

TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
LONDON AND MIDDLESEX
Archæological Society.

VOLUME VI.



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London & Middlesex Archaeological Society.

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who is authorised to receive subscriptions, and to whom communications concerning the delivery of publications should be addressed.

PREFACE.

The volume now presented to the MEMBERS of the LONDON and MIDDLESEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY, being the sixth volume of the Society's Transactions, will, it is believed, be found equal to any of its predecessors in the interest and variety of its contents.

To the writers of many of the papers, the Society has been indebted for similar valuable assistance on several previous occasions. To all the contributors the Council tender their warmest thanks. One of them, Alderman Sir John Staples, F.S.A., whose loss we have to lament, was a Member of the Society for many years, and actively interested himself in its welfare.

Thanks are due to Major George Lambert, F.S.A., Vice-President, for printing the last twenty pages of the Appendix at his own cost, for presentation to the Society.

With the present volume the first series of Transactions comes to a close, and a glance at the list of writers and the subjects of their papers will show what valuable contributions the Society has been instrumental in making to the history and archaeology of our metropolitan city and county.

The Council regret that the publication of the Society's Transactions has been seriously interrupted through want of funds, and they take this opportunity of warmly thanking their fellow Members for their forbearance and support during the late critical period in the Society's fortunes. A heavy printer's bill, which has now almost wholly been discharged, was incurred by the issue of the sumptuous series of extra publications between the years 1883 and 1886.

These works, which may justly be regarded as the best which the Society has yet produced, proved more costly than had been anticipated. The Council are, however, glad to say that they hope to arrange for the early issue to Members of the valuable history of East Barnet, by the Rev. F. C. Cass.

C. W.

8, DANES INN, STRAND, W.C.

November, 1890.

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Proceedings at the Meetings of the Society.

THE SEVENTY-SEVENTH GENERAL MEETING,

Held at the Old Grammar School, Enfield, on Tuesday, the 10th August, 1880,

EDWARD FORD, Esq., J.P., in the Chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

J. W. FORD, Esq., of Chase Park, read a paper on the different manors and places of note in the locality. The Rev. G. HODSON read a paper on the Parish Church and its antiquities.

The Members, after luncheon, visited the Church and old Palace at Enfield, and then proceeded by carriages to Durants Harbour, Oldbury Camp, Forty Hill, Elsinge Hall, Bull's Cross, Enfield Chase, Trent Park and Camlet Moat, and then to Old Park to see an old chimney-piece from Theobalds, and the curious encampment in which the house is placed. The Society then went to the National School at Enfield, where a collation was provided, at which votes of thanks were accorded to the readers of papers and to all who had contributed to a successful meeting.

THE SEVENTY-EIGHTH GENERAL MEETING,

Held at the Guildhall, London, on Wednesday, the 22nd June, 1881
(by the kind permission of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council),

The Right Honourable the **LORD MAYOR** in the Chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The following papers were then read :—

Alderman Sir REGINALD HANSON, M.A., on Ashurst, Lord Mayor of London.

Sir JOHN MONCKTON on the Records of the Corporation.

Mr. HORACE JONES on the Architectural History of the Guildhall, Crypt, Library and other buildings.

Mr. OVERALL on the Library.

Mr. J. E. PRICE on the Museum.

The City Regalia, Charters, and other antiquities were also exhibited. The Lord Mayor was unable to remain until the end of the meeting, but he very kindly welcomed the Society, and spoke at some length on its aims and objects ; and on vacating the Chair Lord TALBOT DE MALAHIDE, as President of the Society, presided.

The Society paid an informal visit to St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, kindly opened to them by Mr. Churchwarden BARTON, a member of the Society, and they afterwards dined together at Crosby Hall.

Votes of thanks were unanimously accorded to the Lord Mayor for presiding, and to the readers of the papers and all who had contributed to the success of the meeting.

THE SEVENTY-NINTH GENERAL AND TWENTY-SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING,

Held at 4, St. Martin's Place, on the 29th July, 1881.

BALANCE SHEET of the LONDON AND MIDDLESEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY from July 1880 to July 1881.

<i>Cr.</i>	<i>£ s. d.</i>	<i>Dr.</i>	<i>£ s. d.</i>
To Balance from 1880	103 12 2	Publications	221 0 0
" Subscriptions	271 17 0	Expenses of Meetings	19 3 10
" Entrance Fees	6 0 0	Stationery	28 17 6
" Life Subscriptions	10 10 0	Salary and Collection	38 4 3
" Sale of Publications	47 18 6	Petty Cash	20 0 0
	<hr/>	Balance	112 11 7
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	£439 17 8		£439 17 8
	<hr/>		<hr/>

We have examined the balance sheet and found it correct,

H. C. LAMBERT,
T. W. GOODMAN, } *Auditors.*

July 27th, 1881.

THE EIGHTIETH GENERAL MEETING,

Held at Brading, Isle of Wight, on Thursday, the 10th August, 1881, on site of the Roman Villa (by the kind permission of Lady Oglander).

Mr. JOHN E. PRICE, F.S.A., and Mr. F. G. HILTON PRICE, F.S.A., conducted the party over the site of the Villa and explained the antiquities. A dinner was afterwards held at the Sandown Hotel, and votes of thanks were most warmly accorded to the Messrs. Price for their exertions which had ensured the success of the meeting, which was very well attended.

THE EIGHTY-FIRST GENERAL MEETING,

Held at the Parish Churches of Hammersmith and Chiswick, on Saturday, the 6th May, 1882.

Papers were read in Hammersmith Church by H. R. GOUGH Esq., F.R.I.B.A., on the history and antiquities of the church of St. Paul, Hammersmith. The Society then adjourned to Chiswick, and a paper was read on the history and antiquities of Chiswick Church by the Rev. —— DALE the Vicar; and in the Schoolroom adjoining a paper was read by S. WAYLAND KERSHAW, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., on Hogarth and his paintings in connection with London topography.

The Society also visited Hogarth's house at Chiswick, and General Fairfax's House.

Votes of thanks were unanimously accorded to the readers of papers, and to Mr. and Mrs. STEGGALL for their kind permission to view Fairfax House.

THE EIGHTY-SECOND GENERAL MEETING,

Held at the Churches of St. Olave, Hart Street, and All Hallows Barking, on Saturday, the 29th July, 1882.

In the church of St. Olave, a paper on its history and monuments, which had been prepared by the Rector, the Rev. L. POVANH, was read by

the Rev. G. BARTON, Mr. Povah supplementing the paper with further particulars connected with the church. The registers, which are exceedingly ancient and curious, were also open for the inspection of visitors.

HENRY B. WHEATLEY, Esq., F.S.A., read a short account of Pepys and of Sir John Minnes, both buried in the church.

At All Hallows, Barking, the paper which had been carefully prepared by MR. MASKELL was read by the Hon. Secretary MR. GEORGE H. BIRCH, in the compulsory absence of the former gentleman from England.

Votes of thanks were cordially given to the compilers and authors of papers, to the authorities for the kind permission accorded to the Society, and for the facilities afforded in inspecting these interesting churches.

A dinner was held afterwards at Kennan's Hotel, Major HEALES in the Chair, supported by MR. LAMBERT. This meeting was numerously attended.

THE EIGHTY-THIRD GENERAL AND TWENTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING,

Held at 4, St. Martin's Place, on the 31st July, 1882,

J. G. WALLER, Esq. V.P. in the Chair.

The minutes of the last General Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Annual Report of the Council and the Balance Sheet were read, received, adopted, and ordered to be printed.

The following were elected Officers for the ensuing year:—

Patrons, President, Trustees, and Treasurer as before.

Vice-Presidents as before, with the addition of Alderman and Sheriff Sir Reginald Hanson.

Secretaries as before.

The eight members of Council retiring by rotation were re-elected, and the following were elected Members of Council, to fill other vacancies:—

P. W. Ames, Esq. vice B. E. Ferrey, Esq., resigned.

T. Milbourn, Esq. vice E. Nash, Esq., resigned.

C. J. Thrupp, Esq. vice Alderman Sir R. Hanson, elected V.P.

J. Watney, Esq. vice Major Heales, now a Trustee.

Thanks were voted:—

To the Patrons, President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, and Trustees for their services.

To the retiring Members of Council.

A special vote to Mr. G. H. Birch and Mr. S. W. Kershaw for the manner in which they had conducted the business of the Society, and for their arduous duties in connection therewith.

Mr. Birch announced that (as he had previously intimated to the Council) it was not his intention to take the duties of Honorary Secretary again, and, after expressions of regret from several members, it was resolved that Mr. Kershaw be requested to undertake the duties of the Secretary alone for the present.

Thanks were voted to the Chairman, and the meeting adjourned.

BALANCE SHEET of the LONDON AND MIDDLESEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY, from July 1881 to July 1882.

<i>Cr.</i>	<i>£ s. d.</i>	<i>Dr.</i>	<i>£ s. d.</i>
To Balance at Bankers at last		Publications:—	
Audit	112 11 7	Nichols's Account	100 0 0
,, Subscriptions	271 7 0	Emslie (Engraving)	9 0 0
,, Entrance Fees	4 10 0	Indexing	10 10 0
,, Donations	10 10 0	Rent and Attendance, 2 years	20 5 1
,, Sale of Publications	14 9 6	Stationery, Printing, and Postage,	
,, 2 Years' Dividend on £100 13s. 2d.		Scott's Account	46 12 4
Three per Cent. Consols	6 11 4	Salary and Commission, 2 years	43 15 9
		Meetings:—	
		Brading	4 7 4
		Guildhall	7 4 6
		Hammersmith	19 9
		Reports, Staines, 2 years	5 0 0
		Petty Cash, Postage, and Advertising	7 13 5
			255 8 2
		Balance carried forward	164 11 3
	<u>£419 19 5</u>		<u>£419 19 5</u>

Audited and found correct by us,

H. C. LAMBERT,
T. W. GOODMAN, } Auditors.

July 28th, 1882.

THE EIGHTY-FOURTH GENERAL MEETING,

Held at Silchester, on Thursday, the 17th August, 1882.

The Meeting was very fully attended, and, in the unavoidable absence of Mr. Hilton Price, F.S.A., F.G.S. who had consented to act as Director over the Roman city and its antiquities, Mr. JAMES PARKER, F.S.A. Oxford, explained the interesting remains.

A visit was also paid, by permission of the owner (Mr. Shute), to the old house of the Vyne near Basingstoke, where a paper on its contents was read by Mr. KERSHAW, F.S.A. the Hon. Secretary.

A collation was held at the Crown Hotel, Silchester, at 6 p.m. and was fully attended.

Thanks were tendered to Mr. Parker for his assistance, and to the Hon. Secretary of the Newbury District Field Club, and to others who had assisted at the Meeting.

THE EIGHTY-FIFTH GENERAL MEETING,

Held at the Hall of the Worshipful Company of the Goldsmiths on the 27th June, 1883 (by the kind permission of the Master, Wardens, and Court of Assistants),

Alderman JOHN STAPLES, Esq. F.S.A. in the Chair.

The members and friends first inspected the Churches of St. Vedast, Foster Lane, and St. Anne and Agnes, Gresham Street, where papers were read on the History of the Churches by THOMAS MILBOURN, Esq. The company afterwards repaired to the Goldsmiths' Hall, where the Hall and other apartments were kindly thrown open for inspection. Papers on the history of the records, the ancient plate, &c. were read by W. PRIDEAUX, Esq. WILFRED CRIPPS, Esq. and other gentlemen.

By the permission of the authorities of the General Post Office the antiquities found in that neighbourhood were exhibited and explained by J. E. PRICE, Esq. F.S.A.

ALFRED WHITE, Esq. F.S.A., F.L.S. also read a paper on the ancient site of the Priory.

J. E. GARDNER, Esq. F.S.A. lent a series of prints illustrating the topography of the district, which were greatly appreciated.

Votes of thanks were given to the Master, Wardens, and Court of Assistants of the Goldsmiths' Company for the use of the Hall, also to the Rectors of the Churches visited.

A dinner was afterwards held at the Guildhall Tavern, J. O. HALL, Esq. Hon. Treasurer, in the Chair.

THE EIGHTY-SIXTH GENERAL AND TWENTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL MEETING,

Held at 4, St. Martin's Place, on Monday, the 30th July, 1883,

J. O. HALL, Esq., Treasurer, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last General Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Annual Report of the Council was read, received, and adopted.

Attention having been called to a paragraph wherein no allusion had been made to the long services of the late Hon. Secretary, Mr. G. H. Birch,—

It was proposed by Mr. Robins, and seconded by Mr. Pitman, "That a special vote of thanks be awarded to Mr. Birch for his services as Hon. Secretary, and that such vote be annexed to the Report."

The following were elected Officers for the ensuing year :—

Patrons as before.

President, Major-General A. H. L. F. Pitt-Rivers, F.S.A., F.R.S.

Vice-Presidents as before, with the addition of J. O. Hall, Esq., J. Whichcord, Esq., F.S.A., and Alderman John Staples, Esq., F.S.A.

Honorary Treasurer, F. G. Hilton Price, Esq., F.S.A.

Honorary Secretary, J. E. Price, Esq., F.S.A.

The balloting list of Council, as arranged according to minutes of Council, 11 June, 1882, was then given to each member present, folded up and delivered to the Scrutineers, H. Fry, Esq., and W. Pitman, Esq.

The Scrutineers then reported that 10 votes had been given in favour of the List recommended to the meeting by the Council, and that in three Lists three new names had been inserted, viz., Rev. J. F. Kitto, T. W. Goodman, Esq., and G. H. Birch, Esq.

The four retiring members by rotation were re-elected and the following four elected to fill the other four vacancies, viz., Wilfred Cripps,

Esq., *vice* Rev. H. Clutterbuck, resigned, S. W. Kershaw, Esq. F.S.A., *vice* W. H. Overall, Esq., resigned, C. B. Thurston, Esq., *vice* F. G. Hilton Price, elected Hon. Treasurer, Rev. L. B. White, D.D., *vice* J. E. Price, elected Hon. Secretary.

Thanks were voted to the Patrons, President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, and Trustees for their services.

A special vote of thanks was accorded to J. O. Hall, Esq., who as Hon. Treasurer had for so many years ably discharged the duties to the great benefit of the Society.

To the retiring Members of Council.

To the Hon. Secretary Mr. S. W. Kershaw, who, as previously understood, had announced his intention to resign.

It was then announced, according to the circular issued to the Members, that a special General Meeting would be held on the 13th of August,—

To recommend that J. E. Price, Esq., F.S.A., be appointed Secretary of the Society, at a salary of £50 per annum, and, if this be approved by the General Meeting, the needful alteration of the Rules to give effect thereto will be brought forward at that meeting.

BALANCE SHEET of the LONDON AND MIDDLESEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY from July 1882 to July 1883.

<i>Cr.</i>		<i>£ s. d.</i>	<i>Dr.</i>		<i>£ s. d.</i>
To Balance at Bankers at last			Publications:—		
Audit.	164 11 3		Nichols's Account . . .	139 1 7	
,, Subscriptions	163 16 0		Emslie (Engraving) . . .	7 5 0	
,, Entrance Fees	4 0 0		Brettle & Co.	7 15 0	
,, Sale of Publications	8 5 6		Bookbinder	2 18 4	
,, 1 Year's Dividend on £109 13s. 2d.			Stationery, Printing, and Postage,		
Three per Cent. Consols . . .	3 5 8		Scott	33 5 0	
			Salary and Commission . . .	9 2 9	
			Reporters	1 10 0	
			Petty Cash	10 0 0	
			Balance carried forward . . .	210 17 8	
				133 0 9	
		<u>£343 18 5</u>			<u>£343 18 5</u>

Audited and found correct by us,

H. C. LAMBERT,
T. W. GOODMAN, } *Auditors.*

July 20th, 1883.

SPECIAL GENERAL MEETING,

Held at No. 4, St. Martin's Place, on the 13th of August, 1883,

Mr. C. J. THRUSS in the Chair.

The notice convening the meeting having been read, it was resolved :
“That it is expedient that Mr. J. E. Price, F.S.A., be appointed Secretary of the Society at a salary of £50 per annum.

“That the Rules of the Society be amended by the omission of the word ‘Honorary’ before the word ‘Secretary’ wherever it occurs.

“That in pursuance of the Rules of the Society thus amended, Mr. J. E. Price, F.S.A., is hereby appointed Secretary of the Society at a salary of £50 per annum.”

THE EIGHTY-SEVENTH GENERAL AND THE TWENTY-NINTH ANNUAL MEETING,

Held at No. 4, St. Martin's Place, on Monday, the 14th July, 1884,

J. F. WADMORE, Esq., in the Chair.

The minutes of the last Annual Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Report of the Council and the Balance Sheet were read, received, adopted, and ordered to be printed.

The following were elected Officers for the ensuing year :—

Patrons as before.

President, Lieutenant-General Augustus Henry Lane Fox Pitt-Rivers, F.R.S., F.S.A.

Vice-Presidents : The Archbishop of Dublin, Lord Ebury, Lord G. Hamilton, M.P., Sir John Lubbock, Bart. M.P., Sir Thomas E. Colebrooke, Bart., M.P., The Right Hon. The Lord Mayor, Sir J. Macnaghten McGarel Hogg, M.P., Sir James Clarke Lawrence, Bart. M.P., The Right Hon. A. J. B. Beresford Hope, M.P., Alderman Sir Reginald Hanson, M.P., Alderman John Staples, Esq., F.S.A., Octavius E. Cope, Esq., M.P., Thomas S. Cocks, Esq., Charles Roach Smith, Esq., F.S.A., The Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson, D.D., J. G. Waller, Esq., J. W. Butterworth, Esq., F.S.A., J. L. Pearson, Esq., R.A., Henry Campkin, Esq., F.S.A., Rev. F. C. Cass, M.A., E. W. Brabrooke, Esq., F.S.A., Major A. Heales, F.S.A., Alfred White, Esq., F.S.A., F. G. Hilton Price, F.S.A.

Treasurer, F. G. Hilton Price, F.S.A.

Council: P. W. Ames, Esq., F.R.S.L., E. Baddeley, Esq., E. J. Barron, Esq., F.S.A., Lieut.-Col. Britten, F.R.H.S., Wilfred J. Cripps, Esq., F.S.A., The Hon. Harold A. Dillon, F.S.A., Herbert Fry, Esq., J. E. Gardner, Esq., F.S.A., S. W. Kershaw, Esq., F.S.A., George Lambert, Esq., F.S.A., Charles Mason, Esq., Thomas Milbourn, Esq., T. F. Peacock, Esq., E. C. Robins, Esq., F.S.A., C. J. Shoppee, Esq., F.R.I.B.A., C. J. Thrupp, Esq., A. B. Thurston, Esq., J. F. Wadmore, Esq., F.R.I.B.A., John Watney, Esq., F.S.A., Rev. L. Borrett White, D.D., M.A.

Secretary, J. E. Price, Esq., F.S.A.

The usual vote of thanks were passed to the Council, Treasurer, &c., and to the Chairman, and the meeting adjourned.

A CONVERSAZIONE was held at the Hall of the Worshipful Company of Skinners, on Wednesday, the 12th November, 1884, by permission of the Master, Wardens, and Court of Assistants.

Notes from the following papers were read:—

Reminiscences of the Church and Parish of St. John the Baptist upon Walbrook, by J. D. Mathews, Esq.

On the Early Municipal History of London, by G. Laurence Gomme, Esq., F.S.A.

On the Recent Discoveries made on the Line of the Inner Circle Railway and at Bevis Marks, by John E. Price, Esq., F.S.A., illustrated by plans, diagrams, &c.

There was also an exhibition of antiquities and works of art contributed by Members.

THE EIGHTY-EIGHTH GENERAL MEETING,

Held at the Hall of the Worshipful Company of Tallow Chandlers on Tuesday, the 9th June, 1885, by permission of the Master, Wardens, and Court of Assistants,

EDWIN KNIGHT, Esq., Master of the Company, presided.

A description of the Hall, Records, and other matters of interest connected with the history of the Company, was given by M. F. Monier-Williams, Esq., Clerk to the Company.

The meeting subsequently adjourned to the church of St. Lawrence, Jewry, where an account of the building and the interesting series of parochial records was read by Louis Stokes, Esq.

A visit was next made to the Guildhall for the purpose of inspecting the Library and Museum ; likewise the New Council Chamber and other recent alterations ; also to the Crypt, some observations upon which was made by Alfred White, Esq., F.S.A., F.L.S.

THE EIGHTY-NINTH GENERAL AND THIRTIETH ANNUAL
MEETING,

Held at King's College, London, on Thursday, the 30th July, 1885,

ALFRED WHITE, Esq., F.S.A., F.L.S., in the Chair.

A Report of the proceedings of the Society was read and adopted.

The Treasurer reported the balance in hand.

The Officers were appointed for the ensuing year.

EDWIN FRESHFIELD, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A., was requested to accept the Presidency of the Society in the place of Lieut.-General A. H. L. F. Pitt-Rivers, F.R.S. &c. who resigned.

The thanks of the Society were voted to the Council and Officers.

The meeting closed with a vote of thanks to the Chairman.

A CONVERSAZIONE was held at the Mansion House on Tuesday, the 23rd March, 1886, by the kind invitation of the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress. Some observations were made in the course of the evening on the history of the Mansion House and the immediate locality. A collection of antiquities and works of art were exhibited.

THE NINETIETH GENERAL AND THIRTY-FIRST
ANNUAL MEETING,

Held at King's College London, on Monday, the 26th July, 1886,

F. G. HILTON PRICE, Esq., F.S.A., F.G.S., in the Chair.

The notice convening the meeting was read.

The minutes of the last Annual General Meeting not being forthcoming, Mr. Hyde Clarke kindly prepared a short account of the Meeting, which was accepted.

The following Report of the Council to the General Annual Meeting was read :—

REPORT OF COUNCIL.

The Council, in presenting this their Thirty-First Annual Report, regret that they are unable to lay before the Members so favourable a statement of the financial condition of the Society as they could have wished.

In consequence of the heavy expenses attending the publication of the valuable papers of the Rev. F. C. Cass, on the Middlesex parishes, which the Council had hoped would have proved beneficial to the Society, and increased the *number of its members*, a *larger debt than usual* has been incurred to the printers.

The Members however will have the satisfaction of feeling that they have received more matter than their Subscriptions really warranted, and, although for a time at least the Council deem it necessary to practise strict economy, they trust before any very lengthened period has elapsed to be able to issue the concluding part of Mr. Cass's interesting account of the Parish of East Barnet.

The publication of these Papers has not, the Council regret to say, led to any corresponding increase in the number of members; and as they deem it is essential that the debt due to Messrs. Nichols should be considerably decreased, if not extinguished, they have, after a thorough investigation of the financial position of the Society, determined, with that object in view, to recommend to the members the adoption of the following proposals.

First. That the Trustees be authorised and empowered to sell out of the Funds standing in their name a sum not exceeding £100 New Three per Cent. Stock, and that the amount realised by such sale be applied by the Council in reduction of the debt due to the printers.

Second. That the Council be empowered to sell by tender the whole of the remaining stock of the publications of the Society, other than the Transactions, and apply the amount produced by such sale in further reduction of the liability of the printers.

Third. That in the event of the amount realised by sale of stock and the proceeds of the sale of the remaining stock of the publications not being sufficient to liquidate the account to Messrs. Nichols that it be an instruction to the Council to set apart a portion of the yearly income of the Society, not exceeding £100 per annum, and applied for the purpose of entirely freeing the Society from all liabilities.

Fourth. That the office of a paid Secretary be discontinued, and the Society revert to the old arrangement of an Honorary Secretary or Secretaries.

The Council have no hesitation in saying that this arrangement, if sanctioned by the meeting, will be for the welfare of the Society.

The Council regret, owing to the demolition of the rooms of the Royal Society of Literature, in which for some years past the Evening Meetings were accustomed to be held, and their inability to procure other accommodation, they were unable to give the Members the benefit of such meetings during the past Session, but hope that this difficulty may be overcome and the Evening Meetings resumed next Session.

The Members of the Society met and were entertained at the Mansion House on the 23rd March at the kind invitation of the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor (an old and valued Member of the Society), and the thanks of the Society are due to his Lordship for his kind reception of the Members and their friends, and also Messrs. White and Baddeley (members of the Excursion Committee) for the time and labour they bestowed in carrying out the meeting.

The Council have to report the resignation by J. E. Price, Esq., F.S.A., of the office of Secretary of the Society, and they most strongly recommend that for a time at least you revert to the old arrangement of an Honorary Secretary or Secretaries instead of a paid Secretary, and so effect a saving of £50 per annum.

The Council herewith submit the Balance Sheet of the Society for the past year.

BALANCE SHEET, 1886.

FREDERICK GEORGE HILTON PRICE in account with the LONDON AND MIDDLESEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

<i>Cr.</i>	<i>£ s. d.</i>	<i>Dr.</i>	<i>£ s. d.</i>
To Balance brought forward	72 9 1	Lithography	41 18 6
," Subscriptions	179 11 0	Reporting at Meetings	2 5 0
," Entrance Fees	5 0 0	Stationery from November 1884 to July 1885	59 3 6
," Sale of Publications	5 11 0	Rent of Rooms for Storage of Library	10 0 0
1 Year's Dividend on £109 13s. 2d. New 3 per Cent. Consols	3 5 8	Expenses at Mansion House Meeting	11 19 6
,, Donations	2 2 0	Ivatts' Commission and Expenses to date	16 12 0
		Secretary's Salary	50 0 0
		Collector, 12 Months' Salary . . .	10 0 0
		Accountant's Fee	1 1 0
		Balance at Bankers	64 19 3
	<u>£267 18 9</u>		<u>£267 18 9</u>

Audited and found correct, and balance compared with pass-book,
July 20th, 1886,

(Signed) H. C. LAMBERT.

an interesting paper on "Cornhill and its Vicinity," for which the thanks of the Society are due, but it is deeply to be regretted that the attendance of Members and their friends on that occasion was so small.

The Council also regret that they have been unable to give a complete series of Evening Meetings during the past years from two causes: first, the want of papers; secondly, the want of new matter for exhibition, as no archaeological discoveries of interest have taken place in London and Middlesex during the past year.

Owing to the non-publication of the Transactions for some time past the Council have been unable to deliver the Proceedings and Papers to the Societies in union, consequently the supply of presentations to the Society from Societies in union has been limited.

The Council have pleasure in stating that they have made arrangements with the Surrey Archaeological Society for the use of the Council room of the latter Society on satisfactory terms, and that the Society will henceforth have an advertised place of abode, which has not been the case for a considerable period.

On the 28th inst. it was proposed to hold a General Meeting at the Royal Hospital, Chelsea (by permission of the Lords and other Commissioners), the old Botanic Gardens, and Chelsea Old Church, of which due notice has been sent to all members.

A suggestion has been made to hold an Evening Meeting of the Society in the autumn at the Hall of the Worshipful Company of Vintners, which, if permission is accorded by the Company, the Council will endeavour to carry out.

At the last Annual General Meeting Mr. Thomas Milbourn kindly consented to fill the office of Hon. Secretary *pro temp.* This he will not object to again fill if you so desire, but if this Meeting deem it more desirable that some other gentleman should fill the office, he is agreeable to the election of any gentleman who may be selected as eligible for the post.

The Council earnestly desire to impress on the Members the advantage which will accrue to the Society by the introduction of their friends as Members. The Society is sadly in want of help in this direction, and prompt action on the part of its Members would relieve the Society of its debt to the printers and enable the Council to publish its Transactions annually as was formerly done.

The loss sustained by the Society through deaths and resignations has been small during the past year compared with some previous years.

The number of Members at present is as follows :—

Honorary	5
Life	37
Annual	183
Total	<u>225</u>

COUNCIL ROOM, 8, DANES INN, STRAND, W.C.

18th July, 1887.

BALANCE SHEET, 1887.

FREDERICK GEORGE HILTON PRICE, Esq., Treasurer, in account with the
LONDON AND MIDDLESEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

Cr.	£ s. d.	Dr.	£ s. d.
To Balance at last audit	64 19 3	Rent of room to Michaelmas last	5 0 0
" Subscriptions, 132 at 21s.	138 12 0	Expenses at Merchant Taylors' Hall	20 1 6
" Entrance Fees	0 10 0	Printing :—	
" Sale of Publications	1 2 0	Nichols, on account	200 0 0
" 1 Year's Dividend on £11 0s 4d. New 3 per cent. Consols	0 6 6	Stationery, &c.	23 0 6
" Donations	10 0 0	Sundries :—	
" Sale of £98 12s. 0d. New 3 per cent. Consols at 10½ less 2s. 6d. Commission, 1886	100 0 0	1s. too much credited last year	2 2 6
" Difference on books	0 11 0	Moving library to Danes Inn, £1	
	<hr/> 316 0 9	Power of Attorney for sale of 3 per cent. Consols, 11s. 6d.	2 2 6
	<hr/> 316 0 9	Balance at Bankers, less 10s. due to Collector	65 16 3

Audited and found correct, July 15th, 1887.

(Signed) H. C. LAMBERT.

Resolved "That the Report of Council be received and adopted."

The Meeting then proceeded to the election of Officers and Council for the ensuing year, and the following were unanimously chosen :—

Patron and President as before.

Vice-Presidents as before with the addition of E. J. Barron, Esq., F.S.A., who is hereby unanimously elected a Vice-President of the Society.

Treasurer as before.

Bankers as before.

The following Members of Council retiring by rotation, viz.:—

Messrs. Ames, Baddeley, Barron, Mason, Robins, and Shoppee.

And two vacancies having been reported. Resolved that the following gentlemen be re-elected, viz.:—

Messrs. Robins and Shoppee ; and that Messrs. J. W. Colmer, H. Lambert, A. D. Tyssen, and Sir Albert Woods be elected in place of the retiring Members, Messrs. Ames, Baddeley, Barron, Mason. And Messrs. J. W. Ford and W. Pitman to fill the two vacancies.

Resolved, that the following gentlemen be appointed Auditors, viz. :—
A. R. Bax, Esq., and H. Blackwell, Esq.

Resolved, "That Mr. Thomas Milbourn be elected Honorary Secretary for the ensuing year."

Resolved, "That the thanks of the Society are due and are hereby given to the Treasurer, Members of Council, and Auditor for their services during the past year."

Resolved, "That the thanks of the Society are due and are hereby given to Mr. Thomas Milbourn for his services as Honorary Secretary *pro temp.* during the past year."

Resolved, "That Messrs. Pitman, Kershaw, and Coleman be appointed a Committee to arrange for the Evening Meetings for the ensuing year."

The proceedings closed with a vote of thanks to the Chair.

A GENERAL MEETING of the SOCIETY was held at the Royal Hospital, Chelsea, on Thursday, the 28th July, 1887 (by permission of the Lords and other Commissioners of the Hospital).

Edwin Freshfield, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A., President, in the chair.

The proceedings were commenced by an interesting paper on "The History and Associations of the Hospital," by Major George Lambert, F.S.A., &c. After inspecting the Hospital the company proceeded to the Old Botanic Gardens, and from the Gardens to Chelsea Old Church, Church Street, Chelsea, where the Rev. R. H. Davies, M.A., read a paper on its history. J. G. Waller, Esq., gave a most interesting description of the several monuments, and E. W. Brabrook, Esq., F.S.A., read a paper on Sir John Moore, who is buried in the church.

This Meeting proved a most interesting and successful one.

An EVENING MEETING was held at the Hall of the Worshipful Company of Vintners, on Thursday, the 26th January, 1888, by the kind permission of the Master, Wardens, and Court of Assistants of the Company.

The President of the Society, Edwin Freshfield, Esq., LL.D., V.P.S.A., presided, and opened the meeting with a suitable address.

E. W. Brabrook, Esq., F.S.A., read an exhaustive paper on the History of the Company.

W. H. Cope, Esq., exhibited a most interesting and valuable collection

of Jade ornaments, and read an interesting paper in relation to their history.

J. E. Gardner, Esq., F.S.A., kindly exhibited a very fine collection of old prints illustrative of the Hall and neighbourhood.

The company were most hospitably entertained after the meeting.

The proceedings closed by a cordial vote of thanks to the Master, Wardens, and Court of Assistants of the Company, for their kind permission to the Society to visit their Hall, and for their hospitality ; and votes of thanks were cordially accorded to the President and the several readers of papers and exhibitors.

An EVENING MEETING was held at St. John's Gate, Clerkenwell, on Thursday, the 23rd February, 1888, by the kind permission of the Chancellor of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem.

The President of the Society, Edwin Freshfield, Esq., LL.D., V.P.S.A., in the chair, who read a very interesting paper entitled, "Some Observations on St. John's Gate and its Associations."

This Meeting was well attended. After the paper was read the company had the opportunity of examining the ancient edifice.

The following new Members were elected :—

W. Heath, Esq., W. Wayland, Esq., The Rev. Dalgarne Robinson, M.A.

An EVENING MEETING was held at the hall of the Worshipful Company of Painters on Thursday, the 22nd of March, 1888, by the kind permission of the Master, Wardens, and Court of Assistants of the Company.

Moses Jacoby, Esq., Master of the Company, in the chair.

John Gregory Crace, Esq., read an interesting paper on the History of the Company. This was followed by E. W. Brabrook, Esq., F.S.A., on "The Connection of the Painters' Company with Art and Archaeology."

At the conclusion of the meeting the Company kindly supplied the visitors with light refreshments in the Painted Chamber.

A GENERAL MEETING was held at the Hall of the Worshipful Company of Fishmongers on Wednesday, the 23rd of May, 1888, by the kind permission of the Prime Warden, Wardens, and Court of Assistants. The President of the Society, Edwin Fresfield, Esq., LL.D., V.P.S.A., in the chair.

The Chairman opened the Meeting with a few remarks relating to the object of the Meeting and the welfare of the Society.

J. Wrench Towse, Esq., read a long and interesting paper on the History of the Company.

E. W. Brabrook, Esq., F.S.A., followed with a most interesting paper on the eminent Members of the Company who have passed the Mayoralty.

Major G. Lambert, F.S.A., being unavoidably absent, the Company were not favoured with an account of the Plate.

A paper by Charles Robert Rivington, Esq., entitled "Notes on the Parish Register of St. Katherine Coleman, Fenchurch Street," having been read,

The Members and visitors proceeded to inspect the Hall and partake of refreshments, which were hospitably provided by the Company.

J. E. Gardner, Esq., F.S.A., exhibited a fine collection of Old Prints and Water Colours of the Hall and neighbourhood, and the Rev. J. C. Jackson exhibited a very choice collection of valuable antiquities.

Votes of thanks were most cordially awarded to the Prime Warden, Wardens, and Court of Assistants of the Company for their kind reception of and hospitality to the Members and their friends, also to the President, the readers of papers, exhibitors, and the Honorary Secretary.

THE THIRTY-THIRD ANNUAL MEETING

of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society was held at Danes Inn on Monday, the 16th July, 1888.

J. W. BUTTERWORTH, Esq., F.S.A., in the Chair.

The notice convening the Meeting was read.

The minutes of the last Annual General Meeting and the General Evening Meetings were read, confirmed, and signed.

The following Report of the Council to the Annual General Meeting was read :

REPORT OF COUNCIL.

The Council in presenting this their Thirty-third Annual Report, have pleasure in stating that they have still further decreased the debt owing to Messrs. Nichols and Sons by the payment of £50, and trust shortly to make an additional payment on account, but it must be borne in mind that they have been compelled to incur a debt for the part recently issued, as it was deemed advisable in the interest of the Society to issue part 1, vol. vii. in consequence of the lapse of time since the issue of

part 2, vol. vi. The Council have also great pleasure in stating that they hope shortly to be in a position to issue another part, Major George Lambert, F.S.A., having kindly presented the Society with 20 pages of letterpress containing an account of the meeting held at Goldsmiths' Hall, the 27th June, 1883, and containing his paper on the history of the Goldsmiths' Company, and an account of the churches of St. Vedast, Foster Lane, and St. Anne and Agnes, Aldersgate, by your Honorary Secretary. In addition to this your President, Edwin Freshfield, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A., has intimated that he intends writing an account of St. John's Gate, Clerkenwell, and presenting to the Society a sufficient number of copies for their Transactions. The Council also propose, when the part is ready, to issue with it the title-page, preface, and index to vol vi.

The Treasurer's account of the Society's income and expenditure during the past year is submitted herewith properly audited.

The Council feel great pleasure in congratulating the Members on the continuing prosperity of the Society. If the addition of Members during the past year has been small, the work done by the Society has been large, as will be seen by the account of the several meetings held during the year, at which most interesting and valuable papers have been read and many pages added to the history of London.

Meetings of the Society have been held during the year (as above described) at the Royal Hospital, Chelsea, Vintners' Hall, St. John's Gate, Clerkenwell, Painters' Hall, and Fishmongers' Hall.

In returning thanks for the cordial acknowledgment of his services as President, Dr. Freshfield referred to the valuable exhibition of antiquities by the Rev. J. C. Jackson, and expressed an opinion that he was deserving of an Honorary Membership of the Society, both as an archaeologist and for the kind and liberal interest he always evinced in the Society by lending antiquities for the several meetings of the Society at much personal inconvenience and cost.

The next General Meeting is proposed to be held at Edmonton Church, East Barnet Church, and Finchley Church, on the 26th of July.

The Library of the Society continues to slowly increase by presentation from other Societies.

The Council again earnestly desire to impress on the Members the advantage which will accrue to the Society by the introduction of their friends as Members. By this means they would be enabled the more frequently to issue the Transactions. At the present time the accumulation of most valuable and interesting papers from the want of

funds to publish the same is a serious drawback to the useful progress of the Society.

The loss by deaths and resignations during the past year has been very small.

The number of Members at the present time is as follows :—

Honorary	3
Life	34
Annual	167
Total	<u>204</u>

One vacancy has occurred on the Council during the past year by the resignation of Professor J. W. Hales, M.A.

The following eight gentlemen, Members of Council, retire by rotation in accordance with Rule 3, section 3, but are eligible for re-election, viz. :—

Lieut-Colonel Britten, F.R.H.S., S. W. Kershaw, Esq., F.S.A., T. F. Peacock, Esq., J. C. Thrupp, Esq., J. F. Wadmore, Esq., F.R.I.B.A., John Watney Esq., F.S.A., Rev. L. Borrett White, D.D., M.A., and Major G. Lambert, F.S.A.

BALANCE SHEET, 1888.

FREDERICK GEORGE HILTON PRICE, Esq., Treasurer, in account with the
LONDON AND MIDDLESEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

<i>Dr.</i>		<i>£ s. d.</i>	<i>Cr.</i>		<i>£ s. d.</i>
To Balance from 1887		65 16 3	By Rent		19 0 11
" Subscriptions		130 4 0	Salary and commission to Collector for 1887		19 12 2
" Sale of Publications		4 0 6	Salary and commission to Collector for 1888		8 18 3
" 1 Year's Dividend on £11 0s. 4d. New 3 per cent. Consols.		0 6 6	Housekeeper		0 18 4
			Stationer's bill, including post- cards		25 11 0
			Printer		50 0 0
			Expenses incidental upon Meetings at Vintners' Hall, St. John's Gate, Painters' Hall, and Fish- mongers' Hall, &c.		15 6 3
			Stamped cheque book and post . . .		0 5 5
			Balance at Bankers		60 14 11
		<u>200 7 3</u>			<u>200 7 3</u>

Audited and found correct as above, 6th July, 1888

Resolved, "That the Report of Council be received and adopted "

Patron, President, Treasurer, and Trustees were re-elected as before.

Vice-Presidents as before, with the addition of the following gentlemen, who are duly elected, Lieut.-Colonel Britten, F.R.H.S., Major G. Lambert, F.S.A., John Watney, Esq., F.S.A.

The names of the following Members of Council retiring having been reported, viz., Messrs. Watney, Thrupp, Kershaw, Peacock, Wadmore, Lieut.-Colonel Britten, Major Lambert, and the Rev. B. White,

It was resolved that Messrs. Kershaw, Wadmore, and Thrupp be re-elected.

It was further resolved that the following gentlemen be elected Members of Council : Mr. Frank Taylor, F.S.A., F.R.G.S., *vice* Lieut.-Colonel Britten, Mr. Ex-Sheriff Burt *vice* Major Lambert, Major Joseph *vice* Mr. Watney, Mr. C. R. Rivington *vice* Mr. Peacock, Mr. Tolhurst *vice* Rev. R. B. White.

A vacancy having occurred on the Council by the resignation of Professor Hales.

Resolved, "That Mr. Ambrose Heal be elected to fill the vacancy."

Resolved, "That Messrs. A. Ridley Bax and H. Blackwell be elected Auditors for the ensuing year."

Resolved, "That Mr. Thomas Milbourn be elected Honorary Secretary."

Resolved, "That the Rev. J. C. Jackson be elected an Honorary Member in recognition of his repeated efforts to promote the interests of the Society by lending valuable exhibits at the several meetings of the Society."

Resolved, "That a vote of thanks is due and is hereby given to the President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, Trustees, Council, Hon. Secretary, and Auditors for their Services to the Society during the past year."

The proceedings closed with a vote of thanks to the Chair.

A GENERAL MEETING of the Society was held at Edmonton, East Barnet, and Finchley on Thursday, the 26th July, 1888.

J. W. Butterworth, Esq., F.S.A., in the Chair.

The Members and friends met at Edmonton Parish Church, where an interesting paper descriptive of its history was read by the Vicar, the Rev. R. S. Gregory, M.A., and E. W. Brabrook, Esq., F.S.A., read a paper on the "Life and Death of the Merry Devil of Edmonton, and Cowper's popular story of John Gilpin in connection with the 'Bell' at Edmonton."

At East Barnet Church the Company were received by the Vicar, the Rev. C. E. Hadow, B.A., who offered some remarks on the architecture

of the church, and a paper was read by Mr. Brabrook which had been prepared by Mr. Kershaw on the History of the Church.

At Finchley Church Major George Lambert, F.S.A., read a lengthy and interesting paper on its history.

On leaving Finchley Church the Members and their friends (by special invitation) visited the house and grounds of F. C. Stephens, Esq., M.P., where they were most kindly received and hospitably entertained by Mr. and Mrs. Stephens.

AN EVENING MEETING was held on Thursday, 22nd November, 1888, at the Hall of the Worshipful Company of Mercers, by kind permission of the Master, Wardens, and Court of Assistants, Edward Howley Palmer, Esq., Master of the Company, in the Chair.

Edwin Freshfield, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A., President of the Society, addressed the meeting. The thanks of the Society are due to John Watney, Esq., F.S.A., not only for obtaining permission for the Society to meet in the Hall of the Company, but also for his interesting paper on the History of the Chapel of St. Thomas of Acon and the plate of the Company; and the Society is also again indebted to E. W. Brabrook, Esq., F.S.A., for his interesting paper on the History of the Company and its eminent Members. Further, the thanks of the Society are due to the Worshipful Company of Mercers for their hospitality to the Members and their friends on the occasion.

THE THIRTY-FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING

of the Society was held on Thursday, the 18th July 1889, at Danes Inn,

LIEUT-COL. BRITTON, F.R.H.S., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The notice convening the meeting having been read, and the minutes of previous meeting confirmed, the following report of the Council was read.

REPORT OF COUNCIL.

The Council, in presenting this their Thirty-fourth Annual Report, have again the pleasure of informing the Members that they have still further decreased the debt owing to Messrs. Nichols and Sons, having since the last audit paid them £50 on account.

The reason of the non-issue of a part since the last General Meeting has arisen through three causes. 1st. A desire not to incur the expense

of printing until the debt to Messrs. Nichols and Sons is still further decreased. 2nd. By the amount of printed material, viz., Major George Lambert's kind present of twenty pages of letterpress, containing an account of the meeting at the Goldsmiths' Hall, &c., being not sufficient for a part. 3rd. The promised account of St. John's Gate, Clerkenwell, by your President, Edwin Freshfield Esq., LL.D., V.P.S.A., not being yet completed. This delay Dr. Freshfield states has arisen through his having discovered a large amount of new unpublished materials relative to its history. As soon as this paper is received it is proposed to at once print and issue to the Members part 2 of vol. vii., with the title-page, preface, and index of vol. vi.

The Treasurer's account of income and expenditure (duly audited) is submitted herewith.

The Council again have the pleasure of congratulating the Members on the continued prosperity of the Society. The number of new Members elected during the past year has been small, but the deaths and resignations have been less than in any previous year, and afford proof that the Members desire to support the Society with a view to its permanent maintenance.

The work done by the Society since the last Annual General Meeting has not been so large as desired, but this has occurred through a want of material for Evening Meetings.

The General Meeting held at Edmonton, East Barnet, and Finchley on Thursday, the 26th July, 1888, and that held at Mercers' Hall on 22nd November, 1888, proved most successful.

The Summer Excursion of the Society will be held at Colchester on the 15th day of August.

The proposed Evening Meeting at the Brewers' Hall has been postponed until the next Evening Sessions.

The Library still receives additions from the several Societies in union.

The Council still begs to remind its Members of the great advantage which will accrue to the Society by inducing their friends to join, as by so doing the funds available for printing and publishing the transactions will be augmented.

The number of Members at the present time is as follows :—

Honorary	4
Life	36
Annual	155
Total	195

The following Gentlemen, Members of Council, retire by rotation in accordance with Rule 3, section 3, but are eligible for re-election, viz.:

Messrs. Colmer, Lambert, Tyssen, Milbourn, Kershaw, Smith, Pope, and Thrupp.

Mr. Thrupp, an old Member of Council, has intimated that, owing to his living a great distance from town, he is desirous to retire from the Council, consequently a vacancy requires to be filled up, and your Council recommend that Professor Hales be elected to fill such vacancy.

BALANCE SHEET, 1889.

FREDERICK GEORGE HILTON PRICE, Esq., Treasurer, in account with the
LONDON AND MIDDLESEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

<i>Cr.</i>	<i>£ s. d.</i>	<i>Dr.</i>	<i>£ s. d.</i>
To Balance from 1888	60 14 11	Mr. Ivatts', Collector, Commission	
" Subscriptions	135 9 0	for 1888, and Salary up to Xmas.	20 15 1
" Entrance Fees	1 0 0	Rent of Offices and Housekeeper .	18 18 3
" Sale of Publications	1 19 0	Expenses at Fishmongers' Hall .	8 7 6
, 1 Year's Dividend on £11 0s. 4d. Consolidated 2 ³ / ₄ per Cent.	0 6 4	Stationery and Postages of Notices, &c.	31 12 0
	<hr/> <hr/>	Nichols & Sons, Printers	50 0 0
		Balance	69 16 5
	<hr/> <hr/>		<hr/> <hr/>
	199 9 3		199 9 3

The Report of the Council and Balance Sheet were adopted, and the following Officers were re-elected, viz.: Patron, President, Treasurer, Trustees, Auditors, and Honorary Secretary.

The following Members of Council, retiring by rotation, were also re-elected, viz.:

Messrs. Colmer, Lambert, Tyssen, Milbourn, Kershaw, and Pope. In the place of Mr. Thrupp, who intimated his wish to retire, Professor Hales was elected.

A vote of thanks was unanimously passed to all the officers for their services during the past year.

A GENERAL MEETING of the Society was held at Colchester on Wednesday the 28th August, 1889. This Meeting was opened at the Castle under the presidency of J. W. Butterworth, Esq., F.S.A. (Vice-President), and the Members and their friends present were greatly indebted to Henry Laver, Esq., F.S.A., for conducting them over the Castle, St. Helen's Chapel, St. Botolph's Priory, St. John's Abbey Gateway, and Holy Trinity Church, and also for his admirable running description of these places. The Society are also indebted to George Joslin, Esq., for his kind permission to the Members to visit his valuable museum of Roman antiquities.

A SPECIAL GENERAL MEETING

was held at Danes Inn on 17th March, 1890.

JOSHUA W. BUTTERWORTH, Esq., F.S.A., Vice-President,
in the Chair.

Present: Messrs. Waller, Coleman, Shoppee, Barron, E. C. Hulme, Shepherd, Hyde Clarke, F. G. Hilton Price, G. Mills, Major Heales, J. Colmer, and Pope.

At the Chairman's request, the minutes of the Council of 10th March were read; also a letter to Mr. Milbourn, and his reply formally resigning the office of Hon. Secretary. The following Report was then submitted by the Council to the Meeting.

"The Council have to report to the Members of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, that in consequence of his numerous professional engagements Mr. Milbourn has found himself unable any longer to continue to perform the duties of Honorary Secretary, which office he has filled since 1886, and he has therefore placed his resignation in the hands of the Council.

"The Council are of opinion that the best thanks of the Society are due to Mr. Milbourn for having kindly undertaken the office at a time when the finances of the Society were embarrassed by a too lavish expenditure on its publications, resulting in a very considerable debt being due to Messrs. Nichols, the publishers.

"The Council have, however, the pleasure to inform the Members that that debt has now been very materially reduced, and they trust shortly to be in a position to resume the issue of papers, the publication of which has been unavoidably delayed for want of the necessary funds.

"The Council have the pleasure to inform the Members that Mr. Charles Welch, F.S.A., Librarian of the Corporation of London, and Mr. M. Pope have kindly undertaken to fill the post of Honorary Secretaries until the Annual General Meeting, and they recommend them for appointment accordingly."

Resolved, "That Mr. Milbourn's resignation be accepted."

Resolved, "That Mr. Pope (acting as Secretary) write to Mr. Milbourn expressing the Society's thanks to the effect set out in the above Report."

The Secretary read a letter from Mr. Charles Welch consenting to become Joint Honorary Secretary with Mr. Pope until the Annual General Meeting.

Resolved, "That the best thanks of this Meeting be given to Mr. Butterworth for the trouble he had taken in seeing Mr. Welch."

Resolved, "That Mr. Welch and Mr. Pope be appointed to act a Honorary Secretaries until the next Annual General Meeting."

A vote of thanks to Mr. Butterworth for presiding concluded the Proceedings.

A GENERAL MEETING of the Society was held in London on Tuesday, the 3rd of June, 1890. The Members and their friends met in the court-yard of the Bank of England, where the site of the church and church-yard of St. Christopher-le-Stocks was described by Dr. Edwin Freshfield, the President of the Society, who afterwards conducted the meeting along the course of the Wall Brook as far as the church of St. Margaret Lothbury. Here the font, sculptured by Grinling Gibbons, was described by the Rector, the Rev. Canon Ingram, who also exhibited the plans for the proposed restoration of the Church. The best thanks of the Society are due to the President for what was generally considered to be a most interesting and enjoyable ramble.

The company then proceeded to Brewers' Hall, at the kind invitation of the Master, Wardens, and Court of Assistants of the Company. The President occupied the chair, and papers were read by Charles Welch, Esq., F.S.A. (Honorary Secretary), on "The Early History of the Brewers' Company, as told by their own Records," and by E. W. Brabrook, Esq., F.S.A., Sec. R.S.L., "On some Eminent Members of the Company." An interesting exhibition of the Company's charters and early records was displayed in the Hall by the courtesy of the Clerk, W. C. Higgins, Esq. Votes of thanks to the Worshipful Company of Brewers for their courteous reception of the Society, to the President for his interesting address upon the Walbrook, and to both the readers of papers, were unanimously and heartily agreed to. The Meeting was well attended and very successful.

THE THIRTY-FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING

of the Society was held at 8, Danes Inn, on Monday, 14th July, 1890, at 4.30 p.m.,

J. W. BUTTERWORTH, Esq., F.S.A., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The notice convening the Meeting having been read, and the minutes of the last Annual Meeting and of the Special General Meeting held on the 17th March, 1890, having been read and confirmed, the Council's Report together with the Balance Sheet of receipts and expenditure for the past year was read, as follows :—

REPORT OF COUNCIL.

In accordance with their annual custom, the Council offer their thirty-fifth annual report to the Members of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, and have the satisfaction of informing them that since the last Annual Meeting they have further reduced the debt owing to Messrs. Nichols and Sons, printers, by £40. The amount of this debt, after payment of a further instalment of £50 out of the Treasurer's balance in hand and subscriptions now due, will be reduced to the manageable sum of £126 2s. 9d., or about a year's income of the Society.

For this satisfactory result the thanks of the Council are due to the generosity and forbearance of the whole body of Members, who have continued their subscriptions for a period during which the Council have been able to offer them little or nothing in the way of printed publications.

The index to volume 6 of the Society's Transactions is in the printer's hands, and will be issued to Members with the new part during the vacation. This volume, to which will be appended the two parts of volume 7, will conclude the first series of the Society's Transactions. With respect to the future, the Council are of opinion that more attention should be paid to the publication of original records relating to the City of London, as a means of securing a wider basis of support for the Society; and the Council cordially welcome the successful efforts made in this direction for the County of Middlesex by the Middlesex Record Society. The Council therefore propose to issue from time to time, in addition to the usual papers and proceedings, transcripts of original and unpublished records relating to London, believing that such a series, suitably selected,

will prove of great value to the London historian and antiquary. Some progress has already been made with the earliest *Inquisitiones post mortem*, and the roll of freemen and apprentices preserved in the Chamberlain's Court at Guildhall may be included if the permission of the Corporation can be obtained. As the first of a series of extra volumes the Council hope to present to the Members a transcript of the Book of Records of the Brewers' Company, 1418-1440 A.D., edited by your Hon. Secretary, Mr. Charles Welch, who has kindly undertaken to transcribe and edit this interesting volume as a present to the Society. The Council trust that they may rely upon the warm support of the Members of the Society in their attempt to occupy this too long neglected field of London archaeology. A substantial addition of new Members is needed to enable the Council to start the new Series of Transactions on a satisfactory basis. The number of Members for the present year is as follows :

Life	.	.	.	.	.	34
Honorary	.	.	.	.	.	5
Annual	.	.	.	.	.	140
Total					<u> </u>	<u>179</u>

During the past year the Society has lost by death two of its Members. The late Henry Campkin, F.S.A., Vice-President, was for many years a valued and active Member, and contributed to the Society's Transactions many papers of great interest and ability. The name of William Pitman will also be recommended as a warm friend of the Society and a constant attendant at its Meetings.

In the spring of the present year Mr. Thomas Milbourn, who had for many years occupied the office of Honorary Secretary, found himself obliged, through his increasing engagements, to resign that office. The Council feel that the Members of the Society will join with them in a cordial acknowledgment of the long services which Mr. Milbourn has generously rendered to the Society. It is with much pleasure that they announce that Mr. Charles Welch, F.S.A., Librarian to the Corporation of London, and Mr. M. Pope have consented to jointly undertake the duties of the office.

Since the last Annual Meeting two meetings of the Society have been held—on 28th August, 1889, at Colchester, and on 3rd June, 1890, at Brewers' Hall. Both meetings were very successful.

The Council beg to nominate their old and esteemed colleague and former Honorary Secretary, Mr. C. J. Shoppee, for election as a Vice-President of the Society.

The retiring Members of Council, in accordance with the rules, are Messrs. Ford, Heal, Rivington, Tayler, Tolhurst, and Wadmore, Major Joseph, and Sir Albert Woods, who are eligible for re-election. For the two vacancies in place of Messrs. Pope and Shoppee, and the four existing vacant seats, the Council propose the following gentlemen for election: Messrs. E. Baddeley, Wynne E. Baxter, R. Chandler, Hyde Clarke, George Shaw, and the Rev. Canon Benham.

The Treasurer's statement of account, duly audited, is appended.

BALANCE SHEET, 1890.

FREDERICK GEORGE HILTON PRICE, Esq., Treasurer, in account with the
LONDON AND MIDDLESEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

<i>Cr.</i>	<i>£ s. d.</i>	<i>Dr.</i>	<i>£ s. d.</i>
To Balance from 1889	69 16 5	Mr. Ivatts, for June, 1889	15 10 4
" Subscriptions	105 0 0	Do. Collector's Commission	
" Entrance Fees	2 10 6	for 1888 and Salary up to June,	
" Twelve Months' Dividend on £11 0s. 4d. Consolidated £1 per cent.	0 6 0	1890)	18 10 6
		Rent of Offices and Housekeeper's Fees	17 7 6
		Postages, &c.	9 17 6
		Hire of Chairs at Colchester Meeting	0 6 0
		Nichols and Sons, Printers	40 0 0
		Secretary's Petty Cash Expenses:	
		Index to Vol. 6 Transactions	£3 3 0
		Expenses at Brewers' Hall Meeting	6 19 10
		Transcripts for Transactions	1 11 9
		Insurance	0 5 0
		In hands of Secretary	3 0 5
		Balance carried forward	15 0 0
	<u>177 12 11</u>		<u>61 1 1</u>

F. G. HILTON PRICE, *Treasurer.*

Audited and found correct as above,

A. RIDLEY BAX.

11th July, 1890.

The Report of the Council and Balance Sheet were unanimously adopted, and the following officers were re-elected, viz.: Patrons, President, Vice-Presidents (with the addition of Mr. C. J. Shoppee, F.R.I.B.A.), Treasurer, and Honorary Secretaries. The following Members of Council, retiring by rotation, were re-elected, viz.: Messrs. Ford, Heal, Rivington, Tayler, Tolhurst, and Wadmore, Major Joseph, and Sir Albert Woods. The following six gentlemen were also elected

XL PROCEEDINGS AT THE MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY.

in place of Messrs. Pope and Shoppee, and to fill four further vacancies, viz.: Messrs. E. Baddeley, Wynne E. Baxter, R. Chandler, Hyde Clarke, George Shaw, and the Rev. Canon Benham. Messrs. A. R. Bax and E. H. Coleman were elected Auditors.

The following resolution was unanimously adopted on the motion of Mr. Hyde Clarke : "That the Council be requested to consider the advisability of addressing the Corporation on the desirability of publishing a record of the freemen and apprentices of the City, to be completed, so far as deficient, by transcripts from the records of the various Guilds."

Votes of thanks to the President and the rest of the officers closed the proceedings.

R U L E S.

I.—The title of this Society shall be—

"THE LONDON AND MIDDLESEX ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY."

II.—The objects of this Society shall be—

1. To collect and publish the best information on the ancient arts and monuments of the Cities of London and Westminster, and of the County of Middlesex : including primeval antiquities ; architecture—civil, ecclesiastical and military ; sculpture ; works of art in metal and wood ; paintings on walls, wood, or glass ; civil history and antiquities, comprising manors, manorial rights, privileges and customs ; heraldry and genealogy ; costume ; numismatics ; ecclesiastical history and endowments, and charitable foundations ; records, and all other matters usually comprised under the head of Archæology.

2. To procure careful observation and preservation of antiquities discovered in the progress of works, such as excavations for railways, foundations for buildings, &c.

3. To make, and to encourage individuals and public bodies in making, researches and excavations, and to afford them suggestions and co-operation.

4. To oppose and prevent, as far as may be practicable, any injuries with which monuments and ancient remains of every description may, from time to time, be threatened ; and to collect accurate drawings, plans, and descriptions thereof.

5. To found a Museum and Library for the reception, by way of gift, loan, or purchase, of works and objects of archaeological interest.

6. To arrange periodical meetings for the reading of papers, and the delivery of lectures, on subjects connected with the purposes of the Society.

III. The constitution and government of the Society shall be as follows:

1. The Society shall consist of members and honorary members.

2. Each member shall pay an entrance fee of ten shillings, and an annual subscription of one guinea, to be due on the 1st of January in each year, in advance, or £10 10s. in lieu of such annual subscription, as a composition for life.

3. The affairs of the Society shall be conducted by a Council of Management, to be elected by the Society at their Annual General Meeting, and to consist of Patrons, a President, Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, Trustees, a Secretary or Secretaries, and twenty members, eight of whom shall go out annually, by rotation, but be eligible for re-election. Five members of this Council shall form a quorum.

4. All payments to be made to the Treasurer of the Society, or to his account, at such banking house in the Metropolis as the Council may direct, and no cheque shall be drawn except by order of the Council, and every cheque shall be signed by two members thereof and the Secretary.

5. The property of the Society shall be vested in the Trustees.

6. The subscriptions of members shall entitle them to admission to all General Meetings, and to the use of the Library and Museum, subject to such regulations as the Council may make; and also to one copy of all publications issued by directions of the Council during their membership.

7. No member whose subscription is in arrear shall be entitled to vote at any Meeting of the Society, or to receive any of the Society's publications, or to exercise any privilege of membership; and if any member's subscription be twelve months in arrear, the Council may declare him to have ceased to be a member, and his membership shall thenceforth cease accordingly.

8. The name of every person desirous of being admitted a member shall, on the written nomination of a member of the Society, be submitted to the Council for election.*

* Copies of Forms of Admission to be had of the Secretaries.

9. Ladies desirous of becoming members will be expected to conform to the foregoing rule.

10. Persons eminent for their literary works or scientific acquirements shall be eligible to be associated with the Society as Honorary members, and to be elected by the Council.

11. The Lord Lieutenant of the county, the Lord Bishop of the diocese, the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, the High Steward of Westminster, Members of the House of Peers residing in or who are landed proprietors in the county; also all Members of the House of Commons representing the county, or the Metropolitan cities and boroughs; and such other persons as the Council may determine, shall be invited to become Vice-Presidents, if members of the Society.

12. An Annual General Meeting shall be held in the month of June or July 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 state of the Society, and to elect the officers for the ensuing twelve months.

13. There shall be also such other General Meetings, and Evening Meetings in each year as the Council may direct, for the reading of papers and other business; these meetings to be held at times and places to be appointed by the Council.

14. The Council may at any time call a Special General Meeting, and they shall at all times be bound to do so on the written requisition of ten members, specifying the nature of the business to be transacted. Notice of the time and place of such meeting shall be sent to the members at least fourteen days previously, mentioning the subject to be brought forward, and no other subject shall be discussed at such meeting.

15. The Council shall meet at least once in each month for the transaction of business connected with the management of the Society, and shall have power to make their own rules as to the time for and mode of summoning such meetings.

16. At every meeting of the Society, or of the Council, the resolutions of the majority shall be binding, though all persons entitled to vote be not present; and at such meetings the chairman shall have an independent as well as a casting vote.

17. The whole effects and property of the Society shall be under the control and management of the Council, who shall be at liberty to purchase books, casts, or other articles, or to exchange or dispose of duplicates thereof.

18. The Council shall have the power of publishing such papers and engravings as may be deemed worthy of being printed, together with a Report of the proceedings of the Society.

19. One-half of the composition of each life member, and so much of the surplus of the income as the Council may direct (after providing for the current expenses), shall be invested in Government securities, to such extent as the Council may deem most expedient; the interest only to be available for the current disbursements, and no portion shall be withdrawn without the sanction of a General Meeting.

20. The Council shall be empowered to appoint Local Secretaries in such places in the county as may appear desirable.

21. Honorary members and Local Secretaries shall have all the privileges of members, but shall not be entitled to vote, or to receive any of the Society's publications, except by special order of the Council in consideration of services rendered to the Society.

22. Two members shall be annually appointed to audit the accounts of the Society, and to report thereon at the next Annual General Meeting.

23. No polemical or political discussions shall be permitted at meetings of the Society, nor topics of a similar nature admitted in the Society's publications.

24. No change shall be made in the rules of the Society, except at a Special General Meeting.

SOCIETIES AND INSTITUTIONS IN UNION FOR
INTERCHANGE OF PUBLICATIONS, &c.

THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES, *Burlington House.*

THE ROYAL INSTITUTE OF BRITISH ARCHITECTS, 9, *Conduit-street*
Hanover-square, W.C.

THE ARCHITECTURAL SOCIETY OF THE ARCHDEACONY OF NORTH-
AMPTON.

THE BUCKINGHAMSHIRE ARCHITECTURAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL
SOCIETY, *Aylesbury.*

THE CAMBRIDGE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY, *Cambridge.*

THE ROYAL INSTITUTE OF CORNWALL, *Truro.*

THE ESSEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY, *Leigh Hill, Southend.*

THE ESSEX FIELD CLUB, *Woodford, Essex, E.*

THE EXETER DIOCESAN ARCHITECTURAL SOCIETY, *The Close, Exeter.*

THE HISTORIC SOCIETY OF LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE, *Renshaw-
street, Liverpool.*

THE INSTITUTION OF SURVEYORS, *Great George-street.*

THE KENT ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY, *Maidstone.*

THE OXFORD ARCHITECTURAL SOCIETY, *Turl-street.*

THE POWYS LAND CLUB, *Gungrog, Welshpool.*

THE ST. ALBAN'S ARCHITECTURAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

THE SHROPSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY,
College-hill, Shrewsbury.

THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, *Washington, N.A.*

THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE, *Bigg
Market, Newcastle.*

THE SOMERSETSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY, *Taunton.*

THE SUFFOLK INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY, *Lowestoft.*

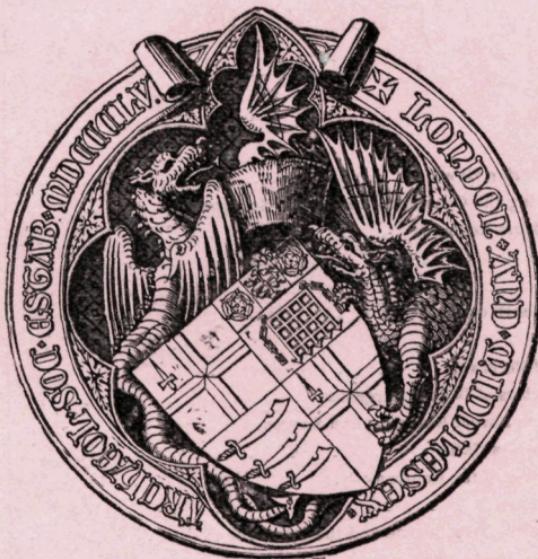
THE SURREY ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY, 8, *Dance's-inn, Strand, W.C.*

THE SUSSEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY, *Lewes.*

THE YORKSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY, *Huddersfield.*

TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
LONDON AND MIDDLESEX
Archæological Society.

PART XVII.—PART I. OF VOLUME VI.



