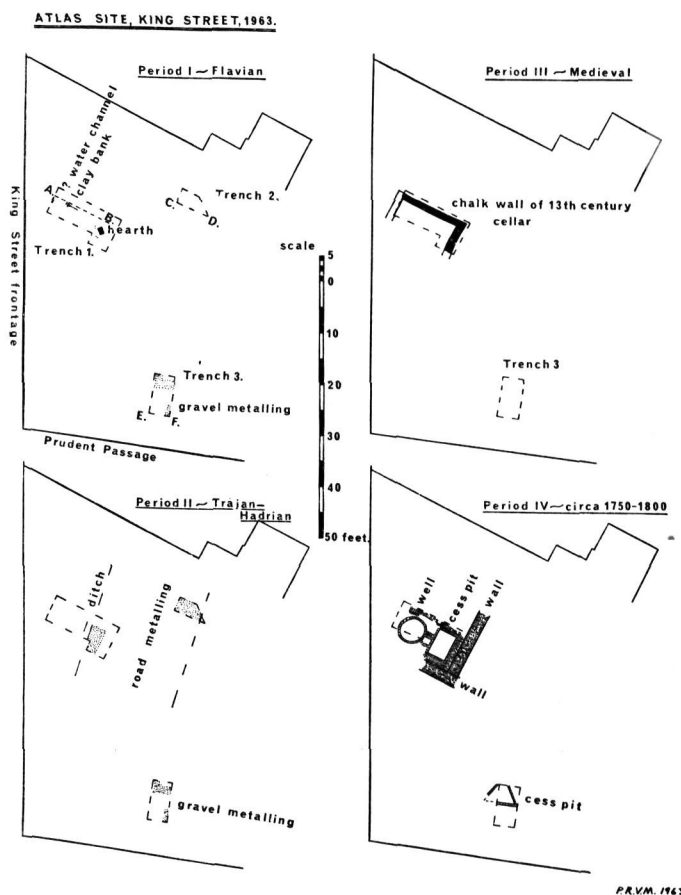


Fig. 8
Plans of site 7 at various periods

The brickearth (level 2) continued to the west of the bank at a lower level, and had a slightly uneven surface. Overlying the brickearth west of the bank was a stratum of finely layered black earth (level 4), which may have been deposited by water. Pottery from level 4 (*E.R.818*) has been dated to *circa* A.D. 70–80, and the deposit was sealed above by a deposit of dumped brickearth.

Set into the upper surface of the brickearth (level 2), at the east end of the trench there was a hearth formed of a single burnt Roman brick which was very cracked. The brickearth immediately surrounding it had been scorched and burnt red. Just beyond two corners of the brick were two small double post-holes indicating that some small structure had been built beside the hearth. Stratigraphically the hearth and the possible water channel were contemporary but nothing was found to indicate the purpose for which they had been built.

Level 5, which overlay the clay bank, contained pottery of the late first century (*E.R.825*), while above the hearth area level 5 had been cut into by level 6. Level 7 was a deposit of dumped brickearth with other soils mixed with it in places and it contained pottery of the

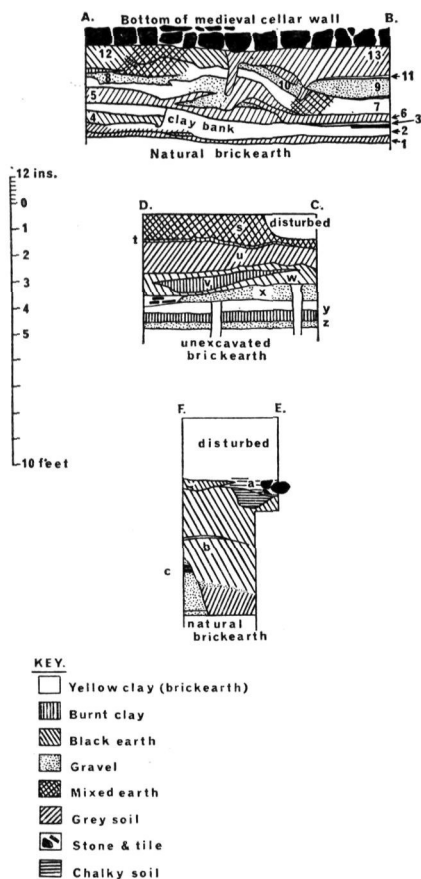


Fig. 9
Sections through strata, site 7

early second century (*E.R.830*). In the western half of the trench the surviving Roman made ground contained no clear evidence of structures, and most of the strata contained pottery of the early second century.

In the eastern half of the trench was found a layer of gravel metalling, level 9, with a hard upper surface, and with a definite western edge, along which was a small gully. This metalling is evidently a continuation of a small Roman road or path first discovered on the site of 13-14 King Street in 1956 (*Fig. 7*, site A), where, unfortunately, its exact position had not been recorded. Section A-B shows that the road had not been re-surfaced and presumably it did not remain in use for very long. It overlay levels 6 and 7, the latter of which contained pottery of the early second century A.D. (*E.R.830*), while overlying the gravel metalling was the grey soil, level 13, which also contained pottery of the early second century (*E.R.826*).

Trench 2 was dug to locate the eastern edge of the supposed road (section C-D, level X), which showed that it had a width of 20 ft. No gully was found beside the eastern edge. As in trench 1, the gravel metalling was up to 7 in. thick, and had a hard upper surface.

In trench 2 it overlay a post-hole 5 in. in diameter which had been driven through a layer of brickearth (level Y), and a deposit of red burnt daub. Beneath this there was an extremely hard layer of gravel metalling, about 4 in. thick, which overlay a deposit of brickearth. At this level it was necessary to abandon the excavation.

From the bottom of level W a post hole, 4½ in. in diameter, projected downwards through the gravel metalling. Level W itself was a layer of black earth, in which was a deposit of burnt clay (level V) containing Roman bricks. This may indicate the presence of another hearth.

Site 8. 76–80 Cheapside (Fig. 10)

Excavations for the foundations of this new office building revealed the surface of the natural brickearth in the north-eastern corner of the site, lying at about 31 ft. 6 in. above O.D. Cutting into this, however, there was the silt-filled valley of a stream. In section the stream valley was an open 'U'-shape, and its bottom lay about 12 ft. below the level of the brickearth (i.e. at about 19 ft. 6 in. above O.D.). The bottom of the stream valley was filled with clean grey silt to a depth of several feet, and above this lay black silt containing Roman antiquities. If this stream were a tributary of the Walbrook which lay about 100 yards east of the site, the flow of water would have been extremely rapid, for the bed of the Walbrook stream at Bucklersbury House lay at about O.D., more than 19 ft. below the bed of the stream in Cheapside. It is also interesting to note that a similar deposit of clean grey silt underlay the black silt of Roman date in the stream on the site of Winchester House, London Wall (site 12).

Crossing the site from east to west were traces of the main Roman road which eventually passed out of the city through Newgate. The road on this site was more than 27 ft. wide, but less than 36 ft. wide, as is indicated by the Roman pile structures on either side of it. The evidence from this and other sites taken together suggests that its width was about 32 ft. The Roman road was composed of superimposed layers of gravel metalling, which on this site had survived to a thickness of 5 ft. 6 in. in one place. In all places where it was seen the road metalling immediately overlay the natural subsoil, indicating that it was an early feature.

The road was traced through most of its course, and it is reasonable to assume that it crossed the stream by way of a bridge, although no definite evidence for this was found. There was no indication that the stream had been revetted anywhere on this site.

At one point in the course of the Roman road was observed a group of small posts or piles, each about 3–4 in. in diameter. These had been driven into the natural grey silt, and they extended upwards about one foot into the lower layers of gravel metalling. There seems no doubt that the posts were there before the road, and that the road metalling had been built up around them. They were immediately north of the centre of the roadway, and it seems possible that the latter was originally half its subsequent width, with a slight wooden structure standing beside it. No sign of any Roman stone structures was seen on this site, but in some of the drier areas were Roman layers of red burnt material, including daub. In the north-eastern corner of the site two burnt layers were seen in section, with their bottoms respectively at 31 ft. 6 in. and 35 ft. above O.D. A layer of red burnt clay containing large fragments of four lava querns was found near the north-east corner of the site. Three sherds (*E.R.853*) found with the querns are dateable to the Flavian period.