L O N D O N :

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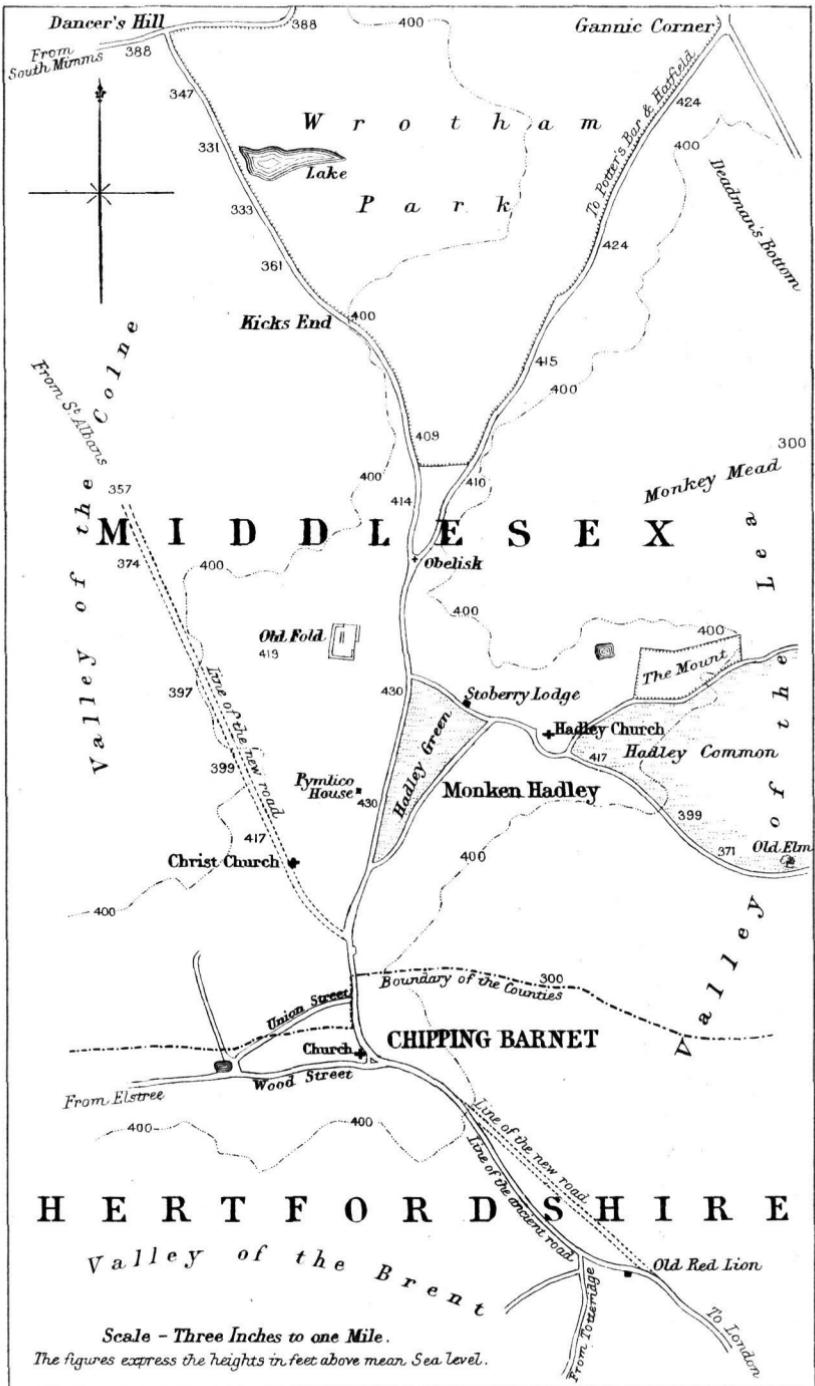
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TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
LONDON AND MIDDLESEX
Archæological Society.

VOL. VI.

JANUARY 1882.

Part I.

THE BATTLE OF BARNET.

BY FREDERICK CHARLES CASS, M.A., OF BALLIOL COLLEGE,
OXFORD, RECTOR OF MONKEN HADLEY.

"I will away towards Barnet presently."

Hen. VI. iii. act v. sc. 1.

IT is almost a truism to observe that whatever attraction in the present attaches to the place we inhabit is heightened by an interest derived from past associations. This is no more than to say that, as we gaze around us, we love to reproduce in fancy everything of moment that the scene we are contemplating has witnessed in bygone times. Pilgrims to the field of Waterloo will never be wanting, and, did not distance and want of communication interpose obstacles, there would be many found ready to gratify their eyes with a sight of the valley where the six hundred rode at Balaclava.

The troubled period of early English history commonly identified with the Wars of the Roses has always exercised a peculiar fascination over the mind of the student, and one of its most important episodes, if not the most decisive of all, was the great battle fought on Easter Day, 14 April 1471, in the imme-

diate neighbourhood of Barnet. It has been said that the fifteenth century was not remarkable for its great men, that few leading spirits passed across the stage to leave their individual impression on succeeding generations, and the assertion may not perhaps, up to a certain point, be destitute of truth. An eminent modern writer has pronounced it a degraded age, and has gone so far as to argue that “the vulgar neatness and deceptive regularity”* of its very penmanship are suggestive of decadence. But if undistinguished by any marked personality in the characters which it produced, it was at least an era in which secret forces were at work to prepare for and shape a vast social and religious revolution that was to come. Education was extending, and the interesting Paston correspondence may be taken as a proof that ability to write was growing common.† The Pastons were a wealthy and respectable family in Norfolk, which indicates that a rank below the highest aristocracy was participating in the movement of the age. National and domestic life, considered apart from the events which historians have mostly seized upon, were becoming gradually moulded into, and insensibly drawing towards, the form which they were to bear afterwards. French and Latin, as official languages, were giving place by degrees to English, and the change grew more and more conspicuous when the loss of her

* Canon Stubbs; Constitutional Hist. of England. See art. in Edin. Review July 1879.

† This collection contains a letter, dated 23 Feb. 1478/9 from William Paston, junr. then a scholar at Eton. Eton and King's College Cambridge were founded by Henry VI. about 1440—1. Hallam, Lit. of Europe, i. 168, 169. Middle Ages iii. 597. Fenn's Paston Letters, *Letter 405*.

French provinces led to a complete separation of this country from France. Men's wills about this time began to be transcribed in the mother tongue. Wealthy citizens and their wives, as their testamentary dispositions prove, amassed plate and jewellery, furs, and rich robes. Towards the close of the century they were possessed of a few printed books. But during that interval of civil strife and bloodshed busy brains were agitating in secret the questions that were to strive after an open solution at a later day. The dawn might be lurid and tempestuous, but a bright morning was to follow. Art and letters, which for centuries had vegetated with sickly growth in monastic seclusion, had reached the limits beyond which no further development was possible, except under changed conditions. The change had at last come, and already they were ripening into the vital energy that should inspire them with vigour to blossom into newness of life. The following century was the age of the so-called Renaissance, the age of the great Italian painters, of Leo X., of the Medici at Florence, of the Reformation, of the Elizabethan statesmen and discoverers. In 1471, the year of the battle of Barnet, William Caxton set up a printing press at Bruges.* In 1483 Martin Luther was born. In 1492 Columbus discovered America. In 1497 Vasco de Gama doubled the Cape of Good Hope and opened a new path to India.

Not to travel too far beyond the limits of this island, it is noteworthy that, whilst the rivalry of the royal

* He came to England, as is supposed, in 1476, and the first book printed in England, though not the first English book that he printed, was produced in 1477.

houses in England had well nigh extinguished the old nobility, preparing the way to its later and easy subjugation under the Tudors, and the uprising of a new aristocracy, recruited largely from the ranks of commerce, in France Louis XI. was silently occupied, with spider-like ingenuity, in consolidating the monarchy by bringing the great fiefs of the crown within his control. A like result was consequently in course of accomplishment at the same time, though by different agencies, in the two neighbouring nations. Henry VII. and Charles VIII., on ascending their respective thrones, found a stage cleared for them, the one through violence and the other by statecraft. In religion the storm was already gathering, which, in the succeeding generation, burst at the invocation of Luther and shook the spiritual supremacy of Rome to its base. Wycliffe had come and gone. Lollardy, as it was called, was rife in the land as early as the reigns of Henry IV and Henry V. if not before. In the year 1427 one William Redhed of Barnet, a maltman, being suspected of it, renounced his heresy. Report went that he had become infected by the pernicious doctrines of the then rector of Totteridge.

The annalists of the period were possessed of such scanty sources of information, and have handed down to us statements so conflicting, and so coloured with partisan bias, that the events chronicled, if we confined ourselves to these, would restrict us within the limits of a very meagre and unsatisfactory narrative. To form a correct estimate, however, of the value of any historical fact, one must be acquainted with the incidents preceding, contemporary, and subsequent, and this applies not only to history on a large scale,—

the history, that is, of a nation, of an epoch, of a political convulsion, in other words, of a revolution,—but to every detail of history, to every episode of history. A French historian has lately written that “pour avoir une notion juste de l’État, de la religion, du droit, de la richesse, il faut être au préalable historien, jurisconsulte, économiste, avoir recueilli des myriades de faits et posséder, outre une vaste érudition, une finesse très-exerçée et toute spéciale.”* In the present instance, accordingly, disavowing all pretension to any of these qualifications, it will be well to run through some of the leading historical events that preceded and led up to the great battle. To do this we must go back three-quarters of a century, to the commencement of that dynastic change which occasioned so much subsequent un settlement in the succession to the English throne.

After the deposition of Richard II in 1399 and the usurpation of his cousin the crown was a subject of contention, until the overthrow of Richard III at Bosworth, in 1485, placed it, for upwards of a century, on the head of the Tudors. In 1377 Edward III, having outlived his early fame, had closed a long reign of fifty years and was succeeded by his grandson Richard II, the only child of the Black Prince, who died in his father’s lifetime. The well-known John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, father of Henry IV,—“old John of Gaunt, time-honour’d Lancaster,”—had been a personage of considerable importance in the kingdom during the minority of his nephew, but had failed to

* H. Taine, *l’Ancien Régime*, p. 239.

achieve popularity. He was the third, but eldest surviving, son of Edward III at the date of his father's death. An elder brother, Lionel, duke of Clarence, the second son of Edward, had, however, left a daughter Philippa, who married Edmund Mortimer, earl of March. Roger Mortimer, earl of March, their son, killed by the rebels in Ireland in 1399, the year of Richard's dethronement, was the legitimate representative of the Plantagenets, in the event of Richard's decease without issue. He left a son Edmund, his successor in the earldom, and a daughter Anne Mortimer, who, upon her brother's death issueless, became the heiress of the house of Clarence.

There remained a yet younger son of Edward, named Edmund, styled of Langley from his birth-place at King's Langley in Hertfordshire, where he lies buried, and where his tomb in the church has been recently restored and a stained window presented by the Queen to commemorate the royal connection with the village. This prince, previously earl of Cambridge, was raised to the dukedom of York. Richard, earl of Cambridge, his son, beheaded in 1415, married that Anne Mortimer, of whom mention has just been made as the heiress of the house of Clarence, and from this alliance was born Richard duke of York, father of Edward IV. It is necessary to keep this connection in view, as it was afterwards made the foundation of the Yorkist claim to the crown. The descendant of Lionel duke of Clarence was the direct heiress, and the representative of the younger, or Yorkist, branch, by his intermarriage with that heiress, pretended to a joint inheritance of her title.

By combining astuteness with sagacity Henry IV succeeded in keeping what he had acquired, though with reason enough for the conclusion that “uneasy lies the head that wears a crown.” The parting injunction delivered to his son, that he should not suffer his dominions to remain at peace, but keep his turbulent subjects, especially the barons, always employed in foreign war, furnishes the key to his policy. Usurper that he was, he gladly obtained a parliamentary sanction to his elevation, and thereby hoped to supply the defect of hereditary right. In the hour of his accession he was the popular idol.

—“ All tongues cried—God save thee, Bolingbroke !
You would have thought the very windows spake,
So many greedy looks of young and old
Through casements darted their desiring eyes
Upon his visage.”*

His brilliant successor, grace to his achievements in France and the crowning victory of Agincourt, was, at the time of his premature death, firmly seated upon the throne both by parliamentary sanction and the predominance of individual character. The royal authority, as distinct from personal influence, was weak notwithstanding. A taint of usurpation still rested upon it, and his cousin, the earl of Cambridge, had been executed in 1415, on a charge of conspiracy against him.

The position and prospects of the feeble infant, Henry VI, not yet a year old, whom he left behind him, were more precarious. John duke of Bedford

* Rich. II. act v. sc. 2.

and Humphry duke of Gloucester, the two brothers of Henry V, were in their way remarkable men,—the one distinguished for his statesmanlike qualities and the other one of the earliest promoters of learning,—but the former was removed by death in 1435, and the latter was of too unstable and self-seeking a disposition to guide the national destinies. His place of burial in St. Alban's abbey is well known, and he bequeathed a library,* valuable for the time, to the university of Oxford. Amongst those who came under his patronage were Lydgate the poet and John of Whethamstede, the versifying abbot of St. Alban's, who composed the inscription on Thomas Frowyke within the tower of South Mimms church.

As Henry advanced to manhood, a natural weakness of character was redeemed by personal blamelessness, by upright principles, by a love of everything that was pure and true, by the patronage of letters, and by a conscientious desire to promote the happiness and welfare of his people. These qualities, added to the prestige of his father's exploits, no doubt went far something in securing his position for a time. The rapid extinction of the English power in France had caused the French nation to be regarded in a very hostile spirit, and the supposed ascendancy of Margaret of Anjou's resolute character over her husband began to be dreaded. Normandy had been already wrested from England in 1450, Guienne in 1451, Bordeaux in 1453. Calais alone remained. The insanity of the King—an hereditary taint derived from

* Hallam, Lit. of Europe, i. 110. ii. 260.

his grandfather, Charles VI of France, eventually brought the rival parties in the state face to face. The influence of the Queen had been considerably augmented by the birth of a Prince of Wales in October 1453, whilst, about the same date, the King's malady visited him in an apparently hopeless form. It was expedient that the direction of affairs should be committed to a regent for the time that the royal incapacity lasted, and the popular inclination pointed to Richard duke of York, who has been described as "a prince of no mean capacity, distinguished for his bravery, but of an irresolute and feeble character, indiscreet, fickle, and obstinate by turns."^{*} Hume says he "was a man of valour and abilities, of a prudent conduct and mild dispositions."[†] In February 1454 he was named Protector, but his authority terminated with the Christmas following, when the King regained possession of his faculties.

From this period Henry, though in the intervals of his disease able in some measure to reassert himself, was more or less an instrument in the hands of others. After his first recovery he allowed himself to be governed by the advice of the duke of Somerset, who had suffered imprisonment for supposed mismanagement of the English interests in France. The duke of York, with Richard Nevile earl of Salisbury and his more famous son Richard earl of Warwick, withdrew to the north, and the civil war soon afterwards began with the first battle of St. Alban's, fought on the 22 of

* Lord Brougham, *England and France under the House of Lancaster*, p. 319.

† Vol. iv. 52. ed. of 1793.

May 1455, when Somerset was killed and King Henry wounded in the neck with an arrow. With varying fortune the struggle continued during the ensuing years. Pretentious reconciliations that bore no fruit and shifting party combinations followed, but it speedily became apparent that the nation, broadly considered, was divided at this time between the party of the Queen and the party of the duke of York, and that the question must be left to the sword to decide. It would demand more space than we can afford were it attempted, however briefly, to run through all the leading incidents of this fratricidal strife. At length, in 1460, the earl of March, who now comes prominently to the front, and who is better known as Edward IV, eldest son of the duke of York, crossed from Ireland with the earls of Salisbury * and Warwick. King Henry was shortly afterwards taken prisoner at Northampton, and the duke of York not only reassumed his functions as Protector but asserted a claim to the throne itself as rightful heir. A compromise was effected between the parties, by which it was stipulated and agreed that Henry should enjoy the crown for his life, but that the duke and his heirs should succeed him.

Margaret of Anjou was not one to acquiesce tamely in such a renunciation of her son's birthright, and at the sanguinary battle of Wakefield her forces defeated those of the duke of York, and he himself was slain. The story is well known how the overbearing woman

* Lord Salisbury was the son of Ralph Neville, earl of Westmoreland. His sister had married Richard duke of York.

in the full flush of victory caused a paper crown to be affixed in mockery to her dead adversary's head, which was afterwards exposed upon the wall of York beside that of lord Salisbury, taken prisoner and decapitated at the same time.

The young earl of March became at once the inheritor of his father's pretensions. Upon his unopposed entrance into London after a second engagement at St. Alban's, in which, notwithstanding, the Lancastrians had the advantage, in February 1461, he was declared King, and Henry solemnly deposed. The years of the reign of Edward IV are reckoned from this time.

We must hurry past the terrible slaughter of Towton, where the hopes of the Red Rose underwent an utter overthrow, with all the stormy incidents of the next ten years, during which Edward's throne was assailed from time to time by the partisans of the Lancastrian cause, and come to the events which immediately conducted to the engagement with which we are concerned at this moment. At the accession of Edward, Margaret and her son escaped to the Continent, whilst her consort, after an interval of wandering and concealment, became a prisoner in the Tower as soon as the battle of Hexham was lost in 1464.

A word must now be said concerning the two leading characters, who from this time occupy the centre of the picture, and whose antagonism came to a close on Barnet field.

Edward, who was only nineteen years of age at the time of his elevation to the throne, was tall of stature, singularly handsome, winning in manners, pleasure-

loving and self-indulgent, but, beneath this fascinating exterior, calculating, crafty, fearless, dissolute, cruel, and vindictive. That was not an age in which the gentler qualities of human nature had much scope for development in public men. He knew neither forbearance nor pity where there was an end to compass, and, being possessed of abilities above the average, was restrained by no scruple as to their employment. Like his contemporary Louis XI, his policy guided him towards the acquisition of absolute power, and with the citizens and their wives, a class now rising into new importance through the extinction of the old nobility, he achieved an immense popularity. The story is told of him that, when he asked a rich old lady for ten pounds towards a war with France, she answered, “For thy comely face thou shalt have twenty.” The King thanked and kissed her, and the old woman made the twenty forty.*

Richard Neville, earl of Warwick, commonly known as the *King-maker*, Edward’s powerful supporter at the beginning, though afterwards his most formidable adversary, owned vast possessions,† besides holding the important post of governor of Calais. No other nobleman could summon so many vassals and retainers into the field. It is said that, when he came to London, six oxen were consumed at a breakfast at Warwick’s Inn in Holborn. He was in short a splendid outcome of feudalism and, being already the eldest son of the earl

* Green, Hist. of the English People, ii. 27.

† Philippe de Comines says that he received 80,000 crowns a year from appointments, in addition to his private property (*son patrimoine*).

of Salisbury, by a marriage with the heiress of the Beauchamps had acquired the Warwick title and estates. His character has been variously estimated. Hume insists upon his lavish hospitality and the magnificence of his tastes. The Burgundian chronicler,* a contemporary personally acquainted with the leading characters of his day, accuses him of double-dealing,— “tels ouvrages ne se sçavoient passer sans dissimulation.”† We are perhaps justified in conceiving him to have been an able general and far-seeing politician, though at the same time greedy of wealth, jealous of power, and unscrupulous in the choice of means to secure either. Under conditions in which right is ever with the strongest, generosity and the other more humane qualities are not apt to be much considered. Warwick must be judged of according to the standard of his day, and by no severer test. To him Edward in a great measure owed his throne and, in return, honours had been showered upon the house of Nevile without stint. His brother, lord Montagu, in requital of the victory of Hexham, had been created earl of Northumberland, and endowed with the forfeited lands of the Percies. Another brother, George, was made archbishop of York and Chancellor.

The marriage of Edward with the fair widow,‡ Elizabeth Wydevile, in 1464, effected an unavoidable change in the relations hitherto subsisting between him and Warwick. The policy of the latter had lain in

* Philippe de Comines.

† A French commentator explains this word by *fourberie*.

‡ Her first husband, Sir John Grey, had fallen, on the Lancastrian side, in the second battle of St. Alban's.

the direction of a foreign alliance, as some equivalent for the loss of the French provinces. With a statesman's intuition he perceived that, in promoting a good understanding between Edward and Louis, opposed as the two men were by nature, he should best checkmate the hostility of Margaret. So long as Margaret of Anjou, a French princess, could look for French assistance, there was no likelihood of the house of York remaining securely seated on the English throne. But, when the King married a subject, the hopes based upon this policy totally failed. Besides which, the Wydevile family aimed at making themselves a power in the state, and were eager for the acquisition of rewards and dignities. At length an animosity which had long smouldered broke out into a flame. In 1469 the government fell absolutely into Warwick's hands, the King became his prisoner, and the ascendancy of the Wydeviles received a check. Early in the following year the position of parties was once more reversed. This time it was Warwick's turn to flee and seek refuge abroad, but he had the King's younger brother, the duke of Clarence, in his company, and there can be little doubt but what the intention was to depose Edward and make Clarence, who had married Warwick's daughter Isabel, king in his brother's stead.

The result of Warwick's flight was a reconciliation with Margaret, through the intervention of the French King, who saw thereby a means of strengthening himself against the duke of Burgundy, and on the 13 Sep. 1470 the earl and Clarence, with Pembroke *

* Jasper Tudor, son of Sir Owen Tudor by Katharine of Valois, widow of Henry V.

and Oxford, sailing from Harfleur, landed at Dartmouth, issued proclamations in the name of Henry,* and marched straightway towards the north, where Edward was engaged in quelling an insurrection. He had relied much on the support of Montagu, Warwick's brother, whom he had created Marquis,—a profitless dignity,—in lieu of the earldom of Northumberland and its lands, restored to the Percies. Montagu had cherished ever since a secret hope of revenge, and his soldiers, to Edward's dismay, now raised the cry of 'Long live King Henry.' The Yorkist king perceived that there was not an instant to lose. Riding through the night, accompanied by 800 men, from Yorkshire to King's Lynn in Norfolk, crossing the Wash at some risk and with the loss of certain of his company,† he embarked with his followers on the 3rd of October in a few trading vessels for Alkmaar in Holland, where he threw himself on the protection of Charles duke of Burgundy, who had married his sister, Margaret of York. Shortly before her husband's flight, on the night of Oct. 1, the Queen had secretly stolen out of the Tower and gone by water to sanctuary at Westminster,‡ where a little later she gave birth to a son, afterwards the unfortunate Edward V. On Monday 22 October the unhappy Henry VI was removed from the lodging, which he had previously occupied, and transferred to

* Fabyan's Chronicle, ed. 1559.

† Fabyan.

‡ Stow, ed. 1615. Fabyan says that she rode into Westminster, and there registered herself for a *sanctuary woman*, with many other of Edward's friends.

the royal quarters in the Tower, but, upon the arrival of Clarence with lord Warwick and others on the Saturday following, he was conducted with all honour to the bishop's palace at St. Paul's.* There would seem, however, to have been no hesitation as to his incapacity to govern, and, though acknowledged once more as King,† Clarence and Warwick were appointed joint protectors of the realm during the minority of the young Edward, Prince of Wales, Henry's son.

Charles of Burgundy at first gave his guest a cold welcome, not willing to precipitate a rupture with Louis XI, and despatched the Lancastrian dukes of Somerset and Exeter, who since Towton had resided at his court, to Paris, to assure Margaret of his neutrality. By-and-by, apprehending that in any contest with France the weight of England might be thrown into the scale against him, owing to the good understanding between Louis and the present heads of the Lancastrian party, he determined to render assistance to his brother-in-law.

We are now brought to the commencement of 1471. Lord Warwick, apprized in January of the Yorkist intentions, ordered Montagu to levy an army in the north, and on the 2 of March, furnished with money

* Fabyan.

† In evidence of the general acquiescence in the restored order of things may be adduced the wills of Philip de la Place and William Elmett, which respectively bear date the 8 and 26 March, 1470—1. The former was proved P. C. C. on 18 April, the Thursday after the battle of Barnet. Both of them are headed “the yere of our lord god 1470, and the yere from the begynnyng of the reign of King Heury the vijth xlix, and of the getyng ageyne of his royll power the first yere.” Book Wattis 1. 2.

by the duke of Burgundy, by whose instrumentality ships had likewise been equipped for him at Terveer in Zealand, Edward set sail from Flushing. In sight of Cromer, on the Norfolk coast, he sent on shore to discover how the country was affected; but learning that considerable preparations had been made in that quarter by the earl of Oxford * to resist him, he steered northwards, and on the 14th landed at Ravenspur, at the estuary of the Humber, on the Holderness or northern shore, the site of which has disappeared in sandbanks. He had with him a force of 2000 men, including a small body of trained German soldiers, armed with hand-guns, then a new weapon in war.† It is noteworthy that Henry of Bolingbroke had disembarked at the same place, when on his way to dethrone Richard II., and, adopting a similar line of policy, Edward in the first instance pushed on to York, where he received admission on the plea that his only purpose was to claim its dukedom, his rightful inheritance.

Warwick, in the meantime, had been anxiously looking for Margaret's return to England. Since the previous November she had been on the opposite coast, awaiting a favourable wind for her passage,‡ but still the wind continued adverse and delayed her presence

* Oxford, who had estates at Wivenhoe in Essex, was strong in the eastern counties.

† Fleetwood says he landed with 500 men. This may, however, refer to the number of those who actually disembarked with himself. Fabyan makes the number "about 1000 in all," and calls the foreign soldiers *Flemings*.

‡ Fabyan.

where, at such a crisis, it was most needed. On the 23 of February, a week before the departure of Edward's expedition, the duke of Exeter had come to London and, on the following day, Warwick rode through the city towards Dover in the hope of meeting the Queen. She came not, and after a time he returned to London, the progress of events requiring him elsewhere.*

To go back to Edward, who without delay set forward with his little army from York. As he went southwards numbers flocked to his standard. We have to bear in mind the conditions of military service under the feudal tenure, according to which every great lord led his own vassals and retainers into the field. So long, therefore, as the adhesion of any powerful noble remained in doubt, the expectations built upon his support could never fail to be a source of uneasiness. Upon the attitude of Clarence and Montagu everything now seemed to hinge, but as Edward approached Pontefract, Montagu, who lay there, made no sign. He may not even have been aware of the nearness of the invading force, which at this point diverged four miles from the straight road and thereby passed unobserved, resuming the direct way afterwards.† Fabyan says that by favour and fair words he passed him, since Montagu, who had a far superior force at command, might have arrested his progress, had he so willed it. At all events, on reaching Nottingham, being already, as is said, at the head of 4000 men and, whether by cajolery or stratagem,

* Fabyan.

† Grafton, ed. of 1569, p. 702.

having Montagu now well in his rear, Edward first openly threw off the mask and issued proclamations as King. From Nottingham, following the direct road, he advanced to Leicester and thence to Coventry, where Warwick, having hastened from the capital, was awaiting reinforcements under Clarence and Montagu. Here Edward offered him battle, which the earl declined, in uncertainty as to the course that might be adopted by either leader, and the result justified his apprehensions, for the arrival of Clarence—"false, fleeting, perjur'd Clarence"**—was immediately succeeded by a reconciliation with his brother and the junction of their forces. Warwick himself would perhaps have willingly evaded the gathering peril by a like treachery, had not the coming of the duke of Exeter and earl of Oxford, two staunch Lancastrians, compelled him to stand firm. It is almost impossible—the accounts are so conflicting—to arrive at any assured conclusion as to the relative strength of the opposing forces at this juncture. That of the earl may have been at this time inferior in numbers, and he may have still entertained doubts of his brother's fidelity. The approach of the latter notwithstanding drove Edward to a prompt decision, and it became the question of the hour which of the rival armies should first gain London. In this Edward was once more successful. Outmarching his adversary and passing through St. Alban's in his way, he appeared before the city gates on the 11 of April, being the Thursday before Easter. The occasion was critical. Any delay

* Richard III. act i. sc. 4.

or obstruction that gave time for the arrival of Warwick and his army might have reversed the posture of affairs.

King Henry and the archbishop of York, Warwick's brother, were at the bishop of London's palace, having ridden through the streets, at the rumour of Edward's approach, to urge the people to be true. The heart of the citizens was however with the Yorkist prince. The towns had as a rule espoused his cause. Thomas Urswyke, the recorder, with certain of the leading aldermen, having ordered the armed population, who were keeping the city "in harness," to go home to their dinners, Edward was by them admitted within the walls through a postern gate.* From this moment the city was won, and though the citizens were at first sharply rebuked for their desertion they were promptly retaken into favour. Edward's first act on entering London was to ride to St. Paul's, where he made an offering "at the rood of the north door,"† proceeding thence to the bishop of London's palace, where he found Henry almost alone. King Henry and the archbishop were consigned the same afternoon to the Tower, but it is open to question whether the latter had not connived at the whole proceeding.‡ Urswyke was knighted immediately, and on the following 22 May—the very day of Henry's death—

* Warkworth Chronicle, 15. 21.

† Fabyan.

‡ Sir John Paston writes on the 18 April;—"My lord archbishop is in the Tower; nevertheless I trust to God that he shall do well enough: he hath a safeguard for him and me both; nevertheless we have been troubled since, but now I understand that he hath a pardon; and so we hope well."

raised to the dignity of Chief Baron of the Exchequer.*

Edward made no long stay in London. Warwick was in pursuit, and it was essential that his progress should be barred. Intelligence had been transmitted that he had advanced as far as Barnet † and the news overran the city like wildfire. Dividing his army into four parts, ‡ Edward sallied forth to meet his foe. Everything had been prepared effectually, even if hurriedly, as for a supreme effort. To the force which he had brought with him to London was joined a company of young, vigorous, and picked men, fully equipped with the newest weapons and engines of warfare that the age could furnish. His army was in short well found in every appliance that money, employed without stint, could procure. Accordingly, though he had only entered the city on Thursday, he rode out towards Barnet on Saturday afternoon, being Easter Eve, with the hapless Henry VI in his company, prepared, it may be, to turn the presence of his captive to account, should he himself be placed in jeopardy. On reaching Barnet, "ten small miles distant," as the old chronicler has it, his advanced guard drove out of the town some of lord Warwick's scouts and pursued them for more than half a mile, until, "by an hedge side," they found themselves face to face with a considerable body of the enemy.

We left Warwick at Coventry. His cause demanded expedition, and he resolved upon a vigorous pursuit of the enemy, in the hope that some detention, how-

* Foss, Judges, iv. 458.

† St. Alban's, according to Rapin, i. 613. ‡ Halle. Grafton.

ever slight, might impede his march and force him to accept battle before he could reach London. London, as Warwick was well persuaded, was incapable of defence, whilst its citizens, however affected at heart, would probably cast in their lot with the stronger party. Still he trusted that Edward might be kept outside the walls till he could come up with him.* But as he advanced the tidings of Edward's peaceful entry were brought to him, and he determined to stake everything upon the issue of one decisive engagement. With this purpose he halted at St. Alban's, as well to refresh his troops as to consider his plans. Thence he removed to Barnet, about ten miles distant from either place.† Not along the monotonously even road that now stretches between Barnet and the summit of Ridge hill, but by narrow devious tracks no longer frequented, along the irregular street of South Mimms village, over the high bridge at the Wash, which there are grounds for conceiving to have been already in existence,‡ past Dancer's hill § and Kick's end, the array of mounted knights, and stalwart archers and bill-men, and roystering condottieri, or free companies, ready to cut anybody's throat for hire, came thronging on, until Gladmore heath was occupied, then an open plain to the north of the little town of Barnet. There

* Rapin.

† Grafton.

‡ Roger Wright, of Hadley, maltman, in his will, dated 2 May, 1502, leaves 20*s.* to the repair of the "high waye betwene hight brygge & the strete of Southymymes." Hist. of the Parish of Monken Hadley, 132.

§ John Coningsby esq. in his will, dated 28 June 1543, speaks of his messuage and lands at "Daunsters hill in Southe-mymes."

can be no doubt as to the locality. Sir John Paston, who was engaged in the battle on the Lancastrian side, writing to his mother from sanctuary in London on the Thursday following, states it to have taken place half a mile from Barnet, which agrees exactly with the spot mentioned by Edward Halle, judge in the sheriff's court, and therefore a competent authority, who died in 1547, sufficiently near the date to have conversed in his lifetime with some who were present. "This toune" (Barnet), he says, "standeth on a hill, on whose toppe is a faire plain, for twoo armes to joyne together;" and on one part of this plain Warwick "pitched his field." Another annalist* employs the same expression, "halfe a mile from Barnet." The present Hadley green, with the level ground contiguous to it, exactly answers the description.

The position was well chosen, though we have to bear in mind the altered conditions of military science at the present day. A modern commander similarly circumstanced would doubtless have occupied the little town in force, entrenching himself along the high ground sloping towards the south-east between the top of Barnet hill and Hadley church, and placing his reserves somewhere to the west on Barnet common to secure his right flank from being turned. With his artillery he would have swept the ascent of Barnet hill and would have taken care to line the edge of Hadley wood with riflemen. It is worth any one's while to rest for a few moments at the eastern entrance of the town and study the fair prospect that lies at his

* Stow.

feet. Before all things let him bear in mind that the embankment carrying the high road, which is in a state of continual disintegration, was only constructed within living memory, and that the ancient roadway passed close to the Old Red Lion at the foot of the hill and the outlet of the Totteridge lane. He can hardly fail to observe that a ridge in his front, taking a south easterly direction, divides the prospect into two pleasant valleys, what may be termed a *mamelon*, of slight elevation, terminating this ridge just beyond the present railway station. The ridge in question, along which the road leaves Barnet in its course towards London, is a watershed from which the brooks on the one side find their way to the Lea and on the other to the Brent. An army posted at Barnet would, in consequence, have had a choice of three approaches to the capital, either by the valley of the Lea eastwards, or along the central ridge towards its northern suburbs, or by the Brent valley in the direction of the villages lying outside its walls to the west, as Charing, Kensington, &c. Of these three routes, in the event of any catastrophe befalling Edward's army, Warwick had the selection open to him.

On reaching Hadley green or Gladmore heath, as the locality appears to have been then designated, he had ample time before him for the choice of his ground. He was first in the field, by many hours at least. Any attempt to define the exact position which he adopted must be at best conjectural, but he was an experienced commander, and this reflection may come in aid of our conjectures.

A person taking his stand at Sir Jeffrey Sambrooke's obelisk, and looking southwards, will notice that the ground rises, with a scarcely perceptible ascent in front, towards the present Hadley green, whilst, to the left, commences a rather considerable depression to the north of Hadley church, from which depression there is once more a rise in the direction of the Common eastwards. Warwick would hardly have allowed this to lie in his immediate rear, though it might have served as a protection to the left flank of his line. If then we suppose that this wing rested upon it, or was drawn slightly in advance of it, we may easily conceive of the whole position as extending westwards, past Old Fold Farm, then a moated manor-house belonging to the Frowykes, which may have been within the line or behind it, to the point where the meadows touch the existing New Road. Somewhere here the right flank may have been posted, unless we can imagine it to have reached yet further to the west, and that, when it drove in Edward's left, the latter fell back through Barnet by way of Wood Street. In this case Oxford's troops, in returning to the field, might easily have been misled in the fog as to the quarter from which they had left it.

The nearly uniform elevation lends credibility to these suppositions. A level surface was in those days almost essential to the effectual movements of a heavy-armed horseman, whose war-steed, in addition to the mail-clad rider, was burdened with weighty defences of his own. The levels, however, throughout the area which has been indicated, present little variation. At

the obelisk we find 417. 3,*—at the Hadley Post Office, 429. 9,—along the high road in front of Pimlico House, 430,—in the fields west of Old Fold, 419,—and at the New Road in the same direction, 397. North-west of Old Fold there is a rapid descent. In short, nowhere else do we find the fair plain, half a mile from Barnet, on the top of the hill upon which the town stands.

When Edward approached, he sent his troops forward through the town, permitting none to remain in it, and established a camp on its northern outskirts. For him it was a matter of moment that no engagement should take place before the next day. Unlike Warwick's army, which there is reason to suppose was already made up, and for which consequently an immediate encounter would have been more advantageous, his was receiving continual reinforcements, as one after another band joined his standard.† He accordingly issued orders that his encampment should be protected by palisades and trenches against a night attack, and bivouacked in the open field under arms. Edward possessed many of the instincts of an able general, and in his dispositions against the coming conflict seems to have been acutely impressed with a sense of the vast issues at stake.

As night drew on, a thick mist began to overspread the surrounding country, due, according to the superstitions of the age, to the incantations of Friar Bungay,‡ a sorcerer, of whom lord Lytton has made large use

* These are taken from the last Ordnance Survey.

† Grafton.

‡ Fabyan.

in his *Last of the Barons*. The deepening fog veiled the lustre of the Paschal moon and rendered the needful evolutions difficult of execution. It is said that, owing to the thickness of the weather, Edward was deceived as to the exact position of the enemy, and that a portion of his army missed, in consequence, the ground which it ought to have taken up and strayed to its right in the direction of Enfield Chase, overlapping thereby the left of the adversary. In this case it may have been drawn into the vicinity of Hadley church,—not the present edifice, which was not erected until some twenty, or more, years afterwards, and the tower of which was not completed earlier than the beginning of the following century. There had however been a church on the spot for several centuries, dependent on the great abbey of Walden in Essex, but most certainly the beacon played no part in the battle, and indeed does not date from any very remote period. As a result of the same error Warwick's right became prolonged beyond the left of the Yorkist army, instead of facing it. During the night his artillery, in which he is said to have been the stronger, had been playing from this part of his line upon what were believed to be the enemy's positions in front, but, from the cause just mentioned, the balls fell harmless, no enemy being within the range. It has likewise been asserted that, though the firing was sustained almost without intermission, it did little or no execution because, owing to the proximity of the rival hosts, the shot fell beyond the mark. Edward had taken the precaution of enjoining silence upon his soldiers, desirous, as has been

stated, that the night should pass without disturbance, but in this was only partially successful. The tents we are told were so near together that “what for neighyng of horses, and talkynge of menne, none of both the hostes could that night take any rest or quietnes.”* Thus the hours wore away upon that mist-enshrouded plain, over which the angel of death was hovering, until the darkness should be overpast.

The equinox was already passed and day was breaking about 4. With dawn the opposing leaders marshalled their hosts. Montagu, with the earl of Oxford, led the Lancastrian right, which was strong in horsemen. The duke of Somerset commanded the archers in the centre. Warwick in person and the duke of Exeter directed the left. The horse were stationed in either wing. Of these leaders the fidelity of the brothers Warwick and Montagu to the cause, in which they were embarked, was at least open to suspicion. Warwick had espoused it partly from resentment, and Montagu had been the personal friend of Edward. It was surmised that either of them would have made his peace rather than jeopardize his fortunes past recovery. Somerset, Exeter, and Oxford, on the other hand, were hereditary Lancastrians ; the two former being connected by birth or marriage, or both, with the royal house. Edmund Beaufort, duke of Somerset, was a descendant of a legitimated son of John of Gaunt by Katharine Swynford, and nearly related, in consequence, to the Lancastrian princes. Henry Holland, duke of Exeter, was the great-grand-

* Halle.

son of Sir Thomas de Holland by Joan Plantagenet, the Fair Maid of Kent, who afterwards married the Black Prince and became the mother of Richard II. He had married Edward's sister Anne, the daughter of Richard duke of York, but she had procured a divorce from him. John de Vere, 13th earl of Oxford, was the son of John, the 12th earl, beheaded on Tower Hill in 1461, at the accession of Edward.

Edward, on his side, seems to have preferred a different formation, and to have massed his forces on three lines, the vanguard being commanded by Richard duke of Gloucester, his brother, who had just completed his eighteenth year. Edward himself conducted "the battle," or main body, in which the captive Henry VI was placed, and lord Hastings,* his chamberlain, who had landed at Ravenspur with his master, had charge of the rear. He had besides a company of fresh men, held in reserve, who, it is probable, in the sequel, determined the result of the conflict.

The armies being thus ordered, the respective chiefs harangued their followers. One of the chroniclers † professes to record the substance of their addresses, which may even have been reported to him by some who heard them spoken, though it is more conceivable

* Sir William de Hastings, cr. by Edward IV, 26 July 1461, baron Hastings of Ashby de la Zouch. Executed 13 June 1483 by order of Richard III when Protector. "He was brought forth into the greene beside the chappell within the Tower, and his head laid upon a long log of timber, and there stricken off; and afterward his body with the head enterred at Windsor, beside the body of King Edward." Halle, quoting Sir Thomas More; Holinshed.

† Halle.

that, like the utterances of the Homeric heroes, they were put in the mouths of the speakers as the words which the exigencies of the moment rendered it natural that they would have pronounced. Warwick, according to this, encouraged his men with the assurance that they were fighting in the quarrel of a gentle and rightful sovereign against a tyrant, who had invaded the realm, “a cruell man and a torcious usurper,” and anticipates that, in a cause so just, God must needs be their shield and defence. Edward, on the other hand, denounced his adversaries as traitors to the realm and spoilers of the poor commonalty. It was good policy on his part to represent himself as the promoter of the popular interests.

The trumpets now sounded and the onset began, as is generally understood, about 5 o'clock. At this hour the sun would have risen and was probably struggling fitfully through the mist. Archers on either side first discharged their arrows and the bill-men* followed them into action. The battle would appear to have resolved itself into a succession of engagements or skirmishes over different parts of the field, not directed according to any fixed plan, a result easy to be understood, when the obscurity of the weather is taken into consideration. For a time the issue hung in the balance, and there was a period of the struggle when it seemed more than probable

* These bills were formidable weapons, much employed by infantry in the 14th and 15th centuries. They consisted of a broad blade fastened to a long staff, which blade had a cutting edge and was curved like a scythe, with a short pike at the back and another at the summit. They were used to dismount, wound, and dismember horsemen. Fairholt's Dict.

that victory would crown the efforts of the Lancastrians. Their right wing, under the leading of Montagu and Oxford, having outflanked the left of Edward's position, routed the troops in that quarter and drove them back in confusion through the little town of Barnet, and in the direction of Enfield Chace. So decided was the success of the moment, that certain of the fugitives carried the report of a Lancastrian victory to London.* Halle indeed maintains that they, who galloped thither with this intelligence, were lookers on and not combatants. Happily for Edward the fog concealed the discomfiture of the left wing from the rest of the army.

Now, however, occurred an unexpected incident, fraught with the most important consequences. Oxford's victorious soldiers had, it is said,† broken their ranks with a view to plunder, and, if this were so, their early success may have partly demoralized them. Rallied at length and returning to resume their places in the line of battle, they found themselves confronted with their own centre. The impetuosity of their movement, as we may imagine, had carried them necessarily out of their direct line. They had, so to speak, turned the enemy's flank. Re-issuing from the houses of Barnet upon the plain beyond, they were brought face to face with Somerset's archers, occupying the centre of the Lancastrian army. It was the custom of the age for royal and distinguished personages to adopt some particular badge or device, as a special

* John Rastell, *The Pastime of People*, A.D. 1529, ed. of 1811.

† Fabyan.

cognizance, and to have the same embroidered on the coats of their retainers before and behind, and occasionally upon the sleeve. These badges differed from crests, which were worn upon the helmet. Some of them, both in England and elsewhere, were so notorious as to have become absolutely identified with the individuals using them.* Louis XII was known by the porcupine; Francis I, as may still be seen in many a town and château of fair Touraine, by the salamander; Henry II, his son, by the interlaced crescents, in honour of Diane de Poitiers. Richard III of England adopted the white boar, Henry VII the portcullis, and so on. Lord Oxford's badge was a mullet, or star with five points, whilst King Edward's was a sun with streaming rays.† There was a certain amount of resemblance between these two badges, and the heavy fog hindered the difference from being recognised, except at close quarters. Accordingly, when Oxford, having wheeled round, was returning towards the centre of his own army, that centre, in which the archers were posted, supposing that the Yorkists were in full march upon them, poured a volley of arrows into the advancing troops. The air was filled with rumours and suspicion of treachery. A cry of treason was instantly raised, and Oxford's soldiers fled to the number of 800, their leader quitting the field at the same time.‡

* “Stanley did dream, the boar did rase his helm.”—Rich. III. act iii. sc. 4.

† For the origin of this badge, see Henry VI. pt. III. act ii. sc 1. Conf. Halle, Holinshed.

‡ Stow.

Here was the turning point of the battle. Edward now brought his reserve force into action, kept back for such a contingency, fresh and vigorous soldiers ready to act with effect wherever need might most require. Warwick, on the contrary, had to call upon men, already exhausted with their previous efforts, for renewed exertions, and the call was not responded to. The day was visibly lost, and nothing remained for him but to sell his life dearly. By 10 o'clock,* or at noon, according to some writers, victory rested with the Yorkists,† and Warwick and Montagu were slain. The commemorative obelisk, erected by Sir Jeremy Sambrooke ‡ in 1740, professes to mark the traditional spot where the great captain fell, and it is not unlikely to be correct, as somewhat to the rear of Warwick's

* "This battayle duryd fightynge and skirmishinge some tyme in one place and some tyme in an other ryght dowtfully because of the myste by the space of thre hours or it wer fully achivyd."—Harl. MS. 543, f. 31; Stow's Historical and other Collections. Stow says they fought in a thick mist from 4 to 10; ed. 1615. Halle, "from mornynge almoste to noone."

† "King Edward at length remained in possession of the field, through the aid of Almighty God and of the glorious martyr St. George." Harl. MS. 543, f. 31.

‡ Sir Jeremy Sambrooke acquired by purchase the estate of Gobions, otherwise Gubbins, and more anciently More Hall, the property of Sir Thomas More, in the parish of North Mimms, and to the left of the road leading from Potter's Bar to Hatfield. He succeeded his nephew, Sir Jeremiah Vanacker Sambrooke, of Bush Hill, Enfield (d. s. p. 5 July 1740) in the baronetcy, and himself d.s.p. 4 Oct. 1752 æt. 77, when the title became extinct. He was bur. in the churchyard of North Mimms, where his memorial still remains. Clutterbuck's Herts i. 452, 453, 466; Lysons ii. 271, iv. 2. Cf. Gough's Camden i. 350, where the conjecture respecting Hadley church is obviously an error.

left. Salmon, who wrote his *History of Hertfordshire* early in the last century, says that "the place which the present Inhabitants take for the Field of Battle is a green Spot near *Kicks-End*, between the *St. Alban's* Road and the *Hatfield* Road, a little before they meet,"* and it is not altogether improbable that the scene would be identified by them with perhaps its most important episode. Warwick is reported to have dismounted from his horse by the advice of Montagu, who must have rejoined his brother after the dispersion of the right wing, and to have rushed into the thickest† of the fray, until he fell surrounded by foes. There is another tradition that, having previously dismounted, he leaped on a horse in the hope of escaping, but, coming to an impassable wood, became entangled in it and was killed. Montagu, at all events, lost his life in the endeavour to support his brother, thus atoning by devotion at the last for a fidelity previously questionable. Their dead bodies were placed on a cart and removed the same afternoon to London, whence, after exposure in coffins, "open visaged,"‡ at St. Paul's, for two or three days, that all men might be certified of their death, they were taken to Bisham Abbey in Berkshire and there interred.§

Somerset and Oxford quitted the field in all haste, with the intention of making for Scotland,|| but, fearing the risks of so long a journey, turned aside into Wales to Jasper, earl of Pembroke. The former was shortly afterwards beheaded in cold blood at the

* p. 56, ed. of 1728.

† Grafton.

‡ Grafton, Fabyan.

§ Weever, Funeral Monuments, p.

|| Halle.

704.

conclusion of the battle of Tewkesbury. Lord Oxford,* it is said, had previously parted from his company, upon discovering a design on the part of his chaplain to betray him,† and had made his way southwards. With certain companions, disguised as pilgrims,‡ he subsequently succeeded in making himself master of St. Michael's Mount, in Cornwall, where he was for some months besieged, and only surrendered the place upon obtaining favourable conditions. He afterwards passed several years abroad, where Scott makes him a prominent character in the charming romance of *Anne of Geierstein*, the historical inaccuracy of which almost goes beyond what is permissible. He survived until 1513, having led the archers of the vanguard in the army of Henry VII at Bosworth, and, though twice married,§ died without issue, being succeeded by his nephew. No later Lancastrian rising disturbed Edward's reign.

The duke of Exeter barely escaped with his life.|| Fortunately for himself he was not personally so well known as most of the others, owing, it may be, to the circumstance of his having lived for some time in

* Such is the contradictory character of the relations, that we find it also stated that Oxford fled into the country, and in his flight fell into the company of certain northern men, fugitives like himself from the battle, and with them went northwards, and afterwards into Scotland. Harl. MS. 543, f. 31; Stow's Historical and other Collections. In the Parliament of Westminster, 12 Edw. IV, prorogued to 24 Edw. IV, John Veer, knt., erle of Oxford, of Wyvenho, co. Essex, was attainted for his service to Hen. VI at Barnet field and otherwise. This attainder was reversed in 1485.

† Fenn's Paston Letters, *Letter 312*.

‡ Richard Carew, Survey of Cornwall, p. 155.

§ He married Margaret Nevile, sister of Warwick and Montagu.

|| Harl. MS. 543, f. 31.

exile abroad. Dangerously wounded and left for dead on the field from 7 in the morning till 4 in the afternoon, he was brought to the house of one of his servants, near at hand, called Ruthland,* where he was tended by a surgeon, and afterwards conveyed in disguise to sanctuary at Westminster. As Rapin relates it, upon consciousness returning, he crawled to the nearest house and found means to be transported thence to London.

To Sir John Paston, in a letter † written to his mother from London on the 18 April, the Thursday after the battle, we owe the names of some of the leading men amongst the slain. “There are killed upon the field,” he says, “half a mile from Barnet, on Easter day, the earl of Warwick, the marquis Montagu, Sir William Tyrell, Sir Lewis Johns, and divers other esquires of our country, Godmerston and Booth. And on the King Edward’s party, the lord Cromwell, the lord Say, Sir Humphry Bourchier of our country, which is a sore moonyd (moaned) man here; and other people of both parties to the number of more than a thousand.” The bodies of the more distinguished on both sides were taken away, and many of them interred in the church of the Austin Friars in the city.‡ In Westminster Abbey was buried Sir

* It is a little doubtful whether this were the servant’s name or the designation of his dwelling.

† Fenn’s *Paston Letters*, *Letter 311*.

‡ Weever deplores the desecration of their burial-places, and states that their bones, with those of many more, had been disinterred, and dwelling-houses raised in the place. The residue of the church, he goes on to note, had been given over to the use of the Dutch inhabitants of the city, “who in that kinde can hardly brook any reverend antiquitie.” *Funeral Monuments*, 419.

Humphry Bourchier, lord Cromwell, son of the earl of Essex and first cousin * of Edward IV, on whose side he fell, as well as another Sir Humphry Bourchier, son and heir of lord Berners, who perished in the same cause.† Weever gives the Latin epitaph on his monument.

Hic Pugil ecce iacens Bernet fera bella cupiscens,
 Certat ut Eacides, fit saucius undique miles,
 Ut cecidit vulnus, Mars porrigit arma cruento,
 Sparsim tincta rubent, dolor en lachrimabilis hora,
 Lumine nempe cadit, quo christus morte resurgit.
 Bourchier Humfridus, clara propagine dictus.
 Edwardi Regis qui tertius est vocitatus,
 John Domini Berners proles, et parvulus haeres,
 Quartus et Edwardus belli tenet ecce triumphum,
 Quo perit Humfridus, ut Regis vernula verus
 Cyronomon (Cup-bearer) mense sponse Regis fuit iste,
 Elisabeth, sibi sic sua virtus crescit honore.
 Annis conspicuus quondam, charusque Britannis
 Hic fuit: Ut celis vivat deposcite votis.

The common soldiers, with some of the commanders,

* Henry Bourchier, earl of Essex, had mar. Isabel, daughter of Richard, earl of Cambridge, and sister of Richard, duke of York. Weever 482; Stow 171, ed. W. J. Thoms.

† His will was proved at Lambeth P.C.C. by Elizabeth, the relict, 18 June 1471 (Book Wattys 5). It is so brief, and is characterized by so much appearance of haste, as to warrant a conjecture that it may have been executed in haste on the eve of the battle. From expressions in a letter written by Sir John Paston to his brother John, 13 or 15 Sep. 1471, it might be surmised that there was some talk of a marriage between the latter and Sir Humphry Bourchier's widow. "I pray you send me word how ye do with my lady Elizabeth Bourchier; ye have a little chafed it, but I cannot tell how; send me word whether ye be in better hope or worse." Fenn's Paston Letters, Letter 315.

were buried on the field, half a mile from Barnet, but no tradition survives as to the exact spot. Stow informs us that a chapel was erected, by order of Edward, on the site and a priest appointed thereto to say mass for the souls of the slain.* In his time this chapel had become a dwelling-house, of which the top quarters yet remained. Speculation as to the locality is not likely to be solved. The description would notwithstanding point to the vicinity of Pimlico House on Hadley green, in the parish of South Mimms, the site, beyond a doubt, of some ancient building. Here as elsewhere the derivation of the name has aroused and puzzled enquiry. The Hadley register records "a travelling woman buried from the pimblycoe house" on 10 Feb. 1673, which seems to imply a lodging-house of some kind, inn or otherwise.†

The Paston letters supply a very interesting contribution to the history of the battle. Two of the family, Sir John Paston and his brother, who bore the same Christian name of John,—no unusual circumstance in that age,—were present on the Lancastrian side during the engagement, at which the latter was wounded. There is something that comes very home

* Stow p. 428; Cf. Weever p. 704, who adds, "as the doctrine went in those daies."

† Besides the well-known district extending from Chelsea to St. James's Park, which is not found under the appellation in any existing document prior to 1626, the name is also met with at Hoxton, where, at the present day, there is a Pimlico Walk. Ben Jonson mentions Pimlico, in connection with Hogsdon (Hoxton), in *The Alchemist*. Whether Pimlico were originally a person or a place is a matter of controversy still. Thornbury's *Old and New London*; Isaac Taylor's *Words and Places* p. 195.

to us in the evidence of letters, especially when of nearly even date with the events referred to. In that to his mother, Margaret Paston, of 18 April 1471, already alluded to, Sir John says,* “I recommend me to you, letting you to weet, that blessed be God, my brother John is alive and fareth well, and in no peril of death; nevertheless he is hurt with an arrow on his right arm beneath the elbow; and I have sent him a surgeon, which hath dressed him, and he telleth me that he trusteth that he shall be all whole within right short time. Item, as for me, I am in good case blessed be God; and in no jeopardy of my life as me list myself; for I am at my liberty if need be.” The letter concludes with some guarded expressions, implying that even now the writer did not look upon the cause as irrecoverably lost, and he mentions the rumour that Queen Margaret and her son had at last landed in the west country.† A letter is likewise extant from the wounded John Paston himself to his mother, dated from London on the 30 of the month.‡ He is fast recovering from his hurt, and says, “Modyr,

* Fenn's Paston Letters, *Letter 311*. Gairdner, iii. 3. “Blyssed be God, my brother John is a lyffe and farethe well, and in no perell of dethe. Never the lesse he is hurt with an arow on hys right arme, be nethe the elbow; and I have sent hym a serjon, whych hathe dressid hym, and he tellythe me that he trustythe that he schale be all hole with in ryght schort tyme Wretyn at London the thorysdaye in Esterne weke.”

† They in fact landed at Weymouth either on the 13 or 14 of April. Holinshed.

‡ John Paston of Gelston (Geldeston in Norfolk, where he sometimes resided,) to Margaret Paston. A.D. 1471, 30 Apr. Fenn's Paston Letters, *Letter 313*. Gairdner iii. 6.

I beseche you, and ye may spare eny money, that ye wyll do your almesse on me and send me some in as hasty wyse as is possybyll; for by my trowthe my leche crafte and fesyk, and rewardys to them that have kept me and condyt me to London, hath the coste me sythe Estern Day more than V^l, and now I have neythyr met, drynk, clothys, lechecraft nor money but up on borowyng." The words indicate that his escape from the field was not unattended with difficulty, but, notwithstanding the melancholy state of his affairs, he writes in high spirits as respects the prospects of his party, having heard probably of Margaret's landing.

Many of the fugitives and wounded sought concealment, according to tradition, at North Mimms and other neighbouring villages. To such as stood in need of no surgical aid the coverts of Enfield Chace would have offered abundant shelter near at hand. But the slaughter of that blood-stained field spread sorrow and mourning, we may be sure, throughout the length and breadth of the land. The chroniclers tell us that Warwick's broken host dispersed and fled in all directions. The loss we know fell heavily on the inferior ranks, to whom, on this occasion, contrary to his usual wont, Edward instructed his followers to give no quarter. Evidently his purpose now was to kill, not scotch, his foe. We accordingly hear little about prisoners. Halle* says that their number could not be certainly known. Of those who perished few names have indeed been preserved. In the church of

* Grafton reports the same.

the Grey Friars, London, were buried Thomas a Par and John Milwater, esquires to the duke of Gloucester,* and we find mention likewise of one Thomas Bodulgate, a Cornish gentleman of consideration, the owner of many manors.† Connected with a small brass in the south transept of Hadley church, the most ancient memorial within the building, there are grounds for supposing that Thomas, the son of John Grene and a nephew of the Philip and Margaret whose names are thereon recorded, was of the number of the slain.‡ Sir John Paston, in the letter to his mother, after enumerating the more important personages, naturally confines himself to a mention of sundry names with which she would be locally acquainted, and no doubt survivors from many another county could have furnished correspondents with a list of equally sad interest.

The conqueror immediately rode back to London. He did not wait to follow up his victory in person or even to superintend the operations of troops, whose business henceforward was the pursuit and destruction of the vanquished. Henry, whom he had brought with him to Barnet, in order to be prepared against any contingency that might arise, accompanied him in his return, "rydyng in a long gowne of blewe velvet."§ Not improbably it was the attire in which he had ridden through the London streets on the previous Thursday morning, when, at the news of Edward's

* Stow's Survey, p. 120, ed. W. J. Thoms; Stow's Annals, p. 423.

† Parliament, 13 Edw. IV, A.D. 1473.

‡ Harl. MS. 1551, f. 55^b.

§ Rastell, Pastime of People.

approach, the citizens were exhorted to remain true to the cause of the Red Rose. Likely enough that the alteration in his circumstances affected him but little. In the mental condition to which he had become reduced he could never have been more, even on the throne, than a puppet in the hands of others.

On reaching London Edward once again, as on the day of his first arrival, presented himself at the rood of the north door of St. Paul's and there offered his standard and returned thanks.* Later, the same afternoon, he passed through the city with Henry by Cheapside to Westminster, whence the dethroned prince was sent to the Tower, never again to quit its precincts alive.† No tradition has reached us that the victor subjected his captive, during the course of this triumphant progress westwards,—for so it must be regarded,—to any unnecessarily contumelious treatment. He was probably instigated by a simple desire to bring the fact of his success distinctly home to the popular mind. The remark was current among the people that the expression of his countenance was not so joyous as might have been expected, after the overthrow of so dangerous an antagonist as Warwick, and this was attributed to sorrow on account of the death of Montagu, for whom, notwithstanding his recent opposition, he still entertained sentiments of genuine friendship.‡ It was mainly owing, as has been reported, to this cause, that he permitted the interment of the brothers in Bisham Abbey.

After making large allowance for the imperfect

* Fabyan, Grafton, Halle.

† Fabyan, Rastell.

‡ Halle, Grafton.

communications of that age, it is difficult to explain the discrepancy between the statements which have reached us, both as to the relative strength of the armies engaged and the number of the slain. Many of the historians were nearly contemporary with the events related, whilst others enjoyed facilities of information which ought to have insured some approximation to accuracy.* Rastell, for example, whose father-in-law, Sir John More, resided at Gobions, may have listened, on the spot, to many local traditions. Reinforcements were probably joining either army, that of Edward especially, up to the last moment; but this reflection is insufficient to remove the difficulty. The preponderating testimony seems, however, to assign the greater force to Edward. So say Halle and Grafton, and Rapin follows them. Philippe de Comines states that Clarence took over to his brother a body amounting to no less than 12,000 men—an admission leading indirectly to the same conclusion. The disciplined troops too, who accompanied Edward from the Continent, must have given him an advantage not to be measured only by their numerical strength, whilst the suspicions attaching to Montagu may have been a source of grave embarrassment to his brother. The Warkworth Chronicle, whose writer's sympathies were Lancastrian, and which was probably compiled about the year 1473, puts the number of Warwick's army at 20,000. That, on the other hand, which has

* Warkworth was Master of St. Peter's College, Cambridge, 1473-1498. Philippe de Comines died in 1511. The Chronicle of Robert Fabyan, a London alderman, was first printed in 1516. John Rastell died in 1536, Edward Halle in 1547.

come down to us on the authority of Fleetwood,* recorder of London in the reign of Elizabeth, asserts that 9,000 † on his, the Yorkist side, were met by 30,000 on the other, and he adds that this statement is made according to the Lancastrian reckoning. This latter chronicle was compiled by a servant of Edward IV, who professes to have been an eye-witness of a great part of his exploits, and to relate the rest as vouched for by other eye-witnesses. It is presumably identical with a French MS. in the Public Library at Ghent, which contains the same narrative in an abbreviated form. The MS. ‡ which is on vellum, of quarto size, is divided into four chapters, at the head of each of which is a highly finished illuminated miniature, §

* *Historie of the Arrivall of Edward IV in England and the final recoverye of his Kingdomes from Henry VI. A.D. 1471.* Camden Soc. Pub. 1838. “The historie of the arrivall of King E. 4. in England, and the finall recouerie of his Kingdomes from H. 6. in A° Dⁱ 1471, written by an Anonymus, who was living at the same time and a servant to the saied King E. 4. Transcribed by John Stowe the chronicler with his owne hand.” Harl. MS. 543, f. 31. Stow’s *Historical and other Collections.* A small 4to. vol.

† Holinshed likewise gives this number. Vol. iii. p. 303, ed. of 1808.

‡ It has been printed in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxi. p. 11 (A.D. 1827).

§ The first of the four miniatures represents the battle of Barnet, but is no more than a fancy sketch, as the scenery depicted in the background might be anywhere. This is the description given of it. “The two armies, clad in armour, are engaged in close combat, the Lancastrians bearing a large red banner, with a border and a rose embroidered in gold. Edward, on a white charger caparisoned with red cloth lined with blue and *semé* with *fleurs de lis*, his visor raised and a gold crown on the top of his helmet, appears to have just pierced with a long red lance the breastplate of his antagonist, intended no doubt for the earl of Warwick. In front two esquires are engaged

and is the transcript of a Report forwarded to the court of Charles the Bold. It was accompanied by a letter from Edward himself, written from Canterbury on May 29, and addressed to the inhabitants of Bruges, informing them of the complete success of his expedition, and thanking them for their hospitable entertainment of himself and friends in exile.

It may be well to make mention here of a plausible suggestion, that the startling variation in numbers just referred to may, after all, be due to the carelessness of transcribers or printers, arising out of the use of Arabic numerals, by which the addition of a cipher has converted hundreds into thousands.* Reckless disregard of accuracy in the statement of figures must not indeed be looked upon as a vice attaching exclusively to the 15th or any other century. When a considerable sum is in question, the amount of ciphers to be added to the initial numeral is too frequently made, as we have all experienced, a matter of chance. In the case before us, when one reflects upon the comparatively scanty population at this period, and that the country had been torn for years by civil strife and a succession of bloody battles, it seems safe to accept the lower estimates in every case as most consonant with probability.

hand to hand with swords. The Lancastrian is attempting to thrust the point of his weapon through the bars of his opponent's helmet, whilst another of Edward's squires is pushing him off with his lance. In the background the open country is seen between two high ridges of rock. On the summit of the right bank is a large castellated building."

* Malone's Shakspeare, vol. xviii. p. 548. Notes to Henry VI.

There is an equal, if not greater, disagreement in the reckoning of the killed, some of the chroniclers making the number amount to 10,000, others to 4,000, and those who speak most moderately to 1,500.* Sir John Paston, who was present, computes, as we have seen, that there were “other people” slain “of both parties to the number of more than a thousand.” This, we must remember, comes from one who was not only on the field himself, but may have had opportunities, during the four days that intervened before he wrote, of conversing with others engaged. P. de Comines, a person likely to be well informed, tells us that 400 on Edward’s side were killed at Barnet, and it is obvious that the other party must have suffered more extensively. For the reason already given the slaughter on this side is likely to have been great, and was probably followed up with all the furious passion of the age, inflamed with the lust of plunder, after Edward had himself left the field. Relics of the fight were found, it is said, during the excavations for the ornamental water in Wrotham Park, a spot to which the pursuit could hardly fail to have extended. On the slope rising towards Gannic Corner, from the depression north of Hadley church, and within the limits of the old Chace, the name of Dead Man’s Bottom has been found in a map of Enfield Chace, bearing the date of 1658. The designation may have had some widely different origin, but it is worth noting in connection with our subject, the spot being so contiguous. It has

* Halle says, more than 10,000; Stow, 4,000; Rastell and Fabyan, 1,500 and more.

also been conjectured that the sign of the Bull's Head, until recent times existing at Kick's End, may have been derived from the crest of the Nevilles. There was at all events a house on that spot, which bore the name, as early as the year 1523, less than half a century after the event. Henry Frowyke, in his will of that date, alludes to his tenement "at Kykesend called the Bull hedd." Additional light might moreover be thrown upon the subject did we know the derivation of Kick's End itself. Kitt's End, as it is generally called now, is merely a modern corruption.

Thus ended the great battle of Barnet, concerning which everything has now been told. It provokes a reflection that the result from the first must have depended in no slight measure upon which of the adversaries could anticipate the other in gaining London, and both of them were evidently impressed with this conviction. Philippe de Comines enumerates three sources of strength upon which Edward could count in holding the capital. Firstly, he had intimation that within its liberties, or perhaps within its privileged places and sanctuaries (*dedans les franchises*), were more than two thousand of his party, of whom four hundred were knights and esquires. Secondly, he was indebted there to a considerable amount, and was persuaded that the trading class, to whom he owed it, would, in their own interest, espouse his cause. Lastly, arising out of his relations with the citizens' wives and daughters, he had confidence in their influence with their husbands and parents.

It is disappointing, when standing on the supposed scene of conflict, to feel that there is so much un-

certainty hanging over it. At Marston Moor or Naseby, and in recent times at Gravelotte or Sedan, one can picture to one's self by report every turn of the engagement, one knows where this or that renowned captain was posted, where the different arms were engaged, and where the most desperate or telling efforts were made and met. All this unfortunately is beyond our power here. At best we can only approximately fix the precise place of an encounter, between which and ourselves four centuries intervene. Those were not days in which generals made their reports to head quarters, or special correspondents, aided by pen and pencil, and under no obligation to use merely professional terms, sent home descriptions of what they had witnessed, so vivid, that fireside students can follow with the mind's eye every evolution of the hostile armies. This disadvantage we must perforce labour under, but we have at least contemporary testimony how the opposing forces met on the plain half a mile from Barnet, whilst other considerations guide us to a selection of the ground, which an experienced leader like Warwick might presumably have occupied. As to the more marked features of the battle the chroniclers, though differing so widely as to the number of the combatants and the extent of the slaughter, are in the main agreed.

To the writer of these pages, to whom the neighbourhood has been familiar from childhood, and without doubt to many others as well, there is a pleasure in recalling the successive events which have illustrated the scene where our lot is cast. Barnet has greatly changed from the little town, through which

Edward passed on his way to a battle upon which his throne depended, but, behind the plastered or brick-faced fronts of the buildings lining its modern street, are perhaps hidden the timbers of dwellings, from whose windows men and women and little children looked out upon the victor, as, early on that Easter afternoon, he rode past with Henry in his train. Or, strolling at our leisure through the pleasant meadows near Old Fold, from which the setting sun may be seen sloping to the west over the woods of Dyrham Park (anciently Durhams), as the eye ranges over a fair and far prospect in the direction of Elstree, we may muse upon the bloody scene for which the same meadows furnished a stage, when York and Lancaster “charged with all their chivalry” upon the plain encumbered with the dead bodies of kinsmen fallen on opposite sides in that unnatural civil strife. It would be interesting to know under what banner the inhabitants of Old Fold ranged themselves, and how it was occupied during the battle. We can hardly be mistaken in concluding that it fell within the Lancastrian lines, and, if so, could scarcely have failed to be affected by the shifting fortunes of the day. Did gallant soldiers issue from its gate to take their part in the fray? Did any wounded fugitive cross its moat, at the close of the engagement, to seek shelter or to die? Who can tell whether Warwick may not have established his head quarters within those moat-defended precincts? We are not likely to be informed, but there will be at least food for fancy in the surmise.

Two forms are chiefly present to the imagination on

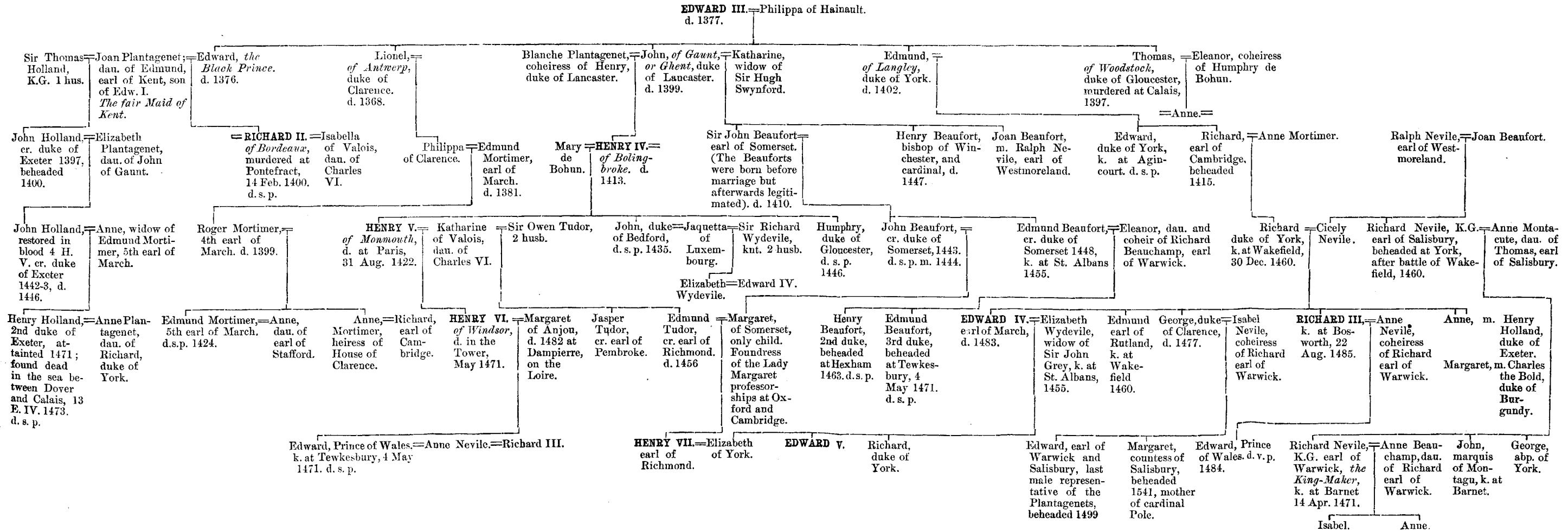
the blood-stained field of Barnet, and two causes are identified with them. The forms are those of the two princes, in whose names and for the promotion of whose ostensible interests the contest was waged, and by the causes we understand not those of Yorkist and Lancastrian merely but those of advancing or retarded progress. The words progress and conservatism might have been substituted, had not the latter term been open to misconception. On the one hand, we have the meek and gentle figure of Henry, a crowned saint, of an almost feminine sensitiveness and delicacy of feeling, wholly unfitted by natural gifts for the place which he was born to fill in that turbulent age, even if occasional aberration of intellect had not interfered to put him at one time and another completely aside. Alone of the princes of his day was he capable of such renunciation as was contained in his answer to the offer of a large sum from Cardinal Beaufort's estate. "My uncle"—he replied—"was very dear to me, and did much kindness to me whilst he lived; the Lord reward him! But do ye with his goods as ye are bounden; I will not take them." There was a nobility of sentiment and grace of form in the refusal, which cannot fail of commanding admiration.

On the other hand, we see the fourth Edward, endowed with all those showy and external qualities of person and bearing, which were of a nature to sway the popular feelings, handsome, of gracious bearing, a stalwart typical Englishman, yet calculating, cruel, a voluptuary, and altogether unloveable, when the eye could penetrate beneath the surface. And, notwithstanding, he played a part, and a great one, in those

events which have tended to shape the England of our own day and make it what it has become. With all his really beautiful characteristics, it may be a question whether, even if Henry's lot had fallen on peaceful times, the fifteenth would have known that national advance, silently germinating, whose outcome was reserved for the succeeding century. Underlying the contest between the Red and the White Rose, a struggle was going on between old ideas and new. Monasticism had served its purpose and was now become effete. Convent life was stagnant and corrupt. In earlier and ruder times it had played a useful, and indeed a very necessary, part. Art and letters, with all the civilizing influences attaching to them, found a home in the cloister, when the great world outside only rang with the sounds of actual or mimic warfare, but the desire for information was extending beyond convent walls. The foundations of Winchester and Eton responded to a craving, the consequences of which were doubtless little foreseen, nor in truth could have been. Added to which, the religious awakening referable to Wycliffe and the Lollards might have been hopelessly submerged at its birth, had not a strong undercurrent of healthy progressiveness carried it with the stream, to rise to the surface at a happier day. The merciless persecution of Lollardy, under the fourth and fifth Henrys, was, there is reason to think, conducted in an even more intolerant spirit than that which consigned Reformers to the stake, in the reign of Mary, and Popish recusants to the gibbet in that of Elizabeth. Closely connected moreover with the success of the House

of York were the interests of the leading trading communities of London, and of the towns engaged in commerce. Edward made himself a favourite with the citizens, and he was the immediate patron of Caxton. The engraving, after Maclise's picture, of his visit with the Queen to the printer is well known. Simultaneously with these movements, the destruction of the ancient nobility, and consequent loosening of the feudal sympathies, during the wars of the Roses, led to the upgrowth of a new ascendant class, representative of enlarged ideas, of intellectual and material development, and of commercial activity. Lord Warwick may be contemplated in a sense, as lord Lytton has styled him, *The Last of the Barons*. But as the great nobles fell, the lesser gentry and the merchant class rose in consideration. The Reformation in the following century added a new stimulus to the spirit which was unfolding, and name after name rises to the recollection to testify of a generation conscious of a great inheritance, an inheritance which, after many vicissitudes lying between our age and theirs, has descended to ourselves as a priceless heirloom.

Pedigree to Illustrate the WARS OF THE ROSES.



SOME ACCOUNT OF SION COLLEGE, IN THE CITY OF LONDON, AND OF ITS LIBRARY.

By W. H. MILMAN, M.A.,

RECTOR OF ST. AUGUSTINE AND ST. FAITH, LONDON, AND LIBRARIAN
OF THE COLLEGE.

[Read in the Hall of Sion College, London, on 2nd June, 1880.]

My first and most agreeable duty upon the present occasion is in the name of the President and Fellows of Sion College to bid a hearty welcome to the large and distinguished audience which I see before me. The President and Fellows are never better pleased than when their ancient hall can be made a centre for the diffusion of useful and interesting information, or for the discussion, by competent persons, of questions which occupy the public mind, even though they may be very difficult and burning questions which agitate as well as interest.

Happily for my incompetence it is not one of those burning questions of absorbing interest with which I am to deal to-day. I am not called upon to handle one of those topics which, however tenderly and skilfully they may be dealt with, yet can never fail to excite the feelings, cut across the prejudices, and inflame the passions of those before whom they are

discussed. My task, upon the present occasion, is of a far more simple kind. My aim, as it seems to me, should be to endeavour to imagine what such a company as I see before me would desire to know about the uneventful history of a peaceful institution such as Sion College is and was intended to be. What I have to do is to find the best answers I can to such questions as I may believe an intelligent audience would put were they permitted to catechise me upon the subject which is to engage our attention. Now, it seems to me that the following, at any rate, would be some of the questions thus put to me:—What is Sion College? When was it founded? By whom was it founded? Why was it founded? What is its *raison d'être*? What has been its external history? What has it done in the past? What is it now doing? What does it hope to do in the future?

It is to the answering of these questions, some or all of them, therefore, that I am now to address myself.

And first, What is Sion College? Sion College is nothing more nor less than a Gild, Company, or Corporation of the parochial clergy,—the Rectors, Vicars, Lecturers, and Curates (to use the precise terms of the charter) of the City of London proper and of the immediate suburbs thereof. At the first foundation of the College these suburbs were only the few parishes of enormous extent which touched the city walls in any portion of their circumference; and the Suburban Fellows were few in number, being only the incumbents of these few parishes. By a decision of the Visitor, however, dated June 15, 1846, the right of Fellowship has been conferred upon all the

incumbents of all the new parishes, the churches of which are situated within the limits of those old suburban parishes. Hence, the Suburban Fellowships are now more numerous than the Urban, and the total number of Fellowships has risen to full one hundred and sixty, largely in excess of the number at the time when the College was founded, then about one hundred—still more in excess of the total at which the Fellowships stood for nearly two centuries after the Great Fire of London had given the opportunity for reducing, by a large union of benefices, the excessive number of city incumbencies. The present large number of Fellowships * has been reached by this vast addition to the Suburban Fellowships, and in spite of some further extinction of the original City Fellowships, by the operation, miserably slow as it has been, of the different Acts for the union of benefices within the City of London. The propriety of this decision of the Visitor was not, possibly could not have been, questioned at the time, and certainly could hardly be set aside now. But it would be difficult to show that it has practically promoted the efficient working of the College for the purposes for which it was founded. Nothing could be more desirable than a large extension of the area of the College. But then that extension ought not to have been in one direction only.

The founder evidently desired the incorporation of the clergy in his College in order to facilitate unity of action among the leading parochial clergy of the Diocese of London, who then were unquestionably found principally in the incumbencies within the city

* About one hundred and eighty.

of London. To these the Hall and other buildings of the College would afford an easily accessible centre of union, whilst, at the same time, their views and interests, closely connected as they were by many ties, in the practical questions of the day, would be for the most part identical. But the Sion College of to-day is a very heterogeneous body, which can no longer claim to be so representative of the diocese that the terms "The President and Fellows of Sion College" and "The London Clergy" can still be taken as equivalents one for the other, as in the early days of the College they certainly were, and with great propriety. Without any invidious comparisons between the merits of the clergy of the cities of London and of Westminster, of the districts of Paddington and of Kensington, of Whitechapel and of Bethnal Green, it is plain that the incumbents of the City and of the extreme east and north-east sides of the Metropolis cannot fairly claim to represent the whole diocese. Nor have they any such real bond of union between themselves as can make their unity of interest and of purpose a compensation for their deficiency in representative character. Should the College prove able to carry out its plan for raising in a more central position than that which it now occupies more convenient and sumptuous buildings than those which it at present possesses, it is hoped that such an extension or modification of the charter must follow almost as a matter of course as will restore to the College its proper representative relation to the diocese at large.

But to return to the question, What is Sion College ? Should any one feel inclined to question the propriety of my language, when I speak of it as a Gild, Company,

or Corporation of the clergy of the City of London and its suburbs, I would ask leave to point out that if in some few points it diverges from the ordinary type of City Companies, in far more it resembles them very closely, that in its constitution it is, in point of fact, almost identical with the chief of them, such differences as there may be being in name rather than in the essence which underlies the name, and, in one or two important particulars, it may even be said of Sion College that it keeps closer to the original idea of a city gild than do the other companies of the City of London.

I go on to enumerate some of the points which prove Sion College to be such a gild or company as I contend that it is. Sion College has its Court of Governors, annually elected, of which the chief is the President, the equivalent of the Master or Prime Warden of other companies; next to the Chair, to which they usually succeed, in due course come the two Deans, identical with the Wardens or Renter-wardens of other companies; and then, besides these, there are four Assistants. Sion College has also its Livery, capable of election upon and electing to the Court of Governors. This Livery consists of the Incumbents of Benefices within the area already defined. The Members of the Livery are styled Fellows of the College. Sion College has also its freemen, the Lecturers and Curates at those churches, the incumbency of which confers Fellowship upon their possessors; these are members of the College, but can neither choose nor be chosen Governors. The annual election of Governors is appointed by the charter to be held upon the third

Tuesday after Easter Tuesday. And here I come to one of the chief points in which Sion College adheres more closely to the original idea of a Gild than do the majority of civic companies now-a-days, viz., that the election is a reality. It is absolutely free, or, if restricted at all, it is restricted only by certain bye-laws which were enacted by the Livery, the whole body of the Fellows, and subsequently approved by the Visitor; the object aimed at in these bye-laws being only to provide some security for permanence and stability in the management of the affairs of the College, and to guard against unfair surprises upon the day of election. To secure these objects, the principal provisions of the bye-laws are, that no one shall be elected President who has not served two years, nor Dean who has not served one year, upon the Court of Governors; and that no one shall be eligible to any office upon the day of election of whose intended nomination the President has not received at least fourteen days' previous notice.

Whilst, however, the College is thus free annually to elect almost whom it will to serve upon the Court of Governors, when once chosen, for its year of office the Court becomes supreme. With it lies the entire and uncontrolled management of the whole business of the College—the use of the seal for all administrative purposes, the appointment of all officers, the granting of leases, the control of the expenditure, the management of the library, and the like. In the year 1855 an attempt was made to dispute this exclusive administrative supremacy of the Court of Governors. The opinion of counsel learned in the law was

taken upon the subject, and as, of course, each side to the dispute submitted its own state of facts, each got an opinion in its own favour, and the points in dispute could only be settled by a reference to the Visitor, who, after duly fortifying himself with a third and an independent opinion from his own legal advisers, gave his decision upon every point in favour of the Court of Governors; he declared that the Court was entitled, without any reference to a General Meeting, to exercise all the functions above enumerated.*

That this decision was in as strict conformity to law and precedent as in the interests of the College it was judicious, can, I think, easily be shown. For Sion College was founded just at the time when in all the new charters which were solicited by, or forced upon, the ancient Gilds of the City of London, the Court of Governors or of Assistants was for the conduct of the business of the Gild substituted in the place of the *communitas* of the whole Gild. We are told by high authority that the first legal instance of such substitution occurred in the reign of Philip and Mary. After that date this was so frequently effected, that, by the reign of James I., in every Gild the supremacy of the Court over the *communitas* was taken as matter of course. Founded, then, just subsequent to the time when this supremacy of the Court had in all Gilds become an accomplished fact, no longer debated or even questioned, there can be no reasonable doubt but that the charter granted to the College would be drawn upon these lines, and confer upon the Court such powers as had become the ordinary attributes of such a body, and much may be

* See Appendix.

urged in favour of the arrangement. The supremacy of the Court when once elected seems to be as conducive to the interests of the College as it is in harmony with what was then the ordinary practice. For property cannot well be managed, leases granted, tenants looked after, rents collected by a large body of men connected by a loose tie, with no fixed days of meeting, and with no special inducement to attend meetings when convened, with anything like constancy and regularity. At the same time, however unquestionable the supremacy of the Court when once elected, it may be in whole or in part superseded by another Court should such prove to be the will and pleasure of the Fellows upon the election day. Hence, if and when it pleases, the general direction which shall be given to the affairs of the College remains in the hands of the *communitas*; and here again Sion College remains nearer to the old idea of the gild.

In speaking of the analogy which subsists between Sion College and other city Gilds or companies, another important point in which its practice varies from that ordinarily pursued, but in which it at the same time cleaves closer to ancient types, must not be passed by.

It is an honourable peculiarity of Sion College that all who are Members of the College must be of the craft of which it is the Gild. It is a Gild of clergy engaged in active work within a certain area; whoever loses this qualification ceases at once to be a Member of the Gild. Sion College has no Members who are so by inheritance or by purchase. A citizen may be a member of the Goldsmiths' Company and never have

weighed or wrought or traded in a single ounce of precious metal in his life. A citizen may be high in office amongst the Vintners yet never have imported a butt of sherry or even sold a glassful of alcoholic stimulant in his life ; a teetotaller of sensitive conscience might remain on the Court of that Company. A citizen may be Prime Warden of the Fishmongers yet never have cheapened a cargo of fish at Billingsgate or elsewhere. But to be a Member of the clerical Gild called Sion College a man must, I repeat, be a clergyman in active parochial work within a certain area. The moment he resigns his benefice or gives up his cure he ceases to be a member of this Gild. In a third point of difference, however, between Sion College and most gilds, it may be more open to question whether what is peculiar to Sion College works well. In most gilds those who have passed the chair remain upon the Court of Governors, and of course powerfully influence its policy. In Sion College those who have passed the chair are elevated into a certain dignity of position, but they do not remain upon the Court, and so their influence upon its resolutions are no greater than that of any other Fellow, and their experience is practically lost to the College. On the other hand, it must be borne in mind that the initiative of a freely-elected Court would be much hampered if they were liable to be out-voted by a body of their seniors more numerous than themselves, and often pledged to some policy of the past.

I next turn to the questions, When and why was Sion College founded ? How did it legally acquire the status and constitution just described ? It owes them

now to letters patent granted by Charles II. in the sixteenth year of his reign, June 20, 1664. These letters patent, however, recite other letters patent, which they confirm, granted by Charles I. in the sixth year of his reign, July 6, 1630, and this is the date of the actual foundation of Sion College. An earlier charter, granted March 7, 1626, was withdrawn and cancelled, because the first attempt to work it disclosed in it various provisions contrary to the episcopal state dignity and jurisdiction of the Bishop of London. Under this suppressed charter the Bishop of the diocese was to have been *ex officio* President of the College, and might seem thus to be reduced into a *primus inter pares* with the rest of the City clergy. In the existing Charter he fills the more remote and dignified position of Visitor. It will naturally be asked, What moved the Crown to grant these letters patent? To which the reply is, the prayer of the executors of the last will and testament of the Rev. Thomas White, D.D., the pious founder of Sion College. The executors prayed for the charter to enable them to give effect to a certain portion of Dr. White's will. Many and munificent are the other charitable provisions of that will. The part relating to Sion College, of course, alone concerns us now. But before going into the provisions of his will, it may be well to give some answer to the question, who was Dr. White? Thomas White was born in Temple parish, Bristol. He was the son of John White, a member of the family of the Whites of Bedfordshire, but himself domiciled at Bristol. Thomas White was entered at Oxford in 1566. This is the

first fact we learn about him, of his boyhood there is no record. He was a pious, active, energetic, well-learned, large-hearted man, who enjoyed a great reputation as a preacher when every one preached more or less, or at any rate took an intense interest in preaching. Dr. White's success in the pulpit, combined with great learning and high character, together with the requisite influence, obtained for him large preferments. He was first appointed Minister of St. Gregory by St. Paul's, thence he was removed to the vicarage of St. Dunstan in the West. With this he held the prebend of Mora in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, to which he was appointed in 1588, nor was that then a ghostly, corpseless preferment such as these soi-disant prebends have now become. To the vicarage and the prebend were added in 1590 the treasurership of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury, in 1591 a canonry of Christ Church, Oxford, and in 1593 a canonry of St. George's, Windsor. As Dr. White did not die till March 1, 1624, he was incumbent of the last acquired of these preferments for thirty-one years. No wonder that he died a rich as well as a much-esteemed man. At the same time it is fair to say that his tenure of all these benefices by no means implies that Dr. White was anything but the most conscientious of men. We must remember that in those days he who refused a good piece of preferment when offered him would have been looked upon as a fool, or worse, as one fit to take rank in this world and the next with him—

“Che fee, per viltate, il gran rifiuto.”

What Archdeacon Hale once called “the sacred prin-

ciple of delegation" was then fully admitted, and he who had most duties to delegate to others was the greatest man. Anyhow even the sternest reprehender of pluralities must admit that if ever the holding of them may be excused it is in the case of those who make as good and generous a use of the wealth derived from them as did Dr. Thomas White. Abundant was the harvest he reaped upon earth, but there was something of heavenly in the barns in which he stored it, for if he accumulated it was not for the bare comfort and merriment of his own soul but for the relief of various forms of distress, for the social, moral, religious benefit of others, for the public weal.

Moreover it seems fair to note on the one hand that of all these preferments but one had any cure of souls attaching to it; on the other hand, that there is no place with which their holder was connected, if we except Windsor, his latest benefice, in which, therefore, he had less time to acquire an interest, which does not to this day benefit largely by his judicious, provident liberality.

To Dr. White his native city of Bristol is indebted for Temple Hospital, a grand eleemosynary foundation, which has supported and still liberally supports a large number of deserving poor. To Dr. White St. Paul's Cathedral is indebted for a handsome endowment for a Divinity Lecturer. To Dr. White the University of Oxford owes the revenues which support a Lecturer on Moral Philosophy. To Dr. White what was then not merely by prescription the City of London but the real Metropolis, the centre, not of commercial activity only, but of thought, and of life, is indebted for the

formation at Sion College of its parochial clergy into a body corporate. To Dr. White forty poor persons chosen in varying proportions from the Merchant Taylors' Company, the parishes of St. Dunstan in the West and St. Gregory by St. Paul's, and from the freemen of the city of Bristol, owe their pensions of 35*l.* per annum each, derived from the improved property of Sion Hospital, the modern representative of the Almshouse of the President and Court of Governors of Sion College. The original number of these poor persons was twenty, but by judicious management the number has within the last two years been doubled. And now for a word or two about the *raison d'être* of Sion College. What were the principal objects which Dr. Thomas White had in view in founding it? One at least is quite clear, he wished to secure to the clergy of the City of London that corporate existence which had been long secured to almost all the crafts and to not a few of the professions carried on within its walls. He wished to furnish them with a centre from which as from a watchtower they might observe the course of events, and be ever ready to interpose with all the force of united action when they should conceive that the interests of religion, morality, and true progress would in any way be benefited by their interposition. At the same time Dr. White wished that the edification of its members should be another main object to be steadily kept in view, as he expresses it in his will. He desires the foundation of this Corporation greatly "for the glory of God, the good of his Church, and redress of many inconveniences, not prejudicial to the Lord Bishop of London's jurisdiction,

whom I would have Visitor, he and his successors for ever; but to maintain Truth in Doctrine, Love in conversing together, and to repress such sins as follow us as men; that they might be admonished and ordered there to make them amend, or else the College to send them and their cause to the Bishop to be punished accordingly."

Except upon the principle qui s'excuse s'accuse, this double reference to the Bishop and his lawful authority would seem to dispose of an insinuation which has sometimes been made against Dr. White. It has been hinted that he was a Puritan, a charge which, in a certain sense, he would probably not have cared to rebut. He probably was, but there is absolutely nothing to prove, as has been insinuated, that he belonged to the extreme party, or that would make it likely that his aim in founding the College was, by anticipation, to organise the clergy of the diocese into a kind of Presbyterian Classis. If it be permitted to speculate upon the point, I should be inclined to suppose that he had a genuine wish to bring the Bishop and principal clergy of the diocese into more intimate relations, to provide the Bishop with a larger and more influential council of clergy than could be found at St. Paul's, with its ghost of a Chapter, restricted practically to the Dean and three Residentiaries. Dr. White further desired the incorporation of the clergy that they might be legally qualified to hold property for and administer the affairs of an Almshouse, which he had determined to found in any case, but of which the management was to be with the Merchant Taylors' Company, should it be found

impossible to obtain a charter for the incorporation of the Clergy at Sion College—a point upon which some doubts seem to have been entertained. Dr. White was not one of those persons who are content to will things and leave to others the provision of the means for carrying out their wishes. Whatever Dr. White willed, for that, in intention at least, he amply provided.

Hence, for the purchase of a site for his College and Almshouse, Dr. White in his will appropriated a sum of 3000*l.*, and his executors were to provide out of his estates in the country an annual revenue of 160*l.* per annum, of which 120*l.* was to be secured to the Hospital for ever and 40*l.* to the College. Out of this latter sum were to be made payments to preachers of quarterly Latin Sermones ad Clerum, and the cost of the banquet upon the anniversary and the other appointed days which was to reward those who listened to the sermons was to be defrayed.

If the charter for a College should prove unattainable, then the half of the sum provided for the purchase of a site and for erecting buildings, viz. 1,500*l.*, was to be expended upon a site and buildings for the Almshouse, the premises and government of which were to vest in the Merchant Taylors' Company.

The last will and testament of Dr. White, containing these provisions, was dated October 1, 1623; and having thus, as far as depended upon himself, secured the carrying out of many objects very dear to him, he could finish his course in peace, content that his works should follow him. And so he died, March 1, 1624, and was buried in the church of St. Dunstan in the West, one of his earliest and best-loved preferments.

By his will a tomb should have been erected to his memory. In this particular only, for some unexplained reasons, his executors appear to have failed in carrying out its provisions. At any rate, till the year 1877 this eloquent, large-hearted, open-handed man remained without such a monument as he had desired. In that year, when Mr. Lyall was President of Sion College, the long omission was supplied, and in the chancel of St. Dunstan's church, a fair and handsome tablet, from the design of Mr. Arthur Blomfield, with a medallion portrait of him whom it commemorates, was erected at the expense of the President and Fellows of Sion College, and of some of the trustees of the Municipal Charities of the city of Bristol.

The executors of Dr. White's will were the Rev. John Simpson, rector of St. Olave, Hart Street, "his kinsman," and Mr. John Keeling, lawyer, of the Temple, his "long friend;" and as overseers were appointed Sir George Croke, "his very kind, dear friend," and Mr. John Durnham, preacher, "his very good neighbour in London."

Some account of the way in which these gentlemen discharged themselves of their trust will carry us a step further in the history of the foundation of Sion College. They were evidently able, practical, conscientious men. The labour entailed upon them in administering and realising what had to be realised of a property so considerable as that of which Dr. White died possessed must have been very great. We need follow them only in that part of it which resulted in the successful foundation of Sion College and Alms-

house. If they were as diligent in the rest as they were in what concerned the College, and there is no reason to doubt it, the other interests had no reason to complain of them.

As already mentioned, the date of Dr. White's death was March 1, 1624. By March 7, 1626, a charter for a College, such as Dr. White desired, had been obtained, and though this charter had subsequently to be modified, yet the grant of it had proved that there were no insuperable difficulties in the way of carrying out Dr. White's intentions. And so the executors at once set to work to find a site for the necessary buildings. After some search they found just such a plot of ground as they wanted; one, too, as will appear presently, which from the uses to which it had been but a comparatively short while before dedicated was peculiarly appropriate for such a College as was now to be erected upon it.

Our records inform us that on 25th April, 1627, the executors of Dr. White bought of Robert Parkhurst, citizen and alderman of London, and of Helen his wife, one capital messuage, sometime belonging to the priory of Elsing Spital (of which more anon); three tenements and two gardens within the close and precinct of the said priory; one long messuage or house, situate near the said close and precinct of the priory, and extending in length from the priory church (which, or some portion of which, had been bought 7th June, 1546, by the parishioners of St. Alphage, for the sum of 100*l.*) towards the east, by the common way leading from Cripplegate to Bishops-gate towards the north, to Philip Lane towards the

west; three tenements in Philip Lane; two in Aldermanbury, all lying together and abutting to the said priory garden.

The history of this site, since the dissolution of religious houses, is not without its interest. In less than a hundred years it had changed hands five times, if we include the purchase by the executors of Dr. White. Parkhurst and his wife, of whom they had it, had bought it of Sir Rowland Hayward, knight and alderman, and John Large, citizen and cloth-worker, of London. Hayward and Large acquired it by purchase of Henry Norrey, Esq., and of Margery his wife, to whom it really belonged, as it had come to her as her dowry. She was one of the daughters of Sir John Williams, who, after the surrender of Elsing Spital to the king, 11th May, 1530, purchased it from the Crown, together with certain lands which had belonged to Nutley Abbey, in Buckinghamshire, for the sum of 526*l.* 19*s.* 2*d.* The annual value of Elsyng Spital, at the time of the Dissolution, was 193*l.* 15*s.* 5*d.*

At the date of this last-mentioned transaction, Sir John Williams, who was subsequently created Baron Thame, was keeper of the King's jewels. As soon as he obtained possession he turned the lodgings of the prior and canons of the Spital into a dwelling-house, the chapel-yard into a garden, the cloister gallery and alms-houses into a stable. Whilst Sir John was still living in the priory, in 1541, the whole dwelling-house, with its appurtenant buildings, was burned down by a fierce fire. Of the King's jewels many were consumed in the conflagration, and

many more were stolen in the confusion attendant upon it.

Thus perished every vestige of Elsing Spital, save the portion of the priory church which had been purchased by St. Alphage parish, to which Sion College has no claim, which, therefore, can properly find no place in an account of it, more especially as it is presently to be ably treated of in a separate paper.

But though no remains of its ancient buildings lingered upon the site of Elsing Spital when it was conveyed to the executors of Dr. White, that they might erect upon it Sion College and Almshouse, it is pleasing to be able to point out that it was the same spirit of piety and active beneficence which, though under changed forms, was finding an expression in the later as in the former Foundation. It was so to say an undesigned coincidence which placed Sion College upon the site of Elsing Spital; but had it been designed, none more appropriate could have been found. If in such subject matter such language be permissible, the succession of Sion College to Elsing Spital, after the intervention of some dissimilar links, might be described as a striking instance of reverting to types.

Sion College still possesses as many as twelve deeds relating to Elsing Spital, from which, and particularly from the deed of its foundation, may be fully justified the assertion now made.

It should, however, be mentioned in passing that Elsing Spital was not the first religious foundation which had occupied the site. The Spital was preceded by a convent of nuns—about which scarcely anything seems to be known save that it once existed.

Were more of its history recoverable it could hardly be recorded here. No convent of nuns could have had such points of resemblance with Sion College as had Elsing Spital, points of resemblance which seem to justify me in representing the College as in some sort a revival and perpetuation of the Spital. Elsing Spital was so called from its founder, William Elsyng or Elsing, who in the year 1331 endowed it as a hospital for a hundred sick poor, which in the first instance he designed to be managed by and ministered to by a warden and four secular priests. Nine years later, however, at his desire, and with the requisite consents, the warden and secular priests were superseded by a prior and five canons regular of the order of St. Augustine. The motives of this change alleged by the founder were, that, taking into account their frequent daily opportunities of mixing with the world, secular priests can hardly help becoming thoroughly worldly, from which the Augustinian canons are saved by their life in community, whilst at the same time their rule is not so unduly strict as to make those who follow it unpractical. The founder endowed his hospital with tene- ments in several other London parishes, besides those of St. Mary Aldermanbury and St. Alphage, in which lay the bulk of its property. The rectory of the former of these parishes, with the consent of the patrons, the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, was appropriated to and consolidated with the Hospital. Hence a Warden or Prior had upon his election to obtain the approval of the Cathedral Chapter before he could be confirmed by the Bishop.

But, after all, our chief interest in Elsing's Spital

is not so much with the inquiry, whether it was managed by secular or by regular clergy, as with the primary object of its foundation, which was to provide decent lodging, decent bedding, decent clothing, for aged and impotent, especially blind and paralytic folk, to the number of one hundred. William Elsing expressly states that he was moved to provide such a refuge by the sad spectacle of wretchedness which he often witnessed in the streets. He saw frequently poor impotent and aged folk who, from casual charity, could get sufficient to eat and drink, but who had no place in which to lay their heads, no means of repairing or renewing their rags. Above all, he tells us, that what specially wrung his heart, what more than all the rest stirred the bowels of compassion within him, was the sad plight of many aged persons for whom the misery of advancing years of failing strength, and of extreme penury, was complicated by blindness and by paralysis; to them he gives the first claim upon vacancies in the Hospital; when these are provided for the other places might be filled by sufferers from other forms of distress.

To this distress it was Elsing's desire to provide the completest remedy possible, and if the Prior and Canons of the Spital at all lived up to the letter and spirit of their founder's rule the inmates must have had constant cause to bless him, as we shall see if we follow the community through a day's work as prescribed by him.

It was ordered that at dawn of each day the chapel bells should be rung, upon which the Warden and Prior and Canons were to proceed to the chapel and

there say Matins and the Canonical Hours, with due pauses and with a plain pronunciation. Upon all Sundays and the greater festivals they were to sing them. Each Priest was to rule the choir in a weekly turn except the Warden or Prior, who, on account of important duties connected with the property of the Spital which had to be discharged elsewhere, was excused from this duty. Then each Priest in due succession was to say his separate Mass in the Chapel. Then before the third hour, 9 a.m., the Warden and Canons were to visit the sick and suffering, to relieve their wants and mitigate their pains as much as possible. Next the bells were to be rung again and the solemn Mass of the Community was to be said or sung, accordingly as it was a ferial or a festal day. After this came the common dinner; then an interval was allowed for repose or recreation. But after no long while the Community had to return to the chapel. Every day, before Vespers and Compline were solemnly sung, the office for the faithful departed was to be devoutly and distinctly recited. Compline ended, there was supper for those who cared for it. But even so the duties of the day were not concluded. As in the morning, so in the evening, the whole religious community were to visit the chambers of the poor inmates and again to relieve want, to assuage pain, and minister to the soul diseased. The Prior had yet one more duty to discharge before he could accompany the community to their rest in the common dormitory. He was to appoint the Morrow Mass Priest, *i. e.*, that member of the body who was to discharge the earliest religious duty of the next day.

All thus set in order, there follows this curious provision, that this order, as far as the Divine offices are concerned, shall continue only till the appointment and custom of the Church shall settle some other times and modes for the celebration of Divine service. Surely the founder should not lose the credit of this early recognition of the fact that the forms and seasons of Divine worship are not of perpetual obligation; that the reform of offices and ceremonial may become a necessity? Surely, too, the clear way in which the founder thus sets the doors of reform by competent authority wide open as far as his Spital is concerned, and the charitable work carried on therein should have saved his institution from destruction even when the mania for despoiling religious houses was at its height. But then the King would not have got from Sir John Williams so much of his 526*l.* 19*s.* 2*d.*, as represented the value of the site of Elsing Spital, nor Sir John a valuable property almost for a song. It was the site of this hospital, with the memory of many deeds of heroic charity cleaving to it, which the executors of Thomas White just a hundred years after its secularisation bought as a fit plot of ground upon which to erect Sion College and Alms-house. They gave for it the sum of 2450*l.*, just over four and a half times as much as Sir John Williams had given for it and for the lands of Nutley Abbey together a century earlier.

Having thus obtained a charter and a site for the College, the executors proceeded with no less diligence to procure the erection of the necessary buildings—a hall, a dwelling-house for the clerk, lodgings for the twenty almsfolk. These began to rise rapidly, when

an incident occurred which led to an important addition being made to the original plan of Dr. White, an addition which has proved of the highest value, which has, in fact, given much of its character and fame to Sion College.

The incident was this. Mr. Wood, Rector of St. Michael, Crooked Lane, an Assistant upon the first Court of Governors, which had been nominated in the charter, in company with Dr. Simpson, one of the executors of Dr. White, was viewing the progress of the works, turning to whom Mr. Wood remarked that a fine room for a library might well be built over the unfinished Almshouse. The remark was not lost upon Dr. Simpson. It led eventually to his becoming almost a co-founder with Dr. White of the College as we know it; for at his own charge over the lodgings of the alms-folk he built a room one hundred and twenty-one feet in length and twenty-five in breadth. He lined it, we are told, with wainscot; he fitted it with stalls, desks and seats; he added for its maintenance an endowment in land calculated to yield 16*l.* per annum. As the recorded dimensions are as nearly as possible identical with those of the present library, it is clear that in the rebuilding, after the Great Fire of 1666, the ancient foundations and lines were adhered to as closely as possible. Dr. Simpson's benefactions to the new foundation and the cause of learning did not end here. Having provided a spacious library to contain the materials for study, he thought it well to provide the students who should desire to avail themselves of these materials with suitable and inexpensive lodgings in close proximity to the library.

He built, therefore, a certain number of sets of

chambers along the south side of the garden, which should at once accommodate students economically, and yield a small revenue to the College.

It seems a great pity the plan had but the shortest time in which to prove its utility. These students' chambers, within forty years of their building, were destroyed in the Great Fire, and when rebuilt, and as far as they were rebuilt, they could no longer be dedicated to the same purpose,—the poverty, not the will, of the College preventing it. It was only by granting building leases that the College could get any but its most essential buildings re-erected. And with the granting such leases the power of restricting tenants to a particular class vanished.

Brief as was their existence, at least one distinguished man availed himself of the advantages which they afforded. For in one of these sets of chambers for a while dwelt Thomas Fuller, the learned, the witty, the humorous historian and divine. This was in 1640, when he came to live in London, and was chosen lecturer in the Savoy Chapel. Gratitude to a considerable benefactor requires that the name of one more of those who dwelt in these chambers should be mentioned—Nathaniel Torperley, a name but little remembered now, though he who bore it in his day enjoyed a high reputation as an eminent mathematician, and corresponded on terms of equality with all that was most distinguished in that branch of science. To him Thomas Hariot, or Harriot, left by will all his manuscripts. These, or some of these, together with other manuscripts, and a considerable collection of printed books, besides many

articles of value, diamond and gold rings, of which he seems to have had a collection, Torperley bequeathed to the College ; a bequest which brought John Spencer, the second Librarian of the College, into much suspicion and much trouble.

Thus has some answer been given to the questions : What is Sion College ? Who founded it ? When, why, and where ? It has been shown how it came by its Charter, its Buildings, and, above all, its fine Library. Let us now glance at its history, see what signs of life it has given, and how far it has fulfilled the intention of its founder.

Well, for some considerable time, from circumstances which will be related, its whole energies were of necessity absorbed in the struggle for existence. If, however, its annals are but meagre ; its action more restricted than could have been wished, and might have been anticipated, this comparative failure for a time can easily be accounted for.

The College had hardly acquired its existence before the troubles of the Great Rebellion were upon it ; by these it ran some risk of being strangled in its cradle. They had scarcely subsided when the Great Fire consumed all its buildings, and its principal sources of income. Hence a prolonged struggle with poverty ; a large expenditure imperative, whilst no revenues were coming in to meet it.

If I mention a few incidents connected with these events, I shall, I think, account for some shortcomings and illustrate the general history of the times.

For a short time everything seemed to be going on smoothly enough. The first Court of Governors was

nominated in the Letters Patent of July 6, 1630. · The President was John Giffard, Rector of St. Michael Bassishaw. Thomas Worrell, Rector of St. Botolph Bishopsgate, and John Simpson, Rector of St. Olave, Hart Street, the Founder of the Library, and one of Dr. White's executors were Deans. The four Assistants were Francis Dee, Cornelius Burgess—of whom we shall hear again—Edward Abbot, and Thomas Wood. They remained in office till the Third Tuesday after the Easter Tuesday next ensuing, when the first elected Court was chosen.

For first elected President the choice of the College fell upon Thomas Westfield, who was continued in office two years. The Deans and two of the Assistants were re-appointed ; but, in the places of Dee and Abbot, Richard Watson, Rector of St. Mary Aldermary, and George Walker, Rector of St. John Evangelist, Watling Street, were elected Assistants. It is interesting to note this in proof that at first the election of Governors was free, as the founder intended that it should be, and independent of any principle of rotation.

It is also interesting to note that the two first elected Presidents of the College became Bishops, Westfield, of Bristol, John Hacket, Rector of St. Andrew Holborn, his successor, and otherwise a remarkable person, of Lichfield and Coventry. We may further note that before 1700, of the fifty-one Presidents of the College eight had been made Bishops, six Deans, five Archdeacons, two Masters of Colleges, not a few Canons —that up to the same date it was by no means unusual to continue the same Fellow in office, as Pre-

sident, for two or even three years, when the state of the College business seemed to require it, an honour very rarely accorded since that date; the last instance being that of the present Writer, who was President in the years 1874 and 1875.

The early records of the College suffice to show that the first Court set to work in quite a business-like way, granting leases, electing almsfolk, filling the shelves of the library, but beyond this little can be gleaned from them. They were kept in the most meagre way. Fragments of transactions are mentioned, but not their whole course. Sometimes the beginning of a piece of business is recorded, of which the end has to be inferred. Sometimes it is the conclusion which is noted, leaving the steps which led up to it to be divined. It was not till towards the close of the last century that the minutes came to be kept with any fulness. From 1799, when the Rev. Robert Watts, Vicar of St. Helen, afterwards Rector of St. Alphage, was appointed Librarian and Secretary, and even from some few years earlier, they have been kept with a fulness and particularity which leave nothing to be desired. A complete history of the affairs of the College might be easily compiled from them, and some side lights thrown upon passing events—but to return. However faithfully and conscientiously the first Courts of Governors may have set to work to discharge their duties, it soon became too apparent that they did not possess the art of coining money. And the money question, even before religious and political trouble came, entered into an acute phase. Dr. White had been munificent in his intentions. One of his

executors had been munificent in adding largely to his original plan; the others diligent in carrying out his views. And yet the question of finance soon became a very embarrassing one. In those days country rents were very uncertain, and sometimes hard to come by, so that, far from being able to display activity in a wide field, through lack of funds the College was straitened even in the fulfilment of its own more immediate functions.

The Founder had desired that, besides the anniversary banquet, which he intended to be the almsfolks' court day, there should in every year be four quarterly dinners, before each of which a Latin sermon was to be preached, and an honorarium paid to the chosen orator for his pains in preaching the same. At the close of his second year of office, 1633, Dr. Westfield, the first elected President, preached the first Latin sermon, taking for his apt text the eighteenth verse of the fifty-first Psalm, "*Benigne fac Domine in boná voluntate tuá Sion.*" "O Lord, be favourable and gracious unto Sion." At the same anniversary four doctors were duly appointed to preach the quarterly sermons. Only three years later, in 1636, provision was made but for two sermons, because the College could afford but two dinners. Nowadays we may smile at this inversion of the old adage, no song no supper, into no supper no sermon. This admission that Latin sermons are things not to be entered, nor taken in hand, save by the well-fed and the well-fed, may sound strange to us. But, however little heroic such an admission may be, it brings out that for which I have chiefly drawn attention to the

fact, viz., the early date at which the College found its proceedings hampered by the extreme narrowness and insecurity of its income. Before passing on to other topics I may perhaps as well finish with the fate of the Latin sermons. There seem to have been fitful and not very successful attempts made to secure the due preaching of them. The College records tell us that, in 1642, they were omitted by reason of the plague. From 1656 to 1660 Doctors or Bachelors of Divinity were regularly appointed at each anniversary to preach them, but, it is added, that few discharged the duty to which they were appointed. Alas! still for no better motive than this, that though they might preach there was no security for either fee or food.

On the other hand, though those who were elected to preach the quarterly sermons too often failed to discharge the duty, from the time when Dr. Westfield, the first elected President, 1633, set his good example, down to 1854, when Mr. Goode occupied the Chair, save on very rare occasions, and in quite exceptional circumstances, such as the plague in 1642, no President had failed to preach at the anniversary the Latin sermon expected of him. At the Anniversary Meeting of the Fellows in 1748 it was declared to be by laudable custom dating from time out of mind a branch of the President's office. It was never intentionally omitted till 1855. Mr. Scott, President 1858, reverted to the laudable custom, which thenceforth was again continued with tolerable regularity down to 1876, when the present writer closed his second year of office as President, as he had closed his first, with a

Latin sermon. Mr. Collins, President 1877-8, also preached his in due course; but this was the last. The subsequent omission is less chargeable to a want of willingness and ability in those who should have preached than to a want of readiness and intelligence in those who should have listened; and perhaps there is some justification for what seems to be the general feeling, that by this time Latin sermons are a little out of date. To resume, it was not want of funds only, but the troubrous character of the times in which it was cradled, which prevented the College from attaining such a development in its earlier years as might have been hoped for.

The first elective Court was chosen in 1631, and barely a dozen years later, 1643, the Great Rebellion had broken out, old landmarks were being obliterated, and something more than Puritanism was setting in with so full and relentless a tide that the President, Dr. Marsh, Rector of St. Dunstan in the West, Archdeacon of Chichester, was ejected by the Parliamentary Visitors, and Mr. Andrew Janeway, Minister of All Hallows London Wall, was substituted in his place. An attempt had already been made by John Sedgwick, Rector of St. Alphage, to invalidate the regular election of the year. Against it he had protested upon four grounds—two technical, two political. He urged, firstly, that lecturers and curates had not been summoned; secondly, that the Latin sermon had been omitted, and then he goes on to his real grievances; he insisted thirdly, that at the election some voted and were chosen who were sequestered by the Parliament; whilst on the other hand, fourthly, some instituted by

the authority of Parliament were restrained from voting. The attempt of John Sedgwick to confiscate Sion College to the Presbyterian party failed for the moment ; but a few months later a second attempt was, as we have seen, abundantly successful ; the elected President and Governors, or such of them as were distasteful to the dominant faction, being thrust out of office, and more acceptable persons substituted in their place.

How complete the success of the second attempt may be inferred when we read that on February 11, 1647, a Mr. English could find no more acceptable gift to present to the intruded President and Court than a copy of the Solemn League and Covenant, handsomely framed, to be by them hung up in their Common Hall.

It is not without its interest to note that for this year and the following, 1648, the President of the College was Cornelius Burgess, Rector of St. Magnus, London Bridge. He had been, as already noted, a member of the Court of Governors nominated in the charter, being at that time one of the chaplains of King Charles I. ; but, in 1645, by authority of Parliament, he was made a kind of Dean of St. Paul's, the Deanery being assigned to him for his residence with a pension of 400*l.* a year, whilst an enclosed portion of the Cathedral was appropriated to him in which it was his duty to lecture on Sunday evenings.

The gift of the copy of the Solemn League and Covenant seems to have been accepted with good grace and gratitude enough. Not so another boon, for which the Fellows were soon to be indebted to the Parliament, viz., a troop of soldiers, who were ordered to be

quartered in the College. This was a sacrifice for the good cause, which even a Puritan Court of Governors would not make without a struggle. Through the President, Dr. Seaman, and Mr. Calamy, a sufficiently lively remonstrance was addressed to the proper quarter, which at first was attended with success. But though the soldiers were for the moment removed they were soon sent back again, and, at their second coming, they turned not only the Clerk and other Officials but the peaceful students also out of their lodgings.

Had this conversion of the College into a barrack been attended with no graver loss than the silver clasps of the vellum Register of Benefactors, a theft with which tradition credits these soldiers, the mischief would not have been great.

But by thrusting the students out of their lodgings they deprived the College of rents to the amount of 54*l.* a year. This was the *coup de grace*, and completed the financial embarrassments of the College. Already, in consequence of the troubles, country rents were coming in, if at all, in smallest dribblets and with excessive irregularity; and now all other sources of revenue were so completely dried up that the Governors could only pay the inevitable rates and taxes by a deduction from the pittances of the alms-folk. From this time a period of chronic financial embarrassment commences, which lasted for nearly a century, till the heavy debt incurred in the rebuilding after the Great Fire was discharged, and the building leases upon fines, granted after that calamity, fell in.

It is fair to add that no sooner were the depredations committed by the soldiers brought under the notice of the Great Protector than he removed them, and ordered that an account should be furnished of “such spoil and harm as they may have committed in the time of their occupancy.” There is, however, no trace of this good intention bearing fruit. The Protector’s hands were too full to admit of his seeing to so minute a matter himself, and those to whom he remitted it seem to have neglected it; at any rate, no compensation was ever paid.

In connection with military occupations of the College, I may mention that in 1711 the Lieutenancy of the City of London ordered a company of Train Bands to keep a court of guard in the College gardens, but being remonstrated with withdrew the order. William Reading, then Librarian, tells us that at that date guards were set in many of the churches. He himself saw them in St. Alphage and in St. Mary Whitechapel.

Again in 1803 leave was given to the captain of “The Voluntary Military Associations in the Ward of Cripplegate Within” to exercise young recruits in the Gardens, the College subscribing ten guineas to the Association. And when the present Volunteer Force was set on foot one of the City Regiments was allowed to drill in the College Gardens.

In spite, however, of an income which had diminished till it was at the point of vanishing away,—in spite of the fact mentioned that in 1643 the President and Court regularly elected at the Anniversary were in the autumn of the same year superseded by a Court irregularly chosen,—in spite of all the troubles

of the Great Rebellion and the Commonwealth,—the College escaped actual dissolution, and, for the most part, elected its own Officials at the time appointed by the charter. The minutes record but two, or, at most, three instances upon which the election of Governors was held upon any other day than that appointed by the charter, and these much later than the period now under review. The occasions referred to were in 1693, and again in 1697, when the anniversary was, by leave of the Visitor, postponed, and for the same reason, viz., because in both those years it so happened that the Government had ordered a solemn fast upon the day prescribed by the charter for the College feast. Before, however, quite passing away from the period in which Puritanism was as rampant in Sion College as it was elsewhere, I will mention an amusing form in which it exhibited itself there. In all official records, from 1648 to 1658, both inclusive, the Saints have ceased to be Saints, and the Clergy have ceased to be Rectors or Vicars. For example, the Fellows elected upon the 17 April, 1649, and their benefices are thus set down: President William Gorege, Ann Blackfriars; Deans, E. Calling, Mary Aldermary, James Naller, Leonard Shoreditch; and the four Assistants are Ministers of Sepulchres, Mary Woolnoth, Stephen Walbrook, and Austins. Besides this the library possesses to this day a thick MS. volume which contains the records of ecclesiastical proceedings (in London) for the period during which Presbyterianism was the recognised religion of England. The book was the gift of Mr. Thomas Granger, of the India House, and is a large manuscript volume,

entitled “The Records of the Provincial Assembly of London, begun A.D. 1647, and ending A.D. 1660.” It contains also, secondly, a “Vindication of the Presbyterian Government, published by the Ministers and Elders of the Provincial Assembly, Nov. 2, 1649;” thirdly, “Jus Divinum Ministerii Evangelici;” and fourthly, “An Exhortation to Catechizing,” both published by the same authority. In a similar volume the library possesses also “The Acts of the Committee for Plundered Ministers, 1650—1651.”

This triumph of Presbyterianism proved, of course, to be an episode, and a very brief one, in the affairs of the College, as in the history of the nation.

In 1659 the Royalist reaction was bearing fruit in Sion College, as it was throughout the length and breadth of the land. All the Saints recovered their titles more quickly than they had lost them, though the Incumbents seem to have hesitated longer before they resumed their old appellation, and became once more Rectors, Vicars, &c. On May 7, 1660, a General Court of the College was held, at which “The King’s Majesty’s most gracious Declaration from Breda” was read, and (whatever dire misgivings may have lurked in the hearts of some present) without a dissentient voice was “most thankfully acknowledged,” and it was ordered “that a humble address to his Majesty, now in Holland, be presented by the Ministers in and about London.” The Address to be presented by Dr. Reynolds, the President, and others; but, alas! mark the poverty of the College. It was necessary to make it an express stipulation that the Fellows forming the deputation should bear their own charges, the utmost

the Corporation could do being to make itself responsible for the Clerk's share thereof. And now that King and Church have come by their own again, perhaps by something more than their own, may it not be expected that prosperous days will at length dawn for the College too ?

Not so ; for different reasons from those which led to the disappointment of so many (the King's cold oblivion of old servants and faithful services had no share in it), the Restoration proved as great a deception for Sion College as it did for too many others.

It was the remorselessness of a devouring element, not man's ingratitude, which now interfered to prevent Sion College from developing as it ought to have developed, and initiating a new career of usefulness.

The Fire, the Great Fire of London, which broke out upon September 2nd, 1666, together with almost all the rest of the City, consumed the College Hall, Library, Official Buildings, Students' Chambers. All were destroyed.

A desperate exertion, not altogether unsuccessful, was made to save the books, and a considerable portion were happily removed to the Charterhouse, not, however, before at least one-third had been consumed or hopelessly spoilt. The Almsfolk were permitted to take refuge in the church of St. Alphage, one of the few buildings which escaped the devouring flames. The lower stories of the tower—it was rebuilt in 1649, as far down as the floor of the belfry—still stand, but the church in which the almsfolk took refuge fell more and more into decay till 1724, when we are told the pavement was sunk and the pews so deranged

that it was dangerous to pass along the aisles. Then 291*l.* was spent in repairs, just so much money wasted, for at last in 1774 the whole church was pronounced so decayed and damp as to be unfit for use, and accordingly was shut up, and soon after taken down. Whereupon, as a specimen of the intelligent taste of the period, in a very rich London parish the present dismal, depressing, degraded building was erected, and in the course of some three years opened, June 24, 1777.

The President and Court of Governors elected at the Anniversary next ensuing upon the Great Fire did their best to retrieve the disaster. Dr. Lake, who at the time was Rector of St. Botolph Bishopsgate, and Prebendary of Holborn in St. Paul's Cathedral, who subsequently was raised to the Episcopate, and in quick succession became Bishop of the Sees of Sodor and Man (1683), Bristol (1684), Chichester (1685), was elected President, and continued in office three successive years. The first steps taken by Dr. Lake and his colleagues was to put out an appeal to the Fellows and to the public for funds to rebuild. The appeal was fairly responded to, the total amount subscribed in this and the next few years amounting to 1561*l.* The names of the persons subscribing and the amount of their contributions have a certain interest. The list contains, besides the names of almost all the Fellows, those of bishops, peers, farmers of the public revenue, aldermen, merchants, and other leading citizens of London. If we come to particular names, we may mention that of the Duchess of Monmouth, of the Earl of Northampton, the Countess of Southampton, of Dr. Sancroft, Dean of St. Paul's, Dr. Stillingfleet,

Canon Residentiary of St. Paul's, Dr. Simon Patrick, the Rector of St. Paul's Covent Garden, nor will we omit that of Samuel Pepys, Esq., Secretary to the Lords of the Admiralty, who gave 20*l.*; the other donations vary from 100*l.*, the largest sum received from a single individual, to 1*l.*

Still, though the appeal met with a fair response, the sum collected was totally inadequate to defray the charges consequent upon the re-erection of all the College buildings. As we have said, the contributions amounted in all to 1561*l.* But the rebuilding of the Library alone absorbed 1300*l.* of this sum, whilst for the Hall, Clerk's house, and other necessary work, a further outlay of 2000*l.* was found necessary.

Thus the College came to be burdened with a heavy debt. How was it to be met? The Governors let off considerable portions of the site upon building leases on these terms. The tenants desiring leases were required at once to pay a large sum down by way of fine, and then were to hold for the rest of their term at a reserved rent, set so low as to be little more than nominal. Unquestionably by this plan the College was relieved from immediate pressure, but at a heavy cost. Its income was anticipated, its resources crippled, for years to come.

We cannot, then, be surprised to find that until the close of the century, and well on into the next, the College had a severe struggle for existence—that its expenditure was too often in excess of its revenue—that further appeals had to be made to the Fellows and to the public to restore, if it might be possible, the disturbed equilibrium, and this, too, with very partial success.

The first of these supplemental appeals was made when Dr. Bell, Vicar of St. Sepulchre's, was President. He was elected in 1672, and continued in office for the two succeeding years. He put out his appeal in his second year of office, 1673. In it he points out that the destroyed Library was a large building fitted with twenty-six double desks, that it had been erected for the public use of the Ministers of London, but had been free to all other persons who chose to repair thither. He puts the actual loss of income to the College by the Fire at 106*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.* per annum, and pleads for help from the public, in the public interest, to complete the re-erection and refurnishing of this library. We do not know what response was made to this appeal, but in 1688 the restoration of the building of the College was completed. Its financial position seems still to have been so unsound that Dr. Lilly Butler, President for two consecutive years, 1714, 1715, towards the close of his first year of office, determined upon one more appeal. There was little response from the laity, but the two Archbishops, the Visitor, and other Bishops, several Deans, and other dignified Clergy, sent in their contributions. But even after this supreme effort there still remained a debt of 700*l.* No further attempt seems to have been made to clear this off till the leases granted after the Fire had run out. These leases were of houses in Aldermanbury, in London Wall, in the College Gardens in Philip Lane, and Sion Court. The reserve rent upon the whole seems to have amounted to no more than 11*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* per annum, whereas the rental of the far smaller portion of the property, covered with buildings

before the Fire, had yielded 106*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.* The building leases fell in between 1731 and 1738, and thenceforth for more than a century, except when some exceptionally heavy repairs crippled for the moment its resources and necessitated a call for further subscriptions in aid, the College might boast, if not of affluence, to this it has never attained, yet of finances in a fairly satisfactory condition, sufficing with due economy, if not more than sufficing, for the purposes for which they were bequeathed. This satisfactory condition continued down to the fatal year in which to pay for a new Almshouse, the expense of which had been imprudently incurred before the means of paying for it were provided, the whole London and Country property of the College was tied up by an expensive mortgage, from the meshes of which the College was extricated only some few years ago.

To finish the history of the College it will be well to glance at any points of interest which may be connected with the original Buildings, and this the more because, in consequence of a plan which has been adopted for the removal of the College to the Thames Embankment, soon none of them will remain. Some attempt has been made to throw a halo of romance round these buildings, and to deprecate their destruction. A perusal of the College accounts makes it plain however that they were from the first ill-constructed—a source of expense rather than of pride. To pass over less important occasions, in which they have demanded a large outlay, it should be mentioned that in 1800 it was reported that extensive repairs were necessary. The surveyor specified that the main timbers of the roof and floor were

much decayed; that the piers of the gateway were crushed and had given way; that the whole of the front towards London Wall must be taken down, and a new roof, floor, and ceiling provided. Upon this the Court, apprehensive of exaggeration, went to view the premises, and have left it upon record that the case was worse even than their surveyor represented, and that they were filled with astonishment that the roof had not fallen in long before. Upon this occasion the cost of the repairs to the library alone amounted to 2624*l.* 9*s.* 4*d.*; whilst, fifteen years later, 1000*l.* more were expended upon the hall, which was practically rebuilt; at least the walls and the roof were all made new. Thus at this date there was no portion of the buildings left in which new work had not superseded the old. When the present buildings of Sion College shall be removed, sentimental admirers, who would preserve every bit of rubbishy old brickwork, if only it can boast a reputed antiquity of two hundred years, need shed no tears over them. If reverence for the “genius loci” and the wish to preserve all relics of the past were the sole hindrances, the removal to the Embankment might be considered already an accomplished fact. These enthusiastic worshippers of old brickwork had not far to look for proof that the worship of the present library of Sion College, as a specimen of ancient work, is quite misplaced, for, on the northern external wall, this inscription may be read by every passer-by:—

Hæc Bibliotheca Fronte cum Tecto,
Vetustate pene collapsis,
Sumptibus Collegii instaurata est,
A.D. M.DCCC, Johanne Moore Praeside.

In this connection we may note several things in passing ; first, that this John Moore, who was President in 1800, was Rector of St. Michael Bassishaw, and also Warden of the College of Minor Canons in St. Paul's Cathedral, at that time a very important corporation with much property, in the management of which Mr. Moore was as diligent and successful as he was in his management of the affairs of Sion College ; next, that the present President (1881), the Rev. W. J. Hall, Rector of St. Clement East Cheap, also a Minor Canon of St. Paul's, is the last of the Minor Canons who, in consequence of the degradation of that office, effected by the Dean and Chapter in 1875, can ever be President of Sion College. Thirdly—

It had been hoped that during Mr. Hall's year of office the first stone of the new building upon the Thames Embankment, by which it is intended to supersede the present insufficient library and hall, might have been laid. A site has been obtained from the City Lands Committee, in a very choice position. The realization of the present site is in progress, and though carried out less rapidly and successfully than might be desired, still much of it has been disposed of upon fair terms. A plan and elevation for the buildings to be erected upon the new site have been supplied by Mr. Arthur Blomfield ; in which far more accommodation of every kind will be afforded than is furnished by the present buildings. Not only will there be space for the proper display of the present library, but abundant provision is made for the storing, in a convenient way, for many years to come, of the annual increase of the library at the ordinary rate at

which additions are made to it. The elevation has been very generally approved as a bold, handsome design, in which the purposes to which the building is to be dedicated, and the date of foundation, are well marked. It was exhibited in the Royal Academy, 1880. There is still, however, delay in getting possession of the new site, as the City have failed to get the Bill passed in Parliament which was to enable them to sell the freehold to the College. This power of sale was, unfortunately, mixed up with a much larger transaction—the transference of the Mint to the vicinity of the Temple. Against this removal a Committee of the House of Commons has reported, and the sale of the new site for Sion College being embodied in the same measure, the failure of the larger scheme has led to the withdrawal of the Bill. Another Session must now, in all probability, be waited for, and consequently the laying the first stone must be the work of another President. It may be repeated that it is desired, as an almost necessary consequence of the removal to the Embankment, to widen the area of the College, and admit to a share in its privileges many of the leading Clergy of the metropolis, who by the terms of the present charter are not entitled to a fellowship.

Having thus sketched the history of the old buildings, and indicated what are, at any rate, the aspirations, with respect to accommodation, of the College for the future, it is time to say somewhat of the action of the College, of the way in which it has used that position which the Founder assigned to it.

The mode of action more usual with the College has been when any question has been stirring the

public, and more especially the clerical mind, to hold general meetings, or courts as they were often called, at which the absorbing subject has been discussed, and addresses to the Crown or to the Bishop or petitions to Parliament, embodying the views of the majority, have been adopted. These meetings until the beginning of the eighteenth century were comparatively few. Reading, in his "State of Sion College," published 1724, mentions only two, or, at most, three. At one of these, as already mentioned, an address to King Charles II. on his restoration was agreed to, and it was voted that a Bible should be presented to him. When, however, just about the date of this publication, the College had shaken off its burden of debt, these meetings became much more frequent. A meeting of great interest was held in 1719 upon the summons of the President, to whom the Bishop had written a letter commending to the charitable consideration of the London Clergy the state of poor livings in the Diocese. Had the College chest been better provided than it was it would have been a question whether a grant from the common funds even for so excellent a purpose fell within the implied trust upon which such funds are held. As it was, its emptiness made it unnecessary to raise the question of principle, and it was agreed that those present should subscribe according to their will and ability, and the list should be handed to the Librarian, that he might solicit donations from the absent.

In 1730 Thomas Sherlock, Bishop of London, was publicly thanked at the anniversary for "his seasonable defence of the doctrines of the Christian faith,

his care and vigilance in maintaining the customs of the Church and legal rights of the Clergy.” It was ordered that this expression of gratitude should be entered upon the Minutes as “a perpetual memorial of the just sense which the Clergy of London have of their singular happiness in being under the protection and government of so great and able a prelate.” Space will not admit of any consecutive account of these meetings, which with some exceptions, when larger interests have been involved, are for the most part of a routine kind. Addresses to Kings and to Bishops upon their accession, petitions to Parliament (which after presentation were always advertised *in extenso* in the leading journals of the day) against any measures which seemed at variance with Church interests. Some of these petitions, however vigorous in expression, must be looked upon as records rather of the unflinching Toryism of the London Clergy than of their superior insight into the progress of public opinion and the requirements of the times. It need hardly be said that petitions against the repeal of the Test and Corporation Act, against Catholic Emancipation, against the removal of Jewish Disabilities, are many in number and forcible in expression. Perhaps it is scarcely fair to expect that the Clergy should have led public opinion upon such subjects.

But it will hardly be disputed that the College has better realised its mission in those meetings, or rather conferences, which of late years have been held, some half dozen in the course of each year in the College Hall, at which the most delicate and burning questions have been introduced by some of the most

eminent men of all schools of thought and opinion, and subsequently discussed with perfect temper and fairness. That the authorities of Sion College cannot be charged with lack of courage in their choice of representative men, and that they have been singularly fortunate in the kind spirit in which their advances have been received, will appear from the mention of some of the names of those who have addressed the College at these meetings: on ecclesiastical subjects, the late Dean of Westminster, the Deans of Llandaff and Manchester, Dr. Littledale, the Right Hon. A. J. B. Beresford Hope, Dr. Martineau, and Mr. Matthew Arnold: on scientific, Mr. William Spottiswoode, President of the Royal Society, Professors Huxley and Tyndall, Dr. Carpenter, Dr. Kitchen Parker, and others.