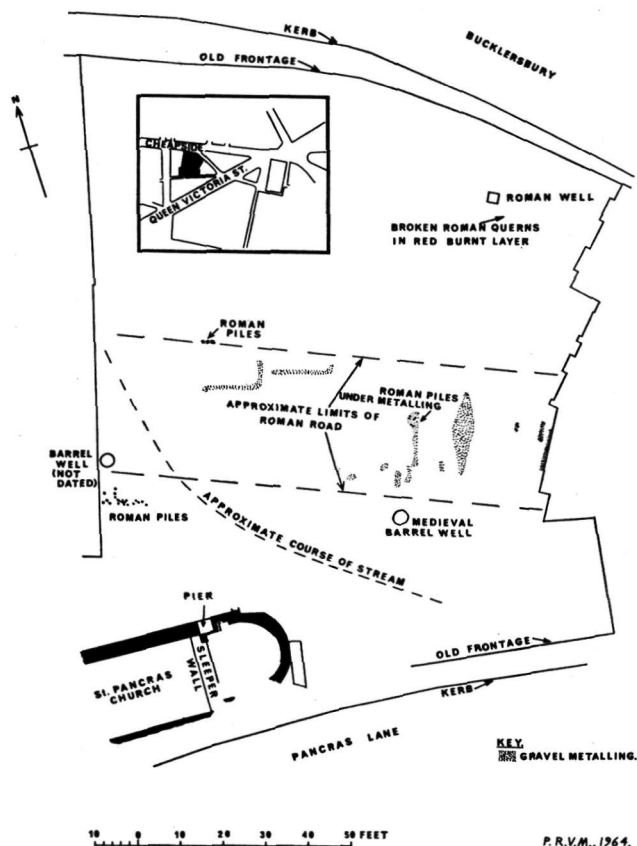
76-80 CHEAPSIDE.

Fig. 10

76-80 Cheapside: plan of Roman and medieval features (*site 8*)

Nearby was a square wood-lined well measuring 2 ft. 6 in. by 2 ft. 7 in., with its bottom about 24 ft. 6 in. above O.D. (i.e. about 7 ft. below the level of the natural brickearth). Some Roman sherds were recovered from the lower filling of the well (*E.R.852*).

Site 9. 17-19 Coleman Street

The complete excavation of this site to a great depth showed that the whole area had been extremely disturbed. Many 'U'-shaped pits were seen penetrating the natural gravel. The filling of these and the ancient made ground above them was a very dark grey earth. It was not possible to see any clear stratification, and few finds were recovered. No sign of any Roman or medieval structures was found. At one point, however, the natural surface appeared to have been undisturbed, and here the natural subsoil seemed to be brickearth, 6 in. in thickness, overlying the river gravel. The top of the natural gravel at that point was 30 ft. above O.D.

This same type of make-up has been noted on other sites in the area, and it seems most

likely that the area was marshy in early medieval times. There is, however, no evidence of marshiness during the Roman period.

Site 10. *Lothbury*

While digging a tunnel across the northern half of Lothbury from the public toilets to No. 5 Lothbury, a Roman wall was encountered. This was 2 ft. thick and was aligned approximately N.W.-S.E. It was built of ragstone with a double course of bonding tiles. At the level of the top of the upper course on the south face of the wall there was an offset of 2 in. The wall extended below the bottom of the tunnel which lay at 12 ft. 9 in. below street level, but a deeper excavation immediately north of the toilets showed that the natural gravel lay at 15 ft. 2½ in. below street level (i.e. about 27 ft. above O.D.).

Site 11. *Westminster Bank, Nicholas Lane*

The surface of the natural brickearth lay at 37 ft. 6 in. above O.D. in the north-west corner of the site but unfortunately the excavation for the deep modern cellars had destroyed almost all of the made ground. In the central part of the site should have been found part of the Roman east-west road which originally skirted the south frontage of the forum. Only very slight traces of this remained, amounting to a few small patches of gravel metalling, overlying the natural brickearth, and only a few inches thick beneath the modern cellar floor.

In the churchyard of St. Nicholas Acon the archaeological trench reached the natural brickearth. A few inches above the natural surface was a deposit of burnt clay and daub about one foot thick (*Fig. 17*, section A-B, level M). In this were found a few burnt sherds, apparently of the late first-early second century A.D. (*E.R.873, 874*). Above this was a deposit of dirty brickearth, level J, probably dumped, which contained an amphora handle (*E.R.883*). Level I was a deposit of loose gravel which seems also to have been dumped, and pottery from it (*E.R.876*) is dated to the Roman period. Level C, which overlay level I, was a deposit of burnt clay and daub, apparently representing the debris of a later wattle and daub building destroyed by fire. The layer contained much broken and burnt plaster, painted white (*E.R.877*).

Cutting into these levels were a series of square post holes (shown on the section), possibly Roman, which had evidently been driven down from level A, a deposit of black earth containing Roman and medieval pottery (*E.R.881*). The Saxon wall (see *Fig. 16*), lying at right angles to the north wall of the nave of the church, was a small retaining wall holding back on its west side the undisturbed black earth which contained pottery of the fourth century (*E.R.891*).

Site 12. *Winchester House, London Wall* (*Fig. 11*)

The rebuilding of this site showed that the old cellars had been dug into the natural gravel on the east side of the site. The highest recorded level of the natural gravel in that area lay at 28 ft. 6 in. above O.D. The bed of a stream, evidently a tributary of the Walbrook, was found cutting into the natural gravel to a level below 21 ft. 6 in. above O.D. The stream valley was wide and dish-shaped in section, and no sign of any revetments was found. The lowest few feet of the stream valley were filled with grey silt, above which lay a thick deposit of dark grey sandy silt containing Roman pottery. The lowest three feet of this dark silt contained Roman pottery sherds (*E.R.810*). A well-preserved Roman

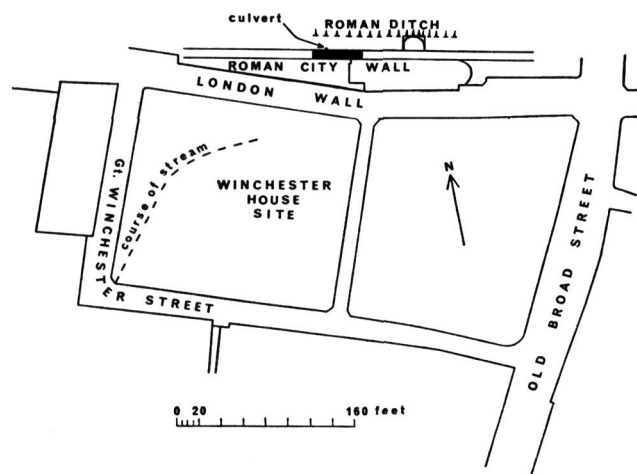


Fig. 11

Winchester House, London Wall (site 12): position of stream bed

iron chisel (Acc. No. 23317) was discovered by a workman in the stream silt at the north end of the site. The surface of the natural gravel on the west side of the stream lay at about 21 ft. 6 in. above O.D., and was overlaid by black silt, which appeared to extend westwards on to the site of 26-28 Winchester Street, which was also being redeveloped at the same time.