Here and there, in connection with the subjects to deal with which general meetings have been summoned, we get some information of permanent interest. Frequent attempts have been made to tax the stipends of the Clergy payable under the Fire Acts. These attempts have always been successfully resisted, though sometimes it has required much energy upon the part of those constituted by the Clergy at Sion College as a permanent Committee of Vigilance to defeat the attempts. In 1800 a great scare among the City Clergy, many of whom were pluralists, was caused by an attempt made by common informers to recover the fines payable for non-residence under the Penal Statute, 21st Henry VIII. The Bishop was addressed upon the subject; the evils of non-residence were admitted, but it was pleaded, and pleaded truly and successfully, that of the London Clergy many have

no parsonage houses, many others only such as are unfit for a clergyman to reside in and too small to accommodate a family ; that the largest income of a City Benefice was 200*l.* and the smallest 50*l.* These, if un-supplemented from other sources, it was urged, do not raise the clergyman to the level of a clerk in a counting-house or of a foreman in a respectable shop.

Any historical sketch of Sion College would be incomplete without some notice of the Almshouse, which in the intention of the founder was a principal, if not the principal part of the foundation. As we have seen, the rooms of the almsfolk were beneath the Library, ten opening into the College Court, ten into Philip Lane. As time went on, the inconveniences of this arrangement became more and more conspicuous. The fuller of books and more valuable the Library became, the more did the impropriety of exposing it to the immense risk from fire in days when fire-proof floors were unthought of, consequent upon twenty old and infirm people living beneath it in twenty small, close, insufficient rooms, become apparent to the Governors of the College.* Though sensible of the evil, Dr. Moore, who had so much to do with the rebuilding of the Library at the beginning of the century, did not see his way to remedy it. Nor was the risk to the Library the only objection to which the arrangement was open. There were grave objections to it for another reason ; the opening of half the doors into Philip

* There was yet one more objection to these rooms. By the gradual rising of the soil upon each side, their floors had come to be some three or four feet below the level of the pavement of the College court upon one side and of Philip Lane upon the other.

Lane withdrew the inmates of these rooms from any real discipline. The necessity to be in by a certain hour, the surveillance of the Ostiarius, for their inmates had no existence. And yet it had been the Founder's express direction that all the almsfolk should be under discipline. They were to be constant in their attendance at divine service; to be regularly at home by the appointed hour; to be restrained from harbouring strangers in their rooms. It was to secure these results that the College and Almshouse were directed to be enclosed by a wall and to have a common gate, which was to be shut every evening at specified times varying with the seasons.

All these evils were not practically remedied till about forty years ago, when Dr. Russell, the well-known Head-Master of the Charterhouse School, afterwards Rector of St. Botolph Bishopsgate, President 1845, was the moving spirit in all which concerned the College.

It was then determined that upon a plot of ground south of the Library, where the clerk's lodgings had formerly been, a new Almshouse should be erected. In itself the undertaking was a most desirable one; but the question, how the 5000*l.* which had to be raised to pay for it should be obtained, was not early enough taken into account. Statutes then in existence, under which it might have been raised before the work was begun, but which were unavailable at a later stage, were overlooked; whilst the innate borrowing powers of the College were by legal advisers limited far more than they need to have been. The very nature of the College itself seems to have been misunderstood and

to have been misrepresented to those consulted, and, as a consequence, before the Almshouse could be completed, an Act of Parliament had to be obtained to give validity to a mortgage, which had been pronounced to be the only mode of escaping from the dilemma. Whether the only way or not, this mortgage proved to be an expensive and cumbrous mode of raising funds, and when once the Act became law, viz., August 26, 1846, the whole revenues of the College were absorbed in meeting the interest of the mortgage and complying with certain other very complicated provisions of the Act.

It may be asked, what has become of this brand new Almshouse raised so recently, and at such a serious expense? Why is it not still to be seen in the designated place? Well, though it proved a costly building to the College, though it was as well constructed as the space and means at command would permit, yet, after all, it proved to be neither a very convenient nor a very desirable abode for twenty old and infirm folk. Each inmate still had but a single room, whilst such of these rooms (about half) as looked into Philip Lane were very dark and gloomy. When extreme old age and feebleness came upon them, as the single small room gave no accommodation for a permanent attendant, even if the luxury could have been afforded, it was frequently found necessary to let the pensioners live away with their friends. Not only so, but the whole neighbourhood had changed, and was still more changing its character. It was not only that London House, removed after the Great Fire from the north-west corner

of St. Paul's Churchyard to Aldersgate Street, was there no more, that the houses of the nobility which had lined both sides of that street, and which had been numerous in Charterhouse Square, had been diverted to baser uses, but the whole population of the city, poor as well as rich, was drifting away into the suburbs, so that the inmates of the Hospital were left in an ever-growing isolation, whilst the neighbouring tenements as their leases fell in at each rebuilding towered higher and higher, excluding more and more of light and air. As a consequence of these changed conditions the occupants of Sion Hospital had ceased to be comfortable amid these new environments, whilst the value of the land upon which the Almshouse stood had risen immensely. Were the money locked up in their incommodious dwellings once set free the almsfolk would be comparatively rich elsewhere. What, then, was to be done ? Ought a new almshouse to be erected in a more open space, and better air, and livelier neighbourhood ? Or ought residence in an almhouse, with a small pension, to be converted into a more liberal pension, with permission to the pensioners to live wherever they might find it to be most convenient for them to dwell ?

These alternatives were fairly discussed, and the deliberate conclusion arrived at by all interested in the foundation, by the Governors of the Hospital, by the various bodies who nominate the pensioners, by the then existing twenty almsfolk themselves, was, that the larger pension, with liberty to live with relatives or friends, would more promote the happiness and comfort of the class which Dr. White desired to

benefit than the continuance of a Common Dwelling, with all the privileges attaching to it, but with more restricted means.

Whilst, therefore, the author of this paper was President, an enabling Act of Parliament was applied for and obtained to carry out the desired change. By the intervention of Her Majesty's Attorney-General, some alteration was made in the governing body of the Hospital, which was no longer to be the annually elected President and Court of Governors of Sion College, but for the future was to consist of eight Fellows of Sion College, elected by the College, and of four other persons to be nominated by the High Court of Justice, or by the Charity Commissioners for England, as representatives of the four bodies to whom the nomination of the almsfolk was given, in varying proportions, by Dr. White, viz., the Merchant Taylors' Company, the parishes of St. Dunstan in the West and of St. Gregory by St. Paul's, and the Trustees of Municipal Charities of the city of Bristol.

This Act also provided the machinery for determining the proportions of the respective shares of the College and Hospital in the London property acquired under Dr. White's will—a question of no great moment when that property yielded a bare subsistence to College and Hospital alike, but which, with the increase in the value of land in the city of London, and with the prospect of its further development, required to be settled by the impartiality of a court of justice.

The arrangements sanctioned by the Act have turned out so completely to the advantage of the Hospital that the number of pensioners has been

twice increased since its provisions have come into operation, and now, instead of twenty pensioners with pensions of 3*l.* or 4*l.* per annum each, as appointed under Dr. White's will, there are forty who receive 35*l.* per annum apiece, living where they find it most convenient to live. A contrast this to the state of things at the beginning of the eighteenth century when the amount of pension was so inadequate that constant complaints were made against the churchwardens of the parishes to which were chargeable the inmates of the Hospital for failing to do their duty by them in coming to the relief of the chronic penury from which these inmates suffered. In one instance the authority of the Lord Mayor was invoked by the Court of Governors to compel a better attention upon the part of the parish officials to their duty in the matter, but with small effect. The scandal culminated in December 1743, when Philip Baker, very old and poor, was found dead in his room, starved, as it appeared, for want of fuel, bedding, and wearing apparel. That any responsibility in the matter should have attached to the Court of Governors seems never for one moment to have entered into their heads. They gave the room and pension, such as it was—the rest concerned the parish; nor, according to the views which then prevailed, can the then Governors be blamed. But we hail with satisfaction the better spirit of later times, when, as has been pointed out, the College accepted almost ruin in order to build a better Almshouse, and, quite lately, has cheerfully acquiesced in the allotment to the Hospital of the best piece of the London property, with the results already stated.

We come last, not least, to the Library—the Library of which John Simpson was the founder, which has been, and continues to be, the chief glory of the College: the Library of which Lord Campbell thus spoke, when summing up in a case in which the Court had to defend their dismissal of a negligent Librarian:—

“The Corporation of Sion College is one of the most venerable institutions of the country. The Library being very splendid, and one that has been of very great service both to literature and to science. It is most excellent, and I think the public are indebted to the Governors of Sion College in seeing that the public have the full benefit of that noble Library.”

The history of the Library thus praised by an eminent Judge and Statesman, as far as the collection of books upon its shelves are concerned, may be divided into three periods, the first of which extends from the date of its foundation, about 1628, to the date of the first Copyright Act in the reign of Queen Anne; the second, from the date of the first Copyright Act which gave a copy of every work entered at Stationers' Hall to the Library of the College to the date of the Act 6 and 7 William IV. cap. 110, which substituted for that right an annual payment or compensation of 363*l.* 15*s.* 2*d.*; the third, from this endowment of the library to the present day.

During the first period the Library depended for its growth upon benefactions, which came in in no stinted measure, partly in money, partly in books. A folio vellum volume is preserved in the library in

which these benefactions are recorded. The earliest entry is of the names of Paul and Ann Bayning, Viscount and Viscountess Sudbury, who gave 50*l.* each to the Library. Sir George Croke, one of Her Majesty's Justices of Pleas, the "very kind and dear friend" of Dr. Thomas White, and, as we have seen, one of the overseers of his will, gave 100*l.* The Rev. G. Walker, Rector of St. John Evangelist, Watling Street, whilst President, gave and procured to be given by his parishioners and others 110*l.* The largest single benefaction in money is the bequest of 200*l.* by Elizabeth, Viscountess Camden. There are other bequests of 100*l.* and a good many of 50*l.* each. If from benefactions in money we turn to those in kind, we find that Nathaniel Torperley, who describes himself as sometime student of this College, gave upwards of one hundred and seventy printed works, besides MSS. and a clock. Walter Travers, the celebrated opponent of Hooker at the Temple, two hundred works. In 1647 the Library of St. Paul's Cathedral, which had been carried first to Camden House, was brought to the College. In 1655, Simeon Ash, a predecessor of the present writer in the Rectory of St. Augustine, gave many valuable works, chiefly ritual books, among them a fine Sarum Missal, and a most interesting MS. York Breviary.

Then we come to the Great Fire, when, to quote the vellum register, "by reason of the dismal fire, which consumed this famous City of London, and this College, with the Library, and a third part of the books therein conteyned . . . —a sad stop was put to this Registry of Benefactors."

No sooner, however, by strenuous efforts and liberal

contributions, were the College and Library rebuilt, than the stream of benefactions began to flow afresh. In 1670 Daniel Mills, as became the President of the College and a successor of the Founder of the Library in the Rectory of St. Olave, Hart Street, was specially active in promoting the rebuilding, when the good work was near completion he set up in it at his own expense as many as nineteen whole and three half-desks, whilst other Fellows supplied at their own cost whole or half-desks.

In 1679, upon the seizure of a Jesuit study at Holbeck, the books were given by the King to the College. Some, however, were injured, and many more embezzled, so that it was but a small residue which reached the library.

Then, almost as soon as the renovated library was ready for their reception, came two very handsome benefactions. In 1682 the Right Honourable George Earl of Berkley gave his noble study of books, containing in all one thousand six hundred and seventy-six volumes, of which six hundred and one were in folio. In 1705 John Lawson left by will to the College his whole library, containing upwards of one thousand one hundred books.

April 10, 1710, was passed for the encouragement of learning the first Copyright Act, by which it was enacted that a copy of every book entered at Stationers' Hall should be given to nine libraries in England and Scotland. When the Bill was before the House of Commons, at the request of Dr. Gascarth, then President, and upon the motion of John Ward, Esq., M.P. for Cheshire, the library of Sion College

was substituted for the library of St. Paul's Cathedral, which in the first draft of the Bill had been named as one of the nine libraries. Thus the library of Sion College entered upon its second phase. It was no longer dependent solely upon private liberality, but had a legal claim to a copy of every work published in England under the protection of the law.

It would take too long to tell how delusive in some respects this privilege proved, to what shifts authors betook themselves to escape the obligations it imposed, how remiss the College was at times in enforcing its rights, what trouble and expense it was put to in enforcing them when the Governors or the Librarian were properly active. Of all this a word or two shall be said when we come to the transition to the third and present provision made for acquiring new works for the library. Previously, however, I should point out that though unquestionably this public provision for the library had a tendency to dry up the sources of private liberality, it did not do so at once. For it was soon after the passing of this Act that Mrs. Eleanor James, relict of the celebrated printer Thomas James, chose Sion College as the depository of the fine library of three thousand volumes, which her husband had left by will, in general terms, for the service of the public, without specifying how it was to be made of such service. In 1712, however, the library received the last great benefaction of this class, when the Rev. E. Waple, Vicar of St. Sepulchre, Archdeacon of Taunton, President 1704, bequeathed to it his whole study of books, containing between eighteen and

nineteen hundred volumes, besides duplicates which sold for a sum of 155*l.**

It is matter of history that, under the Act of 1710, it was not by any means always an easy task for the Libraries named in the Act to get possession of all the works to which under the Act they were entitled. Our Court Minutes are full of notices of the attempts made by the College alone, or by the College together with the Librarians of the two Universities, to hit upon some plan by which copies of all works to which they were entitled might be collected for them. The plan which worked best seems to have been to engage some one connected with Stationers' Hall, at a fixed salary, to make lists and claim copies of all works entered. But even so, whilst works of small value came in pretty regularly, larger, more expensive, and more important works, too frequently eluded the collectors. To avoid what they thought, and what perhaps was, a heavy tax upon them, authors had recourse to all sorts of shifty expedients to elude their obligation.

Even from the point of view of the Libraries themselves, except in the case of one or two like the British Museum, in which it is properly the aim of the Managers that there should be stored up copies of

* In connection with this bequest the following minute of the Court of Governors is not without its interest:—"Ordered, that Mr. Berdmore be employed to chain Mr. Waple's books at twopence per dozen. Ordered, that Mr. Wells provide a thousand chains at threepence per chain." Seventeen years later, however, 1729, all the books were set free from the bondage in which they had been held since the foundation of the Library, and the chains were presented to Mrs. Reading, wife of the Librarian, as a reward for her pains in providing the Court dinners.

everything printed in England, from the most ordinary broadsheet to the choicest and most elaborate works which are published, such as Lord Kingsborough's "Antiquities of Mexico," the right of copies from Stationers' Hall was not a satisfactory sole dependence for the supply of new works.

Under this right obviously a great deal would come to the Library, which, once placed on the shelves and catalogued, would be of very little further use ; whilst, whatever the observed deficiencies of the Library in respect to older home publications, there would be no means of supplying them, nor could works published in foreign countries be acquired at all.

On the whole, therefore, it was rather a benefit to the Library than the reverse when the Act 6 and 7 William IV. c. 110, took away its right to copies of works from Stationers' Hall, and secured to it instead an annual compensation of 363*l.* 15*s.* 2*d.* The sum is small, smaller than it ought to have been, not from any stinginess upon the part of the Legislature, but from the previous remissness of the College officials in making the most of their right. The thrifty Scotchmen who managed the Library of St. Andrews, in distant Fife, proved to have been much more vigilant than the authorities of Sion College, however close their proximity to Stationers' Hall. The compensation was awarded to each Library upon an average of the value of the books received by it in the seven years last preceding. The most was made of the difference in value between works in unsewn sheets and the same works as put into the hands of the public by the publishers ; nor was it forgotten to make a considerable

deduction for the cost of collection, and thus was the amount of compensation, viz., 363*l.* 15*s.* 2*d.*, allotted to Sion College arrived at. But for the same right, and subject to the same deductions, the compensation to St. Andrew's was 630*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* There have been periods in which, perhaps, this modest compensation has not been judiciously employed. But with proper attention to their duty upon the part of the Officials this amount spent carefully year by year is practically found to allow of the addition to the Library of most of the more important works published at home; of the supply of observed deficiencies in the publication of the past, and of the acquisition of some of the more important works printed abroad.

To say a brief word upon the contents of the Library. Its MSS. are not very numerous, and, generally speaking, not of the highest interest. It has one or two rather late Greek Evangelisteria, one written in letters of gold. It has a rare York Breviary, a volume of great importance, as so few office books of the Northern Province survive. It has two or three Latin Bibles, also a whole Bible of the translation of Wycliffe; this was collated by Madden and Forshall for their Hexaplar. As a specimen of caligraphy may be mentioned the "Psalterium pulcherrimum," as it is styled on its title-page, which belonged to Simon de Mephim, Archbishop of Canterbury (1327). This beautiful book has suffered from iconoclastic zeal or antiquarian depredations, but the writing is very fine and bold; the ink and colours and gold of such illuminations as survive are very brilliant. The library also possesses several Caxtons, one or two in excellent con-

dition, and other Incunabula, samples of which were exhibited at South Kensington.

As becomes a library belonging to the London Clergy its chief strength lies in Theology, and in this department of literature it may be said to be well provided. Nor are the historical and biographical collections which it contains to be despised. The general principle upon which additions to the library are made is this: As far as the annual income will allow to purchase all works published at home which are likely to survive the first year or two of their publication; to purchase a certain number of the more important works published abroad; to watch catalogues of old works for the supply at a reasonable rate of observed deficiencies. It ought to be mentioned that besides smaller collections of rare tracts, including several large volumes bought at the sale of Archbishop Tenison's library, Sion College possesses three very considerable and interesting collections of Pamphlets, Tracts, and Sermons, for two of which it is indebted to private liberality, and for the third to the industry and foresight of a President. In point of date the first of these collections is the Gibson Tracts, of which there are seventeen folio, one hundred and five quarto, and two hundred and thirty-six octavo, three hundred and fifty-eight volumes in all. These were presented by the executors of Edmund Gibson, Bishop of London (1798). Then come the Russell Tracts, collected and bound into volumes by the care of Dr. Russell, President 1845. These amount to eight volumes of Episcopal and Archidiaconal charges, three hundred and forty-six of Pamphlets and Tracts, and fifty-nine

of Sermons, containing five thousand eight hundred and fifty-five items in all.

Lastly, the collection presented at various times by William Scott, President 1858. This amounts to two hundred and seventy-five volumes, containing nearly seven thousand particular items.

The following has been the succession of Librarians of the College—John Simpson, M.A., son of the John Simpson who founded the Library, was elected 4th June, 1631. To him succeeded John Spencer, elected 2nd September, 1634. With interruptions, during which he was suspended or discharged and then re-appointed, he remained Librarian till his death in 1680. Out of these thirty-six years, Thomas Leach, appointed 5th March, 1655, held office for three years. The truth seems to be, that Spencer was an excellent Librarian, but less trustworthy, or at any rate less fortunate in other ways. At his death, Nathaniel Torperley, already mentioned, left in the rooms, which as a student of the College were in his occupation, 40*l.* in gold, eleven diamond rings, ten gold rings, and two bracelets. After awhile the whole of these were not forthcoming, and for their safe custody Spencer as the resident official was held to be responsible. Hence he was first suspended, then discharged; against his discharge he appealed to the Council, but took nothing by the appeal. After an interval, however, his good qualities as a Librarian led to the condoning of whatever may have been otherwise amiss in his conduct, and, as has been said, he died Librarian of the College. In the title page of his folio volume, entitled “*Things New and Old*,” a sort of common-

place book of curious and interesting stories, he styles himself a “Lover of Learning and of Learned Men.” To him the Library is indebted for the first printed Catalogue of its contents, which he published in 4to, 1650. Spencer died in 1680.

A Mr. Lewis was elected in his place, but it was not a good choice. Lewis failed to give the proper security required of him. He never performed his duties in person. It is solemnly recorded against him that by him the library suffered great loss—so he was discharged, and on the 11th December, 1684, William Nelson was elected in his stead. To him on the 8th November, 1708, succeeded Samuel Berdmore. These have left no permanent record but their names: though Berdmore, who resigned his office for rich preferment in the country, is said to have written a new Catalogue of the Books, and to have drawn up Tables of them. Not so the next in succession, William Reading, who was elected Library Keeper upon the recommendation of Dr. Compton, Bishop of London. He soon made his influence felt, and gave the Library a greater development than it had ever received before. He was full of proposals for its improvement, which were readily sanctioned by the Court of Governors, and which gave fresh importance to the Library. In 1724 he published a catalogue with this title, which I give in full, as, though compiled upon a principle no longer generally followed, the work was considered of great importance and utility when first published, and has always maintained a certain reputation amongst bibliographers: “Bibliothecæ Cleri Londinensis in Collegio Sionensi

Catalogus duplici formâ concinnatus. Pars prima exhibet libros juxta ordinem Scriniorum distributos, et ad proprias classes reductos. Pars altera omnium Auctorum nomina, et rerum præcipuarum capita ordine alphabeticō complectitur." Reading was a ripe and industrious scholar, a well-learned man. In 1720 he published three folio volumes, with this title, "Eusebii et aliorum Hist. Eccles. Gr. Lat. post Hen. Valesium, recensuit Guil. Reading, Cleri Londinensis Bibliothecarius." Besides these, we have from his pen several volumes of sermons, and one or two devotional works. On 28th January William Brackenridge, Rector of St. Michael Bassishaw, and a Fellow of the College, was elected Librarian, having under him Thomas, the son of William Reading. He died in 1762, and in the December of that year William Clements was elected in his place. By his will, Clements bequeathed all his printed books and fifty pounds to the Library, also fifty pounds to the Almsfolk. On the 26th April, 1799, Robert Watts, Vicar of St. Helens, was appointed and continued in his office, in the discharge of all the duties of which he was very sedulous till January 19, 1842, when he died at a great age, beloved and looked up to by the Fellows, having been Librarian of Sion College for forty-three years. Mr. Watts acted as Secretary as well as Librarian, the offices having been frequently held together, though at times separated, and the Minutes, during the time he kept them, are models at once of caligraphy and of the art of giving the pith of transactions in a few sentences, so as to have a perfectly accurate and, at the same time, not too lengthy record of all that

has taken place. On the Anniversary, 25th April, 1809, being by this time Rector of St. Alphage, Robert Watts was excused from serving upon the Court of Governors, *i.e.* he was allowed to decline the office without paying the usual fine. For a considerable time election upon the Court of Governors, notwithstanding the free election secured by the charter, went by rotation, and if it was inconvenient for any Fellow to serve, and in the days of pluralities, when a man might have one or two country as well as his City living, it often was inconvenient, the Fellow declining to serve paid a fine. This fine was first imposed at the Anniversary of 1728, and was set at five guineas, and remained at that amount till 1810, when it was raised to ten guineas. The last fine taken was in 1840. Since then the competition for election upon the Court of Governors has become yearly more keen ; seats upon it have been often contested, and so the principle of fining has become obsolete ; a healthy sign of the interest taken in the affairs of the College.

But to conclude the list of Librarians. Upon the death of Robert Watts, full of years and high in the estimation of the London Clergy incorporated in Sion College, Henry Christmas was appointed 1842. He entered upon the discharge of his office with much activity. He re-arranged the library, thus destroying the usefulness of Reading's catalogue, but he made no perceptible way with the new one which was to replace it. In fact, contrary to all expectation, the appointment proved to be not a successful one. It was in the suit which was necessary before Mr. Christmas

could be removed that Lord Campbell pronounced the eulogy upon the library which has been quoted.

The list of Librarians will be completed by the addition of three names. Mr. W. G. Hall, Rector of St. Benet Paul's Wharf, was elected 10th February, 1850, and was soon followed by Mr. T. Pelham Dale, Rector of St. Vedast Foster Lane, elected 20th December, 1851. To Mr. Dale the library is indebted for a working catalogue which repaired to some extent the mischief which ensued from Mr. Christmas's rearrangement of the library, and which made its treasures once more accessible to the Fellows and to the public. Upon the resignation of Mr. Dale, the present Librarian, Mr. W. H. Milman, Rector of St. Augustine and St. Faith, was elected, October 1, 1856.

I will add a statement of the property belonging to the College and Hospital. The property of the College consists of three-quarters of the original site of the College in London Wall, acquired by the executors of Dr. Thomas White; and of a proportion of the net profits of the farms of Bradwell Hall and Hockley in Dengey Hundred, in the county of Essex, and of the profits of the Manor of Bradwell with Pilton fee. These are divided into one hundred and three equal parts, of which seventy belong to the Trustees of the Municipal Charities of the city of Bristol, five to the Divinity Lecturer of St. Paul's, and the remaining twenty-eight to Sion College.

The landed property of the Hospital consists of the remaining and best quarter of the site in London

Wall, of Beaches Manor and Farm with the appurtenances thereof Beaches Wood and Beaches Scrubs, Coxal Farm and Wood, all in the county of Essex, and Tyler's Causeway Farm, in Hertfordshire.

It may not be without interest to conclude this brief account of Sion College by recording—1st. That in the year 1791 was founded in Sion College, with which it has ever since remained in close connection, “The Society for the Relief of Clergymen, and the Widows and Children of Clergymen, within the Cities of London and Westminster, and the County of Middlesex.” A peculiarity of this Society is that the funds are collected by clerical stewards, and the working expenses of the Society are literally confined to printing and postage. 2nd. That by invitation of the President and Court of Governors the first Meetings of the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the principles of the Established Church were held in the College Hall.

Thus by providing for the relief of the distress of the poor, the sick, and the suffering amongst the brethren, and by contributing to the promotion of religious education, in addition to the active discharge of the functions more properly pertaining to it, has Sion College endeavoured to justify its existence and discharge its mission. I do not know how better to conclude this paper than by repeating the prayer of the text of the first Latin Sermon of the first elected President of the College : “*Benigne fac Domine in bond& voluntate tua Sion.*” “Be favourable, O Lord, and gracious unto Sion.”

APPENDIX.

VI.—JUDGMENT OF THE VISITOR. JULY 20, 1855.

[A difference of opinion having arisen among the Fellows as to the relative powers of the Court of Governors and the general body, on reference to the Visitor, his Lordship gave the following decision :—]

WE, CHARLES JAMES, Lord Bishop of London, Visitor of Sion College, having received a Memorial, dated the Twenty-ninth day of May, One thousand Eight hundred and Fifty-five, presented to us by the President and Fellows of the said College, under the College Seal, requesting our Judgment on the five several points therein proposed, do give our decision on each of the said points as follows :—

*Questions proposed to the Visitor in
the Memorial.*

1. Does the Charter vest in the Court of Governors, or in the President and Fellows, the power of regulating, leasing, and applying the proceeds of the property, with the use of the Common Seal of the College?
2. Referring to the clause of the Charter (beginning on page 13 of the printed pamphlet)—

“Volumus etiam ac per praesentes pro nobis heredibus et successoribus nostris concedimus ac plenam potestatem et autoritatem damus praefatis Præsidi et Sociis Collegii prædicti et successoribus

Decision of Visitor.

1. The Charter vests this power in the Court of Governors.
2. This clause vests in the Court of Governors the property left by Dr. White to the College, and also the after acquired property of the College for the use of the Almshouse and Almspeople : and the Court of Governors (as such) have a right to use the Common Seal of the College in leasing such property.

suis quod prædicti Præses Decani et Assistentes Collegii illius pro tempore existentes vel major pars eorum sint et erunt Gubernatores et Rectores prædictæ domus eleemosynariæ et pauperum in eâdem de tempore in tempus existentium tam ad hujusmodi pauperes super mortem recessione sive amotionem eligendos secundum formam tenorem et effectum ultimæ voluntatis et testamenti dicti Thomæ White quam ad terras tenementa et hæreditamenta ad usum dictæ domus eleemosynariæ et pauperum danda et concedenda ad eorum juvamen commodum et beneficium dimittenda et disponenda ac ad omnia alia prædictæ domus eleemosynariæ et pauperum ejusdem pro tempore existentium de tempore in tempus exequenda secundum ordinationes pro Gubernatione ejusdem domus eleemosynariæ et pauperum in eâdem constituendas et ordinandas."

Does this Clause vest in the Court of Governors the property already left by Dr. White to the College, or property hereafter to be acquired by the College, or both properties for the use of the Almshouse and Almspeople?—And has the Court of Governors (as such) the right to use the Common Seal of the College in leasing such property?

3. Is the Court of Governors to be considered as the Representative or constituted Agent of the general body for the management of the property left by the Founder for the purposes of the College without special dele-
3. The Court of Governors is to be considered as such representative, or constituted Agent, of the general body for the management of the property left by the Founder, and all other property of the College with-

gation of such powers, either given generally at the annual meeting, or specifically *pro re nata*?

4. If in the judgment of the Visitor the Charter vests in the Court of Governors the power of absolute control over the property left for the support of the Almshouse and Almspeople, and at the same time leaves the control over the College property to the whole Corporation of Sion College, how (seeing that the property is to a great extent one) are the respective rights of the College and Court to be defined and exercised?
5. Does the right to appoint the Secretary, Librarian, and Porter, belong to the general body or to the Court of Governors?—What power has the Court of Governors in the internal administration of the affairs of the College, including the Library?—And does the disposal of the Treasury Grant for the purchase of books for the Library rest with the Court or with the general body?
4. The whole control over the property left for the support of the Almshouse and Almspeople, and of all the College property, is to be exercised by the Court of Governors.
5. The right to appoint the Secretary Librarian, and Porter, belongs to the Court of Governors. The Court of Governors has full power in the internal administration of the affairs of the College, including the Library; the disposal of the Treasury Grant for the purchase of books for the Library rests with the Court of Governors.

Given under our hand this Twentieth day of July, One thousand Eight hundred and Fifty-five.

C. J. LONDON.



Satyra VII. Q. Horatii Flacci.

Omnibus et Lippis notum et tonsoribus.

Nota id temp—

“ *Hominibus otiosis ac loquacibus.*”

“ *Apud Tonsores multas diei horas* ”

“ *Conterunt Loquaces.*”

Nota Joh. Min.-Ellii, Naples. 1752.

Illi imperitius et agrestius detonso capillisque ejus
inæqualiter decurtatis.

Nota Satyra III. lib. 1, 30.

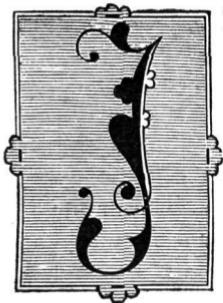
The facts adduced by Antiquaries are the milestones of history, landmarks in the progress of social life, collected to vindicate the Study of Antiquities and redeem it from the sneer of the supercilious sciolist.

Owen & Blakeway's History of Shrewsbury, Vol. I. p. 308.



Barber Surgeons.

By GEORGE LAMBERT, Esq., F.S.A.



N days of remote antiquity, the Art of Surgery and the Trade of a Barber were always combined, and the connection began, by the custom of the former to assist in the baths and in the use of them, in the application of unguents, as early as the time of the Greeks, who were the first to use public baths, the earliest mention of which, we have in Atheneus, who, in the First Book towards the end of Chapter 14, tells us, that in his age προσφάτως τὰ βαλανεῖα παρῆκται τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐδὲν ἔνδον τῆς πόλεως ἐώντων αὐτά (they were but lately come into use, and that formerly no such places were allowed in the city). These balneos contained the following rooms:—

1. 'Αποδυτήριον, wherein the bathers put off their clothes, ἀπεδύοντο τὰ ἴματά;
2. 'Τπόκανστον or πυριατήριον (sudatorium), a room most commonly round, provided with fire πῦρ ἄκαπτον, so contrived that it should not smoke, for the benefit of those who desired to sweat; also called Laconicum, from the frequent use of this way of sweating in Laconia;

3. *Βαπτιστήριον*, a hot bath ;
4. *Λουτρών*, a cold bath ;
5. *'Αλειπτήριον*, the anointing room.

After bathing they always anointed, which was especially necessary after the use of hot baths lest the skin should become rough after the water was dried off. The Roman system of bathing is described thus :—

Balneum sive Balineum ἀπὸ τῶν βαλάνων, a glandibus, quae in balneis olim succendebantur. Auctores sere Balnea sive Balneas de publicis usurpant ædificiis. Balnea erant bina ædificia conjuncta, alterum ubi viri, alterum ubi Mulieres lavabantur. In Balneis erant tria quasi Cœnacula: "Summum," plenum erat aeris calidi, "Laconicum" dictum. In "Medio" cœnaculo erant Aquæ calidæ, in Imo frigidæ. Balneis frequenter usi sunt Romani ante cœnam post ambulationes aut exercitationes, saepe necessitatis, non raro voluptatis causa. Commodus Imperator in die octies lavisse legitur. De Balneis ita disserit Joseph. Laurent. lib. I. Polymath. Dissert. 38. Partes Balneorum quinque, 1. pars erat conclave, ubi aer calidior, in quo vestes ponebantur: hinc dictum Apodyterium seu Spoliatorium. 2. Pars testudinis instar constructa aërem calidum igne accenso sine fumo continens, dicta ὑπόκαυστον sive Sudatorium. 3. Pars cella caldaria, quæ lavacrum dicta; in ea homines considentes lavabantur unde Labrum, quasi Lavabrum dictum. 4. Pars erat frigidarium seu frigidaria cella, ubi aqua frigida, piscina. 5. Ubi sudor detergebatur ungebaturque dicta Detorsorium ἀλειπτήριον. Tria vasa ad lavandum: Calidarium, ubi calida Aqua. Tepidarium ubi tepida. Frigidarium ubi frigida. Utensilia Balneorum, 1. Solium seu Labrum e ligno aut marmore in quo residentes lavabantur. 2. Guttus, vas guttatum oleum fundens. 3. Strigilis a stringendo, instrumentum, quo utebantur ad sudorem corporis et sordes abradendas. 4. Lintea Sudariave quibus corpora detergebantur. Præterea erant Pilicerepi pilos avellentes, Aliptæ ungentes. His Balneis usi Romani partim sanitatis, partim munditiæ, partim etiam voluptatis gratia, imprimis convivas legimus seu hospites in Convivatoris ædibus a quo invitati et excepti fuerant, lavari atque ungi solitos, balneis a convivatore paulo ante convivium

paratis. Balneatoribus balneorum præsidibus quadrans pretium vulgo persolutum.*

According to Pliny in his "Natural History," Book III. Chap. 1, they used oil, perfumed with odoriferous herbs and roses; this is also mentioned in the "Iliad," book xxiii., line 186, where Venus anoints the dead body of Hector.†

Amongst the Romans, in great families, there were slaves for dressing the hair and shaving; these were called Tonsores.‡ Ovid in his "Metamorphoses," xi. 182, and Martial also in his 6th epigram, line 52, and Aulus Plautius mention that these slaves also cut the nails, and sometimes female barbers were employed, called "Tonstrices." For the poorer people, public barbers' shops, called "Tonstrinæ," (where females also used to officiate), were much frequented. This is stated by Terence in his play of "Phormio," i. 2, 39, and Martial ii. 17, mentions about women being engaged in this employment. The Romans regarded the cutting of the hair so much, that they believed, that no person died till Proserpina, either in person or by the ministration

*Antiquitates Romanae (1740) p. 51 & 52. Frid. Hildebrandi P. Cæs. Gymn. Martisl. p. t. Rectoris.

† Potter's "Antiquities of Greece," Vol. II. p. 372.

‡ In a Columbarium on the Appennine Way there is a memorial stone to one "Sextus Palyx," who was hair cutter to Sextus Pompeius thus "Sex Pompeius Sex Palyx Sex Pompeio Tonsor," Montfaucon, who mentions this, vol. 5, p. 54, part 9, says, "Celui qui se nomme Tonsor avait soin de faire les Cheveux de son Maître." And there is in another Columbarium just outside the Capena Gate of Rome, an inscription to the Tonsor of Augustus Cæsar, by name Chrestus Arpus, and also to "Pandas Cæsaris Unctor," this Columbarium is especially for Augustus' servants, for says Montfaucon, "Videntur autem esse saltem plerique eorum Augustalis Artificias atque Ministri inter alius Unus comeæ ejus curam habent: Alius Unctor qui Corpus unguit."

"The scite of the ancient Porta Capena where the Appian Way commenced is about 1380 metres within the Porta di San Sebastiano, between the Orto di San Gregorio and the Vigna Modilli, this has been exactly determined from a discovery made in (1584) 1854, of the first milestone of the Via Appia in the Vigna Naro, 114 millia passus, 17 from the porta St. Sebastiano. The arch of Drusus, the Hypogaeum of the Scipio's and the Columbarium stood between the kingly and the imperial line of walls. The Appian Way was commenced A.V.C. 441, B.C. 312, by Appius Claudius Cæcus, the Censor: at first it only went as far as Capua, but was afterwards prolonged to Brindisi.

"————— qua limite nota

"Appia longarum teritur Regina Viarum."

Stat. Sylv. 11, 2.

of Atropos, cut a hair from the head, which was considered as a kind of first fruit of consecration to Pluto.*

From these remarks we can easily see that the attendants who used these oils and the depilatories for removing the hair from the face were, in one word, both Surgeons and Barbers, who in their vocation, rubbed, cut hair, drew teeth, and bled, for there is in evidence these lines—" Vacuis committere venis nil nisi lenc decet," thus telling these attendants how, after blood-letting, they should act.

The monks also, (as evinced by their herbals,) early practised the art of healing, by the imbibing of drugs and potions, as also in the shaving of their own heads, for the so-called "Tonsure,"† and in surgical operations; and the Jews also from the earliest period, up to the tenth and twelfth century, were almost the only practitioners of the healing art, evidence of which, is to be found in Elisha raising the widow's son, Hezekiah, being directed to place a lump of green figs upon his boil, or rather carbuncle, which is always very dangerous when on the spine, and later on, in the parable told by our Lord, of the Good Samaritan, when he took up the injured man, who had been assaulted by thieves and poured in wine and oil, oil as a healing measure and an emollient, and wine, down the man's throat, as a stimulant. These practitioners were called Chirurgeons, from the two Greek words $\chi\epsilon\rho$ the hand and $\epsilon\rho\rho\gamma\omega$ a work, and when combined meant one, whose profession or occupation is to cure diseases or injuries of the body, by manual operation, (in fact bone setters and rubbers, more familiarly called shampooers,) but who extended his Art into the use of medicines internally, which had for its principal object the cure of external injuries.

* Virgil *Aeneid*, iv. 698; Hor. Odes, I. xxviii. 20.

+ "The having the hair clipped in such a fashion as the ears may be seen and not the forehead, or a shaved spot on the crown of the head. A clerical tonsure was made necessary about the fifth or sixth century. No mention is made of it before, and it is first spoken of with decided disapprobation. The ancient tonsure of the western clergy by no means consisted of shaven crowns: this was expressly forbidden them lest they should resemble the priests of Isis and Serapis who shaved the crowns of their heads. But the ecclesiastical tonsure was nothing more than polling the head and cutting the hair to a moderate degree."—Dean Hook's "Church History," p. 754. Ed. 1867.

In 1163 the Council of Tours having prohibited the clergy from undertaking any bloody operation, the practice of surgery fell into the hands of the barbers and the smiths, of whom the former soon became the more important class, and it was this assumption of the practice of the art of surgery by these smiths, quacks, and non-practitioners which caused the barbers to form themselves into a voluntary association. In England also the barbers and the surgeons combined the two arts, (or in those days trades,) and following the example of their French brethren, founded a like association, with Thomas Morsted, Esquire,* Chirurgeon to Henry IV., V., and VI., one of the sheriffs in 1436, at their head. He died in the year 1450, and the grant of a corporation, which had been solicited for by him, was at last granted to Jacques de Fries, the Physician, and John Hobbes, the Surgeon to King Edward IV. by that monarch and his brother Gloucester (afterwards the Lord Protector to Edward V. and who was ultimately Richard III.), in the names of St. Cosmo and St. Damianus, brethren, physicians and martyrs in the year 1461, which was called the Company of Barber-Surgeons of London, receiving authority over all others practising the same arts in and about the metropolis. Their authority extended to the right of examining all instruments and remedies employed, and of bringing actions against whosoever practised illegally and ignorantly, and none were to be allowed to practise who had not been previously admitted and judged competent by this body. This association prospered, and their right was confirmed by the succeeding kings; yet in spite of it many persons outside their pale practised surgery.

Now let us see what class of persons these quacks and non-practitioners were.

Quoting and copying from Pennant, p. 229—It will be curious to turn back from these times to those of Henry VIII. to compare the state of surgery when there were but few, says Gale, worthy to be called by that name, and his account of

* Buried in St. Olave's Jewry, where "he builded a faire new Ile, to the enlargement of this Church on the north side thereof."

the surgeons attached to the army is so ludicrous that it is worthy of a place here.

"I remember," says he, "when I was in the wars at Muttrel (Montreuil,) in the time of that most famous prince, Henry VIII., there was a great rabblement, that took upon themselves to be surgeons, some were sow gelders, and some horse doctors, with tinkers and cobblers. This noble sect did such great cures that they got themselves the name of dog-leaches, for in two dressings, they did commonly make their cures whole and sound for ever, so that their patients, felt neither heat nor cold, nor any manner of pain after. But, when the Duke of Norfolk, who was then the General, understood, how the people did die, and that of small wounds, he sent for me and certain other surgeons, commanding us to make search how these men came to their deaths, whether it was by the grievousness of their wounds, or by the lack of knowledge of these so-called surgeons, and we, according to our commandment, made search through all the camp, and found many of the same good fellows, who took upon them the name of surgeons, not only the names, but the wages also. We asking of them whether they were surgeons or not? they said they were. We demanded, with whom they were brought up? and they, with shameless faces, would answer either with one cunning man or the other, who were dead. Then, we demanded of them, what chirurgery stuff they had to cure men withal? and they would show us a pot or a box, which they had in a budget, wherein was such trumpery, as they did use to grease horses' heels withal, and laid upon scabbed horses' backs, with rewal and such like. And others that were cobblers and tinkers used shoemakers' wax, with the rust off old pans, and made therewithal a noble salve, as they did call it. But in the end this noble rabblement were committed to the Marshalsea, and threatened, by the duke's grace, to be hanged for their worthy deeds, except they would declare the truth, what they were, and of what occupations, and in the end they did confess themselves to be as I have declared to you before."*

In the third year of Henry VIII. it was enacted that no person within the City of London or within seven miles of the

* See Aiken's "Memoirs of Medicine," p. 99.

same, should take upon him to exercise or occupy as a physician or surgeon except he be first examined, approved, and admitted by the Bishop of London, or by the Dean of St. Paul's (for the time being,) calling to his aid four doctors of physic, and for surgery, other persons of discretion, experts in that faculty. All who came under this act, obtained a license to practise, and were of course equally qualified, whether members of the Barbers' Company or the Company of Surgeons. These two Companies were by an Act of Parliament passed in the thirty-second year of Henry VIII. cap. xli. united and made into one body corporate by the name of the Barber Surgeons of London, and it is to this occurrence that the great painting hanging on the wall in this hall now alludes and perpetuates.

This Act partook of a twofold nature, for while it united the two crafts or mysteries as they were called, yet it separated them. The Barbers were not to practice surgery other than bleeding or drawing teeth, while the Surgeons were not to practice the art of barbery or shaving.

The surgeons were allowed yearly to take, at their discretion, the bodies of four persons after their execution for felony, "for their further and better knowledge, instruction, insight, learning, and experience in the said science or faculty of surgery: they were moreover ordered to have an open sign on the street side, where they may happen to dwell, that all the king's liege people there passing might know at all times whither to resort for remedies in time of their necessity." Four governors or masters, two of them surgeons and two of them barbers, were to be elected from the body corporate who were to see that the members of the two crafts exercised their callings in the city agreeably to the spirit of this Act.

Another Act was passed and charter granted by James I. which gave to the surgeons of the company the exclusive right of practising within three miles of London. Another Act was passed and a charter obtained (5 Ap. 5 Chas. I.) from Charles I. to exclude every person from practising surgery in or within seven miles of London, unless he had been examined by the proper examiners of the company.

But the Act of the thirty-second of Henry VIII. was

never repealed, and the members of the company were obliged to obtain the testimonials of the ordinaries before they could lawfully practise in London, or any of the other dioceses of the kingdom, and it was not until the year 1745 that it was discovered that the two Acts which the company professed were foreign to and totally independent of each other. In the eighteenth year of George II. an Act was passed by which the union of the barbers and the surgeons was dissolved, and the surgeons were constituted a separate company, and since have obtained the very highest honors and become practitioners of this scientific art: by this Act the surgeons were granted all the privileges of the former united company in virtue of the Act of thirty second Henry VIII. and letters patent of James I. and Charles I.

It therefore virtually repealed the power of the Bishop of London and the Dean of St. Paul's of licensing surgeons, while giving the fullest power to practise within London and Westminster and seven miles round, and the privilege of practising in every part of the kingdom.

It has been said that it is capable to drive a coach and four through any Act of Parliament, and that the united learning of the Houses of Lords and Commons is not equal to the common sense of a charity school boy, for be it known, that this corporation, thus constituted, became dissolved or suspended (see Willcock, 12 c. opinion on the laws of the medical profession) by the death of its master, on the day of election, and their consequent incapacity of electing a successor. Nevertheless its affairs were as regularly carried on as if its constitution had not been affected, but it was not until the fortieth year of George III. that a new charter was granted, confirming all their former privileges confirmed by the Act of George II.

Thus much for the surgeons, but now to revert to the barbers, in whose hospitable hall we are meeting to-day—firstly, let me call your attention to the great picture, on this wall, of the granting of the charter to the barbers and chirurgeons reunited, in the thirty-second year of King Henry VIII.'s reign: it contains eighteen figures, and it is considered to be one of the very best works of Holbein. The well-known



[Henry VIII. granting the Charter to the Barber-Surgeons.]

print engraved by B. Baron in 1736, and the names of those represented will be found in the "Gentleman's Magazine" for April, 1789, and I think while in this hall, and in the face of the magnificent painting, I cannot do better than quote this admirable account to be found in vol. 59, part 1, page 290.

The king is represented in his robes, sitting on a chair of state with the crown on his head and a ring on his right thumb, and other rings on the first and fourth fingers of his left hand, with which he holds his sword of state erect resting on his knee, and the members of this company before him, three kneeling on his left and eight on his right, and seven more standing behind them.

The three on his left hand are—1, John Chambers, with a cap and fur gown, and monstrous sleeves in which his hands are wrapped ; from his countenance one would be led to suppose that the company's charter had been (or was) his death warrant. 2, William Butts, with a skull cap on his head, and gold chain appearing over the shoulder of his gown. 3, J. Alsop, with his own lank hair uncovered, and with a countenance which reminds me of some coal porters. On the king's right hand are 4, Thomas Vicary, with a gold chain over the shoulder of his gown ; the king is giving the charter, which he holds in his right hand, into Vicary's hand, whence it has been inferred that Vicary was the master at the time of the grant ; 5, John Aylef, with a ring on his finger and a gold chain about his neck ; 6, Nicholas Symson ; these three and two others have skull caps, all the rest have their lank hair uncovered. 7, E. Harman, with a gold chain about his neck. 8, J. Monforde. 9, J. Pen. 10, N. Alcocke. 11, R. Jerris, a good contrast to the knight of the woful countenance first mentioned. Of these eight, five of the most visible appear to have flowered embroidered robes, and five of them, also 5, 6, 7, 10, 11, as well as the king have their whiskers and beards growing. Of the seven standing figures, 12, 13, 15, 16, & 18, are unnamed. No. 14 is Will Tylley, and although I am very sensible that *fronti nulla fides*, I cannot help taking notice that he looks almost too stupid for a barber, how much so then for a surgeon (chyrurgeon). No. 17 is X. Samson.

Against the wall John Chambre or Chambers, Physician to Henry VIII. : he is clothed in the before-mentioned long sleeves to his fur-trimmed gown and cap. He was dean of St. Stephen's Chapel, attached to Westminster Hall. He hailed from Merton College, Oxford, of which he had been fellow and warden. In a letter signed by him and five other physicians addressed to the privy council, concerning the dangerous state of Queen Jane after the birth of Prince Edward, he styles himself priest. He was (in addition to his deanery) Arch-deacon of Bedford, and one of the convocation in 1536, when the "Articles of Religion" were framed. With Linacre and a few others he is to be looked upon as a founder of the college of physicians in 1518. He held several clerical preferments, being also Canon of Windsor and Prebendary of Comb and Harnham of Salisbury. He died in 1549.

The Dr. Butts mentioned as being the second person in the picture is the same as spoken of in Shakespeare's play of Henry VIII. as the physician who enters on the memorable scene where the Romish party, in 1544, having attempted to overthrow Cranmer, he is cited to the council chamber and kept waiting outside. Butts enters opportunely and proceeds to acquaint the king of the insult to the Archbishop. Butts says :—

"I'll show your Grace the strangest sight
The high promotion of his Grace of Canterbury :
Who holds his State at door, mongst pursuivants,
Pages and foot boys."

Upon which the king is made to exclaim—

"Ha ! 'tis he indeed !
Is this the honour they do one another ?
'Tis well, there's one above them. Yet.—I had thought
They had parted so much honesty among 'em
(At least good manners) as not thus to suffer
A man of his place and so near our favour,
To dance attendance on their lordship's pleasures,
And at the door too, like a post with packets.
By Holy Mary ! Butts, there's knavery.
Let them alone, and draw the curtain close :
We shall hear more anon." —Act 5, Scene ii.

And it may be here remarked that the dramatizer has followed very closely to the particulars of this interesting fact which has been narrated by Strype in his memorials of Cranmer, pages 177—181, *ed.* Oxford, 1812, *see* appendix. Dr. Butts wears a skull cap and gold chain. He attended Anne Boleyn in a very dangerous illness; and he was expressly sent by King Henry to Esher to attend on Wolsey when he lay sick there, after his disgrace. Butts was a firm friend to Cranmer and the Reformation. Henry VIII. bestowed upon his favourite physician in 1537, the manor and advowson of Thornage, in the county of Norfolk, which remained in the family until Anne, only daughter and heiress of Sir William, third son of Edmund Butts, brought it by her marriage to Sir Nicholas Bacon, the first person who was created a baronet May 22nd, 1611; and their fourth son, Butts Bacon, was ancestor of the present premier Baronet Bacon of Redgrave.

Dr. Butts' three sons—William of Thornage, Thomas of Risborough, and Edmund of Barrow—married three coheiresses—Joane, Bridget, and Anne, daughters of Henry de Bures and his wife Anne, daughter of Sir William Waldegrave.*

Dr. Butts died and was buried in Fulham Church, and his monumental inscription is supposed to have been written by Sir John Cheke, who, it is said, was, by the interest of Butts, tutor of King Edward VI. and runs thus:—

“Epitaphium D. Gulielmi Buttii equitis aurati et Medici Henrici Octavi Qui obiit Ao. Dni. 1545, 17o Novemb.
 “Quid medicina valet, quid honos, quid gratia regum,
 Quid popularis amor, mors ubi saeva venit?
 Sola valet pietas qua structa est auspice Christo;
 Sola in morte valet, cetera cuncta fluunt.
 Ergo mihi in vita fuerit quando omnia Christus.
 Mors mihi lucrum vitaque Christus erit.

“Epitaphium hoc primitus inscriptum pariete et scitu jam pene exesum sic demum restituit Leonardus Butts Armiger Norfolciensis. Oct. 30, 1637, Amoris G.”

It was (prior to the despoliation and now rebuilding) on the south side of the interior of the old church, and may we

* “Shakspeareana Genealogica,” p. 270, by G. R. French, Esq.

express a hope that it may there remain a monumental remembrance of a great man who in his day “ played many parts.”

John Ayliffe, the fifth figure, was a surgeon and merchant living at Blackwell Hall in Basinghall Street. He was master of the company in 1539. In Aubrey's collection for Wilts, part I. page 41, under the head “ Gryttenham,” is the following :—“ In the parish of Brinkworth, anciently belonging to the Abbey of Malmesbury, King Henry VIII. was dangerously ill of a virulent tumour which Dr. Ayliffe, a famous chirurgeon at London, cured, for which he had this great estate given, and I think all the rest of his estate here about.” He was sheriff 1548, then alderman ; and died much respected on the 24th of October, 1548, and buried in the church of St. Michael, Bashishaw.* The Epitaph on his tomb ran thus :—

“ In Chirurgery brought up in youth,
A Knight here lyeth dead ;
A Knight and eke a Surgeon such
As England sold hath bred.
For which so soveraigne Gift of God
Wherein he did excell,
King Henry VIII. call'd him to Court,
Who lov'd him dearly well.
King Edward for his service sake,
Bade him rise up a Knight ;
A Name of Praise and ever since
He, Sir John Ailiffe hight.
Right Worshipful, in name and charge
In London lived he than.
In Blackwell Hall the merchant chiefe
First Sheriffe, then Alderman.
The Hospitals bewaile his death
The Orphan children mone,
The chiefe Erector being dead,
And Benefactor gone.
Dame Isabel who lived with him,

* St. Michael, Basings. An ancient marble tomb in the Church.

His faithful Wife and Make,
 With him (as dearest after death)
 Doth not her Knight forsake.
 The Knight the 24 of October,
 Yeeded up his breath,
 And she soone after followed
 To live with him in death."

Thomas Vicary, the fourth figure, was a citizen of London and the king's serjeant-surgeon (Henry VIII.). He was the head of the Barber-Surgeons' Company no less than five times—in 1531, 1542, 1547, 1549, and 1558. He was a man of great celebrity in his day, and was serjeant-surgeon during the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth, and was chief surgeon at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and author of the first anatomical work published in the English language, entitled "The Englishman's Treasure."

On this side of the king is this inscription in Roman capitals :—

"Henrico octavo opt. max. Regi Angliae
 Franciae et Hiberniae fidei Defensori ac Anglicanae Hibernicæq.
 Ecclesiae proximè a Christo supremo
 Capiti societas chirurgorum communibus votis hæc consecrat
 Tristior Anglorum pestis violaverat orbem
 Infestans animos corporibusque sedens
 Hanc Deus insignem cladem miseratus ab Alto
 Te medici munus jussit obire boni
 Lumen Evangelii fulvis circumvolat alis
 Pharmacon adfectis montibus illud erit
 Consilioq. tuo celebrant monumenta Galeni
 Et celeri morbus pellitur omnis ope.
 Non igitur supplex medicorum turba tuorum
 Hanc tibi sacramus religione domum
 Muneris et memores quo nos Henrice beasti
 Imperio optamus maxima quoque tuo."

At the bottom, in the centre are the arms of the Earl of Burlington, with a Talbot gorged with a ducal coronet, for the sinister supporter, and the following inscription :—

“ Nobilissimo D.D Ricardo Boyle Comiti de Burlington et Cork, &c. illustrissimi Ordinis Periscelidis Equiti, ob amphitheatrum anatomicum summo artificio a celeberrimo architecto Inigo Jones ante centum annos extructum vetustate labefactum pari ingenio summa munificentia, suis sumtibus restitutum, hanc Holbenii tabulam donationem diplomatis ab Henrico VIII. Rege Angliae, &c. Societati Chirurgorum Londinensium sua manu dati exprimentem in eorum aula adservatam,

“ Humiliter D.D.D

“ Societas Chirurgorum Londinensium.”

This company is the seventeenth in the list of the City Guilds.

Having already called attention to the great picture of King Henry VIII. granting the Charter, I must remark that there are several other pictures that adorn the walls of the Court Room. Over the fire place is a full length portrait of Sarah Countess of Richmond, attributed to Sir Peter Lely, presented by John Paterson, Esq., a former clerk of the company, and M.P. for Ludgershall, Wilts. A portrait of Sir Charles Scarborough, the acquaintance of Pepys, he is represented in a red gown marking his doctor's degree, with hood and cap, with Edward Arris, Esq., master in 1651, as demonstrating surgeon, by Walker (the English Vandyke). There is also a full length portrait of Edward Arris in robe and chain of office, as sheriff of London and alderman. Inigo Jones, by Vandyke (presented by Mr. Alexander Geske); who was the architect of the Anatomical Theatre. Sir Charles Bernard, serjeant-surgeon to Queen Anne, master of the company 1703. A portrait of Charles II., purchased by the company in 1720, for the sum of £7 5s. Sir John Frederick, alderman, master 1654 and 1658. Doctor Tyson, but of this worthy there is no record; he was a fellow of Christi Corpus, Cambridge. Mr. Thomas Lisle, master of the company in 1662, and who was barber to King Charles II.; Mr. Ephraim Skinner, an assistant; Mr. Henry Johnston, serjeant-knight and surgeon to King Charles II.; and two pictures of a Spanish Gentleman and Lady.

Dr. Sir Charles Scarborough, knighted 1669, was Physician to Charles II. James II. and William III., and was by his strong and lively parts, uncommon learning and extensive practice, eminently qualified for that honourable station. He was one of the greatest mathematicians of his time, and his memory was tenacious to an extraordinary and incredible degree, able to recite in order all the propositions of Euclid, Archimedes, and other mathematicians, and as stated in the preface to the second edition of the "Clavis Mathematicæ," could apply them on every occasion.* He assisted the famous William Harvey† in his book "De Generatione Animalium," and succeeded that worthy Doctor as Lecturer of Anatomy and Surgery. A Dr. Richard Caldwell founded a lecture to be read in Barber-Surgeons' Hall, and Dr. Sir Christopher Scarborough read the lecture for sixteen consecutive years. He in his course explained the nature of the muscles, and

* Grainger, Vol. iv. p. 1.

† The discoverer of the Circulation of the Blood was born at Folkestone April 1, 1578; educated at the Grammar School at Canterbury; Student at Caius College, Cambridge, at the age of sixteen, whence he travelled to Padua in Italy, famed at that time for its School of Medicine; he attended the lectures of Fabricius at Agnapanthe on Anatomy; of Minadous on Pharmacy; and of Casserius on Surgery. He was admitted Doctor of Medicine at the age of twenty-four; at thirty he was elected a Fellow of the College of Physicians and appointed to St. Bartholomew's Hospital in Smithfield. On the 14th August, 1615, he delivered the Lumleian Lectures on Anatomy, and upon this occasion brought forward his new views on the "Circulation," which he afterwards fully established and published to the world in 1628. His opinions were opposed by Primisiosius, Parisanus, Riolanus, and others. The only man that Harvey thought fit to answer was Riolanus, Professor of Anatomy at Paris. In 1652 Harvey had the satisfaction to learn that Plempius of Louvain declared himself a convert to this new doctrine. In 1623 Harvey was appointed Physician to James I., and on the King's death to his son Charles I., with whom he travelled during the Civil War. He took his degree of Doctor of Medicine of England at Oxford, where the King's army was quartered, and here he became Master of Merton College, which he held but a few months, being succeeded by Dr. Brent. He had a country house at Lambeth, between which and his brother's house at Richmond he spent the latter years of his life. In 1654 he was elected President of the College of Physicians, but he declined the honour owing to age and infirmities, but he left them his library. He died June 3rd, 1657, in the eightieth year of his age, and was buried at Hemstead in Essex, where a monument remains to his memory. A bronze statue of this great man was erected at Folkestone, his birthplace, unveiled by Professor Owen on the 6th August, 1881, before an immense concourse of the celebrities of the Medical Profession.

was the first that attempted to account for muscular strength and motion upon geometrical principles, and he very judiciously and happily applied mathematics in other instances. His "Syllabus Musculorum" was printed together with "The Anatomical Administration of all the Muscles," by William Molins or Mullens, Master in Chirurgery. He was also the author of several mathematical treatises, also "A Compendium of Lilye's Grammar," and an elegy on his friend, Mr. Abraham Cowley, who, about him, wrote these lines—

" Some hours at least, for thy own pleasure, spare,
Since the whole stock may soon exhausted be,
Bestow't not all in charity.
Let nature and let art do what they please,
When all is done life's an incurable disease."

clearly showing that Scarborough kept too close an application to study.

There was this inscription under his picture—

" Hæc tibi Scarburgi Arisius quis spiritus intus
Corporis humani nobile versat opus,
Ille opifex rerum tibi rerum arcana reclusit,
Et numen verbis jussit inesse tuis
Ille Dator rerum tibi res indulxit opimas
Atque animum indultas qui bene donet opes
Alter erit quisquis magna hæc exempla sequetur,
Alterutri vestrum nemo secundus erit."

He was a man of amiable manners and of great pleasantry in conversation. Seeing one day the Duchess of Portsmouth, Louise Renée de Perrencourt de Querouaille (the mistress of Charles II. and mother of Charles Lennox, the founder of the family of the Duke of Richmond, who died November 1734, aged 89), eating to excess, he said to her with his usual frankness, "Madam, you must eat less, use more exercise, take physic, or be sick." Dr. Scarborough never entirely recovered from the shock and cold which he suffered at the wreck of the "Gloucester" frigate, on which he was on board at the time when she struck on the Well Sand, in attendance as Surgeon to Admiral H.R.H. The Duke of York, afterwards King James II. Mr. Pepys

writing to W. Hewer, under date Edinburgh, May 8th, 1682, says,—“ The ‘ Gloucester ’ was wrecked on Friday last, about five o’clock in the morning, in consequence of the over-winning of the pilot, one Ayres, who in opposition to Sir J. Berry, the captain, the master, mates, and even the duke himself, would run close in shore, instead of keeping as he was directed out to sea, all but the pilot being of opinion that she was not clear of the Sands called the Lemon. I (Pepys) was invited to accompany the duke, but preferred, for room’s sake, to keep my own yacht with Sir Christopher Musgrave and my own servants. We were close to the “ Gloucester ” when she struck, from which time barely an hour elapsed before she finally sunk. The Duke of York was in bed, so was the pilot. We had the good fortune to take up Dr. Sir Charles Scarborough almost dead, spent with struggling in the water and with cold.” He died on the 26th February, 1693.

Edward Arris (1651), was King’s Surgeon or Surgeon-Serjeant, and in the picture wears his livery gown, and is holding up the arm of a dead body lying on the table. He was an alderman and master of the company, and was the demonstrating surgeon to Dr. Scarborough and the company. Arris presented the company with four silver standing cups or goblets, weighing 33 ozs. 17 dwts.

Inigo Jones’ picture now comes before us, and whose portrait could better adorn the walls of this building? the creation of his brain! the monument, although much curtailed, to his memory!! one might almost exclaim “*si monumentum requiris circumspice,*” for the court room is one of the choicest little rooms of the kind in London (says Charles Knight in his London, vol. iii. p. 182), and no wonder when we consider whose work it is, for its agreeable proportions and its exquisitely decorated ceiling are Jones’.* Vandyke painted his portrait. He was an architect who would have done honour to any age or nation! he had a true taste for whatever was great or beautiful in his art!! His talent for design began to display itself early, and recommended

* Admirably restored and renovated in 1865 by Mr. Charles J. Shoppee, a member of the Court, and Surveyor to the Company, and who placed the elegant octagonal lantern or skylight as we see it to-day.

him to the notice of the Earl of Arundel, although some say that William Earl of Pembroke was his patron. He was a Londoner, born and bred in close proximity of St. Paul's Cathedral, where his father carried on the trade of a cloth-worker. Of his youth and education very little is known, except that he had a great talent for drawing, and this brought him under the notice of the noble earl, who taking up with him, sent him abroad to study for three or four years. In Italy he found himself in a new world of art, for the ancient orders were utterly unknown in architecture in England, neither was the Italian style known except as exhibited in diminutive columns, pilasters, entablatures, and pediments, applied merely as adscititious ornaments patched upon a degenerate style called Elizabethan, until Jones turned his attention to it. Thus the time was propitious for Jones, for—

“There is a tide in the affairs of men
Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune ;
And we must take the current while it serves,
Or lose our venture.”

“Julius Cæsar,” Act IV. Scene 3.—*Shakespeare.*

and he, (seizing the opportunity,) transplanted the Italian style, after the school of Palladio, and thus obtained the celebrity of an originator ; but it was not until many years after his schooling in Italy that he fully adopted that which we now call “classic” taste. It was about the year 1604 that he was invited by King Christian of Denmark to leave Italy and sojourn in that northern country, for it is said that he designed part of the buildings of the Castle of Frederiksborg, and also the Château of Rosenborg, but if he did, there is little to reflect credit on the taste of our English Palladio. But the patronage of the King of Denmark, whose sister Anne was married to our James I. did much to ingratiate the architect in the mind of that monarch, and in 1605 Inigo Jones returned to England, and was soon employed at court devising the machinery and costumes of the costly masques and pageants then in vogue. He was soon after appointed architect to Queen Anne and Prince Henry, but none of his best works belong to this age. In

the year 1612 he again visited Italy, and on his return to England he was appointed Surveyor-General of England, when the rebuilding of the Palace of Whitehall was confided to his care, and he began and completed the banqueting hall at Whitehall as it now stands. At this time another project entered into his brain, and that was “the origin and purpose of Stonehenge in Wiltshire,” with its rude amorphous stone blocks, and which, could but have had little to captivate the eye of a follower of Vitruvius and Palladio.

“ More to the North outspreads Old Sarum’s plains,
 Where a strange sight the visitor detains ;
 Rude heaps of massy stones confus’ly stand,
 Their use unknown, as whose the raising hand,
 Which oft the vain inquirer have amused
 And the deep learned in various strife confused.
 Here the checked muse, unable to pursue
 Retires with th’ exhaustless theme in view.”

“ Gentleman’s Magazine,” Lucius, May 1740.

Yet he appears to have prosecuted his researches with an application worthy of a better purpose, but he left it, as he found it, a monument for speculation and a mystery, the use of which, up to the present day, no person has been able to fathom or ascertain. Yet there it stands the wonder of the world, the puzzle of the antiquarian and archæologist.* Having in part finished the building of the banqueting hall at Whitehall, he undertook to build the back part of old Somerset House, and also to build the portico of the west front of old St. Paul’s. Both of these were in their day highly extolled, but neither remains for us to judge of their beauties other than the model in wood which we saw when on our visit to the Cathedral, in the library, only on Friday last, and the engravings in Campbell’s

* These huge unhewn stones are placed in four circles ; the outer is about 100ft. in diameter ; the stones are 12ft. high, 6ft. broad, and 3ft. thick. At 7½ ft. within this circle is a range of lesser stones, 20ft. high, 6ft. broad, and 3ft. thick. These are coupled at top by large transome stones, 7ft. long, about 3½ ft. thick. Within this circle is a range of lesser stones, 6ft. high. In the inmost part is a stone 4ft. broad, 16ft. long, lying towards the East, and this has been commonly called the Altar Stone. Suggestions have been made to replace the fallen stones, but these have been abandoned. (1881).

Vitruvius Britannicus. But we have yet remaining to us the portico in the front of St. Paul's Church in Covent Garden ; York Stairs, the water gate to York House, and a house originally built for the Earl of Lindsay on the west side of Lincoln's Inn Fields, now divided into several houses, and adjoining and over the arched gateway (1648) leading into Duke Street, now called Sardinian Street, but which gives no flattering notion of his good taste. He died on the 21st July, 1650 or 51.

Of Dr. Johnston, serjeant-knight, a serjeant-surgeon to King Charles II., little is known, and there appears to be some mistake in his name betwixt Henry and John, but that he was *ex generosa et perantiqua Johnstoniorum de Crogborn familia, &c. Philosophiae et Medicinæ Doctor 1673, AEtat 70.* He appears to have settled abroad, and was the author of a book entitled "A Description of the Nature of Four-footed Beasts, with their figure engraven in brass, written in Latin by Dr. Johnston, and translated into English by J. P. Amsterdam, folio 1678;" it consists of 119 pages and 80 folio copper plates, many of which have been copied into "Hill's Natural History."

In the year 1852, on the 14th January, Dr. J. T. Pettigrew read a most elaborate paper on the history of the Barber Surgeons' Company in this very Hall, and he gave a list of the eminent men who had filled the great office of serjeant-surgeon to the sovereign, and which is published in the eighth volume of the "British Archaeological Journal," but as this book may possibly not be in the possession of every member of the society, I shall make bold to copy the list :—

Serjeant-Surgeons.

Thomas Vicary, 1531, 1542, 1547, 1549, 1558	Charles Frederick, 1610 & 1617 William Clowes, 1627 & 1638
John Ayliffe, 1539	Edward Arris, 1651
George Holland, 1557	John Frederick, 1654 & 1658
Richard Ferris, 1563	Humphrey Painter, 1661
Robert Balthrop, 1566	John Knight, 1663 & 1669
William Gudrus, 1595	Richard Wiseman, 1665
George Baker, 1598	James Pearse, 1675

Henry (John) Johnson, 1677	Charles Bernard, 1703
Thomas Hobbs, 1687	Ambrose Dickins, 1729
Henry Rossington,	Claudius Amyand, 1731
Thomas Gardener, } 1695	

The King's Barbers.

Nicholas Simpson, 1538	Thomas Davyes, 1639
John Penn, 1540	Thomas Lisle, 1662
Edward Harman, 1541	Ralph Follihard, 1664
Thomas Caldwell, 1628	

Mr. Pepys in his diary, under date 27th of February, 166 $\frac{2}{3}$, “About 11 o'clock Commissioner Pett and I walked to Chyrurgeon's Hall. We being all invited thither, and promised to dine there, where we were led into the theatre, and bye-and-bye comes the reader, Dr. Tearne” (Christopher Tearn, of Leyden, M.D. originally of Cambridge, Fellow of the College of Physicians; died 1673)* “with the master and the company in a very handsome manner; and all being settled, he began his lecture; and his discourse being ended, we had a fine dinner and good learned company, many doctors of physique, and We, used with extraordinary respect. Among other observables we drank the king's health out of a gilt cup given by Henry VIII. to this company, with bells hanging at it, which every man is to ring by shaking after he hath drunk up the whole cup. There is also a very excellent piece of the king done by Holbein stands up in the hall, with the officers of the company kneeling to him to receive their charter” (this is the picture). “Dr. Scarborough took some of his friends, and I went with them, to see the body of a lusty fellow, a seaman that was hanged for a robbery. I did touch the dead body with my bare hand: it felt cold; but methought it was a very unpleasant sight.”

In the centre of the court room is a long table, broader in front of the master's chair, tapering to the lower end, which

* Who is said to have written this distich upon Christopher Bennett:—

“Hospitii, quicunque petis, quis incola tanti

“Spiritus; egregia hunc, consule, scripta dabant.

“Chr. Terne, M.D.C.L.”

Bennett was born at Raynton, Somersetshire, and was a distinguished Member of the College of Physicians; he died in May, 1655.

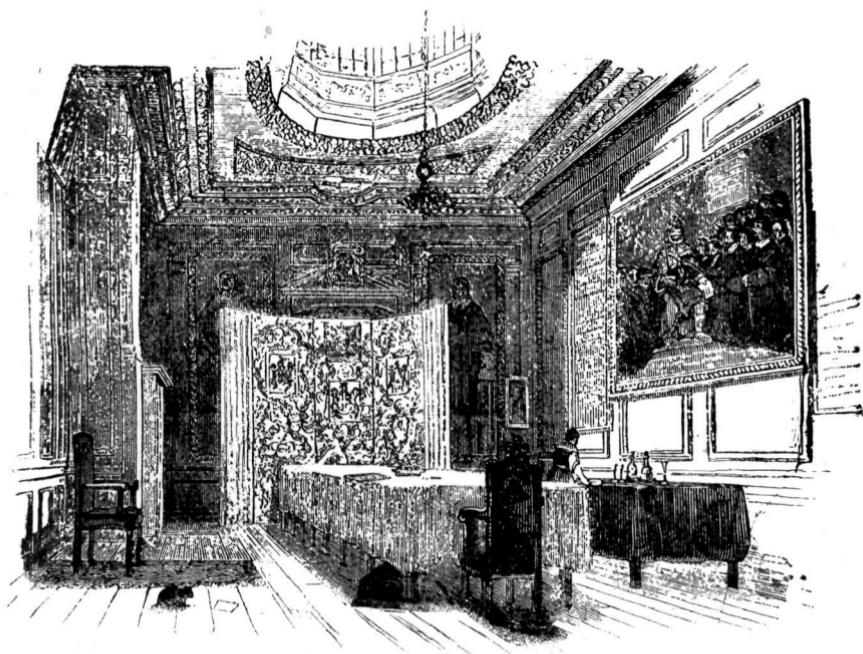
is the seat of the clerk of the company. This table is covered with thick green baize hanging cloth, and this in days gone by (George I.) was the identical decorating cloth which hung upon the Barbers' and Surgeons' booth or stand when it was erected round St. Paul's Churchyard or on Cheapside to permit the master, wardens, and the company to view any great sight or civic procession ; it is decorated with the civic arms, in front of the clerk, and the arms, crest, and supporters of the company before the master's chair. These are embroidered in worsted crewels, and formed the decorations of the state barge when the company used it to attend upon the Lord Mayor when his lordship went from Blackfriars to Westminster to be sworn in on the 9th November annually.

"In a November fog, 'stead of taking warm grog,

"He is forced to take water at Blackfriars stairs."*

All this is now at an end. The Lord Mayor no longer goes by water on his progress, and very soon—too soon—only as far as the Law Courts in the Strand in his state coach. "*Sic transit gloria mundi.*" The state barge of the company no longer exists, and the decorations and armorials bearings are turned to other uses. The barge-master's silver badge for his state coat is kept in the plate closet, while the arm-badges of the rowers, which were of tin painted with the crest of the company, are nailed on to the panels of the court withdrawing room, and over other doorways. At the end of the court room stands a large screen of gilt-painted leather, made in the East, probably China. This screen bears also the arms of the company ; it is about eight feet high, and so very heavy that it has been made a fixture ; and hereby hangs a tale, stranger than fiction, for it relates to a resurrection from the dead, and which, if it could not be identified most accurately, might be put down to being a "tremendous (in genteel parlance) thumper." Any how the facts are these (and I shall again quote and write from the "Gentleman's Magazine," vol. 10, page 570, Nov. 24. 1740) : "On Monday last five malefactors were executed at Tyburn—Thomas Clark, William Mears, Margery Stanton, Eleanor Mumppman, for several burglaries and felonies ; and William Duell, for ravishing, robbing, and

* Hood's *Comicalities*.



murdering Sarah Griffin, at Acton, Middlesex. The body of this last was brought to Surgeons' Hall to be anatomized; but after it was stripped and laid upon the board, and as one of the servants was washing it, in order to be cut, he perceived life in it, and found the breath to come quicker and quicker, on which a surgeon took some ounces of blood from it, and in two hours the man was able to sit up in a chair, and in the evening was again committed to Newgate."

This screen was the gift of William Duell, who changed his name to Deveral, and report says lived to be a respected and aged man.

The Barber Surgeons, by the 32nd of Henry VIII. (1541) were allowed "four persons condemned, adjudged, and put to death for felony, by the due order of the king's laws of his realm, for anatomies, and to make incision of the same dead bodies, or otherwise to order the same after the said discretion at their pleasures for their further and better knowledge, instruction, insight, learning, and experience in the said science of chirurgery"; and it was under this Act that William Duell, came under the notice of the Surgeons.

Of the theatre used for dissection and anatomization not a vestige remains.* It was built by Inigo Jones, about the year 1636, and is reputed to have been one of his best works. It escaped the great fire of London in 1666, and was destroyed, razed to the ground, the materials sold, and three houses built on its site (1782). It was in the form of an ellipse, and furnished with four rows of seats in cedar wood. The ceiling was ornamented with the twelve signs of the Zodiac

1 other allegorical figures. It is said that there is no known graving of it; but Hogarth in his satirical picture, "The Reward of Cruelty," has in his fourth stage delineated this theatre, shewing the two skeletons on the wall, with the names of their former tenants, James Field and Thomas Maclean, two worthies (says the writer of the letterpress of "Hogarth Restored," 1808) who quitted these regions with a rope, the former an eminent pugilist and the latter a notorious robber, both murderers. Beside these there was the skeleton

* The plan of it is still preserved in the Library of Worcester College, Oxford.

(with flexible and moveable joints) of J. Atherton, who was hanged. This was the gift of a Mr. Knowles (1693); and two other skeletons of unknown persons, executed in 1638, facetiously called "Camberry Bess" and "Country Tom." There was the frame of an ostrich, set up by Dr. Hobbs in 1682, two stuffed human skins, said to be Adam and Eve, set up in 1643.

It was in this theatre that two public and two private lectures were annually given on the bodies of executed malefactors, and Hogarth has seized the opportunity of depicting such a lecture. The President, "Dr. Sir Charles Scarborough,"* maintaining the dignity of insensibility, considering the corpse but as the object of a lecture. The dissector, hardened by age to callousness, banishes every tender feeling; the assistant, who is scooping out the criminal subject's eyes, and the young pupil, scarifying the legs, seem wholly unaffected with the nature of the business.

SUNDRIES RELATING TO BARBERS.

Among the records, the property of the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, is the copy and probate of the will of Archbishop Winchelsey, wherein he bequeaths a legacy to his barber, who had followed him to Bordeaux, and attended to him when ill during his persecution; the date of the will A.D. 1313. Also, under heading "The town of Sandwich," the collector of that town, acting on behalf of the Convent of Christ's Church, which shews that the connection of the town with the Cinque Ports, involved the payment of fees to officers and messengers, and among the items is one relating to the death of a barber, thus: "In nuncio portando ad Ballivum apud Romenam de Barbitonsore occiso." Date 1289.

Among the records of the corporation of St. Albans, there is a book called "Liber Electionum," in limp parchment; it contains the earliest entry of the election of a mayor and burgesses and assistants in common council, in the twenty-eighth year of Elizabeth, 1586, and recites the various companies in the town, commencing with the Barbers'

* Died three years before Hogarth was born.



Hogarth print

J. Cook sculp

Company, thus shewing that even beyond the limits of London, they were people of importance.

In 1627, Dr. Balcanquel, the Master of the Savoy, was appointed to assist in the framing of the rules for the governance of the George Heriot Hospital at Edinbro', and inter alia he appointed "One chirurgeon barber, who shall cut and poll the hair of all the scholars in the hospital: as also to look to the cure of all those within the hospital, who any way shall stand in need of his art."

In the calendar of the House of Lords, under date August 30, 1645, there is an entry which runs thus: "Draft of ordinance for seizing a debt due by the Company of Barbers and Surgeons to Richard Watson, Surgeon, a papist and delinquent, and for applying the same for the service of Gloucester." "Lord's Journal," Vol. 7, p. 562. (This alludes to the siege of that city where money was much wanted).

Amongst the collection of books—the property of the late P. Wyckham Martin, Esq., at Leeds Castle, Kent, there is a volume entitled, "A journal of what passed while I (Alexander Smith) was in King William's Service," and begins thus:—"Friday, 19th of September, 1695. Being in the 'Rummer Tavern,' in Queen Street, I did there receive my warrant from Charles Hargrave, then Clerk to the Barber and Surgeons' Hall, for being Surgeon's Mate on board H.M.S. 'Vanguard;'" thus shewing that this company had the right of recommending if not of selecting fit men to practise in the navy.

OFFENSIVE BARBERS.

"July 9, 1745.—Three master barbers were fined for exercising their trade on Sunday, 7th of July, and refusing to pay the fine were committed by the Justices at Hick's Hall (now the Sessions House, 1881) to Clerkenwell, Bridewell."

"Tuesday, 20th August, 1745.—Several barbers were tried before the commissioners of excise for using flour in their business contrary to Act of Parliament, and fined £20 each."—"Gentleman's Magazine," vol. 15.

On the 20th October, 1745, fifty-one barbers were convicted before the commissioners of excise and fined in the penalty of £20 each, for having in their custody hair powder

not made of starch, contrary to Act of Parliament; and on the 27th of same month, forty-nine other barbers were convicted of the like offence, and fined in the like penalty.

November 11th, 1751, "Gentleman's Magazine," vol. 21, p. 511. From the "Gazetteer." "If antiquity, usefulness, or numbers bear any proportion of preference, I dare affirm, that there is not a set of tradesmen in this metropolis that can be reasonably thought at this time more deserving the aid and assistance of the legislature to prevent their total ruin than the barbers. What led me to these reflections was, about three months' ago, having some business at the excise office, and seeing a group of well looking men together, with whitish coats and pale countenances, curiosity excited me to enquire their business, when one replied, 'I am come here to pay a fine for a villain's swearing that I used flour, though for upwards of two years there has never been any in my shop'; so from one to the other I heard their several tales and complaints, which did really shock me to think that honest men should be so harassed and (as they told me) have no remedy but that which is worse than the disease.

"Thus did I see above thirty pay their different fines, some of which by their dejected countenances, seemed to have more need to pay it to the bakers and the butchers. The honest manner in which some told their story, and the positive sincerity with which they avowed their innocence, engaged me as I went home to buy this famous Act (of Parliament) which I have perused over and over, and I do not find any penalty or prohibition of the use of flour for powdering wigs and heads of hair. The penalty as I apprehend it, lies only on the mixing of hair powder with any other ingredients; for the Act as it appears to me, was only intended to prevent frauds in the makers and vendors of hair powders, and not to oppress poor barbers and impoverish the many families that it has done.

"If therefore, the barber was to keep two troughs, one with flour and the other with good hair powder, and to put the question to his customer, 'Do you please to have your wig powdered or floured?' provided (always) that he did not mix them, he could not incur any penalty in this Act, for it

expressly lays the penalty only on the mixing of any other ingredient with hair powder. I see no clause in it, nor do I know any law extant that prohibits my having my wig floured if I choose.—The Fool."

HISTORICAL CHRONICLE.

Monday, 13th January, 1752.—“Gentleman's Magazine,” vol. 22, p. 41. “A petition of the Company of Barbers was presented to the House of Commons, praying leave to bring in a Bill for incorporating the peruke makers, as well within as without the liberties of the city to a certain distance into one fraternity with themselves.”

“An apprentice to a barber (we decline to give names) decoyed a newspaper boy who carries papers about Highgate, decoyed him into Hornsey Lane, and on the boy's refusal to deliver up his money, cut his throat with a razor, throwed him into a hole and left him; some drovers came by and discovered his case, went after the villain and found him at Holloway, who denied any intention to rob the boy. By the care of a local surgeon, the lad is likely to recover.” Saturday, 18th November, 1752.

The derivation of the word barber is from the Latin word *barba*, *a*, a beard; and the word applies equally to that of a man as that of a beast. And Gay, the Poet, considering this fact, compiled his well known fable of “The Goat and his Beard.” Fable XXII :—

“Tis certain that the modish passions
 Descend among the crowd like fashions,
 Excuse me then, if pride, conceit,
 (The manners of the fair and great)
 I give to monkeys, asses, dogs,
 Fleas, owls, goats, butterflies and hogs.
 I say that these are proud! What then?
 I never said they equal men.
 A goat, as vain as goat can be,
 Affected singularity;
 When e're a thynny bank he found,
 He rolled upon the fragrant ground;
 And then with fond attention stood
 Fixed, o'er his image in the flood,
 I hate my frowsy beard, he cries;
 My youth is lost in this disguise.
 Did not the females know my vigour,

Well might they loathe this reverend figure ;
 Resolved to smooth his shaggy face,
 He sought the barber of the place.
 A flippant monkey, spruce and smart,
 Hard bye, professed the dapper art :
 His pole with pewter basins hung,
 Black rotten teeth in order strung ;
 Ranged cups that in the window stood,
 Lined with red rags, to look like blood :
 Did well his three-fold trade explain,
 Who shaved, drew teeth, and breathed a vein.
 The goat he welcomes with an air,
 And seats him in a wooden chair ;
 Mouth, nose, and cheek the lather hides,
 Light, smooth and swift the razor glides.
 'I hope your custom, sir,' says Pug,
 Sure never face was half so smug !
 The goat impatient for applause,
 Swift to the neighbouring hill withdraws.
 The shaggy people grimed and stared,
 Heigh day ! what's here, without a beard ?
 Say brother, whence this dire disgrace,
 What envious hand hath robbed your face ?
 When thus the fop with smiles of scorn,
 Are beards by civil nations worn ?
 Ev'n Muscovites have mowed their chins :
 Shall we like formal Capuchins,
 Stubborn in pride retain the mode,
 And bear about the heavy load ?
 Whene're we through the village stray,
 Are we not mocked along the way ;
 Insulted with loud shouts of scorn,
 By boys our beards disgraced and torn ?
 Were I no more with goats to dwell,
 Brother, I grant you reason well
 Replies a bearded chief—beside,
 If boys can mortify thy pride,
 How wilt thou stand the ridicule
 Of our whole flock ? affected fool !
 Coxcombs, distinguished from the rest,
 To all but coxcombs are a jest.

The Barber was anciently termed a poller, because in former times, as I have before stated, he was a poller of the hair, notwithstanding the commands laid down in Leviticus, chap. 19, v. 27, "Ye shall not round the corners of your heads, neither shalt thou mar the corners of thy beard." He carried as a rule a case which contained his looking-glass a set of horn combs, a set of box combs, a beard-comb



J. Woolton inv.

G. N. Gucht Sculp

for arranging the beard, a beard-iron for curling the same, a set of razors, tweezers, earpicks, a toothrasp, a horn powder box, a puff to powder the hair, a bottle for sweet water, trimming cloths to put before his patient, and a glass to put before him. His basin had a circle in the brim, and it is familiarly known as Mambrino's helmet, from the use made of it by that valiant knight, Don Quixote; and this basin is mentioned by Ezekiel. Now to his razors. Prior to the English manufacture they were imported from Palermo and razors are mentioned in Homer. And razors "Novaculae" were known to the ancients, for we find this passage: "Raporum summam novacula decerpito Col." and Cicero mentions it as a knife as "novacula discissa," and again as "cultur tonsorius:" and Livy, speaking of a certain well, says, "Puteo in quo novacula illa deposita qua usus Accius Nævius Augur cotem dissiderat.* Novacula, a razor; a novando, from novo, to make new. Quod faciem quodammado novam facit. Because in a sense it makes the face new. The "novacula" is mentioned by Cicero de Div. I. 17, "Cos novaculâ discissa," "A whetstone cut through by a razor," where he relates that Tarquinis Priscus resolved to try the skill of Accius Nævius, an augur, and asked him whether what he was then thinking of could be effected? Nævius having examined his auguries, said that it might, "Why then," replied the king, "I had thoughts of cutting this whetstone with a razor." "Cut," said the augur, and the king cut it through.

Cicero pronounces this story fabulous and improbable. It is to be borne in mind, however, that though the "novacula" was an instrument used for shaving, it may not have had a loose handle, like our razor, and consequently was capable of doing more execution.

δέξιος }
or } a razor;
τὸ δέκτην }
from

ξυζάω } or ξύω to shave, scrape.
ξυζέω }

* "Hanc historiam apud Titum Livium habis."

"Montfaucon," vol. 5, 315.

Homer, Iliad, X. 173 :

Nῦν γὰρ δὴ πάντεσσιν ἐπὶ ξυροῦ ἴσταται ἀκμῆς.

“For now we are all on the edge of a razor,” or quite literally, “(It) stands to (us) all on the edge of a razor;” meaning, “We have all reached the critical moment,” or something of that kind.

Sophocles, Antigone, 996 :

φρόνει βεβὼς αἱ νῦν ἐπὶ ξυροῦ τύχης.

“Consider that thou art now again standing on the brink (literally “razor”) of fortune.” An old proverb.

The words *ξυρὸν*, razor, and *ξυρέω*, to cut, or shave, are used to denote “imminent danger.”

Sophocles, Ajax, 786 :

ξυρεῖ γὰρ ἐν χρῷ τοῦτο.

“It cuts close to the skin”; meaning, “There is great danger.”

The razor is mentioned by other Greek authors; but I have not the books. Shaving appears to have been a very old custom; it is mentioned in Gen. xli. 14. The first place in which the word “razor” occurs in Holy Scripture, is Numbers vi. 5. He sometimes carried a chafing dish or portable stove to carry his towels hot and warm; also scissors, long, broad, and pointed; curling or crisping tongs. Now with respect to beards, the first which a man begins to wear is called a “pick-a-devant” beard, because it is sharp-pointed, worn like Charles I.; then there is the “cathedral” beard, which Mr. Randle Holme, of Herald’s College, writing in 1688, says was worn by bishops and grave dignitaries of the Church; then the “British” beard, as worn by the ancient Britons, with the moustachios very heavy and hanging down either side of the chin, all the rest of the face being bare; then the “forked” beard. On numerous Roman altars and on some stone coffins we may learn that they wore the beard, and the military wore short and frizzed beards as evinced by the engravings in Montfaucon’s. The first of the emperors who wore a beard was Hadrian, who wore it to hide his wound. Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius wore a “philosopher’s” beard, thick and bushy, not worn before the date 454 b.c. and this thick beard was

afterwards considered as an appendage that obtained for the emperors a veneration from the people.*

The trimming of the beard was an object of attention in all ages and countries, and the wearing of beards and moustachios in various modes and fashions occur at different periods as will be readily shown. Thus the early Briton shaved his beard occasionally, yet wore it sometimes long, but his moustachios always so. The Druid preserved his gravity by encouraging the growth of both. The Anglo-Saxon trimmed his beard and parted it into double locks. Yet, the Normans in the invading army of William I., (if any reliance is to be placed in the Bayeux Tapestry,) shaved quite closely, and this close shaving was the prevailing custom with young men during the fourteenth century ; their elders wore the forked beard, as illustrated on a brass of the time of Edward III. in Shottesbrook Church, Berkshire, to a Franklin, thus illustrating the line in Chaucer, in the Prologue to the Canterbury Tales—

“A merchant was there with a forked beard.”

In Gloucester Cathedral the effigy of King Edward II. on his tomb exhibits that monarch in a beard and moustachios, carefully curled and trimmed. This reminds us of the indignity offered to him by Maltravers, into whose custody he was entrusted, and who ordered one of the keepers to shave him with cold water from a ditch, while on his cruel journey to Pomfret. The unhappy king, bursting into tears, exclaimed, “Here is at least warm water on my cheeks, whether you will or not.”

Knights wore the moustachios long, as on the effigy of John of Eltham, Earl of Cornwall, second son of Edward II. on the tomb in Westminster Abbey, also on the brass of Sir Roger de Bois in Ingham Church, Norfolk.

According to the effigy of King Edward III., on his tomb in Westminster Abbey, his long and capacious beard is forked, the moustache being carefully trimmed and arranged over the upper lip and disposed on either side of the mouth. King Henry IV., his effigy at Canterbury displays a similar form of beard, but not so large. Richard II. also in his

* Fosbroke's “Encyclopædia of Antiquity.”

picture, which hangs within the communion-table railings on the south side of the chancel at Westminster, has his beard arranged in two tufts upon the chin ; but broad pointed and forked beards were worn during this king's reign, and continued in fashion for some years. In the reign of Henry V. the fashion went the reverse way, and close shaving was the order of the day; and during the reign of Henry VI. whisker, beard, and moustache entirely disappeared, and the hair on the head was cropped close. Yet in the reign of Edward IV. fashion yielded a little, and the hair was worn longer, but the beard close shaven, and it was not until the middle of the sixteenth century that old men began to cultivate a beard which developed itself fully during the reign of Elizabeth. These remarks were fully exemplified at the Exhibition of the National Portrait Gallery, at South Kensington Museum, some few years ago, and can be verified by the series of photographs of the portraits (now on sale) published by the Council of Education.

Stubbs, in his "Anatomie of Abuses," 1583, says: "The barbers have invented such strange fashions of monstrous manners of cuttings, trimmings, shavings and washings, that you would wonder to see. They have one manner of cut called the French, another the Spanish; one the Dutch, another the Italian; one the new cut, another the old; one the gentleman, and another the common; one of the Court, another of the Country; with infinite the like vanities which I overpassee. They have also other cuts innumerable; and therefore when you come to be trimmed, they will ask you whether you will be cut to look terrible to your enemy, or amiable to your friend; grim and stern in countenance, or pleasant and demure; for they have divers kind of cuts for all these purposes, or else they lye. Then when they have done all these feats, it is a world to consider how their mowchatours (moustachios) must be preserved, or laid out, from one cheek to another, or turned up like two horns towards the forehead."

Green, in his "Quip for an Upstart Courtier," 1592, speaking of the barber, says: "He descends as low as his beard and asketh, whether he please to be shaven or not?

Whether he will have his peak cut short or sharp ; amiable, like an ‘inamorata’ ; or broad pendant like a spade, to be terrible, like a warrior or soldado ? Whether he will have his ‘crates’ cut low, like a juniper bush ; or his ‘suberche’ taken away with a razor. If it be his pleasure to have his appendices primed, or his moustacheos fostered or turned about his ears like the branches of a vine, or cut down to the lip, with the Italian lash, to make him look like a half-faced baby in brass ? These quaint terms, barber, you greet Master Velvet Breeches withal, and at every word a snap with your cissors and a cringe with your knee ; whereas when you come to poor Cloth Breeches, you either cut his beard at your own pleasure, or else in disdain ask him if he will be trimmed round like the half of a Holland’s cheese.”

In Lylly’s “Midas,” Act iii. Scene 2 (1591), Motto, the barber, thus speaks to his bcy : “ Besides, I have instructed thee in the phrases of our eloquent occupation, as, How, sir, will you be trimmed ? Will you have your beard like a spade or a bodkin ; a penthouse on your upper lip, or an alley on your chin ? A low curl on your head like a bull, or a dangling lock like a Spaniard ? Your moustachios sharp at the ends like shoemakers’ awls, a-hanging down to your mouth like goat’s flakes ? ”

Taylor, the Water Poet, in his “ Superbiae Flagellum,” gives the following description of the great variety of beards worn in his time but curiously enough has omitted to mention his own beard, which he used to wear twisted in the form of a screw.

“ Now a few lines to paper I will put,
Of men’s beards’ strange and variable cut,
In which there’s some that take as vain a pride
As almost in all other things beside.
Some are reap’d most substantial like a brush,
Which makes a natural wit known by the bush ;
And in my time of some men I have heard
Whose wisdom have been only wealth and beard ;
Many of these the proverb well doth fit,
Which says, ‘ Bush natural, more hair than wit’ ;
Some seem as they were starched stiff and fine,
Like to the bristles of some angry swine ;

And some to set their love's desire on edge,
 Are cut and pruned like a quickset hedge ;
 Some like a spade, some like a fork, some square,
 Some round, some mowed like stubble, some stark bare ;
 Some sharp, stiletto fashion, dagger-like,
 That may with whispering a man's eyes out pike ;
 Some with the hammer cut or Roman T,—
 Their beards extravagant, reformed must be ;
 Some with the quadrate, some triangle fashion,
 Some circular, some oval in translation ;
 Some perpendicular in longitude ;
 Some like a thicket for their craptitude ;
 That heights, depths, breadths, triform, square, oval, round,
 And rules geometrical in beards are found."

The T-shaped beard and moustache was a fashion during the reign of Charles I., for in the play of the "Queen of Corinth," Act iv. Scene 1—

“ He strokes his beard,
 The Roman T ; your T beard is in fashion.”

The various changes of the shape of beards is noticed by R. Middleton, "Epigrammes and Satyres," 1608.

“ Why dost thou wear this beard ?
 'Tis cleane gone out of fashion.”

The Earl of Essex, in the time of Elizabeth, wore, as by his portrait, a spade beard ; and Southampton, a so-called stiletto beard ; and Lord Seymour of Sudeley is represented as wearing a sort of inverted sugar-loaf beard. The so-called "tile" beard is mentioned in "Hudibras," Part i. c. 1. line 248.

“ In cut and dye so like a tile,
 A sudden view it would beguile.”

And thereto the widow declares ; Part ii. c. 1. line 170.

“ It does your visage more adorn
 Than if 't were pruned and starched and launder'd
 And cut square by the Russian standard.”

In the notes to Dr. Grey's edition of "Hudibras" we are told, "They were then so curious in the management of their

beards that some, as I am informed, had pasteboard cases to put over them in the night, lest they should turn upon them and rumple them in their sleep.

In the life of Mrs. Elizabeth Thomas, entitled "Pylades and Corinna," p. 21 (1731), we have the following account of Mr. Richard Shute, a Turkey merchant, who was her grandfather : " That he was very nice in the mode of that age, his valet being some hours every morning in starching his beard and curling his whiskers, during which time a gentleman, whom he maintained as a companion, always read to him upon some useful subject."

Beard combs and beard brushes were used by the gallants of the day, for, quoting again from the play of the "Queen of Corinth," we find these words in Act ii. Scene 4—

" Play with your Pisa beard ; why, where's your brush, pupil ? "

" He must have a brush, sir."

And we may here mention that beard combs were in use in the time of Elizabeth.*

We have now to touch upon wigs. Wigs or perriwigs are first mentioned in the reign of Elizabeth, and Stowe informs us that it was a French fashion, brought to England about the time of the massacre of Paris, about the year 156 $\frac{1}{2}$.

In 1595 it was dangerous for children to walk in the streets alone, for they were often enticed into secluded places, their hair cut off and sold by the thieves for the manufacture of wigs. In Hall's "Satires," 1598, mention is made of a courtier who loses his "periwinkle" by a gust of wind in lifting his hat to bow. In Middleton's play of "Mad World, My Masters," dated 1608, it is stated that they were worn by ladies. And that ladies used them, I quote the lines below—

"Her sumptuous periwig, her curious curles."

—*Micro-Cynicon, 1599.*

In the play of the "Comedy of Errors," Shakespeare, and which Malone believes to have been written about the year 1593, translated by one William Warner from the Menæchmi of Plautus, in Act ii. Scene 2, Dromio of Syracuse says to Antipholus of Syracuse—

* Fairholt's Costume, pp. 427—432.

“There is no time for a man to recover his
hair that grows bald by nature.”

Antipholus answers—

“May he not do it by fine and recovery?”

Dromio S. Yes, to pay a fine for a peruke, and recover the lost hair of another man.

Antipholus S. Why is Time such a niggard of hair, being, as it is, so plentiful an excrement?

Dromio S. Because it is a blessing that he bestows on beasts; and what he hath scanted men in hair he hath given them in wit.

And again, in the play of “The Two Gentlemen of Verona,” Act iv. Scene 4, presumably about the year 1598, Julia, a lady of Verona, beloved by Proteus, a Veronese, addressing Silvia, the Duke of Milan’s daughter, beloved by Valentine, also a Veronese, using these words—

“The painter flatter’d her a little,
Unless I flatter with myself too much.
Her hair is auburn, mine is perfect yellow,
If that be all the difference in his love,
I’ll get me such a colour’d periwig.”

Thus clearly demonstrating that they were no novelties for either men or women so soon after their introduction from the Continent.

In Beaumont and Fletcher’s play of “Cupid’s Revenge” there are these lines—

“I bought him a new periwig with a love lock at it.”

In the time of Charles II. enormous wigs were worn, and there is a letter extant from the Comte de Commines, ambassador from France, in which he relates that that king while at Chatham took off his peruke, &c. owing to the heat of the sun. Pepy writes under date 9th May, 1663, “At Mr. Jervas’, my old barber, I did buy two or three borders and perriwiggs, meaning to wear one, and yet I have no stomach for it, but that the pains of keeping my hair clean is so great; he trimmed, and at last I parted, but my mind was almost alter’d from my purpose from the trouble which I foresee will be in wearing them.”

Also, again, on the 30th of October, 1663, he writes,



Hogarth pinx.

T. Cook sculp.

ET PLURIMA MORTIS IMAGO

"At my perriwig maker's, and there showed my wife the perriwig made for me, and she likes it very well." And on the 31st, he gives the price he paid for the wigs thus : "One thereof cost me £3 and the other 40s. I have worn neither yet, but will begin next week, God willing."

On the 3rd of November, 1663, he writes : "Bye-and-by comes Chapman, the perriwig maker, and (upon) my liking it, without more ado I went up, and there he cut off my haire, which went a little to my heart at present to part with it ; but it being over, and my perriwig on, I paid him £3 for it, and away he with my own hair to make up another of Jane was terribly troubled for my parting of my own hair, so was Besse."

Again, from this gossiping Pepys, we learn that perriwigs were likely to go out of fashion, for (says he, under date 1665) nobody will dare to buy any haire for fear of the infection, that it had been cut off the heads of the people dead of the plague raging in Westminster when he bought it ; and in the year 1666, 11th June, he says that "Ladies used perriwigs with hats for all the world like mine," and then, disapproving of women assuming men's garb, he adds : "An odde sight, and a sight that did not please me." (What would he have said of the fashions of the latter part of the nineteenth century.)

In 1672, in Wycherley's play of "Love in a Wood ; or St. James's Park : "If she has smugged herself up for me, let me prune and flounce my perruque a little for her."

In 1698, Whisson in his "Manners et Observations en Angleterre," say of the gentlemen, "That their perruques and their habits were charged with powder like millers."

Tom Brown in his "Letters from the Living to the Dead" writes, "We met three flaming beaux of the first magnitude, he in the middle made a most magnificent figure. His perriwigg was large enough to have loaded a camel, and he bestowed upon it at least a bushel of powder, I warrant you!"

These mountains of hair were worn by all who could afford to buy them, and a gentleman endeavoured to distinguish himself by the largeness of his wig and the elegance of

the comb which he carried about with him to church, theatre, coffee-house, or park, to comb and arrange his wig.

To such a pitch of fashion had wig-wearing reached that Schomberg, De Ginckel, Albemarle, and even William III. wore them with their armour, and amongst the armour-clothed effigies in the Tower of London is a portraiture of James II. with a full-bottomed wig reaching half-way down to his waist.

Dean Swift, writing of wigs, says—

“Triumphing Tories and desponding Whigs,

Forgot their friends and joined to save their wigs.”

Gay also, in his “*Trivia; or, The Art of Walking the Streets of London*,” at line 125, says—

“When suffocating mists obscure the morn,

Let thy worst wig, long used to storms, be worn.”

And at line 190—

“If you the precepts of the muse despise,

And slight the faithful warning of the skies.”

Line 201—

“In vain you scour;

Thy wig, alas! uncurled admits the shower.

So fierce Alecto i' snaky trespass fell,

When Orpheus charmed the rig'rous powers of Hell.”

Again at line 53, Book ii., Gay writes—

“You'll sometimes meet a fop of nicest tread,

Whose mantling periuke veils his empty head.”

And at line 56, he goes on to say—

“Him, like the miller, pass with caution by

Lest from his shoulder clouds of powder fly.”

And in Book iii. line 51 to 58—

“Where the mob gathers, swiftly shoot along,

Nor idly mingle with the noisy throng,

Lured by the silver hilt (sword) amid the swarm,

The subtil artist will thy side disarm.

Nor is thy flaxen wig with safety worn;

High on the shoulder in a basket borne

Lurks the sly boy: whose hand to rapine bred,

Plucks off the curling honours of thy head.”

The short bob with locks and a hairy crown, and the

long periwig came into fashion after the French style, with a pole lock, the commencement of the pigtail. Then the curled foretop wig, with the side locks tied up with ribands and curled all over the top. Ladies affected wigs and fronts with long dangling curls, yet kept back by two combs. These curls were sometimes mounted on wires, making these false locks to stand off at a distance from the face.

A small article called the peruke was used in the latter days of Charles II., and called a travelling wig. Then the campagne wig, with its knobs or bobs, and a pendant twisted curl on each side; then the plain wig, made to look like a real head of hair, and called a short bob.

A reference to the works of Hogarth will demonstrate the usual form of wigs worn during the last century; and here I feel that I cannot do better than quote Mr. Hogarth's own words in elucidation of his famous caricature upon the Five Orders of Periwigs as they were worn at the coronation of George III., and this print is said to have been a ridicule on Steward's "Antiquities of Athens," in which, with minute accuracy, are given the measurement of all the members of Greek Architecture. Minute accuracy is the leading feature of Steward's book; minute accuracy is the leading feature of Hogarth's satire.

The two orders are measured architecturally (architectonically), and, under their umbrageous shadow, Mr. Hogarth has introduced several of remarkable character. Two people in the upper row, under the title of episcopal or Parsonic (alluding to the Tuscan order as being simple and solid, and not surcharged with ornaments), are said to be intended for Dr. Warburton, late Bishop of Gloucester, and Dr. Squire, Bishop of St. David's.

The next row is inscribed, "Old Peirian, or Aldermanic." The first face is Lord Melcombe, and may with equal propriety represent some sagacious alderman of the day (1761). At the opposite end of the same row we see the remarkable periwig worn by Sir Samuel Fludyer, Lord Mayor.

The row beneath consists of the Lexonic, answering to the Ionic; and under it is the Composite, or half-natural, and the "Queerinthian, or Queue de Renard." Even with

them, we notice a barber's block, crowned with compasses, and marked Athenian measure, this is intended for a caricature of Mr. Stewart. A table of references appears above the block, and facing it a scale divided into nodules or noddles, nasos or noses, and minutes.

Without a perfect knowledge of the terms of Architecture the drift of this whimsical print cannot be perfectly comprehended.

A portrait of Queen Charlotte, distinguished by the simplicity, is in the corner, on the left ; and in the same line we observe five Right Honourable Ladies of the Bedchamber in 1761—the Duchess of Hamilton, the Countess of Effingham, the Countess of Northumberland, and the Viscountess Weymouth.

In the great dining hall of Lambeth Palace all the portraits of the bishops and archbishops, to a time as lately as Sumner and Howley, all are in wigs. Archbishop Tillotson was the first to wear the round bottomed wig, not unlike his own hair, and without powder.

Lawyers, in their vocation as pleaders, wear wigs, and the status of a counsel could be known by his wig, thus some have two pendant curls; the serjeants-at-law, (a status lately abolished,) at the top of their wig wore a bit of black cloth, with a frill of cambric round the black cloth, and this illustrated his rank, and represented the coif, also the tonsure; then the queen's or king's counsel, when they go in state or have to plead before the judicial members of the House of Lords, wear full bottomed wigs, as also the judges when they sit in their scarlet robes.

Copy of an opinion of the late eminent conveyancer, Geo. Harrison, Esq., of Stone's Buildings, Lincoln's Inn, on the question of the capacity of a man who *wore a beard* to enter into a contract. Given about 1830 to 1835 :

"As far as the statement goes, the question seems to me to amount to this: Does competency depend on fashion? Because, if so, a legal sage in Lord Coke's times might be a lunatic in Lord Denman's; a philosopher in Turkey might be a Bedlamite in England. The question would soon afterwards be started whether mustachios were evidence of



Hogarth pinx.

C. Cook & Son sc.

THE BENCH.

insanity, and, subsequently, whether a huge pair of whiskers were so.

"As one perfectly indifferent, and not abounding in any of the three, I incline to think, from the samples which have come in my way, that the exuberant cultivation of either of the two latter is a greater proof of folly than that of a venerable beard.

"The point, however, may be considered (1st) classically, (2nd) legally, (3rd) politically, (4th) physiologically.

"(1st). The best authors have ever treated the beard with the respect due to wisdom—

"His tawny beard was th' equal grace
Both of his wisdom and his face.'

Strange that the same emblem should create a suspicion of an unsound mind !

"(2nd.) As the proprietor of this dignified appendage has given it so much *law*, it seems no less strange that this very circumstance should be a proof of the *illegality* of his acts.

"(3rd.) Were the question now submitted to a jury, when every man feels it his duty to lean more or less to one or other of the great parties in the State, the balance of justice might incline one way or the other, according to the composition of the jury. The appendage under consideration has certainly a *conservative* cast; yet history is equally balanced. Of that of the renowned hero already quoted it is said—

"This hairy meteor did denounce
The fall of sceptres and of crowns.'

On the other hand, the author of 'Old Mortality' informs the world that General Dalziel remained unshorn in honour of the Stewarts.

"The *Whigs* (wigs), I fear, would deem such a production an undue encroachment on their interests, and the economists would certainly be unfavourable to that which, affording a *supply* so far exceeding the *demand*, necessarily sets all their irrefragible maxims at defiance. But the Radicals would doubtless feel bound in honour to uphold that which has unquestionably a *radical* origin. So that by the fortunate

coalition of the two extremes, Conservative and Radical, the Nazariteship would in all probability be preserved unhurt.

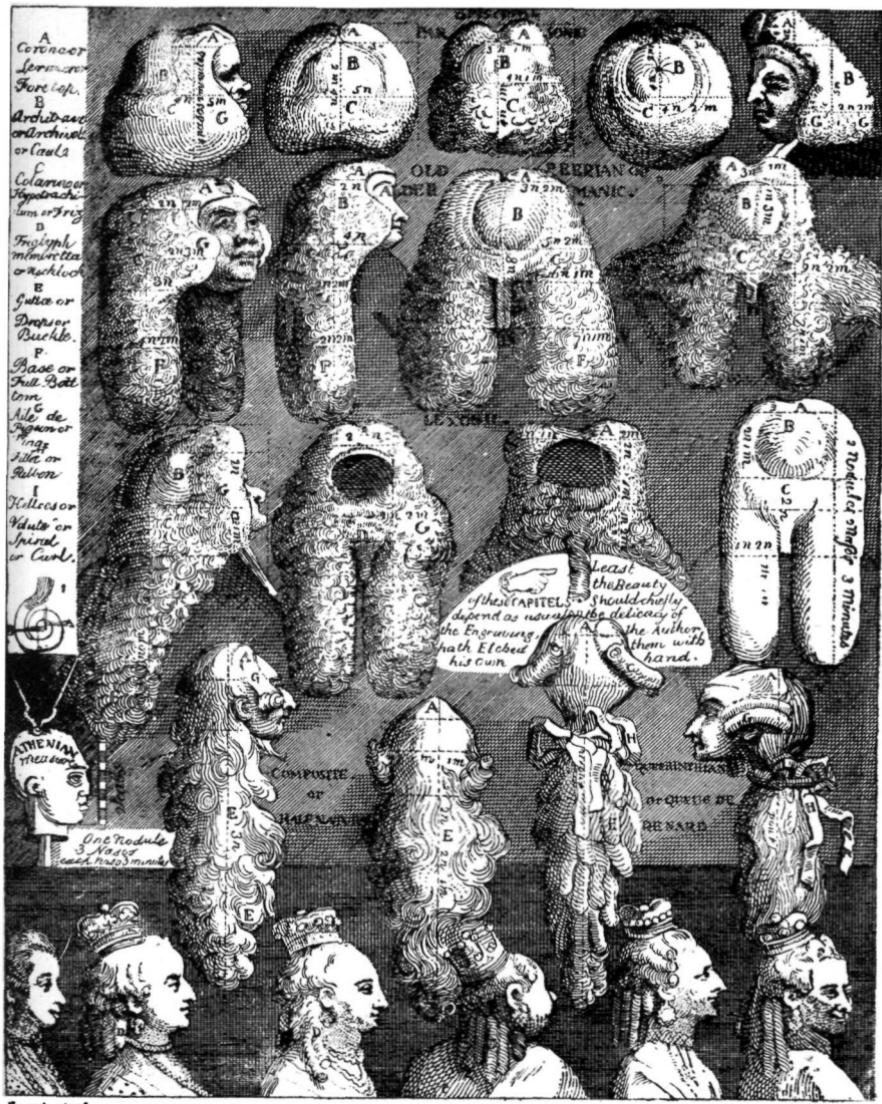
"(4th.) As the intellect is not considered to be perfectly developed until possession of a beard, the length of the one in question cannot but be viewed as a proof of the 'march of intellect.' There is certainly an old saying of rather adverse import, 'As mad as a March hare,' and there can be no doubt that these hairs have stolen a march upon their fellow citizens; but I rely upon the contract being settled by the 1st of February, to get rid of this difficulty."

(From an original MS. copy of the opinion, in my late father's handwriting.—R. R. DAVIS, 24th December, 1881.)

"By the length of His Beard can you measure a man ?
Bearded or Beardless I doubt if you can."

THE BARBER.

Muse ! sing, in numbers neat and trim,
The barber's praise ! Facetious whim.
At first, fame tells, unpolished shepherds,
With scythes and shears, were wont to clip beards,
And pummice used, as sharp as pins,
Rough tools, to smooth their woolly chins ;
Rude trimmers who, with rakes and crooks,
Combed their plain locks, their glass the brooks ;
That ancient mirror that, heaven bless us !
So fatal proved to poor Narcissus.
But when young Jove a wencher grew,
Shrewd Hermes (if the bards say true)
Invented razor, wash-ball, powder,
To make his fopling godship prouder,
Shaved him in some celestial arbour,
And was the first acknowledged barber.
From heaven, with the aetherial coai,
This art the filch, Prometheus, stole ;
And whatsoe'er mad poets feign
How he by thunder-bolts was slain,
And all these fabling things they've said on't,
'Twas known he after made a trade on't ;
Took shop, his pristine pole erected,
Throve fast, lived snug, and well respected,
Made for green heads, as fame declares,
Warm caps, of grey sagacious hairs,
Since nick-named by our modern prigs
Toupées and bobtail periwigs ;
And since his days this art divine,



THE FIVE ORDERS OF PERRIWIGS.

By hireling rogues for sordid coin,
 Is quite profaned, who scrub men's hides
 In ale house and by highway sides ;
 And to the brotherhood's great offence,
 In alleys shave for single pence,
 Draw stumps, vend medicines, bleed, and blister,
 &c. all for ends sinister.
 From this dear gentle occupation
 The beau acquires his reputation,
 Gains the smooth lip, clear shorn of hair,
 So fit to press the tender fair ;
 The pig tail dangling to the waist,
 With the white crown bedaubed with paste ;
 Or the broad bag o'er which appears
 Snow-white, a length of staring ears,
 The " Darby " Captain owes to thee
 His whiskers quaint and Rammilie
 That looks so stern, so raven-black on him
 Would fright old Satan from attacking him
 The rural squire, that puttish spark,
 Shines signal by the barber's mark ;
 By the trim mop, short curled and bob,
 Close sticking to his empty nob ;
 By the grey cue or formal tie
 The dancing master we descrie ;
 The rich old citizen suppose
 By the wig, smothering up his nose ;
 And the huge bush of grizzled hairs
 Through which the face sagacious stares,
 With head erect, and seldom stirred,
 Demure as sage Minerva's bird
 When perched some ivy-tree or oak in
 Does the grave judge forsooth betoken ;
 The ladies too have oft, tis' said
 Been debtors to the Tonsor's aid :
 Semiramis, the Assyrian Queen,
 Peruked like Bully Rake was seen ;
 And Messalina, jilt egregious
 (Historians with th' account oblige us)
 A red haired tire was wont to use
 Dress of lewd madame in the stews.
 Even in our time, the fair 'tis known
 Are graced with tresses not their own,
 And bloom anew in native frizzle
 When bald, or grown with age quite grizzle."

" Gentleman's Magazine," vol. 8, p. 157; 173.

The following is the Charter of the Company, the granting of which forms the subject of the great picture. It is translated from the Latin and runs thus:—

Henry, by the grace of God, King of England and France and Lord of Ireland :

To all to whom these presents shall come, greeting :

We have inspected the letters patent of the Lord Henry VII., late King of England, our most illustrious father, concerning the confirmation made in these words :—Henry, by the grace of God, King of England and France and Lord of Ireland : To all to whom these presents shall come, greeting :—We have inspected the letters patent of Lord Edward the Fourth, late King of England, our Progenitor of illustrious memory, made in these words :—Edward, by the grace of God, King of England and France and Lord of Ireland : To all to whom these presents shall come, greeting. Know ye that we, considering how our beloved, honest, and free men of the mystery of barbers of our City of London, exercising the mystery or art of surgeons as well respecting wounds, bruises, hurts and other infirmities of our liege men, and healing and curing the same, as in letting blood and drawing such our liege men's teeth, have for a long time undergone and supported, and daily do undergo and support, great and manifold labours and applications ; and also how, through the ignorance, negligence, and unskilfulness of some of the said barbers, as well of the free men of our said city as of other surgeons who are foreigners and not free men of the said city, and are not sufficiently skilled, whereby very many, and almost infinite, evils have hitherto happened to many of our liege men in their wounds, hurts, bruises, and other infirmities by such barbers and surgeons on account of their defect in healing and curing, from which cause some of our said liege men have gone the way of all flesh, and others from the same cause have been by every one given over as incurable and past relief ; and as it is to be dreaded that similar or greater evils may in future arise on this head unless proper remedy is by us speedily provided for the same. We, therefore, affectionately weighing and considering that such evils do happen to our liege men for want of the examination, corrections, and punishments by a due superior of such barbers and surgeons as are insufficiently skilled and instructed in the said mystery or arts as aforesaid, have, at

the humble request of our beloved, honest, and free men of the said mystery of barbers in our said city, granted to them that the said mysteries and all men of the said mystery of the city aforesaid shall be in fact and name one body and one perpetual community ; and that two principals of the community shall, with the consent of twelve persons, or at least eight of the said community who are best skilled in the mysteries of surgeons, every year elect and make out of the said community two masters or rulers of the utmost skill to superintend, rule, and govern the mystery and community aforesaid, and all men of the said mystery and of the businesses of the same for ever. And that the said masters or rulers and community shall have a perpetual succession and common seal to serve for the affairs of the said community for ever ; and that they and their successors for ever shall be able and capable in law to acquire and possess in fee and perpetuity, lands, tenements, rents, and other possessions whatsoever to the value of five marks per annum, besides all reprises ; and that they, by the names of masters or governors of the mystery of barbers of London, shall be able to plead and implead before all judges in all courts and in all actions, and that the said masters or rulers and community and their successors may lawfully and discreetly assemble themselves and make statutes and ordinances for the wholesome government, superintendence, and correction of the said mysteries according to the exigency of the necessity, as often and whenever it may be requisite lawfully and unpunishably, without leave or hindrance of us, our heirs, or successors, justices, collectors, sheriffs, coroners, or any other bailiffs or ministers of us, our heirs or successors ; provided that such statutes or ordinances are not in any way contrary to the laws and customs of our kingdom of England. We further will and grant for us and our heirs and successors, as far as in us lies, that the masters or rulers of the aforesaid community, for the time being, and their successors for ever, shall have the superintendence, examination, correction, and government of all and singular the free men of the said city, who are surgeons exercising the mystery of barbers within the said city, and of all other foreign surgeons whomsoever in any

wise practising and using the said mystery of surgeons in the said city and the suburbs thereof, and the punishment of them, as well free men as strangers, for their offences in not perfectly following, practising, and exercising the said mystery ; and also the superintendence and inspection of all kinds of instruments, plaisters, and other medicines and their recipes by such said barbers and surgeons given, applied, and used for our liege men for curing and healing their wounds, bruises, hurts and such kind of infirmities, when and as often as shall be requisite for the convenience and utility of the said liege men ; so that punishment of such barbers exercising the said mystery of surgeons and such foreign surgeons, so offending in the premises, be executed by fines, amercements, and imprisonment of their bodies, and by other reasonable and suitable means. And that no barber, exercising the said mystery of surgeons in the said city and the suburbs thereof, or any other foreign surgeon whatsoever, shall in future be admitted to follow, practice, and exercise the said mystery of surgeons in any wise within the said city or the suburbs thereof, unless he be first approved by the said master or rulers or their successors, for this purpose, able and sufficient as skilled in the said mystery ; and for his plenary approbation in this behalf by the said master or rulers presented to the mayor of the said city for the time being. We also will and grant for us, our heirs, and successors, as far as in us lies, that neither the said masters or rulers and community of the said mystery of barbers, nor their successors, nor any of them shall hereafter in any wise be summoned or appointed within our said city and the suburbs thereof, nor any one of them be summoned or appointed on any assizes, juries, inquests, inquisitions, attainders, or other recognizances within the said city and suburbs thereof, for the time being, to come before the mayor, or sheriffs, or coronors, of our said city, for the time being, by any summoning officer or officers, or by his or their servants, although the said juries, inquisitions, or recognizances should be summoned on a writ or writs of right of us or our heirs : but that the said master or rulers and community, of the said mystery, and their successors, and

every of them, shall henceforth for ever be peaceably and entirely exonerated towards us, our heirs and successors, and towards the mayor or sheriffs of our said city, for the time being, and every of their officers and servants by these presents; and further, we, in consideration of the promises, do, of our special grace, for us, our heirs, and their successors, grant to the said masters or rulers and community of the said mystery of barbers, and their successors, this liberty, to wit, that they in all further times may admit and receive persons apt and sufficiently skilled and informed in the said mystery of surgeons, and by the masters and rulers, and for the time being of the said mystery in manner aforesaid approved, and presented to the mayor of the said city for the time being as aforesaid into the said mystery of barbers to the freedoms of the said city to be held and enjoyed according to the customs of the said city, and no other persons whomsoever, nor in any other manner; any mandate or requisition of us, our heirs or successors, by written letters or otherwise, howsoever made, or to be made, to the contrary notwithstanding. And although the said masters, or rulers and community, and their successors should contumaciously use this liberty in future against any mandate or requisition of us, our heirs, or successors, or any others whomsoever to be made in form aforesaid, neither they nor any one of them shall in any wise incur any fine, contempt, or loss towards us, our heirs, or successors, or any damage or punishment in their goods or bodies, or towards any other persons whosoever on that account; and this without fine or fee, for the sealing of these presents to be done, paid or otherwise rendered unto us: any statute, ordinance, or any act to the contrary, before this time published, made, ordained, or provided notwithstanding. In testimony whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patent. Witness myself at Westminster, the twenty-fourth day of Febury, in the first year of our reign. And we, holding the aforesaid letters, and all and everything therein contained valid and agreeable, do for us and our heirs, as far as in us lies, accept and approve the same: and to our beloved liegemen, Richard Hayward, James Holland, John Robertson, and John Boteler, the present masters or

rulers of the said mystery of barbers and surgeons in our said city, and to their successors, do by these presents ratify and confirm in manner as the said letters do reasonably manifest. In testimony whereof, we have caused these our letters to be made patent. Witness myself at Westminster, this fifth day of December in the fifteenth year of our reign. We also, holding the said letters, and all and everything therein contained, valid and agreeable, do, for us and our heirs, as far as in us lies, accept and approve them, and to our beloved liegemen, John Peerson, William Kyrkeby, Thomas Gybson, and Thomas Martin, the present masters and rulers of the mystery of barbers and surgeons in our said city, and to their successors, do by these presents ratify and confirm in manner as the said letters do reasonably manifest. In testimony whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patent. Witness myself at Westminster, the twelfth day of March in the third year of our reign.

The earliest mention of a grant of arms to this company appears from an emblazonment in "The Book of Ordinances of the Worshipful Men of the Craft or Science of Chirurgie in the Citie of London" is dated May 10, 1435, the thirteenth year of King Henry VI., and which book is in the possession of the Barbers' Company; but the emblazonment is later than the book, for according to the researches made by Mr. J. J. Howard, and published by him, it appears that these arms and supporters were granted to the Company of Surgeons in 1492, the seventh of Henry VII., and during the mayoralty of Hugh Clopton. This monarch granted unto the Company of Surgeons a coat and auxiliaries, which consisted of a rose, double-seeded, surmounted by a Tudor Crown, pierced with a spatta (Spatula), with supporters on the sinister side; a surgeon with a box (presumably of unguent) in the right hand and a Spatula in the left; on the dexter side a doctor holding in his right hand a water bottle, his left hand being hidden by the shield, both figures are habited in full costume and robes, and doubtless are intended to represent St. Cosmo and St. Damianus.

The original grant of arms to the united companies of the Barber Surgeons, and still retained (1881) by the Barbers'



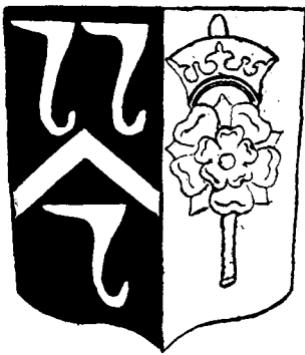
Company is from Gilbert Dethick, Garter, Robert Cooke, Clarenceux, and William Flower, Norroy, King's-at-Arms, in 1569. It is on vellum, and has on its three sides a floriated border. At the top are the arms of Queen Elizabeth, between a Tudor Rose and a Fleur-de-Lys in gold, each in a wreath coloured green. On the margin on the left side of the grant are the arms of the company, with crest supporters and motto—"De Præscientia Dei," and on the right side a gold portcullis, encircled in a green wreath. The great initial letter at the commencement of the grant is of very large size, and within it is a representation of Sir Gilbert Dithick himself as Garter King at Arms in his Tabard, and below is the date 1562, and it reads thus :—

To all and singuler as well Kinges Herehaultes, and Officers of Armes, as nobles, gentlemen, and others to whome these presentes shall come, be seene, heard, read, or understand, Sir Gilbert Dethicke, Knight, alias Garter, principall Kinge of Armes; Robert Cooke, Esquire, alias Norrey, Kinge of Armes of the northe partes of Englande, send greetinge in our Lorde God everlastinge. Forasmuch, as anciennyly from the beginninge, the valiaunt and vertuouse actes of excellente personnes haue ben comedend to the worlde and posterite with sondrey monumentes and remembrances of their goode deseartes. Emongst the which the chiefest and most usuall hath ben the bearinge of signes and tokens in shields, called armes beinge none other thinges then euidentes and demonstraciones of prowesse and valour diversely distributed accordaninge to the qualytie and deseartes of the persons meritinge the same. To the entent that such as have don comedandable service to their prince or countrey either in warre or peace or otherwyse by laudable and courageouse enterpryses or proceedinge of eny person or persons in th' augmentacion of the estate or comon wealth of their realme or countrey might thereby receyve due honor in their lynes and also desyne the same successively to their successors and posterite for ever, and whereas in the Citye of London th' experiance and practice of the science and facultie of Chirurgery is most requisite and duty to be exercised and experimented for the preservacion of meny, and by th' occasion

of the practise thereof meny expert persons be brought up and experimented to the relief, succour, and helps of an infinite number of persons: and for as much as within this Citie of London there were two severall companyes, th' one by the name of Barbours Chirurgeons and th' other by the name of Chirurgeons onely; the Barbours Chirurgeons being incorporate and th' other not, and both occupyenge th' arte of Chirurgery, whereupon great contention did arise; and for that it was most meete and necessary that the said companyes should be united and made one hole body, and so incorporated to th' entent, that by their union and often assembly together th' exercyse and knowledge of their science and mistery might appeare as well in practise as in speculation, not only to themselves but to others under them. So that it was thought most meete and convinent upon grave and greate onsideration to unyte and joyne the said companyes in one, which was don as may appeere by an Act of Parliament in ano 1540, xxxii. Henry th' Eight in these wordes:—

“ Be it enacted by the Kinge, our Sovereigne Lorde and the lordes spirituall and temporall and the comons of the same, that the sayde two severall and distinct companyes, that is to say bothe the Barbours Chügeons and the Sourgeons and every parson of theam beinge a freeman of either of the saide companyes after the custome of the sayde Citie of London and their successors from henceforthe immediately be unyted and made one entier and whole body corporate and one societie perpetuall, which at all tymes hereafter shal be called by the name of Maisters and Governours of the mistery and comunalty of Barbours and Surgeons of London, for evermore, and by none other name.

“ In consideracion whereof and for that it doth appeere a thing most requisite for the unitinge of these two companyes together, and for that the occupation of the Barbour Chirurgeons being incorporate hath, since the tyme of Kinge Henry the Sixth, used and boren armes, that is to say Sables à Cheveron, between three fleumes argent, which were unto them assigned onely by the gifte and assignement of Claren-cieulx, Kinge of Armes, as by the patent thereof doth and may more plainly appeere, and since the unitynge of the said





THOMAS GALVS CHIRVRGVS.
ANGLVS ÆTATIS SVE 56+

two companyes these armes of the said Corporation of Barber Chirurgeons hath ben used and none other.

" Yet notwithstandinge the late King Henry th' Eighth of famous memory assigned and gave unto the Companie of the Chirurgeons onely a cognoscence which is a spatter thereon a rose gules crowned golde for their warrant in fielde, but no authoritie by warrant for the bearinge of the same in shilde as armes, and for that it pleased the same Kinge Henry th' Eighth not only to unite and incorporate these two companyes together by Acte of Parlement, but also hath ratifyed and cōfirmed the same by his letters patents, under the greate seale of Englande, and so lately cōfirmed by the Queene's Majestie that now is. And whereas Thomas Galle, in the thirde yere of the Queene's Majesties reigne that now is, beinge maister ; Alexander Mason, John Standon, Robert Mudesley, Governors of the same corporation, mistery, and cōmunaltie of Barbours and Chirurgeons, beinge desirouse to have some signes and tokens of honor added and augmented to th' olde and ancient armes of the Barbour Chirurgeons, not onely for a perpetuall memorie as well of the famous Prince, Kinge Henry th' Eighth, their founder and patron, but also for a further declaracion of th' unitinge of those two cōpanyes togither, did instantly require the late Clarenceux Heruey to cōsider the premisses and to show his endevor therein ; who, findinge there request just and lawfull, did graunt and give unto them by his letters patentes, under the hand and seale bearinge date the 5th of July (1561), in the thirde yere of the reigne of the Queene's Majestie that now is, an augmentacion in chief to their olde and aunciente armes, with heaulme and creaste to the same, which chiefe was paly argent and vert on a pale gules, a lyon passant gardant golde, betweene two spatters, argent on eche, a double rose gules and argent crowned golde and their creaste, on a lorce silver and sables, an Opinicus golde mantelled gules, doubled argent ; and further, in the tyme of Robert Barthrop, Esquire, Sergeant of the Queene's Majesties Chirurgeons, then being maister of the said misterie and cōmunalty of the Barbours and Chirurgeons ; and George Vaughan, Richard Hughes, and George Corron, governors of the same corpora-

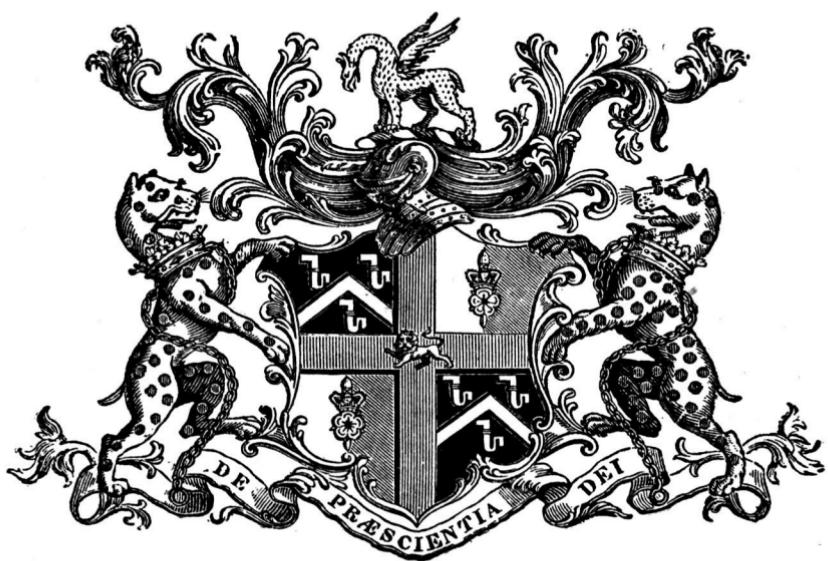
tion, the sayd Clarenceux Heruey did graunt unto the sayd corporation two supporters to those armes before given therein, which were two linxe in their proper coulor aboue their neckes, a crowne with a chayne argent pendent thereat, as by the sayde letters patent more plainly doth appeere. Yet, notwithstandinge for as much as it doth plainly appeere unto us the seyd Garter Clarenceux and Norroy, Kinges of Armes, that the aforesayd armes in some respects were not onely contrary to the wordes of the corporation of the sayd Barbours and Chirurgeons, but that also in the same patent of armes there are sondrey other thinges contrary and not agreeinge with the aunciente lawes and rules of armes.