Site 13. 3-6 Gracechurch Street

During the rebuilding at the north end of this site a Roman foundation which was aligned W.N.W.-S.S.E. was uncovered. It lay in the natural gravel beneath the modern sub-basement at 26 ft. below the level of Gracechurch Street with its bottom 6 ft. below the basement floor at 26 ft. above O.D. It was 6 ft. thick, and was built of ragstone, a very hard white mortar and some broken Roman bricks. Its position coincides with part of the supposed southern sleeper wall of the nave of the Roman basilica, which was recorded on this site by Henry Hodge in 1881-2 (Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, London, vol. 3 (1928) *Roman London*, Plate 5). In this part of the site the surface of the natural subsoil and the overlying made ground had been completely removed when the sub-basement was built. Since the surface of the natural brickearth lay at 39 ft. 9 in. above O.D. at the south end of this site, the bottom of the Roman foundation must have been at least 14 ft. below the contemporary ground level.

A careful watch was kept on excavations south of the Roman foundation for some indication of the supposed southern external wall of the basilica, but none was observed. The existence of this wall must now be regarded as doubtful since the only wall recorded by Hodge in this area, in the shallower excavations of the nineteenth century, was not parallel with the basilica walls, and in the light of subsequent finds to the south of Corbet Court (described below) almost certainly belonged to another building.

In the line of Corbet Court and beneath the modern basement on its south side, a considerable amount of Roman made ground had survived. The main structural feature

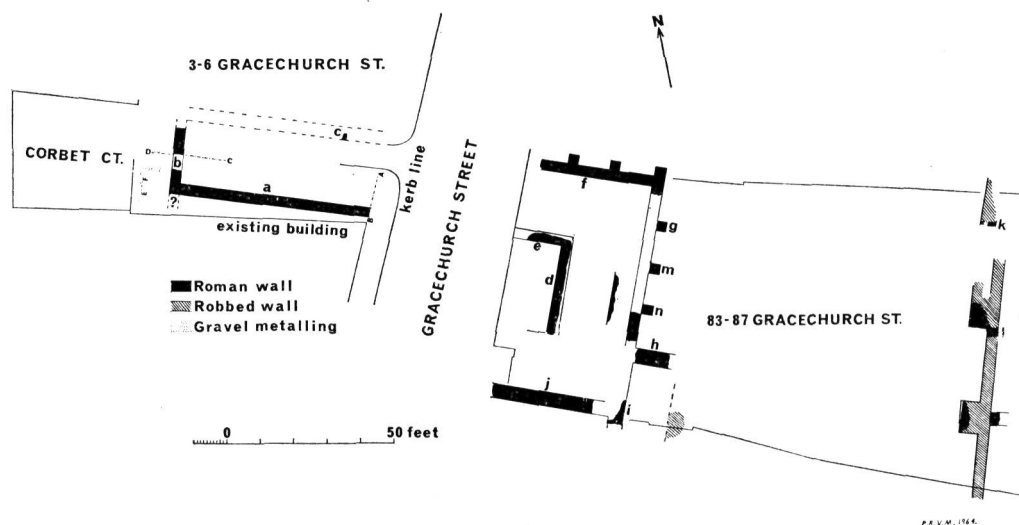


Fig. 12

3-6 Gracechurch Street (*site 13*) and 83-87 Gracechurch Street: plan of Roman structures

(*Fig. 12*) was a Roman compartment 19 ft. 6 in. wide, and more than 58 ft. long. Its southern wall (*a*) was 3 ft. thick, and built of ragstone and brown mortar with two triple courses of bonding tiles, the upper at about 39 ft. and the lower at about 35 ft. above O.D. The foundation of this wall was constructed of layers of flint set in brown mortar, with its bottom at 29 ft. above O.D. (*Plate 2(a)A*).

The general construction of the wall on the western side of the cellar (*b*) was similar, except that it contained only one triple course of bonding tiles, a continuation of the upper course in wall (*a*), below which was the foundation with its base at 32 ft. above O.D.

Of the north wall of the compartment (*c*) only a small piece of the foundation of layered flints and brown mortar was seen, but its construction was exactly as in walls (*a*) and (*b*), and quite different from the foundation of the basilica. This difference is important, for the wall not quite parallel with the basilica, recorded by Henry Hodge, lay in approximately this position. It is clear, therefore, that this was not the south wall of the basilica, as has been suspected, but the north wall of the building to the south.

There was some variation in the filling of the room (*Fig. 13*). At the west end (section C-D), the surface of the natural gravel was uneven, and was overlaid by a thick deposit of mixed earth (level F) with no clear stratification. This appeared to have been dumped, and in it were found some Roman sherds (*E.R.869, 869A*). At the eastern end of the site (section A-B), however, the natural gravel had a horizontal surface which was overlain by a thin layer of mortar. Level A, above the mortar, was a deposit of pebbly brickearth which appeared to have been piled up against the north face of wall (*a*) at the level of the lower triple course of bonding tiles. Level B, above, was a thick deposit of layers of black 'occupation debris' which were piled high against the face of wall (*a*). In this level were found sherds (*E.R.903*) which have been dated to the period Nero-Vespasian (*circa* 60-80 A.D.).

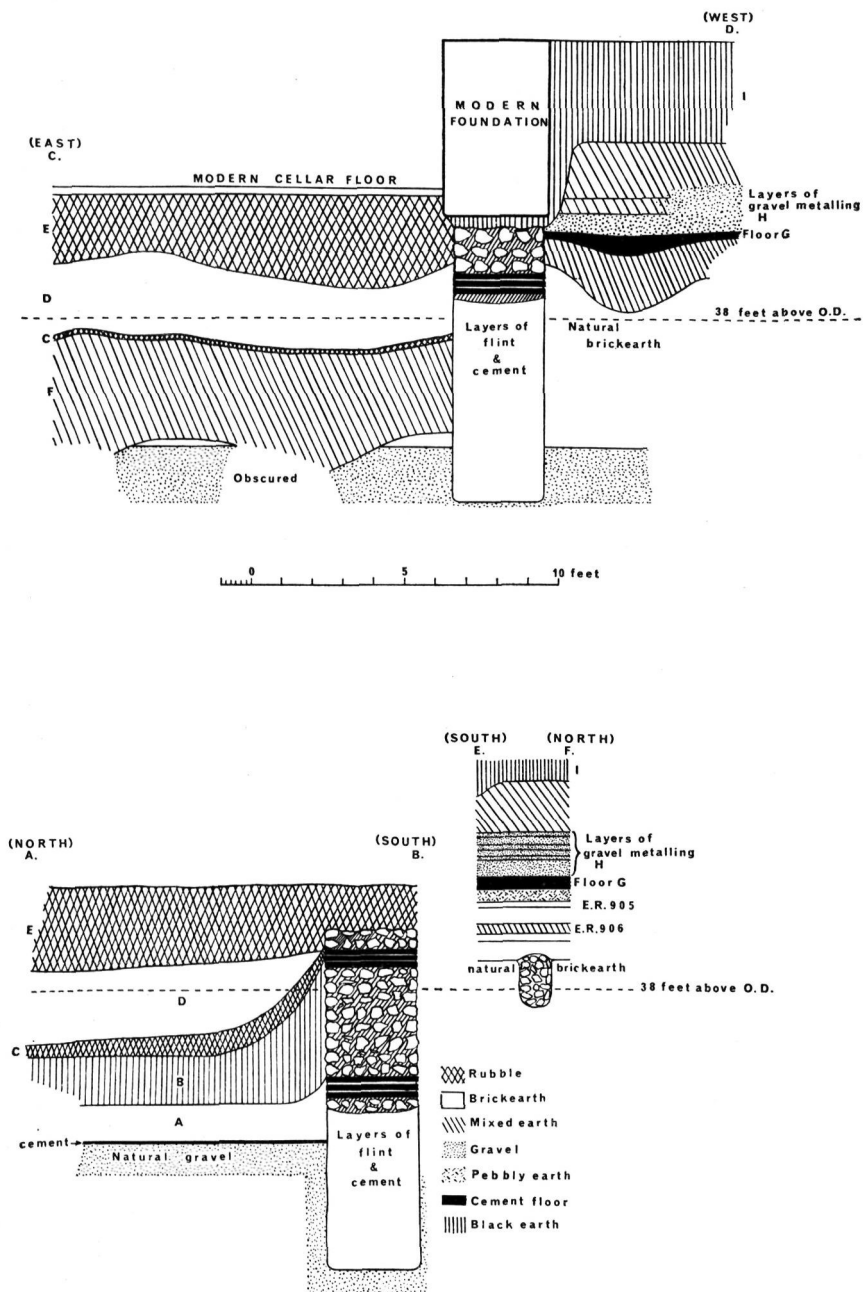


Fig. 13

3-6 Gracechurch Street (*site 13*): sections through Roman strata

Above the lowest filling there was a succession of deposits which occurred through all parts of the compartment that were seen. The lowest of these, level C, was a thin layer of loose mortar, hardly compact enough to have been a floor. Above was a thick deposit of dumped brickearth, level D, the upper part of which contained many fragments of wall plaster. Above this was level E, a thick deposit of building rubble containing stones, tiles and mortar exactly similar to the material used in the walls. It is reasonable to conclude that this was derived from the demolition of the building. This rubble did not extend to the west of wall (b), however, and it seems likely that the latter had been left standing to a greater height to limit the rubble spread. *It is significant that this wall alone had been robbed, so it was evidently visible and accessible after the remains of wall (a) had been buried.*

To the west of the compartment the undisturbed natural brickearth remained to a height of about 39 ft. 9 in. above O.D. Section C-D shows a small hollow dug into the natural soil and overlain by a mortar floor, G. This floor extended all over the excavated area to the west of the compartment (see section E-F), but it was not possible to ascertain whether it was part of the same building or an earlier structure cut by the west wall of the compartment. Overlying the floor several feet west of wall (b) were six superimposed layers of hard gravel metalling (level H). This faded out within about 5 ft. of wall (b), and it may have been the metalled surface of a road or courtyard. Above the gravel metalling was a thick layer of mixed earth, which was in turn overlaid by black soil (level I) which was probably of medieval date.

Two mortarium rims (*E.R.905, 906*) found in the made ground beneath the mortar floor G (section E-F) have been dated to the first century.

Beneath the layers containing the mortarium sherds (section E-F) a hollow was seen in section dug into the natural soil filled with lumps of ragstone lying in clay, and overlain by a deposit of dumped brickearth. In view of its filling, it is possible that this was not a pit, but the foundation of an earlier Roman building.

The Roman compartment appears to have been part of a larger building which was found on the site of Nos. 83-87 Gracechurch Street in 1934⁽¹⁾ on the other side of the road. Here were found the walls of a building of similar construction to those on the present site. The walls on both sides of Gracechurch Street were of the same thickness, constructed of ragstone mostly containing triple courses of bonding tiles. It can be shown that these tile courses are at about the same level on both sites, and in both cases their deep foundations were built of layers of flint and mortar.

The recorded levels of the structures on the site of 83-87 Gracechurch Street are related to the old basement floor, but it is fortunately possible to relate approximately the cellar floor level to Ordnance Datum. The depth of the natural gravel where it is overlain by brickearth, and is therefore undisturbed, is generally fairly constant on neighbouring sites. It is reasonable to assume that it was at about the same level in these two areas which were only about 50 ft. apart. In the records of the discoveries on the site of 83-87 Gracechurch Street it is noted that the undisturbed top of the natural gravel lay at about 10 ft. below the basement floor. Since on the site of 3-6 Gracechurch Street the undisturbed top of the gravel lay at 33 ft. 10 in. above O.D. we may reasonably conclude that the basement floor on the site of 83-87 Gracechurch Street lay at *about* 44 ft. above O.D. On this basis the O.D. levels of the walls on both sides of Gracechurch Street are compared in tabulated form below:

	<i>Level of upper triple course of bonding tiles</i>	<i>Level of lower triple course of bonding tiles</i>	<i>Top of foundation</i>	<i>Bottom of foundation</i>
Wall (a)	+39 ft.	+35 ft.	+34 ft. 6 in.	+29 ft.
Wall (b)	+39 ft.		+38 ft. 10 in.	+32 ft.
Wall (d)	+38 ft. (double course?)	+34 ft. 6 in.	+34 ft. 6 in.	+28 ft.
Wall (e)		+35 ft.	+34 ft. 6 in.	
Wall (f)		+36 ft. 5 in.		Below +29 ft.
Wall (h)	+39 ft. 6 in.		+37 ft. 4 in.	+28 ft.
Wall (i)	+40 ft.		+39 ft.	+30 ft.
Wall (j)	+39 ft.	+35 ft. 8 in.	+35 ft. 8 in.	+30 ft.
Wall (m)			+38 ft.	+28 ft. 3 in.
Wall (n)				+28 ft. 3 in.

The remarkable similarity in the O.D. levels of the main structural features on both sites, together with the similarity in method of construction, strongly suggests that the walls belong to one building, and it would seem that walls (e) and (f) on the site of Nos. 83-87 Gracechurch Street are a continuation of walls (a) and (c) on the site of Nos. 3-6. On the former site they were recorded as being 19 ft. apart, while on the latter they were 19 ft. 6 in. apart. The only discrepancy is a very slight difference in alignment. A small error could be easily explained, however, by the difficulties of plotting, for there are no recent large scale surveys of the Gracechurch Street area, and the site plan of Nos. 83-87 Gracechurch Street gave only a basement outline of the building which existed *prior* to the 1934 rebuilding of the site.

If (c) is the same wall as that recorded by Hodge in 1881-2, as seems likely, there is, however, an interesting difference between walls (c) and (f). The latter was 3 ft. wide, with buttresses on its north side projecting 3 ft. from the wall, while according to Hodge the former was 4 ft. wide with no buttresses. Walls (a), (b) and (c) were the sides of a semi-basement beneath which the natural gravel had survived to a height of only 31 ft. 9 in. above O.D., whereas on the south side of wall (f) the surface of the natural brickearth remained to a level just over 34 ft. 6 in. above O.D. It seems likely, therefore, that the room contained by walls (a), (b) and (c) ended beneath Gracechurch Street, and that the semi-basement did not extend to the west side of the street.

NOTE

- 1 Recorded by Mr. F. Cottrill on behalf of the Society of Antiquaries, by whose permission the information is reproduced.

Site 14. Fenchurch Street, Rood Lane

The excavations on this large site, which is bounded by Fenchurch Street, Rood Lane, Eastcheap, and Philpot Lane, revealed only a small amount of Roman structure.

At the north-east corner of the site (*Fig. 14*) an accumulation of 5 ft. of layers of hard gravel metalling was observed. In the middle of the metalling was a horizontal layer of

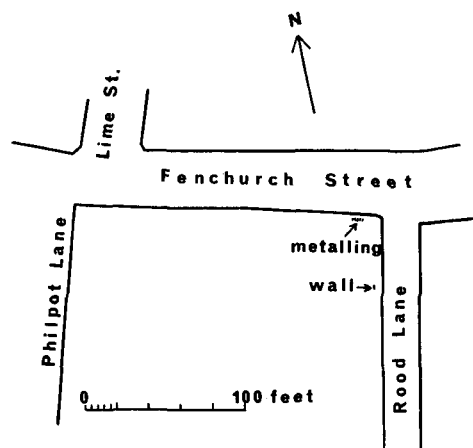


Fig. 14

Fenchurch Street, Rood Lane (*site 14*): plan of Roman structures

yellow clay (brickearth) 2–3 in. thick, which contained scattered lumps of red burnt clay. The bottom of the gravel metalling was hidden by modern concrete, but the section exposed extended to a depth of 17 ft. 3 in. below pavement level (i.e. 37 ft. 10 in. above O.D.). This metalling is on the line of the main east-west Roman road which skirted the south end of the forum.