"We, the sayd Kinges-of-Armes, by power and authorite to us cōmited by letters patent under the greate seal of Englande have confirmed and graunted the foresayde armes, creast, and supporters heretofore mentioned to be boren in maner and fourme heerafter specified. That is to say—

"Quarterly, the first, sables, a cheveron betweene three flewmes argent. The second quarter, per pale, argent and vert on a spatter of the first, a double rose, gules and argent, crowned golde. The third quarter as the seconde, and the fourth as the first. Over all, on a crosse gules, a lyon passant, guardant golde; and to their creast upon the heaulme on a Torce argent and sables, an Opinicus* golde mantelled gules doubled argent, supported with two linxe in their proper coulour, about their necks a crowne with a chayne argent pendent thereat as more plainly appearith depicted in this margent.

"Which armes, creast, and supporters, and every parte and parcell thereof, we, the sayd Kinges of Armes have confirmed, ratified, given, and graunted, and by these presents do ratify, confirme, give, and graunt vnto Richard Tholmowed, Maister of the sayd Misterie and comunaltie; Nicholas Archenbolde, Thomas Burston, and John Field,

* Opinicus.—An heraldic beast of a three-fold character, which never entered into Noah's Ark, and has been ludicrously called, "The Barber's Flying Jackass," and it is thus described by Burke: "Its body and fore legs are said to be like a lion's; head and neck like an eagle; to the body wings are affixed like unto a griffin, with a short tail like unto a camel."



gouvernors of the sayd Corporation, Mistery, and Cōmunaltie of Barbours and Chirurgeons, and to their successors by the name of Master and Gouvernors and to the whole Assistantes, Company, and Fellowshippe of the sayd Corporation, Mistery, and Cōmunaltie of Barbours and Chirurgeons within this city of London, and to their successors for evermore, and they the same to have, holde, vse, bear, enjoy, and shew forthe in shylde, seale, banner, or bannerolles, standard or standards, penon or penons, pencell or pencilles, or otherwise to their honors and worshippes at all tymes and for ever hereafter at their libertie and pleasure without the impediment, let, molestation, or interruption of any person or persons.

"In witness whereof, we the said Garter, Clarencieulx and Norroy, Kings of Arms have signed these presentes with our hands and affixed thereunto our severall seals of arms, the second day of June, in the yere of the Nativitee of our Lord Jesus Christ (1569), and in the eleventh yere of the reigne of Our most dread Souvreyne Lady Elizabeth by the grace of God Queene of Englande, Fraunce, and Irelande, Defender of the Faith, etc.

" Gilbert Dethick, alias Garter,

" Principal Kinge of Arms.

" Robert Cooke, alias Clarencieulx,

" Roy D'Armes.

" p Moy Wylliam Flower, alias Norroy,

" Roy D'Armes.

" Entered, approved, and allowed in the Visitation made
1634.

" Hen. St. George, Richmond."

NOTE.—It is singular that Garter Sir Gilbert Dethick and his Assistants did not know that these arms and supporters had been granted to the Company of Surgeons by King Henry VII.

A comely
monument in
the south wall
of the chancel,
St. Bartholo-
mew's Church.

Balthorp.

"Here Robert Balthorp lies entomb'd,
To Elizabeth our Queene
Who Sergeant of the Chirurgeons sworne
Neere thirty yeeres hath beene.
He died at sixty-nine of yeeres,
December ninth the day.
The year of Grace eight hundred twice,
Deducting nine away.
Let here his rotten bones repose
Till Angel's trumpet sound,
To warn the world of present change,
And raise the dead from ground.
VIVET POST FUNERA VIRTUS."

Bankes.

St. Michael ad-Bladum (ie this Ward, who had to wife Joan Laurence, by whom he had Querne). issue seven sonnes and ten daughters."

Brickett.

Bishopsgate Ward. "John Brickett, Citizen and Toothdrawer of London (by his last will and testament, dated the eleventh day of February, 1554), gave for ever at the feast of Easter, twelve sacks of Charcoales to the poore of this parish out of two tenements, the one now in the occupation of Andrew Partridge, Tallow Chandler, the other late in the occupation of Andrew Seywell, Bricklayer, both joining together at the south side of Bell Alley Gate in this Parish."

Thorney.

St. Andrew, Holborn. A comely monument in the 1614, and lived 71 yeeres, being twice Master of his Company, and one of the Common Councill of this City: who gave it to the poore of this parish of St. Andrew, 10 pounds

to be distributed on the day of his funerall, and ten pounds a yeere afterward to ten poore Pensioners of this parish for ever. And twenty shillings to the poore people of Acton for ever; who died without issue of his body, and made Peter Thorney, Citizen and Barber-Chirurgeon of London (his brother's sonne) his heire and sole Executor: who kneeleth with him in this module, being finished and set up in the month of December, An Dom. 1614, and at the onely cost and charges of the said Peter Thorney, in memory of so worthy a member, who lived in good credit, name, and fame all the days of his life, and did many good offices and memorable acts in this parish."

Bankeſ.

" John Bankes, Mercer, and Esquire, whose body lyeth here interred, the Sonne of Thomas Bankes, free of the Barber-Surgeans; this John was aged 59, and expired the ninth of September, Anno 1630.

St. Michael Bassishaw.

" His first wife was Martha, a widow, by whom he had one onely sonne deceased: his second wife was Anne Hasell who left unto him one daughter and heire called Anna, since married unto Edmond Waller, of Berkensfield, in Buckinghamshire, Esquire. He gave by his last will and testament (written with his owne hand), to unbeneficed ministers; to decayed housekeepers; to the poore of many parishes; to all (or the most) of the prisons, Bridewells, and Hospitals, in and about London; to young Beginners to set up their trades; to the artillery Garden, and towards the maintenance thereof for ever; very bountifully to his owne Company, both in lands and money; to his Friends, in tokens of remembrance; to divers of his Kindred, and to other charitable and pious uses, the summe of 6000*l*, notwithstanding Noble and sufficient Dower to his daughter reserved. And all these several legacies, by his carefull Executor Robert Tichbourne, and his overseers, punctually observed, and fully discharged.

" Inbalmed in pious Arts,
Wrapt in a shroud

Of white innocuous Charity,
Who vow'd
Having enough
The world should understand
No deed of mercy
Might escape his hand.
Bankes here is laid to sleepe,
This place did breed him,
A president to all
That shall succeed him.
Note both his life
Aud immitable end,
Know he th' unrighteous
Mammon made his friend.
Expressing by his talents,
Rich Increase
Service that gained him praise
And lasting Peacc.
Much was to him committed,
Much he gave,
Entering his treasure there,
Whence all shall have
Returne with use
What to the poore is given,
Claimes a just promise
Of Reward in Heaven.
Even such a Banke
Bankes left behind at last
Riches stored up, which
Age nor Time can waste."

This company is rich in its beautiful plate, which is rare of its kind.

The silver gilt grace cup and cover presented by king Henry VIII. to this company, said to be designed by Holbein.* This cup bears the hall mark of 1523. On the stem and foot are chased, (*r  pouss  *), scrolls of the Tudor rose

* A self taught genius and celebrated historical and portrait painter.

and fleur-de-lys. The bottom of the cup is plain, with four bands, from which hang as many small bells from lions' heads, and an engraved border of the above badges together with the portcullis alternately.*

The cover is flat and similarly engraved, surmounted by the royal arms of England and France, with the greyhound and lion as supporters, above which is a crown. It is inscribed within the cover "Henrici R. munificentiae ne posteris ignota maneat Johannes Knight R + C + P (Regis Chirurgus Princeps) 1678."

Pepys in his diary under date 27th February, 1662, vol. ii. ed. 1857, p. 120, says: "We drunk the King's health out of a gilt cup given by king Henry VIII. to this company, with bells hanging at it, which every man is to ring by shaking after he hath drunk up the whole cup."

This cup was not always, as it now is, entirely of silver, the bowl was of crystal or glass, doubtless a poison cup, for it was considered that if poison were put into crystal the crystal would cloud over, and thus discover the poison, and warn the drinker of the deadly contents of the cup. It weighs 27 ozs. 5 dwis.

I have read somewhere, (although at this moment my memory fails me where,) that this cup, with other pieces of plate, were sold by the company to raise money to enable Inigo Jones to build their hall. That this cup was repurchased by Dr. Arris and handed over to the company, for which kind act it was ordered that he should have his picture painted, and be hereafter styled "Our Loving Brother."

The royal grace cup presented by king Charles II. is of silver, in the form of an oak tree. On the cup are four shields, on one is inscribed "Donum munificentissimi Regis Caroli Secundi, anno 1676"; on the second the inscription runs thus: "Impetrantibus Chirurgis Regijs Johanne Knight Chirurgo Regis Principalj et Jacobo Pearse Eodem, anno

* Made by Morett, who was goldsmith to king Henry VIII. who employed Holbein as a designer, and made up most of his works in connexion with one Hans Zurich, also a goldsmith of London, who was introduced and recommended by Erasmus to Sir Thomas Wore, and by Sir Thomas to the King. (Holbein died 1554, aged 56.)—Grainger, vol. i. p. 113, class x.

S.....* Magistro ; the other two shields are emblazoned with the arms and crest of the company. From these shields hang four gilt bells shaped like acorns. The whole of the cup is profusely chased with leaves and garlands. On the cover, which is surmounted by an arched crown, gilt, with the royal arms and supporters, are bosses of the rose, thistle, harp, and fleur-de-lys. The cup stands 16 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches high, and weighs 68 ozs. 5 dwts.

Four loving cups in silver, with covers frosted, each surmounted with a figure in armour, (said to be Mars,) ornamented with the arms of the company and of the donor, the first bears this inscription : "Charisma Martini Browne, Armigeri Nuper Senatoris Civitatis, Londinensis, & Praefecti Societatis, Barbitonsor et Chirurgor, 1653." The arms on the shield in the hand of the figure bears quarterly first and fourth three mullets, second and third a bugle horn between three escallop shells.

The second cup is engraved with this inscription : "Ex dono Thomae Bowdeni, Chirurgi et Iujus : Societatis Gubernatorum quarti, Anno Dni. 1654." On the figure's shield the bearings are quarterly, Argent and Gules, in the first quarter a lion passant guardant.

The third cup is inscribed : "The Guiſt of John Frederiche, Alderman, and of this Societie Master, Anno Dni. 1654;" the bearing on the shield thus, on a chief three falcons.

The fourth cup is engraved : "The Gift of Thomas Bell, Chirurgion, to the Worshipful Company of Barber-Chirurgions, London, July 28th. 1663." On the shield it has, on a chief three bells.

A silver flagon with the company's arms and those of the donor, "Thomas Collins, Artis Chirurgicæ professor peritissimus ut symbolum amoris venerabili Chirurgorum Societatae hoc donavit. The crest is a demi-griffin collared. The arms, on a bend three martlets within a bordure ermine, in the sinister quarter a crescent. Weight 55 ozs.†

A tankard and cover, the gift of T. Fothergill, 1662.

* Supremo ?

† Extracted from the Ironmongers' Company's Catalogue, pp. 4, 601, 602, 603.

Two rose water dishes. the gift of Robert Andrewes, 1663.
Weight 141 ozs. 14 dwts.

Four silver goblets, weighing 33 ozs. 17 dwts. These are the four goblets which were bought back of the thieves who robbed the company by breaking into the hall on the 8th November, 1615. On the 11th November Thomas Lyne, a notorious Westminster thief, did confess how that he was the plotter for breaking into this hall, and that the plate was carried to his house by the thieves, Thomas Jones, Nicholas Somes, and Walter Foster, and it was locked up in a trunk where, by Lyne's confession, it was found intact. Jones was captured shortly after, and, with Lyne, brought to Newgate, and were executed in December for this fact. In January following, 1616, Somes or Sames was taken and executed. These four goblets were presented by Edward Arris, who founded the Anisian Lecture.

A large silver tureen, the gift of Queen Anne, dated 1704, and weighing 160 ozs. in acknowledgment of the services rendered by the company in examining the surgeons for the army and the navy.

The ladle is of much later date, 1850, although the bowl of it contains a medal of the date of Anne, "The Sons of the Clergy."

Two beadle's staves heads, the arms and crest of the company, bear date 1710.

The waterman's badge, date 1735, bears the arms and crest of the company. Now (1881) that all water progresses of the Lord Mayor and City companies are done away with, and are "a thing of the past" there are no watermen attached to the company, and the badge is not used.*

A fine silver tea urn, date 1771, presented to the company by Mr. William Wood in 1790. He served the company as clerk.

Some fine sauce ladles, date 1766, and other table plate, forks, spoons, &c. of early date too numerous to mention, and not deserving special notice.

* This remark does not apply to the Vintners' or Dyers' Company. Both of these have a waterman attached to the company, whose duty it is to attend to the company on its progress of swan upping up the Thames.

Four garlands or crowns, worn by the master and wardens on election day. The master's cap is of crimson velvet, with gold tassels, with a silver band, bearing the arms, supporters, and crest on one of the engraved shields, together with the Tudor rose, crowned within a foliage of oak leaves and acorns which are gilt. Two of the warden's caps are made of crimson satin, and the third, of later date, is of green satin, all similar in form to the master's garland, but the silver mountings are without the supporters to the arms. One garland only bears the motto "De præscientia Dei."

In a glass case on the side-board there are some good specimens of so-called Lowestoft china. The ware itself is oriental. They consist of some cups and saucers, and a barber's shaving dish, with the side scooped out to fit the neck of the shaved, and thus prevent water from spilling over him during the operation of washing the chin and beard.

The Dutch, who for years had the exclusive permission, for one ship only, to visit Japan during the year, imported these articles, cups, dishes, plates, &c. to Holland, whence they were exported in all probability to Yarmouth, thence taken to Lowestoft, or more properly speaking to Gunton, where, about the year 1756, Mr. Hewlin Luson, of Gunton Hall, had established a manufacture of porcelain.*

Charities.

FERBRAS' CHARITY.—Mr. Robert Ferbras, Citizen and Barber-Surgeon, by his will, dated 2nd December, 1470, devised two freehold houses, in the parish of St. John, Walbrook, London, to the company, upon trust, after doing the repairs, to divide one moiety of the surplus among poor members of the company, which are

* Although his experiments did not succeed yet another factory was established in the following year by Messrs. Walker, Brown, Aldud, and Rickman. The greatest prosperity of these works was between the years 1770 and 1800, but in the year 1802 the works were abandoned and the stock sold. A portion of the factory is still standing. From certain pieces of Delft ware bearing inscriptions and dates as early as 1752 it is probable that that ware had been painted in this locality. It is easily told, as the blue colour is beneath the glaze and the red and gold painted on the glaze, therefore it can be felt. The ware is scarce and valuable.

distributed quarterly among twenty-eight poor freemen and widows.

N.B.—The above houses have been taken down and sold, and the proceeds invested in the purchase of a freehold house, No. 69, Leadenhall Street, and £264 15s. 10*l.* 3 per cent. consols, in the name of the Accountant-General of the Court of Chancery, in the matter of the London Improvement Acts, *ex parte* The Barbers' Company, which last named sum has been sold, and the proceeds, together with £115 8s. 8*d.* part of £150 cash, received by sale of an ancient light belonging to No. 69, Leadenhall Street, have been invested in the purchase of a freehold house, No. 57, Lansdowne Road, Notting Hill. There is also a sum of £75 consols belonging to this charity in the name of the company, being the proceeds of investments of balances in former years.

BANCKS' GIFT.—Mr. Thomas Bancks, by his will, dated the 15th October, 1595, gave to the company an annuity of *Twenty Shillings*, on condition that they should yearly distribute equally, amongst twelve poor people of the company, twelve twopenny loaves, six stone of beef, and two shillings in money. And Mr. John Bancks, his son, by indenture, dated the 20th May, 1619, also gave an annuity of *Twenty Shillings*, to be distributed in the same manner, and on the same day, as his father's charity.

N.B.—The company further increased this charity to one hundred and fifty pounds of beef, thirty-six threepenny loaves, and six shillings in copper money, which were yearly distributed equally amongst thirty-six poor members of the company, on the first Tuesday in May. This charity is now administered by the Mercers' Company, under an order of the Court of Chancery in the suit of Her Majesty's Attorney-General, Informant, against the Mercers' Company and others, Defendants. After sundry payments out of the improved rents and profits, one-seventh part of the residue was ordered to be paid to the Barbers' Company. The property consists of freehold property at Holloway, but the income has for some years been insufficient to pay the

expenses of the outlay incurred for making roads, &c., and there being due to the company a balance of £66 19s. 9d. the court, on 6th May, 1868, ordered payments to the pensioners to be discontinued until the position of the charity admitted of the same being renewed.

BAKER'S GIFT.—Mr. Alexander Baker, by his will, dated the 25th of September, 1835, gave to the company an annuity of *Three Pounds*, charged upon a freehold house, No. 195, Upper Thames Street, to be yearly distributed to six decayed freemen of the company, which is done on the first Tuesday in July.

MR. MICHAEL I'ANS' CHARITY.—Mr. Michael I'Ans, by his will, dated the 21st of August, 1759, gave to the company *Two Thousand Pounds*, the interest of which he directed to be applied and distributed amongst twenty poor liverymen's widows of the company. And Mr. John Driver, by his will, dated the 15th of February, 1810, gave the sum of *Twenty Pounds* to be applied in addition to the said gift.

N.B.—This fund, with accumulations, now consists of £4,759 18s. 7d. consols, the dividends of which are distributed half-yearly to twenty poor widows of liverymen of the company, on the first Tuesdays in February and August.

DECAYED LIVERYMEN'S FUND.—The Court of Assistants, by an order of the court, dated the 3rd day of June, 1823, set apart from the funds of the company the sum of *Nine Hundred Pounds*, Old South Sea Annuities, for the purpose of forming a fund for the relief of decayed liverymen of the company; the dividends whereof are distributed half-yearly amongst seven poor liverymen of the company, on the first Tuesdays in May and November.

N.B.—The Old South Sea Annuities having been paid off, the proceeds were invested in the purchase of a freehold house, No. 46, Church Street, Minories, and £56 4s. 2d. Long Annuities, since also paid off. The fund, with

accumulations, now consists of £298 18*s.* 8*d.* consols, and £100 Reduced Annuities (Mr. Skipper's gift). Also £477 9*s.* consols (Mr. Lawton's Gift).

Mr. THOMAS KIDDER, late one of the Court of Assistants of this company, by his will, dated the 18th of December, 1828, gave unto the master and wardens thereof *One Hundred Pounds*, 3 per cent. Consolidated Annuities, and directed the interest to be applied for the relief of one poor freeman's widow of the company for ever, on the first Tuesday in February and August.

Mr. THOMAS COTTRELL'S CHARITY.—Mr. Thomas Cottrell, by his will, dated 28th of January, 1833, gave to the Company *Three Thousand Three Hundred and Thirty-three Pounds Six Shillings and Eight Pence* 3 per cent. Consols, subject to the Legacy Duty, the dividends to be equally divided between twenty-five widows of decayed liverymen of the company, which are distributed on the first Tuesdays in February and August
N.B.—This fund, with accumulations, now consists of £3,100 consols.

Mr. WILLIAM LONG'S CHARITY.—Mr. William Long, by his will, dated 7th July, 1834, gave to the Company, *One Thousand Pounds* 3 per cent. Consolidated Bank Annuities, and he directed one moiety of the dividends thereof to be paid half-yearly unto so many of the poor liverymen as the Company should appoint to receive the same, and the other moiety thereof he directed to be paid half-yearly among twenty poor widows of liverymen of the Company, in like manner as Mr. Michael T'Ans' charity is disposed of.

N.B.—This fund, with accumulations, now consists of £1,045 consols.

Mr. MALCOLM DUNNETT'S CHARITY.—Mr. Malcolm Dunnett, by his will, dated 30th August, 1842, gave to the Company the sum of *Two Hundred Pounds* 3 per

cent. Reduced Annuities, to be applied by the Company for the support of decayed liverymen, preference being at all times given to the two senior liverymen of the Company who shall apply for relief, and be in addition to any other aid which they would otherwise be entitled to receive from any other charitable fund of the Company. This charity is distributed on the first Tuesdays in May and November.

MR. PETER SKIPPER'S CHARITY.—Mr. Peter Skipper, by his will, dated 25th of September, 1846, gave *One Hundred Pounds*, free of Legacy Duty, in aid of the Decayed Livery Fund, with which charity the amount is now amalgamated.

MR. PHILIP LAWTON'S CHARITY.—Mr. Philip Lawton, by his will, proved 13th August, 1856, gave *Five Hundred Pounds*, less Legacy Duty, upon trust, to pay the interest and dividends to poor decayed liverymen and freemen or their widows.

N.B.—This fund now consists of the sum of £477 9s. consols.

ALMS HOUSE FUND.—The court of assistants, by a resolution dated 7th August, 1855, established a fund for the erection and endowment of alms houses for decayed members of the Company and their widows.

N.B.—This fund now consists of the sum of £895, in 3 per cent. consols.

MR. JOHN ATKINSON'S CHARITIES.—Mr. John Atkinson, by deed dated 4th November, 1856, and enrolled, conveyed to the Company ten freehold houses, situate in Cross Keys Court and Half Moon Alley, Cripplegate, London, upon trust, to apply the rents and profits thereof in aid of the alms house fund. These houses have been taken by the Metropolitan Railway, and the purchase money was invested in the purchase of £998 12s. 3d. Consols in the name of the Accountant-

General of the Court of Chancery, in re Metropolitan Railway—ex-parte the Barbers' Company. The consols have been sold and the proceeds invested in the purchase of freehold houses, Nos. 53, 55, and 59, Lansdowne Road, Notting Hill.

MR. JOHN ATKINSON, on the 5th February, 1861, presented the sum of *One Hundred Pounds* Consols to the Company, the interest thereof to be employed in the purchase of bibles for distribution among the poor members of the Company.

MR. JOHN ATKINSON, by his will, dated 30th of August, 1858, bequeathed the residue of his personal estate to trustees therein named, upon trust, after the death of his wife, daughter, brother, sister, and nephews, to transfer the stocks, funds, and securities whereon the same should be invested to the master and governors of the Company, upon trust, to found and establish an institution to be called "The Barbers' Asylum," the interest thereof to be applied for the lodging, maintenance, and education of the poor members of the Company and their widows and children.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE BUSINESS OF ALDERMAN
EDWARD BACKWELL, GOLDSMITH AND BANKER
IN THE 17TH CENTURY.

By F. G. HILTON PRICE, F.S.A.

In giving a sketch of the business of this goldsmith and banker, I regret to find that very little is known of his antecedents, further than that he was descended from an ancient family of the name, who were settled at Backwell in Somersetshire. The first information we can glean of him is that he was a goldsmith of high repute keeping running cashes in Lombard Street early in the days of the Commonwealth; how much earlier his business existed we are at present unable to state.

His shop was at the south end of Exchange Alley, next Lombard Street, and after the Great Fire we have more authentic evidence of its position. From a deed of sale, a copy of which I have been favoured with by Mr. T. C. Noble, who possesses the original, it is there stated that Alderman Backwell's house was known by the name and sign of the "Unicorne," being situated upon the north side of Lombard Street

between y^e Grasshopper, the bank of Messrs. Martin and Co., and a house then known as the “Whitehorse,” on the west side of it, which is now probably No. 70. This house was, in 1702, in the occupation of James St. John, and was shortly afterwards in the possession of Messrs. Knight and Jackson, bankers. This tenement backed upon Garraway’s coffee-house on the north. Before proceeding with my account, it may interest many to know the particulars of the house as narrated in the deed before cited: viz.—

That messuage or tenement with the appurtenances situate and being in Lombard Street, in the Parish of St. Mary Woolnoth, London, commonly known or called by the name or sign of the Unicorn, now or late in the tenure or occupation of Henry Lambe or his assigns, abutting on a messuage now in the possession of Andrew Stone called y^e Grasshopper on the East, another messuage late in the possession of James S^{t.} John called y^e Whitehorse on the West, upon Lombard Street aforesaid on the South, and upon part of Garraway’s Coffee-house on the North. Which messuage or tenement mentioned to contain these several rooms following (that is to say) a cellar on the first story, a shop and back shop, and with drawing-room on the second story, a dyning-room, a little parlor and kitchen on the third story, two chambers on the fourth story, four garret chambers on the fifth story, and a little room or turrett upon the leads over the same, &c.

It would appear from the foregoing account that the premises in the basement of the house were used as the strong rooms, and that the shop was on the ground floor, for such is the interpretation I am inclined to put upon the meaning of the term—first story. It is so far evident that all the lower part of the house was used for business purposes, otherwise

we should not find the kitchen on the second story.

This house was no doubt considered to be very extensive and perfect as a house of business. The Alderman made some very important alterations at the back of his bank in 1663—which we gather from the following entry in Pepys' diary on the 3rd July in that year:—

Thence to the Change, and meeting Sir J. Minnes there, he and I walked to look upon Backwell's design of making another alley from his shop through over against the Exchange door, which will be very noble and quite put down the other two.

Granger gives the following character of Backwell:—

He was a banker of great ability, industry, integrity, and very extensive credit. With such qualifications he, in a trading nation, would, in the natural event of things, have made a fortune, except in such an age as that of Charles the Second, when the laws were overborne by perfidy, violence, and rapacity ; or in an age when bankers become gamesters, instead of merchant adventurers ; when they affect to live like princes, and are with their miserable creditors drawn into the prevailing vortex of luxury. Backwell carried on his business in the same shop which was afterwards occupied by Child.

As to the character of Alderman Backwell I will not offer any comments, further than to substantiate what is above written—as from Pepys's Diary the same impression is given of him—but I entirely deny that he ever occupied the “same shop which was afterwards occupied by Child,” as it is well known the Alderman carried on his trade at the Unicorn in Lombard Street,

and Child at the Marygold in Fleet Street, at the same time. Child's daughter married one of Backwell's sons, and took over many of his customers upon his failing, together with his ledgers, which may be the reason of the assertion.

In a letter of Horace Walpole to George Montagu, Esq., December 14th, 1769, he says:—

If you retain any connections with Northampton I should be much obliged to you if you would procure from thence a print of Alderman Backwell. It is valuable for nothing but its rarity, and is not to be met with but there. I would give eight or ten shillings rather than not have it.

This letter proves, that, among most other matters, Walpole was interested in Backwell; he might have been aware that some of his ancestors kept account with him.

I give a copy of a print of one of these portraits in the beginning of this paper.

Edward Backwell was elected Alderman of the Ward of Bishopsgate on the 31st January, 1657. Very little is known of him in the civic capacity of Alderman, as during those troublous times men were frequently elected and did not serve for political or other reasons.

The first mention of Backwell that I have met with was in the extracts from the State papers, which are quoted by Mr. H. W. Henfrey in his excellent work "Numismata Cromwelliana." I make a few excerpts from that work as bearing upon the subject, and going far to prove that Mr. Backwell was in high position and reputation as a banker in the year 1656. In some

of the State Papers his name appears jointly occasionally with Sir Thomas Viner, another very eminent goldsmith. I do not consider they were in partnership together, but simply that they undertook large contracts for the Commonwealth jointly. In another place I have given a description of Sir Thomas Viner and of his son, Sir Robert, who was also a celebrated Lord Mayor.

From "Numismata Cromwelliana":—

The Council's intentions of using bullion from Portugal, and of coining it in the Tower, were altered by subsequent orders. It was next purposed to make use of bullion supplied by Edward Backwell, a goldsmith and banker of London, as we learn from another order of the Council:—

Thursday, 11th September, 1656, a.m.—Whereas it was ordered on the 19th day of Augt. last, y^t a quantity of Portugall money to the value of two thousand pounds sterl^gs should be coyned in his Highness' Mint, at y^e Tower, by Peter Blondeau ; Ordered, That, instead thereof, two thousand pounds of y^e bullion that is to (be) brought in by Mr. Backwell be coyned by the sayd Mr. Blondeau.—(Page 384, Entry Book, No. 105.)

Ordered, That for accomodateing Mr. Peter Blondeau in coyning two thousand pounds, p^t of the Bullion that shalbe brought into the Mynt by Mr. Edward Backwell, the Wardens of the Mynt, at the Tower, doe putt the sayd Peter Blondeau in poss'ion of that house in the Tower, wherin M^{sieur} Briott did form'ly worke; And that the sayd M^{sieur} Blondeau be authorized to make use of such Forges, Tooles, and Utensills, as are already in the s'd House, and of such other Tooles and Instrum^{ts} in the Tower as are necessary or usefull for his Coyning of y^e sayd money; and Mr. Symon, y^e Graver of his Highness Mynt and Seales, is authorized and required to prepare the Dice, wth such stamps and Inscript^{ns} as shalbe thought fitting."—(Page 385, Entry Book, No. 105.)

In Feb. 1656—the Two thousand pounds value of Spanish money, w^{ch} lately came from Portsmouth, & for w^{ch} S^r Thomas Vynor and Mr. Backwell have contracted wth the State, be deliv'red to Mr. Peter Blondeau for coinage into the milled money with Cromwell's head.

The Protector and his Council made a contract with Sir Thomas Viner and Edward Backwell, goldsmiths of London, by which the whole of the Spanish prize bullion was disposed of to these merchants at fixed rates. On the 31st October Viner and Backwell made this agreement, and they state, in a Petition of the 6th January, 1656-7, that before the latter date they had paid £130,000 into the Exchequer on account of this bullion.

The greater part of the silver was melted and assayed at the expense of the contractors, Viner and Backwell, who afterwards had it coined into English money at the Tower Mint, also at their own charge; but a small portion was exported. For the accommodation of a large sum paid into the Exchequer immediately on the arrival of the bullion, the Government allowed the contractors a profit of one farthing an ounce on the silver, besides allowance for waste in the melting, &c. See Henfrey's *Numismata Cromwelliana*.

The usual rate of interest charged by Alderman Backwell in the days of the Commonwealth was 6 per cent., but this varied much from time to time, as at the present day, as occasionally it is shown that he only charged at the rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and at others as much as 7 and even 10 per cent. was debited for money. As an example the following is taken from one of his ledgers.

ffor interest of Mr. ffrost's 100 lb. from 4th
March, 1657, to the 04th March, 1658 006 : 00 : 00

It would appear that a banker's business at this period was not restricted to goldsmithry and money, for in 1658, in the account of one Vincent Delabar, he is credited by "charges and provision of 356 elephants' teeth as per your bill" *lb.074 : 10 : 06.*

This astute alderman was paymaster and treasurer of the Dunkirk garrison, in fact, all the money expended in that town was supplied by Backwell by order of the Exchequer, and he likewise had through his hands the onerous and profitable affair of receiving the money for the sale of that town to the French.

During the period of the Protectorate he was usually paid by Exchequer tallies, but in February 1659, a very unusual mode of receiving payment is recorded in his books, *viz.*, "Of the Committee of Parliament by old plate, 1529 : ii : 03."

It will be seen from the following bills which I give *in extenso* that the ordinary price of silver in Oliver Cromwell's time was 5*s.* 6*d.* and 5*s.* 7*d.* per ounce.

The heading of the first bill I opine to be a mistake, as there does not appear to have been a Viscount Faulconbridge; it is probably intended for Thomas Belasyse, 2nd Viscount Fauconberg, who married secondly 18th Nov., 1657, at Hampton Court, Mary, daughter of the Protector Cromwell. His lordship was made one of the Council of State, and sent the next year, by his father-in-law, with a complimentary message to the Court of Versailles. This was the only employment Lord Fauconberg had under the usurper;

for, as Lord Clarendon relates, "his domestic delights were lessened every day; he plainly discovered that his son's, Fauconberg, heart was set upon an interest destructive to his; and grew to hate perfectly."

Del^{d.}. to y^e Right Hon^{ble}. y^e Lord Viscount falconbridge, viz.:

		lb.	s.	d.
Dec. 14.—A doz. of Sweete meat spoons, 5oz. 7dwt., at 5s. 1d. p. oz. & 14d.				
a p ^r . for y ^e making	-	002	01	03
Mar. 9.—2 Eare rings of gold	-	000	05	06
1659.				
Mar. 30.—A doz. of frute Dishes weg. 491 $\frac{3}{4}$ oz. at 5s. 8d. p. oz. -	-	139	06	07
For graving 12 Arms w th Crownetts verie large	-	001	04	00
April 11.—A doz. of Trencher plates, the big st w ^d 215 : 14 at 5 : 6 p. oz. -	-	059	06	03
6 lesser Trencher plates 97 oz. 3 dwt. at 5s. 6d. per oz. -	-	026	14	03
A peper box & musterd pott & spoones wey. 17 oz. 01 dwt. 12 grs. at 5s. 2d. p. oz. & 26 fashon -	-	005	14	03
A Suger box, 45 oz. 17 dwt. 12 grs. at 5s. 7d. p. oz. -	-	012	16	00
2 Poringers, 21 : 09 at 5s. 7d. p. oz.	005	19	09	
3 Tumblers, 27 : 18 at 5s. 7d. p oz..	007	15	09	
A Fish ure, 36 : 14 at 5s. 6d. p. oz.	010	01	10	
A Cann, 39 : 13 : 12 at 5s. 4d. p. oz. for boyling & burnishing 4 bottles &	010	11	07	
mending one bottle -	-	000	08	00
for graving 32 Armes w th Crownetts & palmes at 18d. A peece	-	002	08	00
		<u>£</u> 284	13	00

Lord Jones, Dr. to E. Backwell.

		lb.	s.	d.
1658.	Sep. 5.—In gold	-	040	00 00
1658.	Jan. 20.—one fruit Dish 27 oz. at 5s. 6d.	-	007	08 06
	for boyleing and burnishing a fruit dish and Caudle Cup and cover	-	000	01 00
	Jan. 25.—ffour fruit Dishes 126 oz. 2 dwt. at 5s. 6d.	-	034	12 06
	feb. 18.—A deep bason—44.18 oz. at 5s. 6d.	-	012	07 00
	for graueing 12 Armes	-	000	09 00
	Rec ^d . a possett pott 55 oz. 04 dwt. at 5s. 1d.	-	094	18 00
		-	014	00 07
			£080	17 05

1656. Ditto Dr. viz.:

Sept. 5.—for Exr. of 40 lb. in gold	-	003	00	00
for Int. of 1000 lb. May '57 to January	-	037	00	00
for Int. of 40 lb. for 2½ years	-	006	00	00
			£046	00 00

1658.—His Hignes Richard Lord Protector
Dr. to Edward Backwell.

ffor the loane of plate to entertaine the ffrench Ambassador	-	004	00	00
ffor a Trencher salt cost	-	000	10	00
ffor 6 meat forkes to Mr. Kinros	-	002	08	00
		£006	18 00	

Barrington, Esqr., Auditor to his Highnes,
Dr. to Edward Backwell.

1657.		lb.	s.	d.
March 25.—ffor 15 lb. in gold	- - -	015	00	00
25.—Paid Mr. Christopher Lovett	-	050	00	00
ffor a paire of rare chast flagons,				
74 oz. 07 dwts. at 5s. 6d.	-	020	08	11
		085	08	11

An accompt of moneys due from the State to Edward Backwell, not comprehended in the Dunkirke Accompt, vizt:—

1657.		lb.	s.	d.
March 09.—ffor 2 chaines of gold, one for the Envoy of the Prince Palatine of the Rhine, and the other to the Resident of Portugall	- - - -	202	15	. 00
1658.				
May 26.—ffor 59 watermen's badges	-	347	. 06	. 00
June 24.—ffor a warrant upon Mr. ffrost from Oliver Lord Protector for 16 loads of hay and 230 spars with freight and other expenses d'd the ffort of Mardike 104lb. of w th hath been paid 50lb. to rest		054	. 00	. 00
September 1.—Paid Mr. Dunbar for a jewell given y ^e Envoy from the ffrench King	- - - -	350	. 00	. 00
ffor interest of this to the ix th of March, 1659, from y ^e 6 th of July, 1658, y ^e time y ^e money was disbursht	- - - -	035	. 03	. 00
October 09.—ffor a warrant upon Mr. ffrost from Richard Lord Protector				

	lbs.	s.	d.
for 3 Load of hay and 40 cobs of pease did the fort of Markike the sume of - - - -	037	10	00
ffor the ffashion of 1,000 lb. in Plate ix th March, 1659	- 090	00	00
	<u>iii</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>: 14 : 05</u>

In the foregoing account there is an entry under date of September for a jewell to the French Envoy. It may be a matter of interest to give verbatim the words of the Privy Seale to Edward Backwell for that jewel. It is as follows:—

Richard, by y^e Grace of God Lord Protector of the Comon-wealth of England, Scotland & Ereland and y^e Dominions & Territoryes thereunto belonging, to the Com^{rs} of our Treāry and other the Officers and Ministers of our Exchequer att Westm^r to whom our Lřes shall apperteyne and to eury of them greeting. According to the advice of our privy Counsell expressed in their order of the second of September in this last yeare of our Lord God one thousand six hundred fifty eight, Our will and pleasure is, and wee hereby command you that out of such our Treasure as is or shall be remaing in the receipt of our said Excheq^r you forthwith pay or cause to bee paid unto Edward Backwell, citizen and goldsmith of our City of London, or his assignes the sume of three hundred and fifty pounds of Lawfull mony of England in sattisfaction of three hundred forty-five pounds by him disbursed on the sixth of July last past for a Jewell given by our most dear and entirely beloved father Oliver, late Lord Protector, of glorious memory, upon envoye unto him sent with a letter from his Maj^{tie} the french King signifieing the surrender for Durkirke, and five pounds for his paines, of the said Edward Backwell, together with the Jewell for the said three hundred forty & five pounds, untill the said three hundred & fifty pounds shall be paid and y^t without accompt impressed or other charge

to bee therefore sett upon him, and for soe doeing this o^r L^{rs} or the enrollem^t thereof shall be your sufficient warrant & discharge in this behalfe. Given under our privy seale at our pallace at Westm^r the one and twentieth day of September in the yeare of our Lord one thousand six hundred fifty-eight.

Between the 28th April 1659 and the 28th March 1660 Backwell received from the Exchequer the sum of £43,067 5s. 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. for the maintenance of the garrison of Dunkirk ; on the 7th May, 1660, his account was audited by the public auditor of the Exchequer, and found correct.

I will now append a copy of a Privy Seale to Alderman Backwell for £3,230 he sent to Dunkirk by order of the Protector Richard Cromwell.

RICHARD, by the Grace of God Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Dominions and Territoryes thereunto belonging, to the Com^{rs} of our Treasury and others of the Officers and Ministers of our Exchequer at Westm^r to whom these our L^{rs} shall appertaine and to euery of them greeting. By the advice of our Privy Counsell expressed in their order of the 26 Aprill in the present yeare of our Lord 1659, Our will and pleasure is and wee hereby require and command you, that out of our Treassure as is all shall be remaining (*sic*) in the receipt of your said Exchequer you forthwith satisfy and pay or cause to be paid unto Edward Backwell, Cittizen and Goldsmith of London, or his assignees, the sume of three thousand two hundred and thirty pounds of lawfull mony of England, in satisfaction of the mony by him transmitted to Dunkirk for the supply of o^r garrison there with four hundred pounds by the week for eight months by o^r command, and y^t the said sume bee soe paid unto him as wee have commanded without accompt imprest or other charge, to be

therefore sett upon him, and for soe doing these our L̄es or the Inrollments thereof shall bee yo^r warrants.

Given under o^r Privy Seale at o^r pallace of Westm^r the 25 Aprill, 1659.

Inrolled the 3rd May, 1659.

Inrolled in the Office of the Rolls
the 14 May, 1659.

Judging from the accounts in the old ledgers now in possession of Messrs. Child and Co., Edward Backwell was a goldsmith and banker in a large way of business, and amongst the large number of his customers were those of the Commonwealth of England, the King, the Queen Mother, the Duke of York, the Duchess of Orleans, the Prince Rupert, Prince of Orange, the Earl of Clarendon, Earl of Sandwich, Countess of Castlemaine, Samuel Pepys, The Farmers of the Customs, Excise, Royal Mint, several City Companies, the East India Company, all the other goldsmiths and bankers, large merchants, nobility and gentry—many of which were simply deposit accounts, upon which interest was given at fourteen days' notice, one month's notice, &c. The account of the East India Company was a large one; prior to the year 1670 it appears to have been kept under the name of Michael Dunkin, but in this year the account is headed “East India Company.”

This account appears to have been credited by sums of money paid in by merchants, such as Michael Dunkin, G. Rodriquez, John Houlton of Threadneedle Street, Fransia, Peter Barr of Austin Friars, Da Costa, Alderman Bathurst and Co., Claude Hayes of Fenchurch Street, Vanderputt, Alderman

Allington, Frederick and Co. of Old Jewry, &c.; and various bankers, such as G. Snell, Thomas Row, Thomas Kirwood, Sir Robert Vyner, Hinton and Co., &c., &c., paid in their shares of ventures to the East Indies.

The debits were for the most part to the merchants and goldsmiths, and to captains of vessels who undertook the enterprises, and for gold and silver bullion.

To give an idea of the receipts, from March, 1670, to 1671, they amounted to £237,900. During the months of September, October, November, and December in 1670, they amounted to £190,258 5s. 8d., of which sum £175,000 remained in Backwell's hands until the March following, when that sum and more (which had been paid in) was laid out in the purchase of bullion.

The East India Company was in the habit of making the following yearly gifts to Backwell :—

25	pounds	of pepper.
2	„	nutmegs.
1	„	mace.
1	„	cloves.
1	„	cinnamon.

All the leading goldsmiths keeping running cashes had an account with Backwell, and, from the nature of the accounts I have had the opportunity of examining, I should consider they were for the purposes of clearing.

Shortly after the Restoration Alderman Backwell was accused of fraud, as in the Record Office we find a petition from John Peart and Philip Bell, stating that on the proclamation of August, 1660, they sued

John and Edward Backwell before the Commissioners in the Savoy, for defrauding and concealing vast sums from his Majesty ; but the latter, to prevent proceedings, imprisoned Peart upon a false plea of debt, and offered Bell £300 to forbear to assist him, whereby the said frauds were pardoned. They, therefore, beg an order that the said Backwells pay them for the six years' prosecution (to December, 1666), and self-defence. Peart, it was alleged, could prove that £40,000 a-year of the Crown lands were detained and unlawfully concealed.

This was probably a false accusation, as nothing further was known of it.

A considerable amount of information is culled from the diary of Samuel Pepys, Secretary to the Admiralty, who had a great deal of business with Backwell from time to time, occasionally upon his own account in the way of purchasing plate, &c., but more generally upon behalf of his chief, the Earl of Sandwich, upon public affairs of the Navy, and upon his Lordship's private exigencies.

The first instance of his visiting the Alderman was on the 23rd June, 1660, when he writes, "With him (Chetwind) to London, changing all my Dutch money at Backwell's for English." On the 4th July following, he again "visited Mr. Backwell, the goldsmith, where I took my Lord's £100 in plate for Mr. Secretary Nicholas, and my own piece of plate, being a state dish and cup in chased work for Mr. Coventry, cost me above £19."

Pepys appears to have frequently made presents to various people who served him a good turn—it was

the fashion then to bribe. On the 24th Dec. he writes, "I went and chose a paire of candlesticks to be made ready for me at Alderman Backwell's." On the 27th he called again and found them done. He did not appear to be content with them, for on the 29th Dec. we find the following in his diary :—

Thence to Alderman Backwell's and took a brave state-plate and cupp in lieu of the candlesticks that I had the other day, and carried them by coach to my Lords, and left them there.

The next notice of the Alderman in Pepys's Diary is on the 15th April, 1661, when he went to Alderman Backwell's and drew out £200, and laid it up at home. This sum was a little short of half his fortune at that time. It was not at all an uncommon thing for Pepys to get nervous and withdraw his balances from Backwell's, Colvill's, or Stoke's.

In February, 1663, Pepys

Called at Alderman Backwell's, and there changed Mr. Falconer's State cup, that he did give us the other day, for a fair tankard. The cup weighed with the fashion £5 16s., and another little cup that Joyce Norton did give us, 17s., both £6 13s., for which we had a tankard, which came to £6 10s., at 5s. 7d. per oz., and 3s. in money.

10th June, 1661.—By and by, out with Mr. Shepley, Walden, Parliament man for Huntingdon, Rolt, Mackworth, and Ald. Backwell, to a house hard by, to drink Lambeth ale.

12th June.—Having been again to Lambeth to have his morning draught, went to Whitehall, where I met my Lord, who told me he must have £300 laid out in cloth, to give in Barbary, as presents among the Turkes.

So on the 13th he went to Alderman Backwell's before he or his servants were up, so went home

again and put on his grey cloth suit and faced white coate, made of one of his wife's petticoates, the first time he had it on, and so in a riding garbe back again, and spoke with Mr. Shaw at the Alderman's, who offers £300 if my Lord Sandwich pleases to buy this cloth with. So he returned to the wardrobe and got an order from Mr. Creed to imprest so much upon him to be paid by Alderman Backwell. On the 15th he took the £300 home with him from Ald. Backwell's.

A warrant was issued from Southampton House on 5th November, 1661, stating that tallies were struck upon the moiety of excise for the sum of £19,700 in September last, directing that sum to be paid over to Sir John Shaw, Knight, and Edward Backwell, Esq., Treasurer and Paymaster of Dunkirk, to be by them remitted for the supply of the garrison there.

Another privy seal was issued 21st October, 1661, in their favour for £26,156 for the pay of the garrison of Dunkirk. A few days later a similar privy seal was issued for £3,500 for one month's pay of Her Majesty's troops at Mardike. At this time it was thought necessary to increase the strength of the garrison of Dunkirk, and a warrant was issued to Sir Robert Pye to the effect that it should consist of 4,400 soldiers, besides officers, and six troops of horse, consisting of 300 troopers besides officers, the monthly charge whereof together with the pay of the Governor and trained officers, shall be £8,718 13*s.* 4*d.* per month of twenty-eight days, which money was to be paid monthly into the hands of Sir John Shaw and Edward Backwell, the Treasurer and Paymaster, to be remitted to the Governor of Dunkirk.

In December, 1661, Backwell was ordered by royal warrant to pay £2,888 4s. for the pay of the Irish Regiment of foot then in Flanders, consisting of ten companies, each company not exceeding fifty men, besides officers, under the command of Lord Taafe at Mardike.

It was found necessary to remit foreign specie to Dunkirk for the use of the garrison, so in April, 1662, we find a royal warrant was issued commanding the officers of the Customs to permit Sir John Shaw and Alderman Backwell to transport such foreign coins as might be necessary free of custom charges.

The sale of Dunkirk was greatly condemned by people of all ranks, but as it was a great expense to maintain, and the Exchequer was usually empty, and in case of a war it was feared by Clarendon that they could not hold it, he therefore advised the King to dispose of it to the French. We have already seen what the cost of its maintenance was. Hume states that the English demanded £900,000 for it, but that it was eventually disposed of for £400,000. This sum can hardly be reconciled with a royal warrant, directing Alderman Backwell to repair to France to receive 2,500,000 livres for the sale of Dunkirk, besides 2,000,000 livres to be paid in Paris, thus making 4,500,000 livres in all, equivalent in our money, taking the livre at the value of a franc, to £180,000.

It is quite possible that Vyner or some other goldsmith had instructions to receive a like sum from the French king, or that the livre was worth more than 10d., as Temple, who was Vyner's head man, told

Pepys that £350,000 sterling of the Harp and Cross money was coined out of the French money, the proceeds of the sale of Dunkirk. He further stated that the king did pawn the French money for £350,000.

As the warrant giving directions to Alderman Backwell for the receipt of the Dunkirk money is of an interesting nature, I give it in full:—

CHARLES R.

Whereas by a Treaty betweene us and our good Brother the Most Christian Kinge wee are to receive two millions of livres, which is to be counted at Paris and from thence carried to the sea side to be shipp'd for England in some of our ships for our use, and whereas by the same Treaty Three millions of livres more were to be paid in Two yeares by severall payments, w^{ch} now by a contract made with Mouns. Hering, marchant (and warranted by the Count Destrades) is reduced unto the sume of Two millions & five hundred thousand livres to be paid at Paris and one hundred and fifty-four thousand livres at London w^{ch} is already sermed (?) herewth sume is received in lieu of the whole Three millions of livres in regard of y^e Recompense & compensation for the advance thereof and of the carriage to the sea side; These are to require & authorize you our Trusty & welbeloved Edw^d Backwell Esq^r to repaire to Paris and by vertue of these credentialls to apply yo^rself unto the said Mouns. Hering (who was acquainted with this your Employment whilst he was here at London, that by him you may be introduced to the officers of his said most Xtian Maj^{tie} as the person authorized and appointed by us) whereunto this is to give you a full Comission to see both the Two Millions payable by his Most Christian Maj^{ty} and the two Millions and five hundred thousand livres payable by the said Sieur Herin to be justly and truly told and counted, and put up into such a state and condition as may make it fitt for carriage, and then to attend it untill it be shiped

in the Ships w^{ch} wee shall appoint for the transport thereof at such Port as our Dearest Brother the Duke of York will give you notice of, and in the execution of this service you are to use all care, dilligence, and circumspection that these moneys you receive be good, true, and current money both as to weight and goodness, which is expected from you even at your owne hazard. And therefore you have hereby command and Liberty to refuse any money you doubt, or in case it be pressed upon you as good then for your own security to make any tryll thereof you thinke best by cuttinge the same or otherwise. And herein you are to make all speed you can, possibly, and to advertise our Heigh Trēar of England what you finde may conduce to this service Soe that by and by that the answers & returnes that shall be made unto yo^u bringe noe delay upon this important Service w^{ch} is intrusted unto yo^u upon the great confidence wee have of yr experience judgment and good affection yo^u have to our service. And as a p'son thus quallified & thus intrusted wee desire all, All the Ministers and officers of his s^d most Xtian Maj^y to look upon yo^u & to give yo^r credit accordingly And we require all our owne officers & serv^{ts} to give yo^u all assistance. Given at o^r Court at Whitehall the 20th of Oct^r 1662 in the fourteenth yeare of o^r Raigne. By his Maj^{ties} Co^mnd,

Wm. MORRISE.

Count Destrades took possession of the town in the name of Louis XIV. on the 29th November, 1662.

On the 14th September, 1667, the King granted Alderman Backwell as a free gift the sum of fifteen hundred pounds as he was put to considerable expense and inconvenience in taking his family and servants to France, when he had to receive the sum of 4,500,000 livres from the Ministers of his dear brother the French King for the sale of the town of Dunkirk. It appears strange that this payment was delayed until five years after the sale, but I presume it was some

years before all the money was received and coined into English money.

The King requiring £20,000 on the 6th December, 1662, for the use of the Navy, Alderman Backwell was desired to make that loan to his Majesty upon the security of so many boxes of Dunkirk money in his name at the Royal Mint within the Tower of London, and to hold them until the loan could be paid off. A privy seal was issued on 6th December, 1662, by the Lord Treasurer to the officers of the Mint, authorising them to deliver the said boxes to Backwell.

It was at this date that the milled coinage was introduced and carried out by Blondeau, who was sent for from Paris to coin the French money by the mill and press, which Backwell found afterwards so deadly inconvenient for telling.

The following is the warrant issued by the Lords of the Treasury to the master and worker of the Mint to coin the French money by the new and improved process:—

Whereas wee have by his Maj^{ties} command and directions appointed Aldⁿ Edward Backwell to deliver forthwith unto you one hundred chests of his Maj^{ties} moneyes lately received by him in France, and at present for better security lodged in his Maj^{ties} office of Receipt in the Mint, under your care and inspection, which said chests are to contayne five hundred thousand crowns of silver in number : Wee did therefore think fitt to acquaint you therewith that you might make due preparations for the coininge, tellinge, and weighinge of the s^d five hundred thousand ffrench crownes wherein you are carefully and to the best of yo^r art and knowledge to examine them as to counterfeits, the said Ald. Backwell being to answer and to make good all

such unto his Maj^{tie}, you are for his satisfacōn to cause all the s^d crownes (such only excepted as shall appear to be counterfeit) to be melted downe into clean Ingots, to weigh them and to assay them in the presence of the s^d Ald. Backwell or such other pson or ps ons as he shall depute and intrust therein. And accordingly, yo^u are to give him a receipt w^{ch} shall be a sufficient discharge unto him for the same and likewise to let you know his Maj^{ties} express will and command is that you loose noe tyme in the despatch of this affaire. Now, in the coininge of the silver by the Mill and Press as soon as it can be reduced into Standard and made fitt for coyne, and in case you shall not be provided with a sufficient number of iron pots, ingot molds, counter corners, and other necessaries for the first meltinge, yo^u are to cause them immediately to be made and to bring the wast and all charges in the s^d mint upon Att^t unto his Maj^{ty} that an allowance may be made thereof out of the s^d silver when it shall be converted into current money, and the Controller of the Mint and the Surveyor of the meltings are desired to be assisting unto the Masters herein.

S. SOUTHAMPTON,
ASHBY.

Southampton House, 12th Xemb., 1662.

To Sir Ralph Freeman, Knt., and
H. Slingsby, Esq., Master and
Worker of his Maj^{ties} Mint wth in
the Tower of London

Then follows a certificate signed by the Master and Deputy Master of the Royal Mint, stating that a certain amount of bullion had been brought in by Backwell and coined into current money of England.

These are to certify that there hath been brought into his Majestie's Mint within the Tower of London, and entered there in the name of Edwd. Backwell, Esq., from 13th May, 1662, in Standard Gold Bullion, (196 ^{lbs} 3 ^{oz} 7 ^{dwt}s 9 ^{grs}) One hundred ffourscore and sixteene pounds weight, three ounces, seaven penny-weight and nine grains, w^{ch} makes in money by Tale accordinge to his Maj^{ties} Proclamation Eight thousand ffive hundred fourscore and

foure pounds two pence (8584 : 2). And likewise there hath beene brought into his Maj^{ties} mint, and entered there in the name of the s^d Edwd. Backwell, Esq., from the tenth day of June, 1662, unto the 16 of January following, in Standard Silver Bullion, Tenn thousand ffive hundred ffifty and eight pounds weight, which maketh in money by Tale Thirty-two thousand six hundred and ninety and eight pounds sixteene shillings. The Totall of both beinge ffifty one thousand two hundred eighty two pounds sixteen shillings and two pence (£41,282 16s. 2d). Dated 23rd Jan. 1663.

H. SLINGSBY.

JA. HOARE.

From His Maj^{ties} Office of Receipt in the
Mint within the Tower of London.

Let this certificate be entered with the Farmers of His Maj^{ties}
Excise and Ald. Backwell's bonds thereupon.

South'ton house, 4th Feb. 1662. T. SOUTHAMPTON.

We find by a certificate signed by the Comptrollers of the Royal Mint that 140,000 French crowns which were received from Dunkirk and deposited in the name of Edward Backwell were melted down and yielded £30,577 11s. 10d. sterling.

In Samuel Pepys's account in one of Alderman Backwell's ledgers for 1664 is the following entry, which, strange to say, does not appear in his Diary.

27 Oct. 1 gilt flagon wey 66 oz. at 6s. 4d. per oz. £20 18s.

17 Nov. ditto 65 oz. 14 dwt. at 6s. 4d. per oz.
£20 16s. 2d.

On the 26th October of that year he makes the following remark:—

By and by I out of doors to look after the flaggon, to get it ready to carry to Woolwich. By and by the flaggon finished at the burnishers, and home, and there fitted myself, and took a hackney coach I hired, it being a very cold and foule day, to Woolwich. . . . At Woolwich, I there up to the King and Duke, and they liked the plate well.

This must refer to the flagon he purchased at Back-

well's, and which was charged to his account the next day.

The money for the purchase of these flagons was placed to his credit by Mr. Fenn on 11th January, 1664.

11th July, 1665.—To the evening 'Change, and there hear all the town full that Alderman Backwell did go with £50,000 to Ostend, it being delivered to us.

But Pepys doubted the truth of this. On the 21st Pepys wanted £10,000 on his tallies, but A. Backwell was at sea, so he went to Colville's and Viner's. The next day he found the rumour was true; the alderman had gone over to Ostend, and that it was in our possession. But he remarks,

It is strange to see how poor Alderman Backwell is like to be put to it in his absence, Mr. Shaw, his right hand, being ill. And the alderman's absence gives doubts to people, and I perceive they are in great straits for money, besides what Sir G. Carteret told me fourteen days ago.

On 26th July poor Robin Shaw at Backwell's died, and Backwell himself now in Flanders. The king himself asked about Shaw, and being told he was dead, said he was very sorry for it. Backwell returned from Flanders early in Dec^r 1665. Feb. 1, 1665-6 to Backwell's to set all my reckonings straight there, which I did, and took up all my notes.

I have not been able to ascertain who Mrs. Backwell was, but she was a pretty woman, as recorded by Pepys in his diary, as under date 29th May, 1662. He states, that on his way in Lombard Streete, Alderman Backwell called out of window to him, where he went and saluted his lady, a very pretty woman. In another place he speaks of her as being a fine lady, and in another, a fine woman of the country, which latter term may imply that she was a country woman.

Pepys, seeing her in church, beckoned her to come

into his pew, which she did, and he again remarked that she was a noble fine woman and a good one, and one he should like his wife to be acquainted with ; but, when they did call upon them in Lombard Street, he was disappointed at finding her a proud vain glorious woman, very fond of talking of her riches and expenses, and the number of servants they kept.

In these days there was no cessation of business. Banks were not open for restricted periods from 9 to 4 as now, but the banker of that time apparently never lost the opportunity of transacting his business. This I gather from the following entry in Pepys's diary of the 5th June, 1662. He was dining at home when he was "summoned by note from Mr. Moore to Alderman Backwell's to see some thousands of my lord's crusados weighed, and we find that 3000 come to about £530 or 40 generally. In the evening with Mr. Moore to Backwell's with another 1200 crusados, and saw them weighed, and so home and to bed."

On the 23rd November, 1663, Pepys was with Backwell talking of the new money; which he believes will never be counterfeited: "but it is so deadly inconvenient for telling; it is so thick, and the edges are made to turn up." This is a proof that the new milled money was not in great favour when it was first introduced; but I should say that we now should prefer telling it to the miserably thin hammered money of the previous reigns. The Alderman's counter must have been very imperfect, as in his account for 22nd November, 1670, the following entry occurs: "By money in the counter cracks, 13s. 6d."

Alderman Backwell appears to have been a tolerably

successful farmer, judging from his transactions recorded in his farm accounts in his ledgers; he appears to have had a farm at Crestloe, near Aylesbury. I make a few extracts which will tend to furnish some interesting and valuable comparisons between the prices paid for cattle in 1664 and in 1882. Oxen ranged from £8 to £9 each, and sheep about 25s. each. There are also some interesting items as to the value of hides, tallow, &c. :—

	£	s.	d.
1664			
Oct. 8.—By mony for head, &c. for the 60 oxen d'd this day - - - - -	6	0	0
6.—By 60 oxen weighing 329 st. : 3 : 13, at 22d. delivered Mr. Ganden - - -	362	17	0
6.—By the tallow of 60 oxen, wey. 672 st. 3 qrs. neat at 2s. 8d. - - -	89	13	0
Nov. 4.—By 70 runts, wey. 257 st. : 16 lb. @ 22s. d'd Denn Ganden, Esq. - -	282	17	2
4.—By the tallow of ditto runts, to Mr. Mould, wey. 394 st. 3 li. at 2s. 8d. -	52	11	8
14.—By mony for 70 small hides - - -	58	10	0
26.—By mony for 70 hides - - -	75	17	0
Decem. 16.—By the sale of 20 sheep in Smithfield	28	0	0
Novem. 25.—By 276 Tongues to Den Ganden, Esq.	6	18	0
Janu ^a . 6.—By 30 sheepe, at 29s. 3d. p pds. -	43	17	6
17.—By 16 hides £24 : whereout 6d. spent	23	19	6
23.—By mony for Offal - - - -	0	7	0
20.—By Mr. Sam. Harbert for the sale of 50 Crestloe sheep - - - -	64	15	0
6.—By Den Ganden his D ^t in fol. 384, for 33½ oxen, wey. 179 st. : — : 10 -	196	19	11
10.—By ditto's D ^t there, for 319 tongues at 6d. p tongue - - - -	7	19	6
Mar. 10.—By Mr. Sa. Harberts D ^t for 60 sheep he sold this day in Smithfield -	86	15	0

1664.

	£ s. d.
By Adam Henly in full for Rent of Bushfield untill Michaelmas, 1664 -	10 0 0
By the sale of 5 Cowes, and a Bull, 1 bald Coach-horse, 2 Ewes, & 4 Sheepe Skins - - - -	42 0 10
More by the sale of 1 Cow, 3 Calves, and the remainder of money ret ^d of Tho. Greene for 2 beasts formerly sold him - - - -	8 4 0

1664

Jan. 19.—For 113 Oxen bought at Bandbury y ^e 13 ^o pros ^t with all charges - - -	690 0 10
For 10 Oxen at £8 p pds, deliured p Mr. W ^m Mayne, Sen ^r . in Novemb. last - - - -	80 0 0
For a gray horse, of Mr. W ^m Mayne, Sen ^r - - - -	14 0 0
For 7 Oxen, deliured p Mr. W ^m Mayne, Jun ^r in Janu ^y at 10 p pds.	70 0 0

The Stock at Crestloe, the 25th of March, 1665, viz. :—

	£ s.	£ s.
113 Oxen, valued at - - - -	740 0	
7 Steers or Irish Reynts & 8 Cowes - - -	68 0	
423 Sheepe, and 21 Lambes - - -	495 0	
Corne valued at - - - -	16 0	
148 Todd of Wooll at 21s. p Todd - -	155 8	
	—	1474 8

16 Horses, 2 Mares, & a Colt not valued.

He had considerable landed property in the county of Bucks. Creslow was, and is still, a famous pasture for grazing, and not far from it is a village called Whitchurch, situated near to the town of Aylesbury. The following is an account of the annual income of

that manor, which he purchased between 1661 and 1663 :—

WITCHURCH.

The purchase of the Manour of Whitchurch, in the County of Bucks, consisting of a faire manour house built with timber, with a great Demessne copihold, Rents and Services, Court Leet, Court Baron and the pfitts thereof as followeth :—

The manor house built w th Two Lodges in the	£	s.	d.
forecourt, a mault house, Barnes out-houses,			
a garden and orchard, w th a close walled			
Kempson ? adjoyninge to y ^e house, per ann.	25	0	0
The Royalty and copyy hold Rents, Services?			
heryots w th other and usuall pfitts, at p ann.	40	0	0
23 Acres of Arrable in my own hands, and 20½			
Acres of Lea ground at 15s. per acre	-	32	0
22 Acres of meddow mowed every year lyinge			
in the common medows, at 20s. per acre	-	22	0
A Cottage w th 2 bease comon belonginge to it,			
at per ann. - - - -	-	2	0
The Water Mill and Windmill, at per ann.	-	20	0
Leases of Land late expired and neer expireinge			
being no pt. of the Land before mentioned,			
lett to pticular men as followeth :—			
Robt. Streemes, at per ann. - - - -	-	35	2
Tho. Miller - - - -	-	7	5
Tho. Ingram - - - -	-	21	10
Tho. Ricket - - - -	-	3	12
Wid. Gony - - - -	-	3	0
P. Heath - - - -	-	2	18
Tho. Topinge- - - -	-	3	10
H. Nichols - - - -	-	3	5
Tho. Hilsdon - - - -	-	6	2
		<hr/>	<hr/>
	£	227	4
		<hr/>	<hr/>
		6	

Date circa 1661-63.

At this date a very singular term occurs in the accounts of various goldsmiths and merchants, viz.: By money in Ranconter or Ranconten, and on the debtor side of the ledger to money in Ranconten, so much; in many instances the amounts "in Ranconten" agreed, the debtor side with the creditor side, of the account; this leaves me to surmise that it implied "per contra," but of this I am not at all certain.

In November, 1663, Pepys went to Backwell's, where Sir William Rider came by appointment, to consult about insuring a hempe ship from Archangel. This is an early mention of insurance, but from entries I have noticed in Backwell's ledgers this was by no means an uncommon occurrence.

It is doubtful whether Sir William Rider was a goldsmith or a merchant. I have met with many transactions for iron bought or sold, as well as accounts which correspond with those that Backwell kept with undoubted goldsmiths.

On the 26th May, 1665, Pepys and Creed went to Backwells to try him about supplying us with money, which he denied at first and last also, saving that he spoke a little fairer at the end than before.

On the 6th July, 1665, he records:—

Alderman Backwell is ordered abroad upon some private score with a great sum of money; wherein I was instrumental the other day in shipping away. It seems some of his creditors have taken notice of it, and he was like to be broke yesterday in his absence; Sir G. Carteret telling me that the king and the kingdom must as good as fall with that great man at this time; and that he was forced to get £4,000 himself to Backwell's people's

occasions, or he must have broke ; but he committed this to me as a great secret.

There is evidence supplied in the ledgers of Alderman Backwell that he gave interest for money on deposit, he himself employing it in the Exchequer and in various adventures for which he obtained higher rates.

In 1665 the following rates were allowed :—

Money at call, sometimes $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and sometimes at 4 per cent. :

At 10 days' notice 4 per cent.		
„ 14 „	5 „	
„ 20 „	6 „	

In 1666 he allowed as much as 5 per cent. for money at demand, and 6 per cent. for fourteen days.