A few yards to the west, under the site of No. 21 Fenchurch Street (now demolished) another section was exposed. The Roman made ground consisted of layers of brickearth and other dumped material, but at intervals there were thin layers of hard gravel which would appear to have been overspill of material used for making up the Roman road. The natural brickearth was found at a depth of 17 ft. 4 in. below pavement level (i.e. 37 ft. 9 in. above O.D.), and this level was only one inch below the bottom of the first section. It is likely, therefore, that the road metalling lay close to or even directly above the natural soil, as was observed on the site of 30–32 Lombard Street (*Lond. Middx. Arch. Soc. Trans.* vol. 21, pt. 2, 138–9). This suggests a very early date for the origin of the road.

At about 52 ft. south of Fenchurch Street, and close to the frontage of Rood Lane, a further section was exposed in which lay a Roman wall. It was built of ragstone and yellow cement, and contained a single course of bonding tiles. There is some uncertainty about the exact alignment of the wall, but it was probably approximately N.–S.

No evidence was seen on this large site of any early Roman fire debris which might be ascribed to the destruction of London by Boudicca in A.D. 60.

Site 15. *Crutched Friars site*

This large site is bounded by Crutched Friars, Savage Gardens and Pepys Street. Unfortunately the whole area had been previously excavated down almost to the level of the natural gravel, which lay at about 31 ft. above O.D.

A narrow line of black mud lying in the gravel was observed crossing the site from N.W. to S.E. (shown on the plan, *Fig. 1*). This probably represents the course of a small stream.

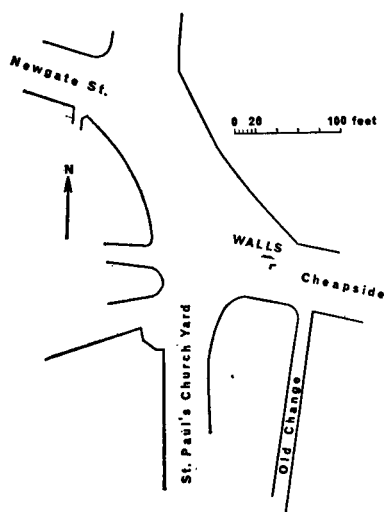


Fig. 15

West end of Cheapside (site 2): plan of walls

SAXON AND MEDIEVAL

Site 2. *West end of Cheapside*

Excavations in the roadway at the west end of Cheapside, opposite Old Change, resulted in the exposure of two buried stone walls (*Fig. 15*). The tops of the walls lay at a depth of about 4 ft. 7½ in. below the modern road surface, and they extended below the bottom of the excavation, which was 7 ft. 3 in. below the road surface. The southern face of the northern wall was exposed, and this was built of beautifully tooled rectangular blocks of ragstone measuring 1 ft. 6 in. by 8½ in. The core of the southern wall was built of lumps of ragstone set in brown mortar, but the face was not seen.

These are probably remains of the Little Conduit in Cheapside, which is first mentioned in 1389, and had been removed before 1720 as being a hindrance to traffic (see A. H. Harben, *A Dictionary of London*, p. 353).

Also in Cheapside a lead water pipe (*E.R.942*) was discovered during sewer excavations in 1964. It was found opposite Milk Street, under the north carriageway of Cheapside, at a depth of about 10-11 ft. The pipe was surrounded by puddled clay, and was aligned east-west parallel with the modern roadway. The pipe is oval in section, the internal diameters being 2¼ in. and 1¾ inches, and the lead casing was ⅜ in. thick. Enquiries made at the time among public authorities showed that the pipe is not modern, and it is possible that it was originally connected with the conduits in Cheapside which supplied water until the early 18th century.

Site 5. *Aldermanbury Street section*

Prior to the destruction of the length of Aldermanbury immediately south of Route 11, now called London Wall, the section where Route 11 had cut across Aldermanbury was investigated.

This section of Aldermanbury was called 'Gayspore Lane' until about the mid-eighteenth century, and it was first mentioned in 1333.

The section had been seriously disturbed by the nineteenth century sewer which lay in the middle of the road, but there was a narrow (undisturbed) section on its E. side.

The natural surface was found to be gravel into which two small gullies had been dug. These were parallel as far as could be judged from the short length exposed, and the small ridge of gravel between them contained a post hole. Each gully was filled with silt to the level of the surface of the natural gravel. Above the natural gravel and the gullies were three levels of gravel with hard surfaces, and it is likely that these are road surfaces. Between the bottom and the middle layer of gravel was a thin layer of silt, and each gravel layer contained silt, indicating that the road was subject to flooding.

Finds of pottery dateable to the late thirteenth century occurred in each gravel layer. These medieval gravel road deposits differed from Roman road metalling in the City in that they were less compact and were of dirty gravel containing much domestic refuse in the form of bones and broken sherds. Cement had not been added to convert them to hard gravel concrete, as was sometimes the case in Roman times.

Above the gravel surfaces were layers of rubbish and silt, and cutting into the medieval gravel near the centre of the modern road was a ditch filled with mud. Near the bottom of this was a void, oval in section, which evidently marked the position of a decayed wooden water-pipe, as an iron collar of the kind used to link two sections was found *in situ*. The refuse surrounding the pipe was all of the late thirteenth century.

Above were layers of rubbish, each containing pottery of the late thirteenth—fourteenth century: these amounted to a thickness of about 8 ft., extending up to within 3 ft. of the modern road surface. Some of the layers produced interesting objects. In one was found a fine fragment of a blue glass vessel, while in others were many pieces of bronze slag, possibly indicating medieval bronze working in the vicinity.

A surprising feature of this section was the considerable make-up deposited during a comparatively short period. The position of the later medieval and post-medieval roads may not have exactly coincided with those of the fourteenth century and of modern times, and this might account for the absence of anything resembling a road surface above the three surfaces found at the bottom of the section. It does not, however, explain the apparently rapid accumulation of made ground. This is likely to have been due to a deliberate attempt to raise the ground level in the fourteenth century, probably in response to increasingly marshy conditions. It is quite possible that another medieval road surface, which has since been removed, was laid above the deposits of make-up.

A fragment of Pingsdorf ware, apparently derived from the side of the builder's excavation, was found on the site of No. 40 Basinghall Street (a new tower block beside Route 11 (London Wall)). This drew attention to a shallow depression, possibly a pit, in which more sherds of Pingsdorf ware were found (*E.R.784*). Also from the north end of the site workmen recovered a group of pottery (*E.R.799*) dateable to the late thirteenth century and thought to be from a well.

No evidence was found on either site of Roman occupation of the area, although it lies within the Roman city wall.

Site 7. *Atlas Assurance site, King Street* (Fig. 8, Period III)

At the south end of this site trench 3 was dug through the centre of a large rubbish pit.

The bottom half of the pit filling was black earth containing pottery of the twelfth century (*E.R.* 837, 839, 846). The upper half contained tiles, bones and lumps of chalk, but no pottery. Above the pit were a number of layers of chalky earth, and associated with one of these (*Fig. 9*, section E-F, level *a*) were a few sherds of the twelfth-thirteenth centuries. Also connected with level *a* were lumps of ragstone which may have formed the foundations of several walls.

In trench 1 the Roman layers were found to have been cut by a medieval cellar. Three walls of this were found, and they were built of large chalk blocks set in cement. They had no foundations deeper than the cellar floor, which appears to have consisted of earth. A greenish earth filling of the cellar was preserved at the west end of the trench only, and pottery from it was dated to the thirteenth century (*E.R.* 842).

Later disturbances were responsible for the removal of most of the cellar filling. One of these was a rubbish pit containing pottery (*E.R.* 835) of the late fifteenth century, but most of its filling had been dug away when a later well and cesspit were built.

Site 8. 76-80 Cheapside (*Fig. 10*)

The most important medieval feature on this site was the remains of St. Pancras Church. First mentioned in 1257, the church was finally destroyed in the Great Fire of 1666.⁽¹⁾ The churchyard, however, continued in use as a burial ground until the nineteenth century.

While the burials were being removed in 1963, prior to the development of the site, the walls of the church were brought to light. These extended westwards under a small passage which bounded the west side of the churchyard.