Backwell's house was burnt down in the Great Fire of 1666. In order to prove in what high estimation this man was held by the king, I furnish herewith an order derived from the State Papers in the Record Office (Entry Book, No. 23, Domestic Series, Charles II., p. 228), which reads as follows :—

Whereas, it have humbly been represented unto us, in favour of Aldⁿ Backweil, that by the late calamity of the fire hapened in our City of London he is become destitute of a house or fitt abode for y^e management of his affaires. And we, taking into our Princely considera^con the greatest importance it is of, as well to y^e publicke, as more immediately to our owne service, to have him accomodated with a convenient place for y^e despatch and carrying on his buisnesse, wee have thought it fitt hereby to signify our pleasure to y^u, and very effectually to recommend it to y^u, to accomodate y^e s^d Aldⁿ Backwell wth s^d lodgings in Gresham Colledge, as are in y^r power and possession, it being in

order to our owne service and ye better conveniency of our affaires in his handes, in w^{ch} if ye shall happen to be questioned or interrupted, our pleasure is that you forthwith give notice thereof to one of our Principal Sectys of State, to the end wee may give further orders therein. And, &c., Sept. ye 10, 1666.

By his Mat^{ies} command,

To our trusty and well-beloved

ARLINGTON.

D^r Jonathan Goddard.

On the 30th December, 1668, the Great Fire Commissioners certified that Edward Backwell was to rebuild the premises destroyed in the fire: "All that were shopp at the south end of the new alley, called Exchange Alley, next Lombard Street, in the parish of St. Mary Woolnoth," having a frontage of twenty-six feet to Lombard Street, thirty-six feet in the rear, and a depth of sixty feet. The lease was enlarged by an additional term of forty years, and the rent was fixed at £70. The lease of the premises was formerly held by Charles Everard, goldsmith, in 1662; next by John Wasson, goldsmith; and in August, 1666, by Joseph Hornby, who transferred it to Backwell.

Backwell subscribed towards rebuilding the church of St. Mary Woolnoth; in his account for April, 1670, he paid Alderman Crispe £75, being the rest of the money he gave towards the rebuilding of the church.

In the year prior to this notice being issued, the bankers had troublous times, which we can glean from what Pepys records in his diary under date 13th June, 1667, in which he mentions a "run" upon Backwells:—

They are so called upon for money that they will be all broke, hundreds coming to them for money: and they answer him, “it is payable at 20 days:—when the days are out, we will pay you.” and those that are not so they make tell over their money and make their bags false, on purpose to give cause to retell it and so spend time. I cannot have my 200 pieces of gold again for silver, all being bought up last night that were to be had, and sold for 24*s.* and 25*s.* a piece. So I must keep the silver by me, which sometimes I think to fling into the house of office, and then again know not how I shall come by it, if we be made to leave the office.

14 Nov. 1667.—After dinner, he and I (Creed) & my wife and girl, the latter two to their tailors and he & I to the Committee of the Treasury, where I had a hearing, but can get but £6000 for the pay of the Garrison, out of about £16,000: and this Alderman Backwell gets remitted there and I am glad of it.

The alderman up to this time had been doing a very lucrative business, as is instanced by his accounts, and likewise from the following statement in Pepys's Diary, under date 3rd May, 1668:—

After I came home to Alderman Backewell's about business, and there talked a while with him and his wife, a fine woman of the country, and how they had bought an estate at Buckeworth, within four miles of Brampton.

This is a parish in Huntingdonshire. After the great fire he appears to have purchased considerable property in Lombard Street (as is instanced by Pepys in his Diary under date 12th April, 1669). The alderman then showed Pepys the models of the houses he was going to build in Cornhill and in Lombard Street, but he hath purchased so much there that it looks like a little town, and must have cost him a great deal of money.

TANGIER.

1st July, 1668.—Pepys went to Whitehall to a Committee of Tangier, “and there vexed with the importunity and clamours of Alderman Backewell, for my acquittance for money by him supplied to the garrison, before I have any order for paying it.”

It is very interesting to find upon referring to one of the alderman’s letter-books that there were two orders given by the Commissioners of the Affairs of Tangier on the 1st July, 1668, one to Samuel Pepys, Esq., the Treasurer for the Affaires of Tangier, for the payment of £10,000 to Alderman Backwell, and the other to the Lieutenant-Governor of Tangier for the payment of £113 to Backwell.

They read as follows :

BY HIS MA^{TIES} COMMISS^{RS} FOR YE AFFAIRES OF
TANGER.

Whereas it appeares that Aldⁿ Edward Backwell hath in compliance wth his late undertaking unto ye Lords Comiss^{rs} of the Treasury paid unto Coll. Henry Norwood, Lieut.-Governor of Tangier, the Summe of Tenn thousand pounds sterl^{ng}, by fortie four thousand and foure hundred fortie pieces of eight and a halfe, being computed att four shillings sixpence each, towards defraying ye pay and services of that Garrison: It is therefore ordered that you pay and deliver over unto Alderman Backwell, in Tallyes orders or assignmen^{ts}, the summe of Ten thousand pounds sterl^{ng} for his reimbursement, and allso satisfyeing him ye usual interest allowed upon Tallyes, comending ye computation from ye time that Coll. Norwood shall certifie that ye same hath beene paid him, and place this sum as an imprest on Coll. Norwood ye acco^t of pay, takeing in from Alderman Backwell such bills, letters or other writings that he hath under ye hand of Collonell Norwood, as may be usefull to vouch that

receipt; and for soe doeing this shall be your warrants. Dated att Whitehall y^e first of July, 1668.

ARLINGTON.	ALBEMARLE. JO. BERKLEY. WM. COVENTRYE. THO. POUHEY.
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To Samuell Pepys, Esq., Treasurer
for y^e Affaires of Tanger.
By command of y^e
Lords Comiss^{rs}.
To Creed.

S^r Alderman Backwell having represented unto us that Captaine Thomas Porter late Captⁿ of one of y^e Tanger Companyes, owes him y^e somme of one hundred and thirteene pounds for mony lent upon y^e securities of an assignment that proves ineffectuall for his reimbursement upon y^e espetiall reasons alledged herein, we have thought fitt that such money as hath growne due att Tanger unto the said Porter for Captaines pay for the time he was mustered be reserved and employed for satisfieing this debt, and that upon vouching the debt unto you, & producing y^e writeing by which it is claymed or an authentique copy thereof under a public notaries hand, you cause y^e said debt to be paid to whom Aldⁿ Backwell shall appoint as farre as his pay will reach to doe it, taking into y^r hands a fitting discharge concerning the same, We remaine

Yo^r very loueing friends to servc yo^u
Whitehall, 1st July, 1668: ALBEMARLE
ARLINGTON.

To his Ma ^{ties} Lieut. Gouvernor of Tanger or in his absence to y ^e Comaunder-in-cheeif upon y ^e place. these.	JO: BERKLEY. WM. COUENTRYE THO. POUHEY.
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From the foregoing documents it will be seen that Alderman Backwell obtained what he considered his due. The Thomas Povy who signed the document

was formerly treasurer to the Tangier Commissioners, but disposed of his office to Pepys in consideration of his receiving half the profit.

This Tangier affair appears to have been a large business to conduct, and one fraught with profit to the Banker.

On the 23rd September, 1668, the Commissioners again sat at Whitehall to consider about borrowing a sum of £10,000 of Alderman Backwell for Tangier. Again on the 25th September, Pepys writes : " So with the Duke of York and some others to his closet, and Alderman Backwell about a Committee of Tangier, and there did agree upon a price for pieces of eight at 4*s.* 6*d.*" I find that the weight of the bags containing 2000 pieces of eight, varied from 443*1*/₄ ounces to 445 ounces.

Backwell brought out several large loans for the King. I have seen a privy seale dated August 25th, 1669, directing the Commissioners of the Treasury to pay to Alderman Backwell the sum of £4,650 16*s.* 8*d.* as interest upon the various sums lent by him to the Exchequer, amounting in the aggregate to £157,683 4*s.* 10*d.*, for which he was paid at the rate of 6 per cent. per annum up to the 24th June, 1669, which sum includes a gratuity of two-thirds of the interest for his good services in the seasonable supply of the money. On another privy seale dated 14th September, 1667, the King gave him a free gift of £8,000, on consideration of his having advanced the sum of £286,042 into the Exchequer ; this was over and above the usual 6 per cent. per annum. The Privy Seal records that this sum was given, as he was

forced to admit larger sums of other men's money into the Bank, upon which he had to give interest greater than he otherwise would.

In 1671 the King was greatly distressed for money, and, despairing of obtaining it from the House of Commons, he called a Council of his Ministers, and stated that he wanted £1,500,000, and that he would give the white staff, that is to say, the Lord Treasurer's place, to anyone who could devise the means. Lord Ashley told Sir Thomas Clifford how it could be done, which he elicited through plying him with wine. Sir Thomas Clifford took the hint, and immediately going into the presence of the King, and falling on his knees, demanded the White Staff. "Odds fish!" cried his Majesty, "I will be as good as my word, if you can find the money." Clifford then informed the King that the goldsmiths had nearly the sum required in the Exchequer, which money he could seize by closing it. A Privy Council was called on the 2nd January, 1672, and the Exchequer was closed, whereby the goldsmiths lost the sum of £1,328,526, and Sir Thomas Clifford was made Lord High Treasurer and a Peer. Of this sum Edward Backwell had as much as £295,994 16s. 6d. in the Exchequer at the time, in lieu of which some years afterwards, on 16th April, 1677, the King granted him an annuity of £17,759 13s. 8d. The original bond for the payment of the money to the goldsmiths, bearing Charles the Second's autograph, is in the possession of Charles Tyringham Praed, Esq., the banker, a descendant of the Backwells.

This was a great blow and nearly ruined him; still he carried on his business for some time.

The following note I observed in one of his books, signed by Sir Robert Howard, Auditor of his Majesty's Customs:—

The summe of One hundred & eleaven thousand three hundred forty-three pounds thirteene shillings sixpence and noe more hath been paid at y^e receipt of his Ma^{ties} Exchequer in part of £140,000 directed by his Ma^{ties} Lrēs patents of the 23 July, 1674, to be paid to y^e Goldsmiths for interest.

Ro. HOWARD.

6 July, 1676.

Backwell retained the office of Comptroller of His Majesty's Customs at the Port of London at a salary of £250 per annum until 1674—there are several copies of the warrants for the payment of the half year's salary, signed by Lord Danby.

He was employed by the King on several occasions after 1672 to go abroad to receive sums of money &c. There is a copy of a warrant dated 6th April, 1674, ordering him to go to the States-General of the United Provinces to receive under power of attorney 200,000 frattacoones, being the first fourth part of 800,000 frattacoones, covenanted and agreed to be paid unto us according to the tenth article of the treaty concluded between us and the States-General on the $\frac{9}{19}$ day of February last past. The following is a copy of his passport:—

CHARLES R.

Charles by the Grace of God King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c., To all Admiralls, Vice Admiralls, Captaines of our Shipps at Sea, Gouvernors, Comanders, Souldiers, Majors, Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace,

Bailiffs, Constables, Customers, Comptrollers, Searchers, and all whom it may concerne, Greeting. Whereas we have thought fitt to employ the bearer, our trusty and well-beloved Edward Backwell, Esq., in our especial service to y^e States Generall of the United Provinces, These are to will and Require you (as we do allsoe hereby pray and desire all Kings, Princecs, States and Commonwealths, their subjects and officers, Our neighbours and Allyes) to permitt and suffer the said Edward Backwell freely and quietly to imbarque himselfe, servants, goods and necessareyes in any port within this our kingdome, and thence to passe into Holland and any other parts beyond the Seas, and to returne againe without any lett, hindrance or molestation whatsoever, and that you be further ayding and assisting to him or them in any occasion wherein he or they may require your helpe or furtherance. Given at our Court at Newmarkett the 6th day of Aprill, 1674, in the six and twentieth yeare of our Reigne.

By his Maj^{ties} Comand,

H. COUENTRY.

There are likewise several copies of warrants and privy seals for interest upon sums of money advanced by him to his Majesty upon different occasions.

Copy of the form of the Quarterly Acquittance.
xix^d die Junii, 1677.

Rec^d by virtue of his Maj^{ties} letters Patents under the great seale of England bearing date the xxxth day of Aprill 1677 of the officers of the Tally Court One Tally leauvied upon his Maj^{ties} Revenue of Excise containing the sume of four thousand four hundred thirty-nine pounds eighteen shillings a five pence due unto me for one quarter of a yeare ended at Lady day last. Upon the yearlye rent or sume of Seauenteene thousand Seauen hundred fifty-nine pounds thirteene shillings and eight-pence granted me in satisfaction of the debt of £295,994 . 16 . 6 due from his Ma^{tie} I say rec^d the sume of iij.iij.xxxix. xvijjs. vd.

E. B.

Soon after the closing of the Exchequer it would appear that Charles Duncombe, one of his clerks or apprentices, to whom I have seen cheques addressed by Backwell, and signed "from your master, Edward Backwell," set up business on his account as a goldsmith, and in the Directory of 1677 we find him in partnership with Richard Kent at the Grasshopper in Lombard Street; in the same Directory we find that John Ballard, probably another of his clerks, was at the Unicorn, lately occupied by Backwell. He could not have been quite ruined, although he was probably forced to stop payment, but of that we have no record. He held several appointments under the Crown up to 1676, and then retired to Holland, where he died in 1679. His landed property was not disposed of, as it descended to his sons, and is still held by the representatives of the family. He was probably able to satisfy the claims of his creditors by paying them interest, which he received out of the Exchequer, as is seen by different privy seals in his favour for large sums from time to time.

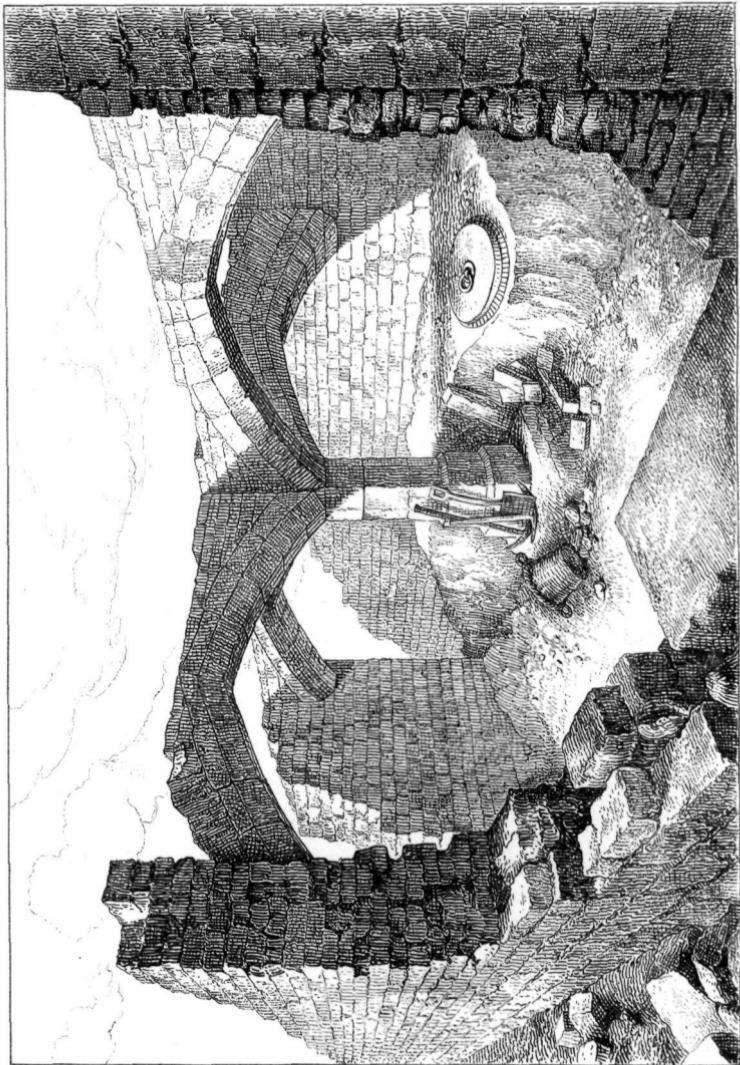
On the 12th November, 1697, there was an agreement made between John and Richard Backwell on the one part, and Sir Edward Turner and five other creditors of Edward Backwell (father of the said John and Richard), deceased, of the other part, by which the said J. and R. Backwell covenanted, within six months after the commission of bankruptcy awarded against Edward Backwell had been superseded, to pay £21 10s. per cent. (in ready money) of each principal creditor's debt, and to assign over to them out of the said Edward Backwell's patent for per-

petual interest at 6 per cent. per annum on the hereditary revenue of excise the remaining £78 10s. of the principal, together with interest, &c., to the 14th June, 1682. Another agreement dated March 16th, 1697-8, secured the latter payment of the said interest.

J.P. & W.R. Emes & Lith.

ANCIENT CRYPT, CHILD'S BANK, TEMPLE BAR.

H. Fodge, del.



NOTES ON EXCAVATIONS AT TEMPLE BAR.

By F. G. HILTON PRICE, F.S.A.

It is now a matter of history that the old “Devil Tavern” stood next door to the “Marygold,” and that in the year 1787 it was purchased by Messrs. Child and Co., and shortly afterwards demolished. In the year following, a row of houses, called Child’s Place, and No. 2, Fleet Street, was erected upon the site of the famous old tavern. This sombre row of houses was pulled down in April 1878 in order to make way for the new bank of Messrs. Child and Co., and at the same time the old buildings at the back of the “Marygold,” once known as the “Sugar Loaf and Green Lettice,” of which Pepys records in his Diary, under date 10 March, 1669: “Mr. Burges, we by water to Whitehall, where I made a little stop: and so, with them, by coach to Temple Bar, where, at the ‘Sugar Loaf,’ we dined; and then comes a companion of theirs, Colonel Vernon, I think they called him, a merry good fellow, and one that was very plain in cursing the Duke of Buckingham, and discovering

of his designs to ruin us, and that ruin must follow his counsels, and that we are all an undone people."

The tavern room of which Pepys wrote, and in which he dined, was the kitchen of the old bank. It had been necessarily much altered about the reign of Queen Anne; still various portions of the old tavern could distinctly be made out.

It never could have been such a place of fashionable resort as were the "Devil" or the "Rainbow," and, notwithstanding it was only once mentioned by Pepys in his Diary, yet a farthing token was issued by the proprietor of the "Sugar Loaf," or "Suger Lofe," as it is called in Boyne.

I possess a halfpenny token of the "Sugar Loaf," which was found a few months ago under one of the old houses in Elm Court, Temple; it is not dated, but from its appearance is evidently a token of the seventeenth century. It reads, "George Bryar at y^e " and on the reverse, "Without Temple Barr—His halfe peny." Boyne, in describing the farthing token, gives the name of George Bryant as the issuer, and places it in Ram Alley, Fleet Street, by Temple Bar; on my token the name is Bryar, at the "Sugar Loaf," without Temple Bar. Notwithstanding the apparent discrepancy, I am inclined to believe that it is intended for the same tavern, as it was situated immediately in the rear of the "Marygold," and was approached from Fleet Street by a narrow passage similar to that of the "Cock Tavern" and "Dicks." It led southwards into the Temple, and, furthermore, the parish boundary went through a portion of it, so it might have really belonged to the parish of St. Clement's,

and so be without Temple Bar, notwithstanding it was approached from Fleet Street, in the parish of St. Dunstan's, and that the passage in question was Ram Alley. The old kitchen always reminded me of what the coffee-room of "Dick's Tavern" was some fifteen years ago. On the south side of it was a large window, beneath which, and in a recess, a thick wooden bench was fixed into the wall; this formed part of the inner room, where George Bryar possibly entertained his familiar friends, and where, some forty or fifty years later, Dorothy Biggins kept her score against Captain Trevor, a copy of whose bill for mountain, syder, and port, lopsters (*sic*), and sallmon, I published in my paper on "Ye Marygold." Beneath the old kitchen two perfect vessels of the fifteenth century were met with.

Very extensive cellarage extended under the whole area of Child's Place, the majority of which were undoubtedly the cellars of the Devil tavern, where Simon Wadlow kept his rare wines. A portion of this cellar had a pointed roof and was supported by several large stone pillars, which have been worked into the supports of the new strong rooms of the Bank. Three feet beneath the flooring of this old cellar a layer of large square tiles, having a coating of green and yellow glaze, was discovered, and at the further end of it, in a vaulted chamber, was a well. It is highly probable that these cellars formed part of a building that existed on the site even before the days of the "Devil tavern," and may have some connection with the remains of arches which I propose to describe further on in this paper. Under the old

houses of Child's Place many cesspools were found, in which were a large quantity of tobacco-pipes, such as were used at the end of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; one or two of these pipes were of unusual length. In those days it may be presumed that pipes when once used were thrown away, hence the large quantity that were met with. Besides them a considerable quantity of grey-beards or Bellarmines*, jugs of cream-coloured ware, with green glazed tops, of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, tygs, stoneware jugs, small ointment jars, and the stumpy glass wine-bottles of the same period.

The most interesting find I have to record was a full bottle of wine, which was found in a part of the old cellar, deeply buried in rotten saw-dust. It holds about a pint of a rosy-coloured wine, probably port; the bottle is coated with a splendid iridescence, and the cork is apparently sound. It has evidently been well resined over, which has had the effect of preserving the cork and the liquid.

In making preparations for erecting the new premises the builders had occasion to what they term underpin the last house on the west side of the Middle Temple Lane, which is occupied by the under-porter of the Inn. In doing so they came upon a large

* The Bellamine, or grey-beard, was a stone jug with a long neck, and rudely executed face and beard beneath it. They were imported from Flanders, and much used in ale-houses in the 16th and 17th centuries. They took their name from a Cardinal Robert Bellarmin, who rendered himself obnoxious to the progress of the reformed religion in the Low Countries. The belly is usually ornamented with a badge of some town in Holland.

quantity of human bones, which were disposed in five regular rows ; the workmen had to cut through this layer, and removed more than a cartload of leg-bones : the remainder of the skeletons are left under the house. They appear to lie north-east and south-west, and no vestige of wood was found with them. What could they have been all buried in one grave for ? It must have been an ancient interment, belonging probably to the time when the Temple extended further westward towards Temple Bar than it does at present. It is hardly likely that it could have been an old plague-pit, as that part of London was too much occupied for pits to have been opened in the days of the last Great Plague, besides which the skeletons would hardly have been placed so uniformly as they were found.

Temple Bar, originally designed by Sir Christopher Wren, and erected in 1670, was partially taken down in January 1878, with considerable care, the stones having been all first numbered and then taken off to Farringdon Street, to be stored, until an opportunity might occur of rebuilding the old gateway. It was proved that it had been built of stone which had previously taken part in the construction of some older building, probably destroyed in the Great Fire of London, as many of the stones were moulded and otherwise ornamented, the carved portions being turned inwards and then refaced.

In March 1879 the north buttress was removed, and in June of the same year the south buttress was taken down. It was then discovered that between the south wall of the south arch over the foot-way

and the wall of the bank there existed a recess three feet in breadth, in which was found a flue and the remains of what had been a circular stone staircase leading up into the Bar. This proves that Temple Bar was originally built to accommodate a custodian, and that it was approached by this staircase from the south side. The building consisted of a lobby on the south side leading into a large chamber, which had a fire-place in it, and had been used by Messrs. Child and Co. for nearly two centuries as a library for their old books: it was secured by an iron door, and was wainscoted with oak paneling. Out of this room was another small chamber on the north side, with a ladder which led up into a sort of prison cell; this was a stone chamber, having two narrow loop-holes at both the south and north end for the convenience of light, in front of which were massive iron bars; the entrance was guarded by a heavy iron door. I am inclined to think that Temple Bar was originally intended as a guard-house, and that, in case any disorderly person should be arrested, this upper chamber was constructed as a temporary lock-up.

This upper chamber proved of great value as a store-room for the old files of vouchers previous to the year 1800. A little to the eastward of the recess before mentioned in the south wall of the arch was evidence of a low doorway, which had been at one time used as an entrance into the "Marygold," probably the only one in the early history of the house; it would have opened out into the middle of the old shop, where, it will be remembered, there was a sky-

light and a space dividing the house on the east from that on the west side of Temple Bar. This space was originally occupied by a staircase which led through a door into each floor. The old doors remained in the wainscoting of the front rooms as evidence of their former use, until they were pulled down.

When the workmen were taking off the upper portion of the south arch they discovered several plaster casts of torsos* embedded in the mortar, carefully placed between the layers of stone. They consisted of five nude torsos, one draped female, one torso of shoulders, one bull, two cherub heads, and one head of a female. They are of exceedingly fine work, certainly much earlier than the days of Charles II. It was suggested by Mr. Shoppee that these casts might have been copies of the original fine works which were done for the Earl of Arundel in Rome, for the decoration of Arundel House, which formerly stood comparatively close to Temple Bar, and when they had served their object were thrown aside as useless, and it is thus that they were laid in between the stones of Temple Bar, and so handed down as we now see them. Besides these, in other parts of the south pier, a farthing token of Bristol was found. Obverse, a ship in full sail, with THE ARMES OF BRISTOLL in the margin; reverse, C.B. 1652 A BRISTOLL FARTHING. Also a large quantity of oyster-shells, and a farthing of Charles II., now in possession of Mr. Burt, the contractor, who removed Temple Bar.

* These are now in the Museum at the Guildhall.

Beneath that portion of the Bank called "the shop," being on the west side of Temple Bar, were some ancient arches, which were visible in the old wine-cellars. Upon removing all the superstructure and clearing away the adjoining walls in order to develop the whole of these arches, the workmen exposed to view a large central pier, composed of upper greensand (the firestone of Kent), with four arches of the same material springing from it—two extended east and west and two north and south. The north, south, east, and west ends of the arches rested upon an ancient wall composed of blocks of chalk, indicating that the whole had formed a square chamber, and it is generally supposed by architects who visited the excavations that the roof had been groined, and that it must have carried a large building, and that the date of the arches was the thirteenth century.

A wall of chalk blocks, varying from 2 feet 6 inches to 3 feet in thickness, extended the whole length of the area from north to south, beginning near the street immediately beneath the wall of Temple Bar, so that this wall might possibly have been a portion of the boundary wall of the liberties of the city of London. The thickness of the ancient wall to the south, abutting against Fleet Street, was $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet.

At the base of the pier was a brick pavement, a few inches above which was a layer of cinders, then a narrow stratum of concrete above it; this extended over the whole area excavated; $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet above this was the layer of flat bricks which composed the floor of the cellars. A little west of the pier, but under the arches, was a well, which was $9\frac{1}{2}$ feet deep

beneath the level of the cellar : in it a jug of cream-coloured pottery, with green glazed top, the usual type of the fourteenth century, and a pipkin covered with yellow glaze of rather later date, were found. This well probably belonged to the sixteenth century. Under a portion of the chalk wall, resting upon and being in gravel, a copper cauldron or cooking-pot, standing upon three stout legs, was discovered ; this was of the usual style of copper vessels of the time of King John. As that monarch died in 1216, the building of which these chalk walls formed part could not well be later than the commencement of the thirteenth century, and perhaps dated as far back as the latter part of the twelfth century.

The cellars which were built into these arches were exceedingly massive and were supposed to be of the sixteenth-century work. On the eastern side of the chalk wall, which ran north and south, immediately beneath the building known as "Ye Marygold," a very large slab of Portland stone was found at a depth of about 13 feet from the surface ; it had evidently formed some part of the previous building, and was too heavy to move. It had two steps cut in it.

At the time of the discovery I made all sorts of inquiries as to what building could have stood upon this site, but failed to find any record. It could not have formed part of the former Temple Bar, as the house which stood above it was at least three centuries old. The Middle Temple has not any early records of its property, so I could not inspect any early plans of the site.

I had recourse to Stow's "Survey of London" and

his "Annals of England," from which I culled the following particulars:—In the 19th year of King Henry the First, *i.e.* 1119, "Certaine noblemen of the horsemen being religiously bent, bound themselves in the hands of the Patriarke of Hierusalem to serve Christ after the manner of regular Chanons, in chastitie and obediencie, and to renounce theire owne proper will for ever. Of which order the first was the honourable man Hugh Paganus, and Gawfride de Saint Audemare, and where at first they had no certaine habitation. Baldwine, King of Hierusalem, graunted them a dwelling-place in his pallace by the Temple, and the Chanons of the same Temple gave them the streate thereby to build their houses of office in, and the Patriarke, the King, the Nobles and Prelates, gave them certaine revenues out of their lordships. Their first possession was for safeguarde of the Pilgrims, to keepe the wages against the lying in waite for thieves. Ten yeares after they had a rule appointed them and a white habit by Pope Honorius at that time; where they had been nine in number they began to increase in great numbers.

"In 1185 Heraclius, the Patriarke, dedicated the church of the New Temple, then first builded in the west part of London by the Knight Templars of England; he also dedicated the Priory of St. John of Jerusalem by Smithfield.

"After a time they waxed insolent and would only associate with noblemen. In 1308, after the Epiphany of our Lorde, all the Templars in England were apprehended and committed to prison and to divers

places. They were tried and condemned to do penance for the rest of their lives in several monasteries.

"In 1313 Edward II. gave unto Aimer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, the whole place and houses called the New Temple at London, with the ground called Ficquetes Croft, and all the tenements and rents, with the appurtenances, that belonged to the Templars in the city of London and suburbs thereof." This paragraph proves that the Temple extended much further in those days than at present, as Ficquetes Croft is now Lincoln's Inn Fields. After the death of Aimer de Valence we find the possessions again reverted to the Crown.

"In 1324 the landes, lordships, possessions of the Templars were given to the Hospitallers of Saint John of Jerusalem through the whole realme, to be by them possessed for ever for the defence of Christendome against the infidels."

We read that in 1381 the rebels of Essex and Kent, under Wat Tyler, destroyed and plucked down the houses and lodgings of the Temple, took out of the church the books and records that were in hutches of the apprentices of the law, carried them into the streets, and burnt them; the house they spoiled and burnt for wrath that they bare Sir Robert Halles, Lord Prior of St. John's in Smithfield; but it has since again at divers times been repaired, namely, the Gate House of the Middle Temple in the reign of Henry VIII. by Sir Amias Paulet, Knt. upon occasion as shown in Stow's Annals.

The fact of the existence of the layer of cinders and fragments of charcoal all over the area excavated,

proves to my mind that the buildings which occupied this site must have been destroyed by fire; the base of the pier likewise bore evidence of having been subjected to burning. The various architects who saw the arches at the time of the excavation all agreed that they must have carried a large ecclesiastical building, or a gate-house, and that the style was of the thirteenth century. After due consideration of all these facts, and from what I have read you from Stow's Annals, I conclude that these relics belonged to some large building of the Temple, possibly the Master's house, and that it was destroyed by Wat Tyler's mob in 1381.

Among the various antiquities discovered during the excavations was a large stone, found in the front part, bearing a date, 1645, and a mason's mark, M.H.

A glass flask with flat sides, time about sixteenth century.

A sixpence of Elizabeth, 1580.

A pipe-clay roller for curling wigs.

A large quantity of broken Bellarmines, mostly found in a cesspool, but many near the base of the pier; some had a claret-coloured glaze, which I think would be of late date.

A vase of red earthenware.

Beneath the house in the Strand, formerly occupied by Huggins the chemist, and latterly by Preedy the hatter, was found a glass badge, or seal, of the Earl of Thanet, which had been affixed to a bottle.

The town-house of the Earls of Thanet formerly

stood upon that site, which would of course account for the seal being found there.

List of coins and tokens found at Temple Bar :

Elizabeth sixpence, 1580.

Charles I. Tower shilling, edges clipped.

Do. 2 royal farthing tokens.

Do. 2 Irish royal farthing tokens.

Charles II. 2 farthings.

James II. a gun money-piece, probably a shilling.

William and Mary, 3 half pennies, 1694.

William III. 2 half pennies, 1697.

Do. 1 farthing, 1696.

George I. 2 farthings.

George II. 2 half pennies. 1735, 1739.

George III. farthing (early).

Bristol farthing token, 1652.

Token, John Spicer in Crown Court : a crown in field; reverse, "In Russell Street, 1667; his half peny;" a lute.

Farthing token, Andrew Ragdale, in Bow Lane.

Do. Joseph /— at y^e — ; reverse, Temple Barr Without; ^{*G*} _{I*I} in the field.

Three Nuremberg tokens.

Several foreign coins and tokens, many illegible.

THE TYBOURNE AND THE WESTBOURNE.

BY J. G. WALLER.

ON a former occasion I gave you an account of the “Holebourne,” the most important of the streams which, arising from Hampstead, pass through London to the Thames. The next in order is more westerly, and, though the smallest of these brooks, is in many respects of equal importance in London history. This is the Ty-bourne.

First, as to its name, and this is venerable for its antiquity, for, with exception of that of London and Thames, it is the oldest on record, relating to the Metropolis, which is still preserved among us. Its meaning is not doubtful, though it has been nevertheless the sport of philology. One, he must have been a wag, suggested it may derive from “Tye” and “Burn,” in allusion to the species of punishment with which its name is associated. Another, with more pretensions to learning, makes it a corruption of “At-eye-bourn.” I will not trouble you with their arguments, for the name is of simple Saxon elements, and means literally a duplication. Tye, or, as it is originally spelt, Teo, is no more than two—meaning a double brook, and, where first this name was applied, I shall presently show you, it most likely divided itself into two branches, as it fell into the Thames amid the

marshy delta on which the City and Abbey of Westminster stands, and which looking far into the past it must have done much to form.

It takes its rise at the south-western side of Hampstead, about a quarter of a mile south of the church, in fields known as "Shepherd's fields," or "Conduit fields," from the conduit which covered the spring, a place formerly full of rural beauty, with a (A, see map) fine prospect over the western district of London and across to the hills of Surrey. But London has now advanced up to the very threshold of the conduit, and the spring was drained off a few years ago by the tunnel which passes close by, through which the Hampstead Railway is carried. A woodcut of the conduit is seen in Hone's Table Book, 1827, just half a century ago, showing the water-carriers going to and fro; for the water was in great esteem at Hampstead, being free from the medicinal qualities which infect so many of the springs in the vicinity, and it had the reputation of being nearly of the specific gravity of distilled water. It seems but a few years since this most primitive mode of water-supply, which was that once in use throughout London, might be seen at this spot, the last at which it lingered.

Gurgling from thence, the sparkling stream flowed in a channel you might almost span with your foot, running down the hill-side, chiefly in the direction of the Dissenters' College; but leaving that on the west, midway between the garden wall of Belsize Manor, it proceeded southwards. Bending a little westwards it crossed Avenue Road just beyond St. Peter's Church, then keeping close to the west side of this road until

it reached Acacia Road, at the corner of which it received an affluent from Belsize, and then passed southwards by Townsend Road to the corner of Henry Street; it then diverged diagonally to the corner of Charles Street with Park Road. Formerly an aqueduct conveyed it across Regent's Canal into the Park, the artificial waters of which it once supplied, and continuing its course passed from the Park boundary at the upper end of Cornwall Terrace, crossing Upper Baker Street, New Street, and then Alsops Terrace, in the Marylebone Road, where a depression is to be seen marking the channel.

But we must now retrace our steps to Belsize Manor. This was granted to the Dean and Chapter of Westminster by Henry VIII. but passed again into the possession of the crown, and was held by the Waad family, and at the Revolution was seized by the Parliament. At the Restoration it again passed into the hands of the crown, and was granted by lease to Charles Lord Wotton; at his death it became occupied in succession by several under-tenants. In 1728 it became a place of public amusement, and it is thus announced by advertisement on April 16: "Whereas the ancient and noble house near Hampstead called Bellasis House is now taken and fitted up for the entertainment of gentlemen and ladies during the summer season. The same will be opened by an uncommon solemnity of music and dancing. This undertaking will exceed all of the kind that has hitherto been known near London, commencing every day at 6 in the morning and continuing till 8 at

night, all persons being privileged to admission without necessity of expense."

You perceive that our ancestors were early risers. I am afraid now-a-days an announcement of an entertainment of any kind beginning at 6 a.m. would find very few disposed to take part in it, especially if, as at this time, Belsize was far from London, and those who got there at 6 must certainly have been roused at 4. But it was a curious feature of the time, and possibly began through the rage of going to spas and drinking at a chalybeate spring, London being surrounded by many such establishments. It was the fashion, and fashion can do anything. To appear in elegant *dishabille* and be interestingly dyspeptic may have had some charms, and the fashion really lasted a considerable time. So these other establishments, such as Belsize, may have arisen as a kind of opposition offering greater inducement. There was excitement in it too ; to travel a mile or so from London, through a charmingly rural district, to your breakfast in nice society, and run the chance of being waylaid by footpads or highwaymen on your way there or back, may have added to the romance. Some protection, however, was given, as by the following advertisement may be seen :

"These are to give notice that Belsize is now opened for the whole season, and that all things are most commodiously concerted for the reception of gentlemen and ladies. The park and gardens being wonderfully improved and filled with a variety of birds, which compose a most melodious and delight-

some harmony. Every morning at 7 o'clock the music begins to play and continues the whole day through, and any persons inclined to walk and divert themselves in the morning may as cheaply breakfast there on tea and coffee as in their own chambers; and for the convenience of single persons or families who reside at Hampstead there are coaches prepared to ply betwixt the two places, which at the least notice given shall attend at their lodgings or houses for 6d. per passage, and for the security of his guests there are twelve stout fellows, completely armed, to patrol betwixt London and Belsize to prevent the insults of highwaymen and footpads which may infest the road." (1722.)

That the character of the entertainments and the reputation of the place was not always free from suspicion the following advertisement will show, as also that gulls and knaves are usually associated together.

" Aug. 23, 1718.

" Whereas on Saturday night last there was stolen from a gentleman at the house near Hampstead, called Bellsise, at the table in the room where the game commonly called The Fair Chance is play'd at, a Tortoiseshell Snuffbox, set in Gold, with a hinge of the same, and a double Cypher inlaid with Gold. Whoever will bring the same to Old Men's Coffe-house at Charing Cross, and deliver it to the master of the said House, shall have Three Guineas Reward and no Questions will be asked; and two Guineas if there be brought to the same Place another Tortoise-

shell Box set in Silver, with a Cypher in Gold, stolen about 6 weeks since from the same Gentleman, in the very same Room."

Another, June 7, 1722, shows us some of the entertainments: "On Monday last the concourse of Nobility and Gentry at Belsise was so great that they reckoned between 2 and 300 coaches, at which time a wild deer was hunted down and killed in the Park before the company, which gave them 3 hours diversion." We have also an account of the Prince and Princess of Wales going to witness a similar entertainment. However, as usual, these places were not entirely for innocent amusement, for we find in this same year that the Court of Justices at the General Quarter Sessions met at Hicks's Hall to consider the prevention of unlawful gaming and riots, &c. at Belsize House. It continued, however, to be a place of amusement as late as 1745.

The Park of Marybone, now Regent's Park, furnished another addition to the waters from a spring now marked by a little pool on the north-east side of the broad walk opposite the Zoological Gardens. It was originally part of the manor belonging to the Abbess of Barking, becoming crown property at the Dissolution. At what time it was imparked I cannot learn, but most likely by Henry VIII. who built the manor house as a hunting lodge. James I., who granted the Manor of Marybone to the Forsets, reserved the park, which remained in the crown until the Revolution, when it was disparked and sold to John Spencer of London on behalf of Col. Harrison's regiment as guarantee for their pay. On the Restora-

tion it passed again to the crown, who reinstated the former lessees, and so it remained to our times, when the leases were allowed to run out, and were not renewed; and the park was reconstituted under its present title during the Regency. We have several instances recorded of its use for hunting by our sovereigns.

In Queen Elizabeth's Progresses it is stated that "On the 3rd of February, 1600, ambassadors from the Emperor of Russia and their retinue rode through the City of London to Marybone Park, and there hunted at their pleasure." The manor house stood at the top of High Street, opposite the church, and was taken down in 1791. It has been several times engraved.

The ancient church of the parish, dedicated to St. John the Baptist, was situated near the present court-house, in the erection of which, in 1727, they came upon the site of its churchyard or cemetery, indicated by remains of interments. In the fourteenth century it fell into a ruinous state from neglect, its lonely situation rendered it subject to dilapidations, and its bells and ornaments were frequently stolen. Robert Braybrook, Bishop of London, therefore granted a license to the parishioners, on petition dated October 1400, to build a new church near where a chapel had been erected. This was dedicated to St. Mary, and remained until May 1740, when being ruinous it was taken down. This new dedication gave a new name to the manor and parish, for being built on the near vicinity of the stream this again supplied an affix,

“ Bourne,” and the name Marylebone, now so well-known, is a corruption from Mary-le-Bourne; but in all earlier mention it seems to be simply Marybone, which so remained until the middle of the eighteenth century. Hampshire still has a parish called “St. Mary Bourn,” having the very same characteristics, of a stream running through the village, and the church by its side. Bourn, clipped into “bone,” got interpreted by some too clever people, in recent times, as meaning the French “bonne,” and, shocked by the want of grammar in “le bone,” it was altered to “la bonne.” Happily, it did not last: Marylebone has stood; its earlier form, Marybone, has become obsolete, and the great metropolitan parish and borough will always be known by the now generally accepted term.

The old church of St. Mary was one of those humble structures which were so common in the sparsely-populated districts to the north of London. When first erected it could but have had around it a few scattered cottages or farm-buildings; and even so late as 1746 it appears in Roque’s Map to have but a small nucleus of surroundings, the public gardens being the most important of them. In the Gardner Collection there are engravings, showing every variety of shape and alteration, which it took until finally demolished. But the best illustration of its interior is that given in Hogarth’s picture of the marriage in the Rake’s Progress, the remoteness of the church being chosen for such a ceremony. The artist does not fail to record the following lines, which, if by

any members of the Forset family, does not exalt them in a literary point of view:

These Pewes unscrud and tan in sunder,
In stone thers graven what is under:
To wit, a valt for burial ther is
Which Edward Forset made for him and his.

Immediately in the vicinity of the church were Marybone Gardens, probably first established as a place of public amusement at the latter part of the seventeenth century, and are mentioned by Pepys, who in Sept. 1668 thus writes: “Then we abroad to Marrowbone, and there walked in the Gardens; the first time I was there, and a pretty place it is.” He says nothing of the amusement therein provided, but bowling greens were a staple of the place. In a work entitled “A Country Gentleman’s Companion 1699,” in which the stranger is warned against the various arts of the Metropolis to entrap the unwary, these gardens are specially mentioned. “Bowling (says the writer) is a Game for Diversion, Recreation, and Exercise, as well as Tennis, and was formerly a game for few but Gentlemen, as that was; but as men and things are generally grown worse and worse, so is this too, and strangely degenerated from an innocent, inoffensive diversion, to be a perfect trade, a kind of set calling and occupation for cheats and sharpers. . . . If you please therefore (says he) we’ll make a short trip to Marybone (for that’s the chief place of Rendezvous), the Bowling Greens there having in these latter years gain’d a kind of Preheminence and Reputation above the rest, and thither most of the Noblemen and Gentlemen about the Town that affect that sort of

Recreation generally resort." Thus Lady Wortley Montagu, alluding to Sheffield Duke of Buckingham, says:

Some dukes at Marybone bowl time away.

And the work above quoted says further, speaking of bowling greens, "Marybone, as I told you, is the chief place about town, but, for all its greatness and pre-eminence, it lies under the shrewd suspicion of being guilty of sharpening and crimping, as well as the rest."

The gardens were at this time very pleasantly situate; there were no houses near except those which constituted the village, than St. Giles, or a few scattered farmsteads. The first mention of musical performances there is in 1718, when *The Daily Courant* announces, "There having been illuminations in Marybone bowling-green on his Majesty's birth-day every year since his happy accession to the throne, the same is put off till Monday next, and will be performed with a Consort of musick in the middle green." If we are to believe the newspaper eulogiums, the gardens must have afforded a most agreeable promenade.

"Marybone Gardens, by much the pleasantest place about town (the new City Road leading to it being a pleasant airing), is now in perfect good order, the trees in full leaf and the shrubs in full bloom, which renders them more immediately sweet and refreshing in the morning, and their being so near town are thought by the nobility and gentry to be very commodious for breakfast. The proprietor offers a reward of ten guineas for the apprehension of any highwaymen

found on the road to the gardens. There will be a proper guard on the road and in the fields to protect the Company to and from the gardens." Thus our ancestors, in the pursuit of pleasure, had the additional excitement of possible encounters with highwaymen and footpads, and being eased of such cash which may not have been spent, or lost in gambling and betting with sharpers.

It was to music however that these gardens owed their greatest celebrity. Handel's name is closely associated with them; but, besides, there were Dr. Arne, Webbe, Richter, Hook, Bartholomew, Abel, Dibdin, and Banister, as well as other popular singers and actors of the day. Fireworks formed also a part of the entertainment, and about 1775 Torre, a celebrated French artist, was employed there, "who, in addition to the usual displayment of fire-wheels, fixed stars, figure pieces, and other curious devices, introduced pantomimical spectacles, which afforded him an opportunity of bringing forward much splendid machinery, with appropriate scenery and stage decorations, whereby he gave an astonishing effect to his performances, and excited the admiration and applause of the spectators. I particularly remember two (says the writer), the Forge of Vulcan and the descent of Orpheus to Hell in search of his wife Eurydice. The last was particularly splendid; there were several scenes, and one of them supposed to be the Elysian fields, where the flitting backwards and forwards of the spirits was admirably represented by means of a transparent gauze interposed between the actors and spectators."

Dr. Arnold, in 1773, purchased the lease of Marybone Gardens, which he adorned in a beautiful style, and for which he composed the music to several burlettas. For a while the speculation proved highly successful, but at the expiration of his lease in 1777 he retired from the concern a loser to a considerable amount. The gardens were then finally closed, and the ground let for building purposes, the usual termination of all suburban places of entertainment, which thus are absorbed into the ever-increasing mass of houses and streets. Beaumont Street, a part of Devonshire Street, and Devonshire Place, cover the site, and No. 17 in the latter is said to occupy the position formerly held by the orchestra. As late as 1808 a few trees at the north end of Harley Street survived as relics of the once popular gardens.*

The course of the brook from Marylebone Road to Oxford Street is marked in no known map, but a portion of it is seen in one by William Faden in 1785, in which it is shown as taking a sweep westwards, bending round again to the east, terminating at the then stables of the Horse Guards, as near as possible that of Baker Street Bazaar. From hence it may be faintly traced towards Marylebone Lane, which it crossed twice, when it becomes again visible in the maps of Lee and Glynne and others. James Street, Manchester Square, marks its course into Oxford Street.

Here we have arrived at an important site in con-

* I must acknowledge my indebtedness to the excellent account of these gardens, by Miss Gardner, published in a number of the "Choir."

nexion with it as tributary to the ancient water-supply of the metropolis. So early as 21 Hen. III. liberty was granted to Gilbert Sandford to convey water from Tyburn by pipes of lead to the city, and there were subsequent extensions showing the early importance that the citizens of London attributed to a pure water-supply. Conduits about nine in number were here distributed, many of which are marked in the map of Lea and Glynne; one being nearly opposite South Street in a field east of Marylebone Lane; another close to what is now the police station, and some few years since still in use; another in the rear of the Banqueting House, now Stratford Place; and others on the south side of Oxford Street, one having been lately discovered and illustrated in the Proceedings of this Society.

The Lord Mayor's Banqueting House was chiefly used by the city authorities for entertainments when they came to visit or inspect the conduits in the vicinity, and this ceremony was a day of some recreation to the mayor and aldermen with their wives. It was usually held on the 18th of Sept., the citizens on horseback, their wives in waggons. On one of these occasions, in 1562, Strype relates that "The Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and many worshipful persons rode to the conduit-heads to see them, according to old custom; then they went and hunted a hare before dinner and killed her; and thence went to dinner at the Banqueting House, at the head of the conduit, where a great number were handsomely entertained by their chamberlain. After dinner they went to hunt the fox. There was great cry for a mile, and at

length the hounds killed him at the end of St. Giles', with great hollowing and blowing of horns at his death ; and thence the Lord Mayor, with all his company, rode through London to his place in Lombard Street."

After the establishment of the New River system the Corporation leased these conduits, which became part of a system of water-supply, called Marylebone Waterworks, and there was a large reservoir, called Marylebone Basin, north of Cavendish Square and parallel to Portland Place. The Banqueting House was pulled down in 1737. A small view of it is seen in the large map of Morgan.

The line of the brook is even now easily to be traced from Oxford Street, by the way in which buildings have avoided it, and the streets built accordingly. There are many maps which show its entire course thence to the Thames. Opposite to the Banqueting House was the Receipt House. It gave name to Brook Street, also to Conduit Street, where, at the Bond Street end, is marked the "Pump House Ground," with the house in question by the side of the stream. Hence, it bent back through the mews by Berkeley Square, passing just in the rear of the gardens of Berkeley House, round by the end of Clarges Street, by a diagonal line to the Green Park, formerly falling into a basin made early in the eighteenth century, not existing in Faithorne's map (1685). All this latter course is well shown in a plan preserved in the Royal Library in the British Museum, setting out new streets for building, in the then meadows whose names are given, with the site

of a “Ducking Pond.” This plan must have been made at the end of the seventeenth century.

Faithorne’s map carries the stream across the Green Park to the front of Buckingham House, where it was covered in from view. Passing in front of the palace, its original course was down what is now St. James Street, Chapel Street, Orchard Street, College Street, by the walls of the monastery of Westminster, until it fell into the Thames; and this was controlled to make a fall of water for the Abbot’s mill, and thus it is we get the name of Millbank. (G)

We have now arrived at the most interesting spot in connection with the Ty-bourne; it is where it first received its name, where, could we read its history in geological times, it has helped to perform a great work in the large deposit upon which now stands the city of Westminster. Its course hence, to its outfall into the Thames, is a problem for us to unravel. It is one full of interest, as I hope to be able to show that, dividing into two branches, from which it doubtless has its name, it isolated the spot, known in ancient times as the Isle of Thorns, upon which stand the venerable Abbey, the ancient royal palace of our kings, our Houses of Parliament, with all the great associations of our constitutional history. To Englishmen it is certainly the most venerable of all our sites, nor indeed can Europe show one which can outrival it in memories which, in a more or less degree, affect the development of modern political life throughout the world.

There was another branch, which from the front of Buckingham Palace went in a bold sweep westwards,

forming the ancient boundary of Westminster, and under the name of King's Scholars' Pond Sewer it falls into the Thames. (H) But this was not the course of the ancient stream, as I shall now endeavour to show you by reciting a portion of the charter of King Edgar in the year 951, which was a confirmatory grant of about 600 acres of land to the church of St. Peter of Westminster, and which it appears was originally bequeathed to this monastery by Offa King of Mercia about 200 years before, and here is given the boundary. This boundary has been discussed three times in this Society, viz. first in a communication by Mr. Coote, secondly by Mr. Overall, and thirdly by myself; indeed the two first of these communications took place nineteen years ago. Having given the subject now the study of years, I think I am enabled to arrive at conclusions, which, differing from many who have written on the subject on some matters of detail, do not oblige me to take particular notice of what were merely suggestions, and not fortified by any local study. This is the perambulation of the Saxon charter:

“Ærest up of Temese, andlang Merfleotes to Pollenestocce, swa on Bulunga fenn; of tham fenne æft there ealdan die to Cuforde: of Cuforde upp andlang Teoburnan * to thære wide heres-stræet; after thære

* “Teo-burna.” In analysing this word the only difficulty is with the prefix “teo,” the termination “burna” (“bourn” or “brook”) being well-known. Whether this means a duplication in the sense of “two” or “tie,” which as an enclosing stream it might imply, or must be referred to a word nearer to the primitive sense of its root, may be a matter of speculation. The Saxon verb, “teon,” to lead, in imperative making “teoh” or “teo,” is the nearest form to the root T—N, which contains the idea of enclosing or drawing on, &c., and

here stræet to thære calde stoccene Sancte Andreas Cyricean, swa innan Lundenc fenn: andlang suth on Temese on Midden streame: andlang stremes be lando and be strande æft on Merfleote." Thus translated: First up from the Thames, along Merfleet to Pollenstocks, so on (to) Bulunga fen, from the fen by the old dyke to Cowford, from Cowford up along Tybourne to the wide high road (military road) to the old stocks of St. Andrew's Church, so within London fen, along south on the Thames in mid stream, along stream by land and strand again on (to) Merfleet.

I confine my discussion to but a portion of this record, as my subject is not the boundary of Westminster but the course of the Ty-bourne, and its identification where its name is first on record. To begin with the position of the Merfleet. Having given the composition of this word a very careful study, I yield to the argument of our late learned friend, Mr. Black, that it means the "boundary-fleet," as this can be sustained by numerous references to similar names extant, which are compounded without doubt of the Saxon "Gemære," a boundary. But whatever opinion may be held upon this, the position which it

is the mother of a large tribe of words. (See Barne's Roots). It is at least obvious, that it is here we must seek the true meaning and application of the term; and there is nothing forced in making its analogy to be intimate with that of "tye," "tigh," or "teage," as it is variously spelt, and signifying an enclosure of land ("clausuram quam Angli vocant teage," see Cowell's Law Dictionary). The two arms of the brook enclose the island on which Westminster Abbey, &c. is situated, anciently called "Thorney"; it is, therefore, both simple and appropriate to apply a prefix that shall express a sense which is agreeable to the physical characteristics of the place.

occupied ought not to be a matter of doubt. This fleet, like all such, most likely had a wide opening into the river, extending probably from near the present outfall of the King's Scholars' Pond Sewer (H) to the ancient outfall of the Abbey mill-stream. The natural feature to which we give the name of "fleet," in Latin records "*fluctus aquæ*," may be well studied on the Thames, especially at those of Purfleet and Wennington. Indeed, the latter occupies a bend of the river remarkably similar to that of Westminster. In all cases, the "fleet" is a shallow through which a brook runs, and which at high water is overflowed. If then, guided by the map, we proceed to mark this boundary, we should travel along, perhaps, a raised bank by the side of this Merfleet for some distance, until we arrive at Pollenstocks. We must analyse this word. Pollen, in East Saxon dialect, is identical with pollard, a topped or polled tree; stock is applied to any upright of wood, a tree-stump, or a post, or any up-raised construction of wood may be called a stock. Stook, which is the same word of another dialect, means a stake-fence beneath which water is discharged, and stockle, in another dialect, means a pollard tree-stem. The evidence is thus in favour of considering Pollen-stocks as a row of polled trees, possibly willows, which may have been remarkable; for in these early boundary descriptions, trees, as well as other natural objects, play a large part. Assuming this, we proceed on as we are told to Bulinga fen,* which many persons have

* "Bulunga fenn,"—Bulunga evidently expresses a quality or characteristic. Its termination "unga" is identical with "ing," the final

identified with Tothill Fields, in which opinion I quite agree, for it comes exactly in our path and fulfils all the conditions required; and it preserved the remains of its early fenny state to very recent times. Now we are told to go along the “old dyke” or ditch to the Cow-ford. This old ditch coming thus close upon the fen, possibly made to drain it, can be no other than that which now forms part of King’s Scholars’ Pond Sewer, and which leads us up to Buckingham Palace. You will have observed that as yet there is no mention of the Ty-bourne, so it is clear that the stream which now forms the sewer outlet, as above described, had no existence at this time, or it would not have been necessary to appeal to other objects: there was but this old dyke. Now as this has brought us close to the Ty-bourne, to place the Cow-ford becomes easy. The former crosses our path, and we must ford it; and this ford must have been near to the end of James Street, by the Palace,

syllable of our participle, as can be shown by a numerous selection of words from our Saxon glossaries, and the final *a*, an inflexion due to case. “Ung” is still the equivalent of our “ing” in the German language. The prefix “Bul” of course contains the idea intended to be conveyed, and it, in various ways, forms words having a sense of swelling out, as “bulge.” The root *B* — *L*, signifying “what bunches short and thick” (see Barne’s Roots, &c.), has from it “Boll,” *i.e.* as of a tree, &c., “Balk,” and numerous other words and compounds all expressive of or including the same idea. A swollen or swelling out fen is the suggestion thus given by its analysis, and has nothing in it that is improbable or unnatural in this sense. Boling-brook is evidently compounded of the same elements. In the Northamptonshire dialect “boll’d” signifies swollen, and “bula” in the Swedish is a protuberance, all members of the same Teutonic root.

(I), whence, I believe, the main course of the Tybourne, following that of James Street, Chapel Street, Orchard Street, and College Street, by the ancient walls of the Monastery, being utilised to turn the Abbot's mill, made its chief outlet into the Thames. The course along the Ty-bourne to the Here Street, now Oxford Street, has already been described.

The evidences given by Norden's Map (1585) establishes the main facts here set down, and show besides what a very watery region all the vicinity was still, notwithstanding the draining of over eight centuries; and we can easily imagine that, in earlier times, Thorney Island* may often have been isolated by large tracts of standing water. Indeed, what is now St. James's Park was a marsh, until drained by Henry VIII. (see Map), and Norden's Map shows it intersected with ditches: and thus, probably, it remained until the long canal, constructed by Charles

* "Thorney," i.e. Isle of Thorns. This, the long popular interpretation, I have accepted as the most probable, after a careful examination of the form in which it appears, as "Thorneia," "Thornig," "Thorneg." The thorn, that is the whitethorn, is very common still in our marshes, by the sides of ditches, and abundantly so in the vicinity of Stratford, Essex—the Stratford Langthorne of our topographers. It is also of very common reference in the perambulations of our Saxon charters, and there can be no reason why such a characteristic should not be a component of this name. The idea of Mr. A. White that it meant "through" is not consistent with the Saxon form of the word "thurh." Moreover, "thorn," as attached to other finals, is more naturally interpreted as the tree, as in "Thornden," Kent, meaning a vale of thorns, "Thorndon," Essex, &c., &c., than it could be by using a term of a subjective, rather than an objective sense, which makes up most of our Saxon words, applied to villages, &c. and indeed is a mode adopted throughout the world.

II., which in Ogilby's small maps of his Roadbook seems to have been fed in part by the Ty-bourne.

But I have yet to give some evidence in relation to the second arm of the Tybourne, and which I assert to have aided in forming Thorney Island. Norden's map again assists us, and one remarkable feature in the many ditches shown by it is that emphatically called "the long ditch." (K) If you examine its circuitous course you will find that one part nearly touches the line of the bourne, and the small portion concealed was doubtless arched over for the convenience of dwellings, &c. Also we know that it had an exit into the river a short distance west of Privy Stairs. (K) Thus we have the Abbey site isolated by a watercourse, which, divided into two, might be appropriately called the double brook or Teo-burn, its ancient name still preserving an almost modern construction.

I have endeavoured, as far as possible, to avoid unsupported hypotheses; to place before you evidence which the facts naturally point to, and to show, as far as it is practicable, that, notwithstanding all the great artificial changes which have been wrought in many centuries, we can still gather facts from various sources, which facts are coincident with local peculiarities of level, and can, by a critical eye, still be seen: then, putting them together, we arrive at a conclusion which, at least, is the most probable solution of an interesting question.

Before I conclude the subject it is impossible to pass over what has been written respecting the early state of the locality of Thorney Island by our very respected Vice-President, the late Dean Stanley, in

his interesting volume on the Abbey. "In the year 969, on the fifteenth of May, in a solemn assembly of the temporal and spiritual lords of the realm, headed by the celebrated Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury, King Edgar granted a charter of endowment and privilege to the church of St. Peter at Westminster. The charter is in Latin,* and was probably drawn up by Dunstan himself, as he is specially alluded to, as well as Athelwold, Bishop of Winchester, as being called on to advise the King on the state of the churches ruined by the irruption of barbarians, especially the Danes. The charter then alludes in chief to the church of its special lord, patron, and protector, our blessed Peter, which is situated *in the terrible place* (*in loco terribili*), which by the inhabitants is called Thorneye, on the west, that is to say, of the city of London, which formerly, that is, in the year of our Lord's incarnation 604, by the advice of the blessed Æthelbrith, first Christian king of the English, first having there destroyed the temple of abomination of the pagan kings, was by Saberth, a certain wealthy man, viceroy of London, nephew of that king, constructed, and not by any other than by Saint Peter himself, Prince of the Apostles, dedicated to his own proper honour."

In the interpretations of the passage, "in terribili loco," the Dean, as it appears to me, has fallen into an error, for he assumes that it refers to the physical character of the locality as in the midst of dreary marshes. But what is our experience of marsh land and its connection with our monasteries? Is it not

* See Thorpe's "Diplomatarium Anglicum Ævi Saxonici."

notorious that it was, in very many cases, especially chosen? In the fenny land of Cambridgeshire have we not Ely, Crowland, and Thorney (a name similar to that of the site of Westminster), all in marsh land? Are not some of the noblest of our churches and the richest of livings in marsh land? Romney Marsh is noted for the high price of its acreage and its great value for grazing purposes, and for fine churches. Are there not at this moment two nations on the Continent, our near neighbours and kin, both flourishing in marsh land reclaimed? It may be these lands are flat, but not necessarily devoid of some beauty, and certainly not "terrible." I have been in the fenny country, near Lynn, in the springtime, and seen the green rank herbage mingled with buttercups and daisies in such profusion as to gild the landscape with colour rarely seen out of marsh land. Then what means the Isle of Thorns? Why an island covered with our beautiful white thorn, our fragrant and delightful spring-flowering tree. An island lifted up from the marsh land covered with this, and by the side of a noble river, surrounded by a flowing stream of pure water, was surely not a "terrible place," nor is it at all probable that in a charter any reference to it, had it been so, would have been given. What then does it mean?

It means terrible or dreadful in the sense in which the last word is used in our translation of the Bible. "How dreadful is this place," Genesis, ch. xxviii. v. 17. In fact, the early legendary story of the consecration of the church is referred to in the charter, and the sanctity of the place specially mentioned,

as arising in consequence of St. Peter himself, the “Prince of the Apostles, Key-keeper of Heaven,” having personally officiated in the dedication. And if we continue to peruse the charter throughout, this becomes plainly manifest, for the phrase is repeated in connection with holy—“that terrible or dreadful and holy place” (*locum illum terribilem et sanctum*). It was intended to impress an idea of great veneration and sanctity on this spot beyond all others, as its allusion in one passage to its being also the place of the kings, *i.e.* their royal residences, quite forbids us to seek an interpretation of the passage, as having any reference to its physical disabilities. And surely we, at this time, would not wish to dissever from its history this early legend, though obviously an invention for the express purpose of giving to the spot an awful feeling of veneration. Dunstan was quite equal to the task, and without doubt his influence runs through the charter. The rights of sanctuary are strongly enforced. No man whatever crime he had committed could be pursued by the hands of justice beyond the holy precincts. No power, not even that of the king or his officers, could invade it. No episcopal authority even was to be exercised over it, for it was hedged around with privileges. Often, however, these privileges were invaded as times grew, and our constitutional system developed. The potent barons, who assembled in the Chapter House, or appeared in Westminster Hall, could little brook that, perhaps, a supporter of the excessive power of the Crown should elude their vengeance by fleeing to this sanctuary. So in the reign of Richard II. Judge Tressilian was

drawn forth from it to Tyburn and there executed : an apology to the abbot being all that was required to set things right.

In later times, a place expressly called “The Sanctuary,” was erected, a strong building, not easily forced, and it played a part in our history, as is shown in Dean Stanley’s Memorials of Westminster. With this my subject, as connected with the Tyborne, is brought to an end, but a description of the course of the Westbourne will now follow, as it is rendered necessary, in consequence of some disputed points in the boundary to which I have referred, and which I must now take up.

The late Mr. Black having given a different interpretation to the reading of the Perambulation, it is necessary that it should not be passed over. He places the “Merfleet” at the outflow of the Westbourne (of which stream I shall presently give a full account), by the Royal Hospital of Chelsea (L), “Bulunga fen” in Hyde Park, the “old ditch,” the West-bourne itself up to the road through Bayswater, and here the “Cowford.” (M)

Let us examine this theory by the local characteristics. As there are no positive data, the commencement of the boundary may be fixed at pleasure in the low-lying land by the river, *but* it must be consistent. After we leave “Bulunga fen,” thus vaguely placed and on high ground, the difficulties begin. The record tells us to go by the “old ditch to the Cowford.” In the theory we are by a natural stream, the largest

of our London brooks, called, and with propriety, the “West-bourne,” a term of great antiquity, which has given name to a large manor, of which it forms a boundary. Now the fall of this stream from the place where it thus fixes the “Cowford” to the rise of the ground *above* the marsh level is no less than 20 ft. and the distance but a mile and a half. This would be a rapid and powerful torrent; and even if the brook had been artificially embanked in Saxon times, which is not at all probable, so as to warrant the term “ditch,” this embanking would be constantly torn away by the current, and would yield altogether to the first storm-flow of water. But the physical conformation of this part of the brook’s course rendered all embankment unnecessary. The term “ditch” could never have been applied to a powerful natural stream. The Saxon “dic” has two meanings—it is either that which is dug out, or that which is thrown up, as an earthen wall. In the record it is feminine, and therefore means the first.*

Now let us for a moment yield to this stream being called “the old ditch,” and go with it to the “Cowford,” as thus placed. (M) What do we find then? Why that we are *now* on the high road, “*the wide heere street.*” But this is not according to the record, which says, “*From Cowford up along Tybourne to the broad military road or here street,*” and, if Mr. Black be right, all this latter is perfectly unnecessary

* In the glossary to the *Diplomatarium Anglicum*, &c., Mr. Thorpe quotes Kemble as saying that “dic” in the feminine means “ditch,” but when masculine “a bank.”

and useless; for the record then tells you to proceed along *this street* to the stocks of St. Andrew's Church, in fact to keep straight on. But Mr. Black tells us to go on eastward and along the course of a stream close by Edgware Road, which he calls the "Teoburna," a petty rillet of no importance, which is tributary to the Westbourne, called Tyburn Brook in recent times *only*,* and this he assumes to be what is meant, ignoring even then the reach of road half-a-mile long before you arrive at it. Mr. Alfred White, however, would have us to consider the "Teoburna" of the record meant the manor. Here the divergence is still greater, for at this "Cowford" we are more than a mile from the first point of the manor, which is indeed the bourn itself, yet the words are "up along Tyborne," which implies it is close at hand, manor or bourn, for it is the boundary we are to follow.