The plan of the church was very simple and most of what was discovered appeared to be of one period. It consisted chiefly of a nave 19 ft. 4 in. wide, with an apsidal chancel at the east end (*Plate 2(c)*). The nave and chancel were divided by a transverse sleeper wall 3 ft. 6 in. wide. The walls and foundations of the church were constructed mainly of ragstone and yellow cement. The north face of the north wall of the nave was evidently an external wall, for it was faced with roughly squared blocks of ragstone above a well tooled stone plinth, which presumably lay at ground level. This external face extended eastwards about half way along the chancel to a point where it was joined by the fragment of a wall running northwards. Beyond this the north face of the chancel apse was faced with white painted plaster, evidently an internal surface. This shows that there was a room, or rooms, on the north side of the chancel, but unfortunately in that area the church walls had been destroyed by the construction of a later stone vault. There was no sign of a doorway between this room and the chancel. The best preserved piece of wall was the south wall of the nave, which lay along the southern boundary of the site and was standing as high as the pavement level. In all the walls found there was no sign of any doorway or window, and it seems that the entrance to the church must have been at the west end of the nave, in the area which has not been excavated. The internal faces of the nave walls had both been plastered and painted white.

On the rough top of the demolished north wall of the church, at the western end of the chancel, a pier had been built of re-used shaped stones. This wall was presumably demolished after the destruction of the church in the Great Fire of 1666 so that it seems likely that the pier was the base of a post-Fire monument in the churchyard.

The church floors had largely been destroyed by later burials, but in the disturbed dark earth containing these were many broken patterned floor tiles. At one point on the south side of the nave a few were found at quite a high level above the bottom of the plastered wall. The walls survive beneath the new courtyard, and it would be worthwhile, if ever an opportunity occurs, to examine the plaster more closely for traces of wall-painting. Ragstone walls abutted the end of the church against the outside of the east end of the chancel indicating the possible former existence of rooms presumably connected with the church.

To the east of the church, a few medieval foundations of chalk were found, and there was also a well, built of barrels 3 ft. 6 in. in diameter, with the staves 6½ in. wide and ½ in. thick. Pottery and leather from the well (*E.R.809*) dates it to the thirteenth century.

A second barrel well was found at the west end of the site in the line of Roman road. No pottery was recovered from it, but its position in the line of the Roman road suggests that it was of post-Roman date.

FOUNDATIONS OF ST. NICHOLAS ACON CHURCH.

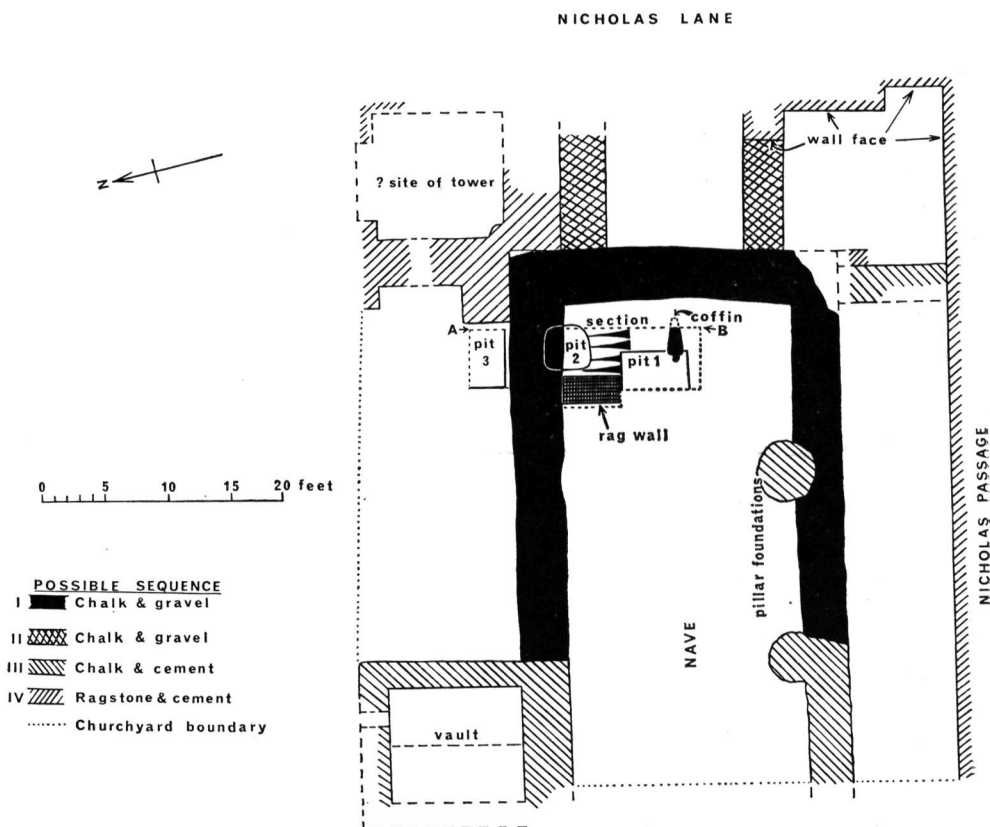


Fig. 16
Plan of St. Nicholas Acon, Nicholas Lane (*site 11*)

NOTE

1 H. A. Harben, *A Dictionary of London*, (1918), p. 455.

Site 11. *Westminster Bank, Nicholas Lane* (1964)

Prior to the rebuilding on this site, the churchyard of St. Nicholas Acon was cleared of burials and during this the walls and foundations of the church were uncovered (*Plate 2(b)*).

The church was first mentioned in records in 1084, when Godwynus and his wife Turnud gave to St. Mary and St. Adhelm in the church of Malmesbury their church dedicated to St. Nicholas, and in 1520 and 1615 it was repaired. It was finally burnt down in the Great Fire of 1666 and never rebuilt.⁽¹⁾

The structures on the site were all foundations (*Fig. 16*). The earliest seemed to be the chalk and gravel foundation of the nave. The two chancel walls of chalk and gravel, also represented by foundations, appeared to have been constructed later, for they were built up against the E. wall of the nave, and were not bonded with it. Probably later still, the church was greatly extended by the construction of walls with foundations of chalk and cement. The nave appears to have been lengthened to the west; two large column foundations were inserted into its S. wall and a large sunken vault was built against its N. wall. The final phase seems to have been the addition of walls with foundations of ragstone and cement. These included the wall which formed the boundary of the churchyard by Nicholas Passage, a room on the S. side of the chancel, and a building to the north of the chancel which, from the shape and the massive nature of its foundations, was probably a tower. The foundations at the N.W. and S.W. corners of the tower were found to descend much deeper than in the section between the corners, and the stones were found to be pitched towards the corners forming a relieving arch.

In order to determine the age of the church a trench was excavated across what appeared to be the earliest foundation, i.e. the north wall of the nave. This (wall 1, in the section, *Fig. 17*) was found to overlie an earlier foundation (wall 2). The difference between them was marked because the foundation of wall 1 was constructed of large blocks of chalk lying in gravel, while wall 2 was built of ragstone set in cement.

Both foundations were antedated by pit 2 which they overlay. This was filled with grey earth and contained a large quantity of animal bones, and sherds of a crude coarse shell gritted ware (*E.R.878*) which are either late Saxon or very early Norman in date. In the pit also was found a much corroded fragment of a Saxon silver coin which has since disintegrated. Fortunately it was examined by Dr. J. P. C. Kent, who dated it fairly firmly to the second quarter of the eleventh century. Since we know that the first church, presumably represented by wall 1 or 2, was in existence in 1085, the pit can be securely dated to the period 1025-85. This is of considerable importance, as dated groups of pottery of the late Saxon period are practically unknown in the City of London.

On the north side of the wall was found another pit (3) which had been dug from a grey earth layer above. The grey earth fill of pits 2 and 3 was similar and it would seem from the stratigraphy that they were of about the same period. The grey earth layer overlying pit 3, level H, produced early medieval pottery including Pingsdorf ware (*E.R.879*).

Pit 2 appears to have been dug in the bottom of a ditch-like hollow, and just beyond the west end of the latter was found a wall of ragstone and brown cement. This had no

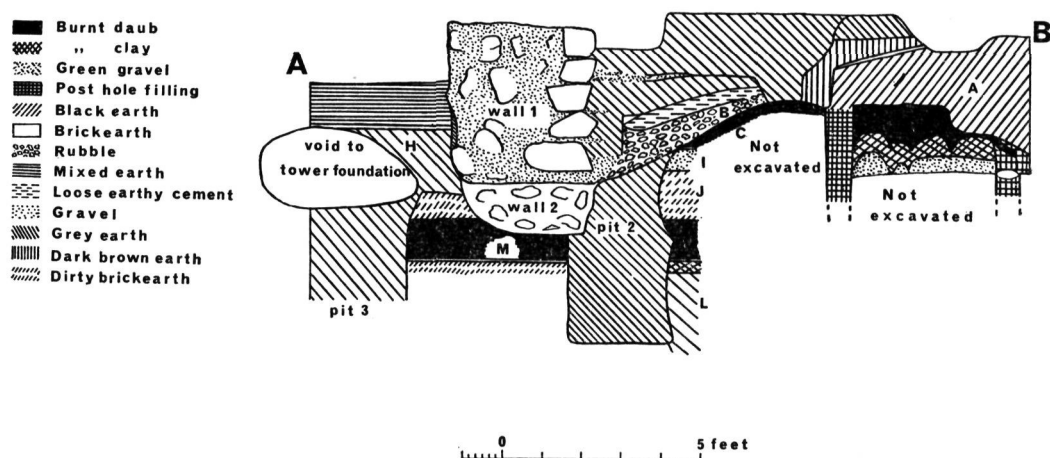


Fig. 17
Westminster Bank, Nicholas Lane (site 11): section A-B in trench

foundation and its bottom followed the shape of the ditch. It was clearly earlier than wall 1, which intersected it. Pit 1 was later than the ragstone wall and had been cut through it. In this pit was found a quantity of rubbish including many coarse sherds (*E.R.889*), similar in type to those found in pit 2. Among them were fragments of Pingsdorf ware.

As it is hardly conceivable that rubbish pits would have been dug in the middle of a church, there seems little doubt that pits 1 and 3, like pit 2, antedated the church, which must have been built within a very few years of the Norman Conquest.

Filling the 'ditch' over pit 2 was a quantity of building rubble, level B, including a quantity of white painted wall plaster (*E.R.880*). This layer was certainly earlier than wall 1 which had been cut into it, and it may well be derived from the demolition of the building represented by wall 2. This was evidently standing on the site at about the time of the Norman Conquest, but it is uncertain whether it was the first church or a fairly substantial building which preceded it.

A lead coffin (*Plate 2(d)*), shaped to the head and shoulders, was found in a central position in the nave immediately in front of the chancel. It lay deeper than most of the church burials, and from its position evidently contained the remains of someone of importance, probably a benefactor to the church. Unfortunately it was removed very soon after its discovery and before any detailed examination had been made. It now lies re-buried in another cemetery with the rest of the burials from the site.

NOTE

1 H. A. Harben, *A Dictionary of London*, (1918), pp. 436f.

POST-MEDIEVAL

Site 7. *Atlas Assurance site, King Street*

The latest phase revealed on this site has been dated to the second half of the eighteenth century. The structures consist of a cellar, a well, and two cess pits.

While clearing part of the site for trench 1 two old walls, built of brick with occasional stones, were found which had been incorporated in the pre-war building on this site (*Fig. 8*, period IV). After breaking through the modern concrete cellar floor a crude floor of bricks was found beneath. Upon this were found pen-nibs, pins, and pottery (*E.R.819*) of the late nineteenth or early twentieth century.

Sunk into the brick cellar floor and contemporary with it was a circular brick-lined well. The latter was 4 ft. 2½ in. in diameter and its bottom was level with the surface of the natural brickearth 6 ft. 9 in. below the brick floor level. The bottom of the well was filled with black silt one foot thick, and in this was a sherd (*E.R.814*) dating from the late eighteenth century. Above the silt was a loose black chalky earth containing some broken bricks, presumably material dumped to fill the well after it had passed out of use.

About 2 ft. from the well and also contemporary with the brick floor was a brick-lined cess pit, the filling of which must surely have contaminated the water in the well. The cess pit measured 5 ft. 3 in. by 3 ft. 6 in. by 1 ft. 6 in. deep. The lower filling (*E.R.822*) contained pottery of the mid-eighteenth century and the upper pottery of the mid-nineteenth (*E.R.847*), indicating that the pit was still in use little more than a century ago. It was then covered by a very crude brick flooring set in earth, not earlier than 1861, for a halfpenny of that date was found immediately beneath it.

The second cess-pit, which was found in trench 3, was roughly triangular in plan. It was brick-lined and contained material of the late eighteenth century (*E.R.848a*).

Editor's Note

A generous contribution towards the cost of printing this paper has been made by the Corporation of the City of London, to whose members the Society's Council takes this opportunity of making grateful acknowledgement.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDS FROM THE COUNTIES OF LONDON AND MIDDLESEX ADDED TO THE COLLECTIONS OF THE LONDON MUSEUM

1963-1964

BY BRIAN W. SPENCER, B.A., F.S.A.

Note: The grid references refer to Ordnance Survey 6 in. or 25 in. plans.

A. Bronze Age

THAMES AT HOUNSLOW (TQ 177766): bronze **pin** with 'brambled' head, length 14.2 cm., Late Bronze Age. Found in October 1963 in the Thames at Isleworth near Old England, in the course of investigations by the Scientific Group of the British Sub Aqua Club. Given by Mr. George Southall (64.50).

B. Roman

CITY OF LONDON: **eagle's head** carved in agate, length 5.4 cm., eight large **nails** of various types; **knife-handle** of bone with hatched ornament; conical **weight** of marble. Exact find-spots not recorded (63.27/1, 2-9, 11 and 16).

C. Saxon

CITY OF LONDON: iron **scramasax**, length 25 cm. Find-spot not recorded (63.27/10).

D. Medieval and Later

CITY OF LONDON:

(i) **Knife-handle** of bone, late medieval; **dagger-grip** of bone, with grooved and diapered ornament, c.1400; six **table-knives**, first half of sixteenth century; iron **key**, kidney-shaped bow, fourteenth or fifteenth century (63.27/12, 13, 19-24, 30).

(ii) **Pottery-fragment**, glazed dark-green outside, pale-yellow inside and stamped with a representation of the royal arms and the date [15]80. From Cornhill (63.27/25).

(iii) Leather **strap** and **thongs**, probably late medieval or Tudor. From Fetter Lane (63.27/28-30).

(iv) Fragment of a slab of dark-blue **enamel-glass** from the Miotti glasshouse, Venice, impressed with two maker's stamps, early eighteenth century. From Fetter Lane (63.41/1).

(v) Associated **leather**, **cloth** and other objects of the first half of the seventeenth century. Found in August-October 1963 and December 1964 at 81-89 Farringdon Street (TQ 314820). Given by Mrs. Susann Palmer (64.55/1-77, 64.151).

WESTMINSTER (TQ 808306):

(i) Three tin-glazed **drug-jars**, with decoration in blue and mauve, c. 1650-1700. Found with much fragmentary pottery of the same period at a depth of 16 ft. during work

to extend the Kingsway Tunnel (1963) in Lancaster Place near the junction with the Strand. Given by Miss Maureen Kelly (63.92).

(ii) **Bellarmino** with Holmes type VIII mask, wry neck and body-medallion bearing the date 1660 and the initials F. A. about an inverted anchor. Found (1900) on the site of the Rolls Chapel, Chancery Lane (64.143).

THAMES AT HOUNSLOW (TQ 178769): circular **buckle** of pewter, probably fifteenth century; weights or **net-sinkers** of brick-coloured clay, roughly triangular, probably post-medieval. Found in August 1963 on the Thames foreshore at Old England, Brentford. Given by the Archaeological Section, British Sub Aqua Club (63.119/1, 2, 5, 6).

HOUNSLOW: biconical **jug**, height 20.5 cm., late thirteenth century. Found in Green Lane, but among topsoil brought from another part of Hounslow. Given by Adrian Palmer (64.93).

A BRIDGE FRAMEWORK FROM CAMLET MOAT, TRENT PARK, ENFIELD

BY D. F. RENN

Midway along its length, the ridgeway between Enfield and Hadley curves round a homestead moat at the northern boundary of Trent Park (National Grid Reference TQ 987282). The site consists of a rhombic 'island' 200 feet across, surrounded by a wide moat filled by surface water from a thin layer of gravel overlying the clay; there is an overflow ditch on the south side. The eastern limb of the moat has been partly filled in, and there is a broad bank on the north counterscarp.

Some random excavations by the younger members of the Bevan family, in June 1923, revealed thick foundations of clunch, flint and tile, together with deer antlers and leather shoes, a dagger and a fingertip thimble, coins of Edward IV and glazed floortiles bearing the design of a knight on horseback (now lost), together with a wooden framework in the bed of the western limb of the moat⁽¹⁾. The latter was dragged out and a measured drawing made (*Fig. 1*) but only a few fragments remained when the site was first visited by the writer in 1949. The oak timbers were of one foot square scantling, with halving joints at the crossings and mitred and pegged extensions to the main bearers. Five of the many mortice holes still contained the tenons of uprights (shown in solid black on the

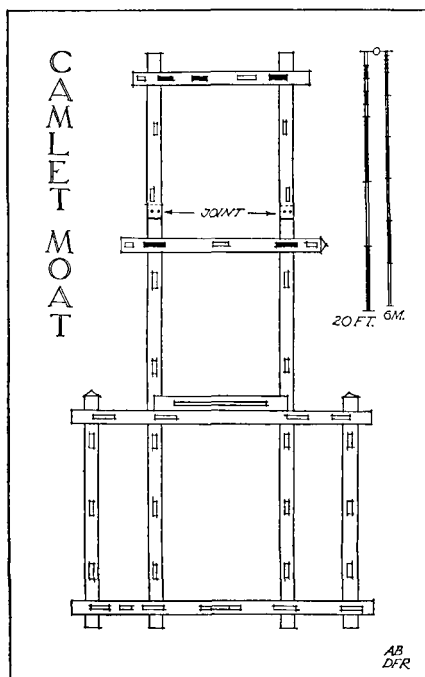


Fig. 1

drawing) and it is clear that the framework had been sunk in the bed of the moat to support braced posts carrying a planked carriageway above water level. The 'island' end of the bridge was widened and strengthened, probably to allow for the raising of the central span in time of need.

The careful carpentry at once proclaim the framework as mediaeval or later, but close parallels are hard to find. A somewhat similar bridge was suggested (on slender evidence) for the twelfth-century reconstruction (Period IIIb) of the Husterknupp near Cologne⁽²⁾. At Leckhampton Moat near Cheltenham, the entrance was marked by stone abutments. Across the gap (and partly under the outer abutment) lay a simple rectangular frame of split logs with halving joints at the crossings, morticed, and with traces of an upright. A fourteenth-century pot was found under the logs, together with some remains of planking⁽³⁾. A similar frame, but of squared timber, was excavated at West Derby castle, Liverpool, a motte and bailey reconstructed in the fourteenth century⁽⁴⁾. These were single-span bridges; that at Camlet Moat had three bays, and so was intermediate between them and the series of elaborate multi-span bridges found recently at Caerlaverock Castle, the earliest dating from shortly before 1300 and the latest being in use up to 1640⁽⁵⁾. At Bushwood Hall, Lapworth (Warwickshire), the central stone bridge-pier was sandwiched between oak trestles, with a freestanding trestle on each side, that on the 'island' side being doubled and braced into a groundframe, possibly strengthening for a drawbridge mentioned in a building contract of 1313⁽⁶⁾. A further development can be seen in the bridges of Bodiam Castle (where a licence to crenellate was granted in 1386) where there were no main bearers to the groundframe, each trestle standing separately on a single beam⁽⁷⁾. Stylistically, a fourteenth century date appears reasonable for the Camlet Moat framework.

The broad bank on the counterscarp suggests that the moat was dug around an existing house. Humfrey de Bohun had licence to crenellate (that is, to fortify) his manor houses including Enfield in 1347, and the mason William Ramsey bought property in Enfield in the following year⁽⁸⁾. This does not necessarily mean work at Camlet Moat, but in 1440 the materials from the demolished manor of Camelot were sold to pay for repairs to Hertford Castle⁽⁹⁾. This reference, a generation before Sir Thomas Malory's *Morte d'Arthur*, may mean that the site had even then acquired a legendary origin. But William Ramsey had been engaged in 1344 on the Round Table building at Windsor for Edward III's new order of chivalry⁽¹⁰⁾, and the moat, and the knights on the glazed tiles, may be expressions of the same romantic feeling.

NOTES

- 1 Mrs. N. H. Webster, *Spacious Days* (London, 1949), p. 29; *Enfield Weekly Herald*, June 1923. I owe these references to Mr. G. R. Gillam.
- 2 A. Herrnbrod, *Der Husterknupp* (Cologne, 1958), p. 59 abb. 35.
- 3 *Brist. & Glos. Arch. Soc. T.*, LV (1933), pp. 235-48.
- 4 *Liverpool Ann. Arch. & Anth.*, XV (1928), pp. 47-55.
- 5 Described to the Council for British Archaeology by Mr. Stewart Cruden on 13 January 1961. Preliminary note in *Medieval Archaeology* IV (1960), p. 147.
- 6 *Medieval Archaeology* VI/VII (1962-3), pp. 336-7.
- 7 Lord Curzon, *Bodiam Castle* (London, 1926).
- 8 Patent Roll 21 Edward III, m.4; Hardy and Page, *Feet of Fines for London and Middlesex*, I, p. 150.
- 9 Public Record Office, DL 42/18, f.148b; Warrants for Issues E 404/59/217, cited in *The History of the King's Works*, II (London, 1963), p. 680, n. 5.
- 10 W. H. St. J. Hope, *Windsor Castle* (London, 1913) I, p. 114.

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EDITOR'S NOTES

1. To make more room for contributors' papers, publication in *Transactions* of the Society's Annual Accounts and Reports has been discontinued. These are now being printed separately, and members requiring copies may obtain them from the Hon. Treasurer.

2. Members may like to be reminded that the *London and Middlesex Historian*, also issued to them by the Society, may be bound up with *Transactions*, as it appears in the same page-size.

3. The Editorial Sub-Committee will be glad to consider papers submitted for publication in *Transactions*. Contributors are asked to note that:

- (i) Papers should be typed in double spacing, on one side of the paper. In general form, and in points of detail such as abbreviations, quotations, and references, papers should conform as far as possible to the usual style of *Transactions*.
- (ii) All papers, except the briefest, should begin with a summary of their aims, main points, and conclusions.
- (iii) Line drawings should be in Indian ink on good quality white board. Lines and lettering should be bold enough to admit of any necessary reduction. Where required a scale should be included.
- (iv) Photostat copies are seldom suitable for reproduction. When photographs are supplied, they should be of the highest possible quality, and have a glazed finish.
- (v) Full details of 'House rules' are obtainable from the Editor on request.

4. The Editor takes this opportunity of thanking contributors for their support and co-operation, which are much valued.

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The Society still holds stocks of the works listed below, and copies may be obtained from the Hon. Librarian at the Bishopsgate Institute (cash with order, please).

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<i>Roman Pavement, Bucklersbury (J. E. Price)</i>	7s. 6d.
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<i>Freemen of the City: Register in the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI</i>	..			7s. 6d.
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