There is indeed no possible way out of the dilemma involved. First, an important natural stream is turned into a ditch. Then you must ignore part of the record or falsify its plain directions. In either way you are in the serious difficulty of having more than you require and which you want to get rid of. At *this* "Cowford" you are already on the "military street" which by the record you have yet to seek, and Strat or Street-ford would have been a more appropriate term, than one suggestive of meadows and pasture and analogous to that of "Cowbridge" which occurs in such a position on the line of the "Holebourne."

* See account of Bridges of Middlesex.

In the course propounded by Mr. Saunders in his paper in the *Archacologia*,* and adopted in the main by me, there is no difficulty, all follows naturally as in the record. Then, the manor of Eia, which lies between the Westbourne and the Tybourn, bounded on the north by what is now the Bayswater Road, was not the property of the Abbot of Westminster at all until the Conquest, when it was granted by Geoffrey de Mandeville and confirmed by William the Conqueror. So that this fact alone would dispose of Mr. Black's theory, setting aside, what has been already shown, that in no way can it be reconciled to the plain reading of the record nor with subsequent records, which determined the boundary of the parish of St. Margaret's in 1222. An extract from one of these is conclusive as to what is meant by the Tyborne: "Ne vero super limitibus dictae Parochiae S. Margaretae questio possit suboriri; limites ejusdem Parochiae praesenti scripto duximus declarandos. Incipit igitur Parochiae S. Margaretae ab aqua de *Tyburne* decurrente in Thamisium ex una parte, et ex altera sicut strata regia se extendit versus Londoniam usque ad gardinem Hospitalis S. Egidii."†

It is perfectly clear from this, that Mr. Black in placing the Merfleet at the outfall of the "Westbourne" is not only wrong, but all his argument which follows must thus be wrong too, independent of the manifold difficulties which I have shown follow in his argument. It is the Tybourne at which the

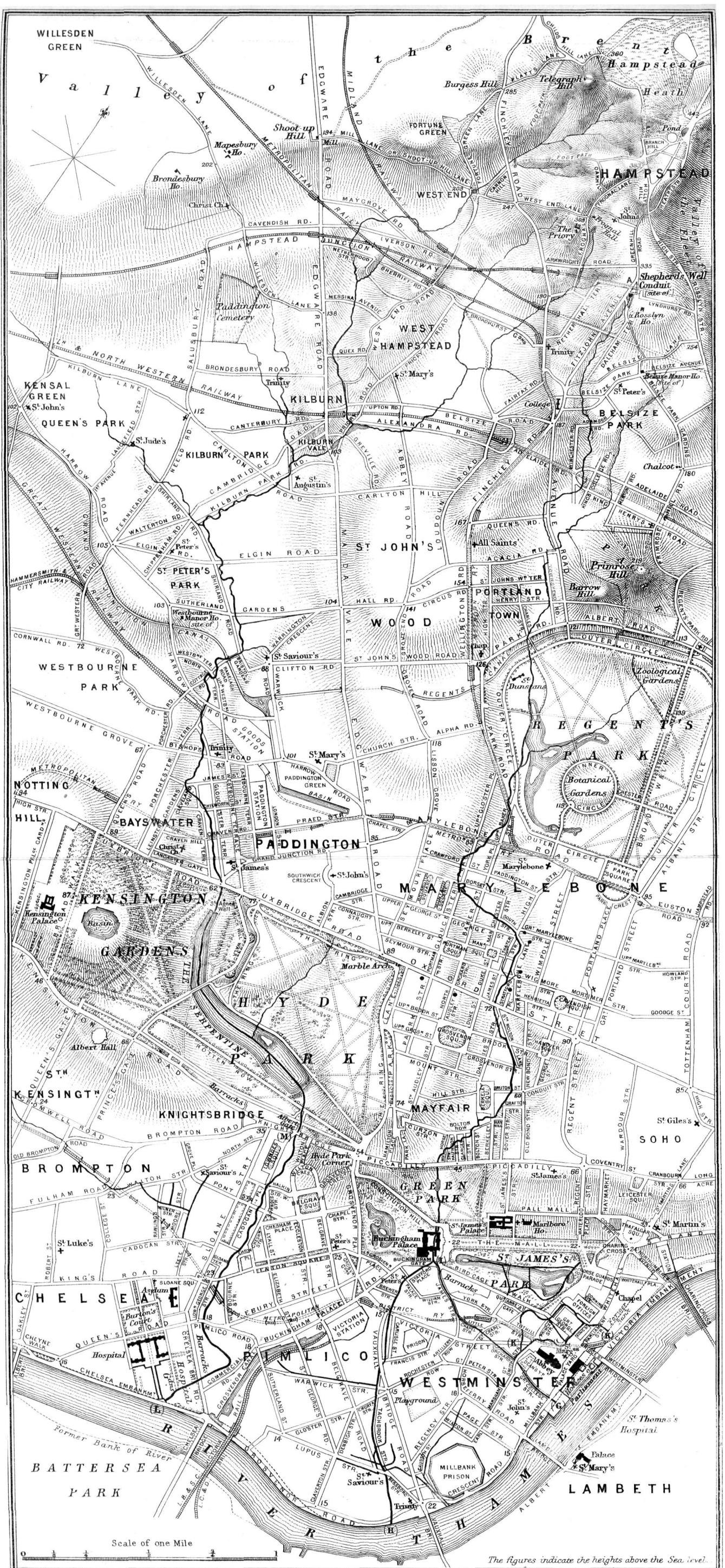
* Vol. xxxi.

† See Mr. Saunders's paper.

boundary must begin, the stream which gives name to the manor which it bounded, and through which that manor was twice named.

THE WESTBOURNE.

The West-bourne, which is properly so called, was, perhaps, for its numerous springs and course, even more considerable than the Hole-bourne. Some of its tributary springs are close to those of the Ty-bourne, and it wanted but little in the level to have made the latter merely a tributary also, and thus have altered its entire course. The farthest of its sources of supply was formerly marked by a small pond on Hampstead Heath, at its most south-western side, near to what was called the "Judges' Walk." The next was within the village near Frognall estate, and marked by an arch or conduit over it; all this has been drained off into sewers. The stream, from these united sources, flowed westward through pleasant meadows towards the great Roman road to the north by Edgware, receiving a small affluent as it turned, running parallel to it, as far as Kilburn, feeding some reservoirs artificially made for the small monastic institution here situate. But we must now turn to the affluent which gives this name. This has three sources: the first close to the side of Hampstead Church; another from West End, close by the Finchley Road; a third within a very short distance of that of



the Ty-bourne. These three streams unite about mid-way to the site of the Priory, and continue direct to it, also aiding the supply of the fish ponds, &c., all of which existed in the last century, and are given in a plan preserved in the British Museum (Royal Library).

Some brief notice of this monastic house may now be desirable, especially as a relic of one of its occupants has recently been discovered in a fragment of a monumental brass.

Kilbourn, Keleburn, or Kuneburne, as it has been variously recorded in ancient deeds, means "Cold-brook," from the Saxon "kele," to cool. There are many analogies in the use of the term as also in its meaning. The locality of the priory was in early times a place full of rural beauty (of which it still preserves remains), being very secluded, as it was five miles from the City of London, amidst the wooded uplands which characterised the northern suburban county. Here, then, one Godwyn chose to fix his habitation in the twelfth century. His name shows him to have been Saxon, and he soon after conveyed his hermitage and lands belonging to the Abbot of Westminster. The Abbot Herebert and Osbert de Clare the Prior then settled it upon three maidens, said to have been maids of honour to the Queen Matilda, who, representing the Saxon Royal line, of whose eminent virtues much has been written, and was much beloved by the English people. Their names were Emma, Gunilda, and Christina. Godwyn was appointed warden of the house by the Abbot, and the Bishop of London exempted it from

his jurisdiction. It was dedicated to St. John the Baptist, and soon received various additions of land for its support and allowance for the nuns of bread and wine on the day of St. Cosmas and St. Damian (Sept. 27.)

Conflicts of jurisdiction, however, arose in the thirteenth century between the Abbots of Westminster and the Bishop of London; and it was finally arranged that the Bishop was to have access to the Priory and to be received with procession to hear confessions and to enjoin penances, leaving all matters belonging to the regulation of the house unto the Abbot, but the consecration and benediction of the nuns to be in the hands of the Bishop; and so the institution run its course.

It is, however, a remarkable fact that many of these conventional establishments, notwithstanding their increasing endowments, were often complaining of want of funds. So, in 1377, a petition was sent to the Bishop, setting forth that the monastery was much decayed in rents and profits, and from its situation, near to a much frequented highway, exposed to the burthen of affording hospitality to a large concourse of people, both rich and poor. In this statement we get a picture of the times, and the obligation of religious houses which supplied the place of inns, to a certain extent, in districts distant from towns, and where hospitality, when demanded, could not be refused. So in answer to this petition they had granted to them a relaxation of tenths and subsidies, taxation, both temporal and ecclesiastical, for thirty years.

The community continued to exist in its sylvan retreat, having property assigned to it, far and wide, in London, and without; but it never seems to have been accounted rich, and never could have rejoiced in a very sumptuous surrounding, either in its church or in its conventional buildings. A moated site with fish ponds fed by the brook gave it protection, and which were visible at the end of the last century, together with some small remains of the church, possibly its chancel, which was all that was left even in 1550.

At the Dissolution the property was valued at 7*l.* 7*s.* 11*d.* per annum. The prioress, in ready money, possessed 6*l.* 16*s.* 4*d.* There were three bells worth 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* There was a relique of the holy cross closed in silver and set with counterfeit stones and pearls, valued at the small sum of 3*s.* 4*d.* Their books were not numerous: they consisted of two mass books, one in MS., the other printed; four processionals in parchment and paper; two legends, one in parchment, the other in paper; and there were two chests with divers books belonging to the church, but declared to be of no value.

There were two copies of the "Legenda Aurea," one in manuscript, the other printed; the two valued only at 4*d.* This depreciation must be considered to belong to the disfavour into which legends had fallen. No book of the Scriptures, or probably of any part other than passages in the breviaries, seemed to be in their possession; and indeed their literary account is remarkably small. Among their various effects is mentioned but one horse, and of a black colour.

Of the prioresses but four names have come down

to us. The earliest of these was named Joan and possibly lived in the thirteenth century. The next name is that of Emma de St. Omer, then we get Margery, of the time of Henry IV. Anne Browne was the last, and surrendered the convent to Henry VIII.

The annexed engraving is taken from a fragment



HALF SIZE OF THE ORIGINAL.

of a brass found amongst some human remains near the site of the priory during late excavations for some additions to the Railway at Kilburn. There can be little doubt but that it represents part of a memorial to one of the prioresses, but it is not possible to say

which, as we only possess the names above recorded, and it certainly was not to either of them. Judging from the peculiar treatment of the features, the date would be about 1360-70, and then the person commemorated would probably be the predecessor of the Prioress Margery above named. Memorials to female superiors of religious houses are extremely few. Elizabeth Harvey, Abbess of Elstow, Agnes Jordan, Abbess of Syon, both of the sixteenth century, are the only brasses remaining in England to any of the order, so this fragment has increased interest as the earliest in date. It, although but a veiled head, has a peculiarity which has never before come under my notice, viz.: a small cord attached to the veil for the purpose, as it appears, of sustaining the wimple. Generally, however, the wimple was affixed to the head independently. It is satisfactory to know that this relic is well preserved in the adjoining church of St. Mary, Kilburn.

The course of the main stream, which may be now called the "Westbourne," leaving the Priory, crosses the Edgware Road, beneath an ancient bridge of the thirteenth century, into extensive flat low-lying meadows, receiving an affluent from Willesden Lane, which runs parallel to the great road until it joins. The stream then goes for some distance in a direct, but sinuous course, until it receives an addition to its waters from a source north-east of Kensal Green, when it bends, almost at a right angle, and continuing a short distance is then again turned in the same abrupt manner and passes beneath the canal, which possibly rendered this artificial change necessary, and then proceeds as before, mainly parallel to the Edge-

ware Road, leaving its name at Westbourn Green, then passing Craven Hill on the west where formerly stood the “Pest House,” removed from its primitive site by Golden Square. It then forms the great body of water of the Serpentine, the largest artificial ornamental piece of water in the metropolis. A small stream called Tyburn Brook here made a small affluent, running in a well-marked depression and emptying by the Magazine. Wheatley’s paintings in the last century have recorded the use made of small reservoirs on its course, by mothers to come and bathe their children, a testimony to the quiet seclusion of the park, as also to the then not easy access to places more fitted. As a testimony to the habits of our London forefathers, these paintings, which have been well engraved, have an interest they otherwise would not possess.

The Serpentine, that magnificent piece of water, was made by carefully damming up the stream and gathering together some springs in the reign of George II. It was a work of magnitude, and arrests the waters before falling into the low lands.

As it issues from the Park a bridge of three arches, which covered its stream, gave name to the locality of Knights-bridge. By a course nearly direct, but full of sinuous bendings, it passed through the low meadows of Chelsea, and gives name to many of the localities on its course, as well as to the manor of Westbourne itself, just as the Ty-bourne named the manor, and subsequently the parish of Marylebone, as has been stated. Near to its outlet it bent a little eastwards, and then by an abrupt angle went directly

into the Thames, near Ranelagh Gardens, through which it now rejoices in the title of Ranelagh Sewer.

The annexed is a more minute and accurate plan of this latter course, taken from a survey of the Grosvenor estate, of which it forms one of the boundaries, made in 1724.

Some tributary streams may have aided the flow of waters in this part of its course, but they have not been sufficiently recorded to have their place in maps, though they possibly may exist in private plans of estates. But in the large surface drained the Westbourne was the most considerable of all the brooks which flowed through London, though its part in its history is but small.



SERPENTINE.

THAMES.

THE RECORDS OF THE WORSHIPFUL COMPANY OF STATIONERS.

By CHARLES ROBERT RIVINGTON,
CLERK OF THE COMPANY.

Read 12th December, 1881.

IT is but a few years since the late Mr. J. G. Nichols read an interesting paper on this Company, which will be found in the second volume of the Society's Transactions, and still more recently Mr. Edward Arber published a Transcript of the Registers of the Company from 1554 to 1640 in 4 vols. the prefaces to which contain much valuable information.

Although the Company of Stationers, as we shall hereafter learn, occupied but a modest position amongst the Civic Guilds, yet "Stationers' Hall" can boast of a greater notoriety than any other similar institution.

A brotherhood or fellowship of Stationers, of whom, amongst other eminent printers, Wynkyn de Worde appears to have been a member, was first founded in the year 1403, about half a century before the invention of printing and perhaps an entire century before the exercise of that art could extend to a pro-

fession. The printing trade naturally fell into their hands and gave them consequence as the manufacturers and vendors of books.

In 1556 the brotherhood obtained from Philip and Mary a charter of incorporation. This charter is prefaced thus, "Know ye that we considering and manifestly perceiving that certain seditions and heretical books, rhymes, and treatises are daily published and printed by divers scandalous, malicious, schismatical, and heretical persons, not only moving our subjects and lieges to sedition and disobedience against us, our Crown and dignity, but also to renew and move very great and detestable heresies against the faith and sound doctrine of Holy Mother Church, and wishing to provide a suitable remedy in this behalf," and incorporates "The Master and Keeper or Wardens and Commonalty of the Mystery or Art of a Stationer of the City of London." Thomas Dockwray being the first master, and John Cawood and Henry Cooke the first wardens.

The charter prohibits any person from printing within the realm without the licence of the Company, except patentees, and grants to the Company power to search, seize, and destroy or appropriate all unlicensed books.

The charter was granted by Philip and Mary, with the object of creating a fresh tool for the suppression of books against the Government, and what the authorities pleased to pronounce a heresy. On the 18th August, 1553, a proclamation had been issued by Queen Mary, prohibiting the printing of "books, ballads, rhymes, and interludes," without special

licence. In the following year the opposition to the Spanish marriage was so great, that Parliament prohibited the setting forth of any book to the slander or reproach of "the King or Queen," under the penalty of the loss of the right hand. Many Protestants fled abroad to escape persecution, and settled at Frankfurt, Zurich, Strasburg, and other towns, and in June, 1555, a proclamation was made to the wardens of every Company in London to search for heretical books which had come from abroad. These proclamations were little heeded, and the prayer of the members of the printing craft for incorporation was listened to favourably.

The cost of obtaining the charter is thus set out in the Company's book:—

The Charges layde out for o^r Corporation.

	s.
fyrste for 2 times wrytinge of o ^r booke before y ^t was signyed be the kynge and the quenes matie highness	0 . 18 . 0
It. for the syngned and the prevy seale . . . . .	. 6 . 6 . 8
It. for the greate seale . . . . .	. 8 . 9 . 0
It. for the wrytinge and inrolynge . . . . .	. 3 . 0 . 0
It. for wax lace and examenacion . . . . .	. 0 . 3 . 4
It. to the clerkes for expedycion . . . . .	. 0 . 10 . 0
It. for lymyng and for the skyn . . . . .	. 0 . 20 . 0

The incorporation of the Company was celebrated by a dinner at the Hall, the charges of which will be found set forth in detail in Mr. Arber's publication.

On the 10th November, 1559, Queen Elizabeth confirmed the charter.

On the 22nd January, 1573, a precept was issued

by the Mayor to the Company, requiring them at their peril forthwith to produce their charters or grants for inrolment.

The original charters were destroyed at the Great Fire, and the Company have exemplifications only, which were obtained about 1684.

In 1663 a writ of *quo warranto* was brought by the Attorney-General against the Company's charter, and Dr. Bayly was entreated to see the Lord Chancellor about it, and subsequently it was suspended "until Mr. L'Estrange, Surveyor of the Press, settle with the Company some method for suppressing seditious and unlicensed publications." A writ of *quo warranto* was exhibited against the Company's charter in 1684, but in 1690 the judgment was reversed.

The most ancient and curious record in the Company's possession is the first warden's account book. This commences with the master and wardens named in the charter, and includes under each year distinct departments for the binding of apprentices, grants of freedom, and registers of copies. The book itself was presented to the Company by a member of the Court, and is bound in leather, which is in good preservation; each side of the cover is ornamented with the figures of a stag, a hare, and some other animal within a double border. The first entry is an account of the master and wardens' receipts and disbursements from 1554 to 1557. Thomas Berthelet was master when the account commenced, but died soon afterwards, as appears from an item of 13*s.* 4*d.* received from Margerye his widow "for a rewarde to the

Companye for comyng to the sayde Thomas Barthelet his buryall." For many years it was presumed that the first register of copies was lost, as stated by Mr. Steevens in the edition of Shakespeare published in 1778, until Mr. John Northouck discovered that the entries of copies previous to 1571 were contained in the wardens' accounts. There is still a gap of five years, the first separate register of copies commencing 1576. From this date to the present day the registers are intact. But let us first trace the history of the Company to their present Hall. Previous to the incorporation the Brotherhood appear to have possessed a hall in or near Milk Street, and some time before 1570 to have moved to St. Paul's churchyard. The supposed site of the first hall is still in the possession of the Company. The second hall was probably on the south side of St. Paul's, within the ward of Castle Baynard, as the Ward Inquest Committee met at Stationers' Hall in 1555. This second hall was leased to Mr. Edward Kynaston, a vintner, in 1606, who converted it into a tavern called the "Feathers Tavern," and the site was in 1671 sold to Sir William Turner for 420*l.*

In 1611 Abergavenny House was purchased by the partners in the English Stock, and adapted for the use of the Company. It comprised the ground lying between Amen Corner and the Chapter-house estate on the north, St. Martin Ludgate church on the south, the city wall on the west, and the garden of London House on the east. The Company purchased the portion of this garden, which now forms the east side of Ave Maria Lane, but afterwards sold it.

In 1654 the hall was so much out of repair, the dinner to the livery on Lord Mayor's day had to be held elsewhere, and the following year the "Book of Martyrs" was sold to pay for the rebuilding. The Book of Martyrs was frequently reprinted, and was so highly appreciated that when in 1631 it was out of print some "persons of quality," being desirous that it might be reprinted for the general good of the kingdom, threatened to print it themselves if the Company did not immediately issue a fresh edition. A copy of the Book of Martyrs of the best paper, ruled, bound in Turkey leather, gilt, with the king's arms stamped on it, was presented to His Most Excellent Majesty Charles the Second, in 1660, as a token of the Company's duty and submission to his royal person and government.

In 1666 the hall was entirely destroyed by the Fire of London. At the time there was a large quantity of valuable property belonging to the Company in the hall, and everything appears to have been burnt (including the seal of the Company) excepting the registers, which were probably in the clerk's house on Clerkenwell Green. For several weeks after the fire the wardens employed watchmen to guard the ruins and salvage.

The first meeting of the court after the fire was held at Cook's Hall, and the subsequent courts until the hall was rebuilt at the Lame Hospital Hall, *i. e.* St. Bartholomew's Hospital. In 1670 a Committee was appointed to rebuild the hall, and in 1674 the court agreed with Stephen Colledge (the famous Protestant joiner—who was afterwards hanged at Oxford

in 1681) to wainscot the hall “with well-seasoned and well-matched wainscot, according to a model delivered in, for the sum of 300*l.*” His work is now to be seen in excellent condition.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the hall was frequently let for funerals upon payment of very small fees, part of which were distributed amongst the poor of the Company. In 1667 it was let to the parish of St. Martin's Ludgate (without payment) for eighteen months whilst the church was being repaired. St. Cecilia's feast and several county feasts were annually held at Stationers' Hall, and in 1701 Divine music was performed there twice a week by Mr. Cavendish Weedon. Various lotteries, including the Charitable Corporation and Westminster Bridge Lotteries, have been drawn at Stationers' Hall, the fees received by the Company varying from 160*l.* to 225*l.* In 1745 the Surgeons' Company were allowed the use of the hall “upon condition that no dissections were made therein.” And subsequently, upon more than one occasion, the grand lodge of Freemasons has held its meetings in the court-room.

Amongst the various companies of the City the Stationers rank as the thirty-seventh, following the Poulters' Company. The precedence of the companies was often a matter of sharp contention; the rank of the Stationers' Company was settled by an order of the Court of Common Council in 1561, just after a livery had been granted to the Company, the colour of the livery being scarlet and brown-blue. The first appearance of the Company in public which is entered on the records was on the 20th January,

1570, when Queen Elizabeth visited Sir Thomas Gresham. In 1588 the master and wardens and six of the comeliest personages of the livery attended the Lord Mayor at St. James's on horseback, in velvet coats with chains of gold and staff torches, when Queen Elizabeth proceeded from Chelsea to Whitehall. In 1619 the Company attended on their stand at St. Paul's on the king going to hear a sermon at the Cathedral, and in 1638 when the King, Queen, and Queen Mother passed through the City, and again on the 25th November, 1641, when *King Charles was entertained by the City at the Guildhall*. Nine years afterwards the king's picture and the royal arms were removed from the hall and the arms of the Commonwealth substituted, and the Company were required by the Lord Mayor to attend the Protector on the 8th February, 1654, upon his going to dine at Grocers' Hall. The "stand" appears to have been a wooden platform 80 ft. long, hung with blue cloth, and was erected in Ludgate. Forms were usually obtained from the Cathedral, for the use of which 2*s. 6d.* was paid to an official, described by the warden in his accounts as "Paules daughter." In 1678 the Turners' Company obtained an order from the Court of Aldermen for their standing in the place of the Stationers' Company, and apparently in consequence of this the Stationers in the following year built a barge. This barge, which was manned by a crew of twenty men, was used annually on Lord Mayor's day and very frequently during the summer; the cost was defrayed by some of the court and livery, and each one who contributed was allowed the use of

the barge once during the summer; this first barge was in use forty-three years, when a second one was built, which lasted for a similar period. Upon Lord Mayor's day, whilst the procession awaited the return of the Mayor from Westminster, the Stationers' barge was rowed across to Lambeth Palace to enable the Company to pay their respects to their patron the Archbishop. But again arose a contest for precedence. In 1738, in the shrievalty of Mr. James Brooke, citizen and stationer, the Stationers' Company claimed to take precedence before the Goldsmiths' Company, and the Court of Aldermen then made an order that the Company of the Senior Sheriff should take precedence before that of the Junior Sheriff; and this was adhered to in 1761, when a difference arose as to the order of the barges in procession, and the Stationers' Company as being the youngest was directed to lead the way.

The Stationers appear to have been somewhat impatient of the control of the Court of Aldermen. Upon more than one occasion liverymen of the Company invoked the aid of that august body against the refusal of the master, wardens, and assistants to elect them to the Court, and one of the complainants fortified himself with a list of thirty-one precedents of orders of the Court of Aldermen regulating the internal affairs of different Companies, but the pioneers of the liberty of the press would have none of it, and obstinately and successfully maintained the freedom of the Ballot.

The Stationers' Company is governed by a master and two keepers or wardens, and a court of assist-

ants, elected from the livery. The master and wardens are elected annually the Saturday after St. Peter's Day; the reason why this particular day should have been selected is not known. After the election it was the custom to crown the master and wardens with garlands, but this has been discontinued long since, as also (unfortunately for the Company) an antient custom for each master to present to the Company at the expiration of his year of office a piece of plate weighing fourteen ounces at the least. The earlier gifts of plate to the Company are thus described:—

One spone of syluer gylt of the gyft of Master Dockwray.

One spone all gylt of the gyft of Master Cawood.

One spone of syluer all gylt of the gyft of Master Walye, of his name in grau (*i.e.* engraved).

A spoynے gylte the gyfte of Master Richard Waye.

A spoynے of the gyfte of Master John Jaques, parsell gylte.

A spoynے gylte, of the gyfte of Master John Turke.

A spoynے of the gyfte of Master Regunde Wolfe all gylte with the pycture of Saint John.

A spoynے of the gyfte of Master Mychell Loble all gylte with his name on the ende of yt.

A spoynے of the gyfte of Master Dewxsell the 11 daye of Septembre anno 1560, all gylte with the armes of the Companye upon the ende.

A sylver spoynے all gylt of the gyfte of Steven Kevall.

A sylver spoynے all gylt of the gyfte of Rychard Jugge.

A sylver spoynے all gylt of the gyfte of John Judson.

A salte with a cover of the gyfte of Master John Cawood to ye Company or Mystery of Stacioners waying xix onces and a halfe, dubble gyllte with the stacioners armes on yt.

A spoynے of the gyfte of William Serys all gylte with his name.

A spoyne of the gyfte of Richard Tottle all gylte with his name.

A spone of all gylte of the gyfte of Rychard Haryson.

A cuppe all gylte with a cover of the gyfte of Master Way called a Mawdelen cuppe waynge ix onces, D.D.

A spone all gylte with the armes of the house of the gyve of Master Jugge.

A spone all gylte with the armes of the house of the gyfte of Master Jerlonde.

A spoyne all gylte of the gyfte of Master Wally with his name on yt.

A spoyne all gylte of the gyfte of Master Daye with his posy in yt.

A bowle parcell gylte of the gefte of Master Rayne Wolf wayng xii oz. half quarter and half quarter.

A spoyne gylte of the gefte of Master Seres with his name in yt.

A spoyne gylte of the gefte of Master Goneld with his name in yt.

A spoyne all gylte of the gyfte of Master Jugge.

A spoyne all gylte of the gyfte of Master Daye.

A bowle parcell gylte of ye gyfte of Master Kevall.

A spone of the gyfte of Master Lambe gylte.

A spone gylte of the gyfte of Master Tottle.

A spone gylte of the gyfte of Master Gunelde.

In August, 1643, all the Company's plate, except Mr. Hulet's standing cup, was sold to Mr. Nowell, a goldsmith in Foster Lane, and out of the proceeds the 120*l.* lent by Mr. Miller upon the security of some of the plate, and various other sums amounting to upwards of 1,500*l.* (which had been borrowed to meet the Company's proportion of the Royal loans), were repaid. The sale was not agreed to without much previous consultation, nor until the Court had satisfied themselves that "there was little probability from the

growing necessities of the kingdom of receiving either principal or interest of the money advanced." In 1563 the Mayor applied to the Company for a return of the just value of the Company's "lands, plate, joieles, and stoke of moneye," to which the Court replied, "we have neyther land, plate, joieles, or stoke of moneye, but onlye a house with serten implementes for our necessarye uses, and at what tyme we meyte together."

The small quantity of plate now possessed by the Company is fully described by Mr. Nichols.

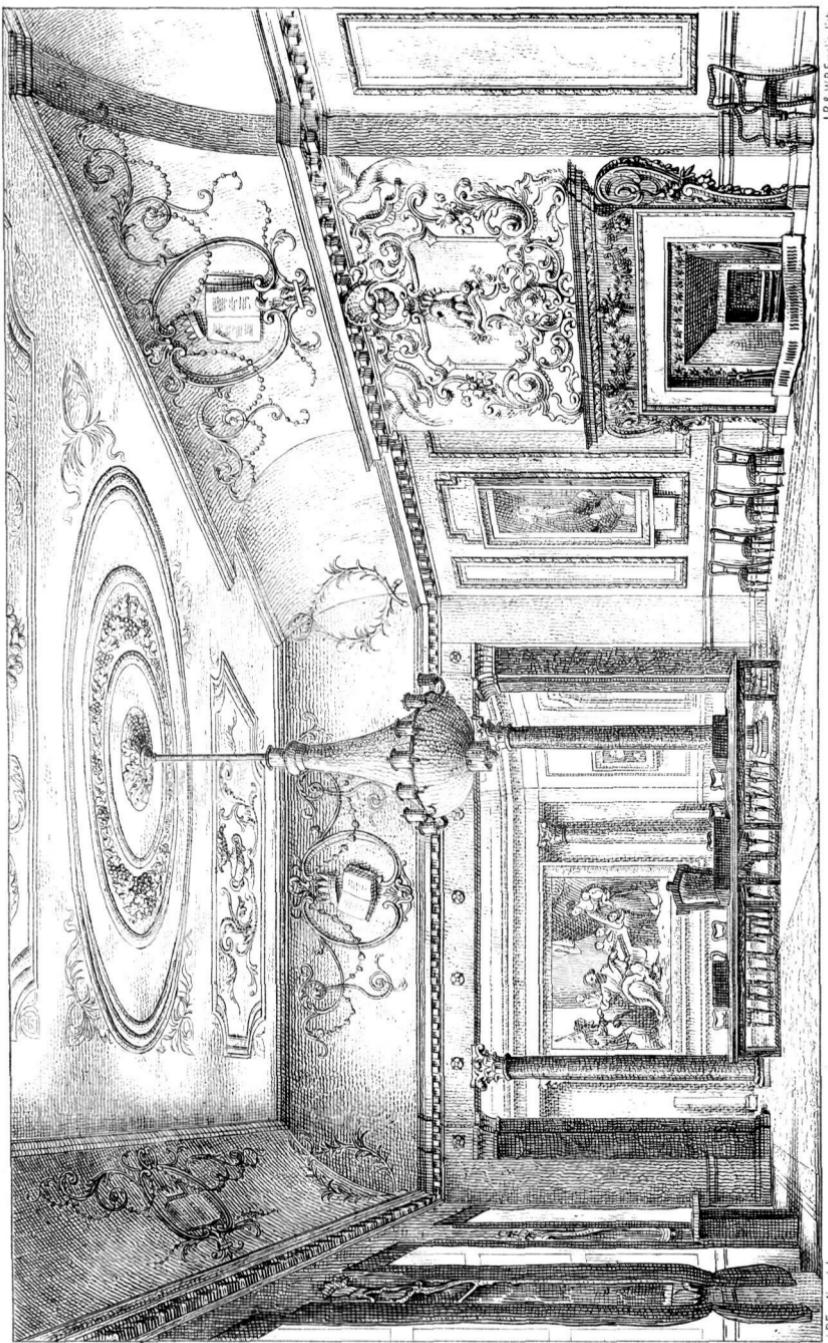
The duties of the master and wardens were at one time very onerous and heavy; and fines were inflicted upon those who refused to serve when elected: thus, amongst others, Mr. Barker was fined 20*l.* for not serving as upper warden, although he had served the same office previously. In July, 1692, the master and wardens (Edward Brewster, John Simms, and William Phillips) were committed to Newgate by the Court of Aldermen for refusing to elect upon the Court one Giles Sussex, a packer by trade, and they remained in durance vile for upwards of two months, being discharged in the following September by the Court of Queen's Bench, having successfully maintained the privileges of the Company. So frequent were the law suits in which the Company were concerned, that, in addition to the annual retainer paid to the Recorder of London for the time being, it was the custom of the Company to give annually general retainers to the Attorney-General and Solicitor-General for the time being, and also to one or more members of the Bar. The master and wardens were

as strict in enforcing their internal regulations as in maintaining their privileges. In 1554, one Thomas Gemyne was fined 12*d.* for calling a brother a "flasse-knave," and the same day Nicholas Clertin was fined 4*d.* for using "uncerte wordes unto Cundrad Myller, a brother of this house." Upon one occasion three assistants were discharged from the Court for non-attendance, one, however, namely Richard Tottell, was reinstated "in consideration of his good services."

The names of the several masters of the Company since the incorporation are appended to this paper, and amongst them will be found those of many eminent printers and publishers.

By the rules of the Company the master, wardens, and clerk were, and are still, required to wear their gowns on all Court days, and these gowns were of sufficient importance to engage the attention of the Court of Aldermen and Common Council: thus in 1582 the Court of Common Council made an order prohibiting the use of embroidery or lace, and in 1819 the Court of Aldermen directed livery gowns to be decently faced with fur; again in 1635 "divers of the assistants and livery having repaired to the hall and other places upon solemn days of meeting in falling bands, doublets slashed and cut, and other indecent apparel not suitable to the habit of citizens," the assistants were ordered to come to the hall on court days in ruff bands, "and the livery were not to presume to come to the hall to dinner or to go to the burial of a brother of the Company in a falling band or other unseemly habit on pain of forfeiting 11*d.*"

The Court of Assistants was recruited from time to



THE COURT ROOM, STATIONERS' HALL.

J. P. & W. Ensley, lith.

J. P. Ensley, del.

time from amongst "the most antient of the Livery," and occasionally between the years 1663 and 1684 by the compulsory introduction of members of the livery by command of the King.

In addition to the wardens who were chosen from the Court of Assistants two renter wardens were elected annually in March, whose principal duties were to collect the quarterages of a groat a quarter payable by each liveryman and to provide, at their own expense, a feast on Lord Mayor's day for the master, wardens, and assistants, and their wives and the livery. This was a heavy tax, and in the early part of the seventeenth century several liverymen were fined and committed to prison for refusing to serve the office. In 1626 and 1666 the dinners were omitted by reason of the plague.

The only permanent corporate officer of the Company was the clerk, who was to be no other than one bred and a practising attorney, and was required to reside in or near the hall. His principal duties consisted of recording the proceedings of the Company and keeping the entry of copies, but in the early days of the incorporation these duties were performed without much method.

From 1556 to 1602 there do not appear to have been any regular minutes made of the business of the Company, but entries are found interspersed amongst the wardens' accounts, and during this period the entry of copies is somewhat irregular. In 1602 the clerk commenced a separate record of the proceedings of the Courts of Assistants in a book which is marked C. These minutes are at first very meagre, but soon

improve, and from the time of Thomas Mountfort's election as clerk in 1613 downwards they present a clear and intelligible account of the transactions of the Company.

Numerous benefactions were made to the Company for the benefit of the poorer members, which continue to be administered. The earliest gift of property was that of widow Kevall, who gave a house in Darkhouse Lane, Billingsgate, to the Company, subject to the payment of an annuity to the parish of St. Mary-at-Hill. This good lady has been persistently misnamed "Revell," and the gift is erroneously entered in the parish books, and in the Charity Commissioners' Report as "Revell's gift."

In 1567 William Lambe, citizen and clothworker, gave 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* issuing out of the chapel of St. James, formerly near the city wall, Monkwell Street, but recently pulled down, to distribute weekly to twelve poor men or women of St. Faith's parish one penny in bread and one penny in money, and to pay 6*s.* 8*d.* for a sermon on the 6th May annually, the residue to go towards a dinner.

Alderman John Norton gave the Company 1,000*l.*, which was laid out in the purchase of an estate in Wood Street, the rent of which, together with certain small sums left to the Company by Roger Norton, George Bishop, and Christopher Meredith, form part of the endowment of the Stationers' School, a flourishing middle-class day-school for boys, established in 1861 upon the site of Thomas Beasley's printing-house, and where about 200 boys are educated. Recently Mr. Thomas Brown (a partner in

Longman's firm) bequeathed to the Company 5,000*l.* for the use of the school, and Mr. Holme, a liveryman, bequeathed the residue of his estate for the like use. The school building was erected out of funds partly raised by subscription from the liverymen of the Company. The first scholarship was established by the late Mr. Edmund Hodgson, and shortly afterwards three more were established out of the "Brown" fund; and subsequently, upon the death of Mr. Charles Knight, a portion of the money subscribed for a memorial to him was expended in founding two scholarships, which are designated The Charles Knight Scholarships.

Alderman Norton also bequeathed 150*l.*, the produce of which was to be applied thus: 10*s.* for a sermon at St. Faith's on Ash Wednesday, 2*d.* each and a penny loaf to twelve poor persons, the vantage loaf to be the clerk's, and the residue to be laid out by the Company in cakes, wine, and ale, either before or after the sermon. The sermon is annually preached on Ash Wednesday, and the poor paid, and each liveryman receives a glass of ale and a packet of spiced buns.

The livery dine at the hall twice a year, once in November, the dinner being provided by the renter wardens, and once in the summer. This latter entertainment was usually designated the venison dinner, and John Sweeting in 1659 bequeathed his 80*l.* share in the English Stock to the Company, the produce to be expended in providing 10*s.* for a pair of gloves for the master, 20*s.* for a sermon on the 10th day of August, or some day near it, and the residue to be

expended on a dinner for the master, wardens, assistants, and livery.

Theophilus Cater gave 1,000*l.* to the Company in consideration of an annuity of 50*l.* during his life, and after his death 40*l.* to be expended thus: 30*s.* for a sermon at St. Martin Ludgate, 5*s.* to the reader, 2*s. 6d.* each to the clerk and sexton, 14*l.* to fourteen poor freemen of the Company, and 10*l.* to ten poor men of St. Martin Ludgate, and 10*l.* to ten poor men of Christ Church, Newgate Street.

Daniel Midwinter in 1750 bequeathed 1,000*l.* to the Company for apprenticing children. This sum was received by the Company and transferred to the Charity Commissioners a few years since.

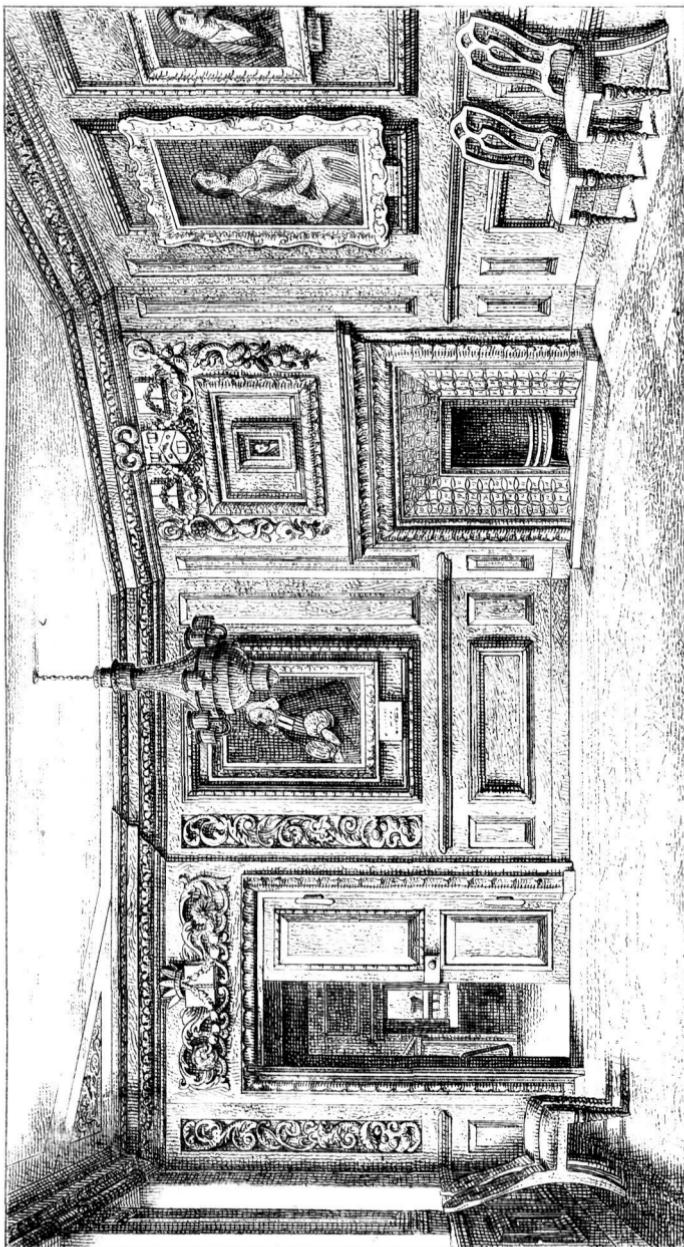
Mr. Bowyer, Mr. Wilkins, Mr. John Nichols, and Mr. John Bowyer Nichols, Mr. Strahan, Mr. Wright, Mr. Richard Johnson, Mr. Charles Dilly, Mr. Hansard, Mr. Whittingham, and others, have also bequeathed to the Company divers sums for the benefit of poor printers, compositors, pressmen, and freemen and their widows, which are fully detailed in the annual publications relating to the Charities of London.

It will now be desirable to refer to the position of the Company as a trade guild, before touching upon the interesting subject relating to printing and copyright. The original association or fellowship which existed upwards of a century before the incorporation was established for the mutual advantage and assistance of the members of the various trades connected with the manufacture of materials for writing and printing by creating a joint stock fund for trading purposes. The work was performed by the members

at regulation prices and the profits divided amongst the partners according to their contribution to the stock. It will thus be seen that the Company was originally strictly a trade association, and it is a curious and interesting fact that up to the present date this trading has been continued in unbroken succession to the great advantage of the poorer members of the Company and the widows of deceased partners, who participate in the gains and profits with the partners for the time being; and since the incorporation no person has been admitted a member of the Company except persons actually engaged in the trade, and apprentices who have *bond fide* served their time, and persons born free, who according to custom could claim their freedom. Mr. Nichols's statement that men of various trades and professions are not excluded was made under a misapprehension. There were originally five different trading stocks, called respectively the Ballad Stock, the Bible Stock, the Irish Stock, the Latin Stock, and the English Stock, and the Company also held for some years a patent for printing in Scotland, granted by the Scotch Parliament. This Scotch patent was apparently not very profitable, for it appears to have been abandoned in 1669, upon the death of Christopher Higgins, the Company's agent at Edinburgh, and the stock and plant sold there for 300*l.* The validity of the patent had been questioned, and in 1661 the Company were about to pay 50*l.* to the Scotch Parliament for a renewal of the patent, when Lord Lauderdale advised them not to do so, alleging that he alone had the power of renewal. The Irish Stock was subscribed for the purpose of

carrying on business in Ireland, and a factor was engaged at a salary of 100*l.* per annum, and 10*l.* a year for an apprentice, and allowance for a journeyman. The business was but limited and not very fruitful, for in 1661, on an application being made to the Company by Mr. Butters relating to money owing to him by the Irish Stock, the Court determined they would have "no cognizance of Irish affairs." The Bible Stock must have been a very large and profitable undertaking, there were no less than eight auditors required to audit the accounts, and the profits were sufficient to enable the partners to lend money to the Company at six per cent. interest. The Company claimed the right of printing bibles, and the King's printer claimed the right also under his patent. The dispute was referred to the High Commissioners, who made the following order:—"After longe hearinge and debatinge of the griēnces and difference betweene the Stacioners of London as namely then present, Humfrey Toyes, Luke Harrison, Ffraunces Coldock, and George Bisshopp, declaring their g̃viances therein on the one ptie, and Richard Jugge also station^r, her mat^{es} prynter on the other ptie, touchinge the printinge of the bible and testament, It was ordered by the said Commission^s by assent of the pties p^snt: 'That from henceforthe the said 'Richard Jugge only shall have w^hout interrupcion, 'the printinge of the byble in quarto and the testa- 'ment in decimo sexto; and all other bibles in folio 'and testaments (excepted as before) to be at the 'libertie of the printinge of the rest of the Stationers. 'And he the said Richard Jugge also w^hout contra-

THE STOCK ROOM, STATIONERS' HALL.



'diction of any pson to have the printinge of the rest
'as aforesaid.'"

Upon this Order being made, the Court of Assistants made certain orders requiring a licence to be obtained from the master and wardens previous to the printing of any bible by a member of the Company, also that a copy should be delivered at the hall for examination. Licences were then granted to John Walley, John Judson, William Norton, Humfrey Toye, John Harrison, Lomas Harrison, George Byshoppe, Garrett de Vere, Richard Watkins, and Fraunces Coldock, to print the English bible in folio, of pica letter; a new testament in English, in octavo, of the long primer letter, and one other English new testament, in quarto, of the English or pica letter. At the same time, Christopher Barker, who had obtained a patent of the Geneva bible, entered into an agreement not to interfere with the privilege of the Queen's printer. It has been stated that the "Wicked Bible" was printed by a member of the Stationers' Company, and a heavy fine imposed upon the Company by the Archbishop of Canterbury for the error; but I do not find any reference to this in the books or accounts. Variations did frequently occur in the bibles issued from the different presses, and in 1669 the Bishop of London sent a bible to the master, wardens, and court, requiring that it should be very strictly and exactly examined by a Cambridge standard Bible, that he might have the variations in the one from the other presented to him.

But the Company had two other important competitors to contend with, viz., the Universities of Oxford

and Cambridge. In 1591, for the purpose of avoiding disputes with the University, the Company agreed that the Cambridge printers should, for the space of one month, after the return of every Frankfort mart, have the choice of printing any foreign books coming from thence, provided every such book be entered at the Company's hall within a month. In 1623 the Company petitioned the Privy Council, complaining that Cantrell Legg, the Cambridge University printer, infringed the Company's patents, and an award or decree was made by the Council.

At Whitehall, on the 10th of December, 1623, the members present being—

Lo. Archb. of Canterburye.

Lo. Thresurer. Lo. Vis. Grandison.

Lo. President. Lo. Carteris.

Lo. Privy Seale. M^r Threasurer.

Lo. Steward. M^r Controller.

E. of Carleile. M^r Chan. of y^e Excheq.

M^r of the Rolls.

Declaring the University and the Company to have the joint right of printing of all books save onlie the bible, books of common prayer, grammars, psalms, psalters, primers, and books of the common law, which were privileged to the University, and the almanackes, which belonged to the Company.

In 1629 differences again rose, and the Council ordered that the University printer might print the bible in quarto and in medium folio, with the liturgy prefixed, and singing psalms at the end, provided such liturgies and psalms are not sold apart.

The Archbishop of Canterbury had previously, in

1615, directed public notice to be given that no bibles were to be bound up and sold without the apocrypha on pain of a whole year's imprisonment.

The partners in this bible stock took an active interest in promoting a revision of the bible, and the revisers of the present authorised version received material help from the Company, who contributed part of the expenses of the revision, and provided the use of a room at Stationers' Hall, where the work of revision was carried on.

The English Stock was subscribed for the execution of the grants conferred upon the Company by King James. The first grant, dated the 29th October, 1603, secured to the Company the exclusive right of printing all prymers, psalters, and psalms (the bookes of common prayer, together with King's printer's privileged books, being excepted), and also all almanackes and Prognostycacions being allowed by the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London, or one of them, for the time being. The second was dated the 8th March, 1615, and includes the A B C, with the little catechism, and the catechism in English and Latin, compiled by Alexander Nowell. An interesting account of this stock will be found in Hansard's "Typographia." At the time of the grants the primers were of special importance, they contained articles upon the offices of the Church, and were the only authorised books of devotion. The monopoly long claimed by the Company under these charters has been swept away now nearly a century, but the English Stock still flourishes, and a considerable annual profit continues to accrue to the partners from the publication of

almanacks and the “*Gradus ad Parnassum*,” the sole survivor of a long list of school-books which formerly issued from Stationers' Hall.

We will now return to the early history of the Company and especially to that relating to printing and copyright. The total absence of all records prior to 1554 is a great loss, as it is evident from those that are preserved that the organisation of the Society had existed many years previously, and was matured long before the Charter was applied for. The jealous control exercised by the high ecclesiastical authorities over the printing press at this period is evidenced by the numerous orders and decrees issued by them to the Master and Wardens. The earliest order of the High Commissioners addressed to the Company which has been preserved is dated 1560, and directs the wardens to stay certain persons from printing the primers and psalters in English and Latin which had been licensed to William Seres. Shortly afterwards appears the first record of an order relating to the entering of copies.

A register of copies had evidently existed before the incorporation, but no trace of it can now be found. The register was a book in which were entered the titles of all copies belonging to members of the Company and the names of the owners, and when a copy was transferred from one member to another the only record of the transfer usually comprised an entry in the register, coupled sometimes with an order of the Court of Assistants allowing the transfers. The rules of the Company requiring registration of all publications in the hall-book or register were of course only

binding upon the members of the Company, but when copyright was controlled and protected by statute the simple mode of registration and transfer established by the early printers was continued and clothed with statutory force. No books were entered in this register which were protected by letters patent: thus the registers do not contain any entry relating to bibles, law books, or the numerous theological books which were privileged. A list of printing Patents granted by James the First will be found in the Appendix. The order above-mentioned provided that upon the determination of a privilege either by death or effluxion of time the copy should not be printed without the license of the master and wardens, that copies peculiar for life to any person should not be granted to any other but the widow of the deceased, she certifying the title of the book to the master and wardens and entering the book in the "bookes of thys Company." The poor brethren of the Company were cared for as well as the widows, for a portion of the profits of certain copies were set apart for them, and as the profits from the English Stock trading increased the partners voluntarily set apart several hundreds a year for the poor, which was and is distributed amongst them quarterly, thus practically complying with an order of the Court of Assistants made in 1577 that if a poor brother of the Company should make any request "he should be favourably and lovingly heard and helped." Amongst other books "Bullinger's Decades" was given to the use of the poor, and in 1586 the Court gave directions for its being printed

upon condition that 10*l.* be paid to the use of the poor upon every impression of 1250 or under, and for all numbers above in the same proportion, the work to be given to poor printers. Licences were granted by the Court for the printing of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in English, Minshew's *Dictionary*, and various other books upon paying 6*d.* in the pound to the use of the poor of the Company. It will be seen from the wording of the charter that one object of the incorporation was to increase the government forces for the suppression of what were for the time being deemed seditious and heretical publications. The early history of printing teems with accounts of the restrictions to which publication was then subject. So jealous were the ecclesiastical authorities of any information being obtained by the people upon religious matters that every book which had not previously come under the personal inspection of a bishop or archbishop was prohibited, and in 1526 we find the Bishop of London prohibiting a long list of books, including Tyndal's translation of the new testament, and three years later upwards of seventy (Strype says about eighty-five) Latin books. Monmouth, a member of the Drapers' Company who encouraged Tyndal, was charged with heresy and committed to the Tower. In 1565 the Bishop of London and three other High Commissioners commanded the wardens to seize certain stacioners in Paules Churchyard accused of scattering and setting abroad "certayne Engleishe bokes of corrupt doctryne to the defayminge of relygion established by publyk authoryte," and to keep them in prison until they should find sureties in

40*l.* each to appear before the Commissioners at their next Court. By direction of the Commissioners searchers were appointed by the Company to search "what every printer printeth," the number of impressions, and for whom, the number of his apprentices journeymen, and presses. These searchers were allowed 3*s.* 4*d.* for their dinner on search days. The arbitrary proceedings of the Commissioners called forth a protest from the Lord Mayor, but he was peremptorily requested by the Archbishop of Canterbury not to interfere with the execution of the orders of the Commissioners. Amongst other offenders whose presses were seized were :

Robert Walgrave for printing unlicensed books.

Roger Ward for printing grammars, catechisms, primers, and other books. Robert Bourne and Henry Jefferson, Edward Venge, John Danter, and numerous others. The presses when seized were defaced, and the letter melted and the metal returned.

In 1591 the presses and type belonging to one Thomas Orwin were seized, but were returned to him apparently undamaged in consequence of the following letter from "His Grace My Lorde of Canterbury" to the master and wardens :—

I doo like verye well of Orwin's acknowledgement of his faulte and also of that favor w^che in that respecte he is in goode hope to receave at yo^r handes as ye informethe me. And yf yt be needfull to ad anye requeste of myne unto you for him, I doo hartilee praye you not onlye to redeliver unto him his presse and printynge stuffe, for the w^{che} I have heretofore alreadie moved you, But also to suffer him hereafter to follow and exercise his trade of ymprintinge wthout impeachment of anye decree to the contrarye soe long as he shall behave himself

honestlie therein and do nothinge that iustlic may breed offence.
And soe I remitte yo^u to the favou^r of almighty god, ffrom
Croydon the xxxth of Auguste, 1591.

Yo^r loveinge freind,

JO. CANTUAR.

To our lovinge friendes the m^r and
wardens of the compayne of
Stacioners in London be theis d^a.

This Thomas Orwin dwelt in Paternoster Row at the sign of the Checker; he was in March, 1587, prohibited from printing, but in the following June he was entered in the hall-book as a printer.

The following return to a precept from the Mayor of the members of the Company not dwelling in the City, supplies information respecting the provincial printers of 1571 :—

Thees shal be to Certefye unto your honno^l, &c. wo^rshippes That, Accordinge to your precepte to us in that behalf derected Thees hereunder named are the names of suche as are Abidinge in the Countrie from the Lyties of this Ceittie with the places where we suppose they are now resyaunt notw^tstandinge they do iustly paie unto us skott and lott and all other dueties. from o^r hall vijj Octobre, 1571.

- John Jacques in Somersetshire.
- Robte Redbourn in Oxfordshire.
- Alex Kitson, Contⁱ Worcester.
- Richard Wallis in Canterbury.
- Henry Rolte in Exeter.
- Henry Hamonde, Salisburie.
- Henry Croker, Winchester.
- Wylliam Spewe, Oxford.
- John Cuthberte, Cambridge.
- Charles Browne, Lincolnshire.
- Edward Rockaden, Lincolne.

In 1573 the master and wardens returned to the Mayor the names of fifteen Frenchmen and two Dutchmen carrying on the trade of stacioners, as eatynge fleshe on daies prohibited, and refusing to go to church.

In July, 1586, the following return of the presses and printers was made to the master and wardens after the publication of the Star Chamber Decrees:—

Robert Bourne	.	.	.	1 presse.
Anthonie Hill	.	.	.	1 presse.
John Charlwood	.	.	(2)	iij presses.
Robt. Walgrave	.	.	.	iij presses.
Richard Jones	.	.	.	1 press.
Mr. Watkins	.	.	.	iij presses.
Robert Robinson	.	.	.	iij presses.
Arnalt Hatfeild, w th ye rest	.	.	.	iij presses.
Mr. Middleton	.	.	(3)	iij presses.
Mr. Dawson	.	.	.	iij presses.
George Robinson	.	.	.	iij presses.
Tho. Vantroll ^r	.	.	.	iij presses.
Hierom Hawlton	.	.	.	1 press.
Abell Jeffres	.	.	.	1 presse.
John Windet	.	.	.	iij presses.
Tho. Purfoote	.	.	.	iij presses.
Mr. Barker	.	.	.	vij presses.
Mr. Denham	.	.	.	iij presses.
Mr. Tottell	.	.	.	iijj presses.
Mr. Howe	.	.	.	1 press.
Roger Ward	.	.	.	iij presses.
John Wolf	.	.	.	iiijj presses.
Thomas Eastc	.	.	.	1 press.
Edward Aldee	.	.	.	1 press.
Hughe Jackson	.	.	.	1 press.

At this time, upon the application of the journeymen printers, the Court of Assistants ordered that no form of letter be kept standing to the prejudice of workmen ; that impressions were not to exceed 1,200 or 1,500 ; that apprentices were not to be employed when any able honest man reasonably required the work ; that all disputes with workmen were to be settled by the Court ; that if any copy was out of print, then if not printed by the owner, after six months' notice to the owner, the journeymen of the Company might print it. In 1595 the High Commissioners ordered that no book or pamphlet should be printed without being licensed under the hand of the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Bishop of London ; and three years later an order was issued limiting the price of books thus : No new copies without pictures to be printed at more than the following rates—Those in pica Roman and Italic, and in English with Roman and Italic, at a penny for two sheets ; those in brevier and long primer letters, at a penny for one sheet and a half. For many years later, there were but few letter-founders, and they were each required to enter into a 40*l.* bond not to cast any letter or character or deliver them without previous notice to the master and wardens. On the 11th July, 1637, the Court of Star Chamber made a decree limiting the number of the founders of letters for printing to serve the whole kingdom to four, and directing that the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Bishop of London, with six other Commissioners, should supply the places of those four as they should become void. The four founders appointed by the decree were, John Grismand, Thomas

Wright, Arthur Nicholas, and Alexander Fifield; in 1668 the name of Thomas Goring, a member of the Company, was returned to his Grace as "an honest and sufficient man," to be one of the four founders. Twenty-five years later similar restrictions were embodied in the Printing Act (14 Car. II.), and no letters were to be founded, or cast, bought, or sold, without application to the master and wardens, and a register was kept by the Clerk of the Company of all type cast.

In 1622 the Court of Assistants made an order that no printer was to print any book not entered in the hall-book, and in 1630 the Bishop of London directed that every printer was to put his name to all books printed by him, and subsequently that no book licensed by the Bishop should be printed without the licence being printed with it.

In 1643 an order was made by the Lords and Commons that no order or declaration of either House should be printed by any but by order of one or both of the said Houses, and that no other book should be printed, bound, stitched, or put to sale, unless first licensed and entered in the register-book of the Stationers' Company, and the following persons were appointed by the House of Commons to license books:—

The names of the Licensees for printing bookeſ of Divinity	{	Mr. Thomas Gattaker Mr. John Downam Dr. Callibut Downing Dr. Thomas Temple Mr. Joseph Carrill
------------------------------------------------------------------	---	-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

The names of the Licenses for printing booke of Divinity— <i>continued.</i>	{ Mr. Edmond Callamy Mr. Carter, of Yorkshire Mr. Charles Herle Mr. James Crauford Mr. Obadiah Sedgwick Mr. Bacheleur Mr. John Elliot, jun.
for Law Books	{ S ^r John Brampton Mr. S ^r geant Rolle Mr. S ^r geant Pheasant Mr. S ^r geant Jermine
for Phisick and Surgery booke	{ The President and four Seniores for the tyme being
for Civill and Common Law booke	{ S ^r Nath: Brent, or by any three of the Doctors of the Civill Law
for booke of heraldry, titles of honor and Armes	{ One of the three heralds kinges of Armes
for booke of philosophy, history, poetry, morality and Arts	{ S ^r Nath: Brent Mr. Langley y ^e Schoole m ^r of Pauls Mr. ffarnaby
ffor declara ^c ons, ordinances, fast sermons, and other things agreed on by order of one or other houses of Parliament	{ By order of either house of Par- liam ^t or Committee for printing under their or either of their hands in writing
ffor small pamphletts, por- tratures, pictures, and the like	{ The Clarke of the Company of Sta ^c óners for the time being

ffor the Mathematicks, Al-
manacks, and prognosti-
caōns } The reader for the tyme being
of Gresham Colledge, or Mr.
John Booker

Hen: Elsing, Cler: Par: Dom: Com:

A few years after the Bishop of London claimed the sole right of licensing almanacks, and appointed his chaplains licensers.

The ordinance of 1643 was soon found to be insufficient to control the printers, and Parliament referred the subject to a Committee of the House, of which Mr. Prynne was chairman, and a Bill was prepared in 1660. The Court of Assistants were very anxious to have the Bill passed into an Act, and they appointed Mr. Warden Crooke to see Mr. Prynne, Sergeant Keeling, the Attorney-General, and the Bishop of London, and authorised him to give such fees as he should think fit. At this date the master printers in and near London numbered fifty-nine; the Bill was read to them in the hall "that they might except to such part as they disapproved." No exception was taken to the Bill, and in the following Session it was passed, and it was subsequently renewed. About this time, Mr. Roger L'Estrange (afterwards Sir Roger L'Estrange) obtained letters patent granting him the office of Surveyor of the Press, and an important part of his duty appears to have been to stimulate the Company to exercise to the utmost their stringent powers of control of the printers and booksellers, and the result was a fruitful crop of litigation and the destruction of a large number of illegal presses.

The licensing provisions were strictly enforced by

the licensees with a zeal and energy which was hardly palatable to the Stationers. One of the Company having entered in the Register a play without license immediately, at the instigation of Sir Henry Herbert, the Clerk was prohibited from entering any “plays, tragedies, comedies, tragic comedies, or pastorals,” without the authority of the Master of the Revels.

The original Search Warrants issued to the Company by Lord Arlington, Mr. Secretary Coventry, Earl Sunderland, and Mr. Secretary Herbert, empowering the master and wardens to enter any house at any time to search for unlicensed presses or books, and upon which they frequently acted, are preserved at Stationers' Hall, also the following:—

11 Decr. 1673. Order of Bishop of London to damask “The Seirathan.”

26 Sept. 1678. Order of Bishop of London to damask “A copy of a narrative prepared for his Maty in ye year 1674 to distinguish Protestants from Papists,” and “an Essay towards ye reconciling of differences amongst Christians,” seized at Mrs. Susan Sheater's in Bartholomew Close.

16 July, 1678. Order of Bishop of London to damask Seditious books seized at Frances Smiths, and to burn in the Company's garden adjoining their Hall the Books not fitt for damasking.

15 Oct. 1678. Order of Bishop of London to damask part of a Catholick Prayer or Mass book seized at the house of Mr. Thompson in Eagle Court over against Somerset House.

9 Decr. 1679. Order of Bishop of London to damask certain Popish Books and papers seized in a room padlocked up over the Stables at Somerset House.

8 April, 1682. Order of Archbishop of Canterbury to damask
 " Seli Historia di Grand Britagne, Dowlman of Succession,
 " Hunt's Postcript, Hunt's noe Protestant plott, and Bpp. of
 " London's letters."

20 Nov. 1684. Warrant of Judge Holloway for the arrest of Aunghiam Churchill, William Churchill, John Everingham, and John Tottenham, to answer concerning "A Conference about
 " the next Succession to the Crown of England."

11 November, 1685. Warrant of Earl Middleton to damask
 " English Liberties or Freeborn Subjects Inheritance," and deface a copper plate for printing off Seditious figures or Emblems entitled "A Scheme of Popish Cruelties, or a prospect of what we must expect under a Popish Successor, which
 " were seized at the house of Benjn. Harris near the Royal
 " Exchange, London, Victualler."

14 Decr. 1685. Order of Bishop of London to damask "The Loyall Protestant Tutor," seized at George Crermes, Thames Street, "Counterfeit Primmers," seized at Mrs. Harris's, Binder, and "a Papist Misrepresented and Represented," seized at James Rawlins in Little Carter Lane.

18 March, 1695. Order of Bishop of London to burn or damask a book written by one Mr. Hill against ye Bishop of Salsbury, concerning some questions about the Divinity of Christ.

When damasked the books were sold, and the net proceeds of sale after providing for the cost of seizure and damasking distributed amongst the poor freemen of the Company at the next pension or Quarterly Court.

My Lords of Canterbury and London and their colleagues, armed with the bristling penalties of an Act of Parliament, were, however, utterly powerless to prevent the growth of what they were pleased to style "the abuses and liberties of the Press," and

they found but little encouragement from the Stationers' Company. The continual presence of the Surveyor at their meetings, and the frequent interference of the Court with their members, soon proved irksome, and when in 1679 the Privy Council directed them to consider of "some proposals for "regulating the abuses and libertyes of the Presse," the Company discreetly replied, suggesting that his Majesty should make the proposals, and confined themselves to suggesting a restriction upon the importations of foreign books, and upon hawkers and mercuries. Shortly after this a fresh Bill to regulate printing was prepared, when the House of Commons summoned the master and wardens to produce the Company's charter, patents, orders of court, and registers of copies, to assist the Committee for settling the details of the Bill, and the summons was obeyed with alacrity. It will be beyond the province of this paper to enter into details respecting the printing Acts which were afterwards passed and are matters of record, or to trace the history of the Copyright Acts of 1710 and 1842. The latter Act, whilst preserving the register of copies kept at Stationers' Hall, entirely altered its character. The intention of the originators of the register was to preserve a correct record of all authorised publications and the owners thereof, as well as to provide a simple mode of transfer of property. The latter advantage is continued, but the present register is not by any means a perfect record of the publications of the present day. Copyright does not depend on registration, and many persons do not register their works unless as a pre-

liminary to taking proceedings to protect their copyright.

Amongst other publications specially noticed in the court records are the following:—

- 1570. Dr. Story's Ballad, "Stumbling into England," was suppressed by order of the Privy Council.
- 1595. Aug. 15. Thesaurus principum ministromachia, Rasseus de re publica. Little French books in 8vo. and Surin's Chronicle were burnt in the Hall by commandment of His Grace of Canterbury.
About the 4 Dec. 1594, one barrel and ij firkins of books of Alex Hunne's doing of Christ's descension into Hell were seized "in a shop of Andrew Blacke that came forth of Scotland" and delivered to Mr. D. Bancroft at his chamber at Lambeth.
- 1602. John Stow had 3*l.* and 40 copies for his pains in "the Survey of London," and 20*s.* and 50 copies "for his pains in the Brief Chronicle."
- 1614. Sir Walter Raleigh's "History of the World" suppressed by order of the Archbishop of Canterbury.
- 1616. Lithgow's Novels suppressed.
- 1619. Sir Philip Sidney's "Arcadia" then printing in Ireland to be forthwith finished.
- 1634. Prynne's Histrio Mastrix to be erased out of the entrance book of copies by order of Mr. Attorney Noy.
- 1646. The "Women's Parliament" suppressed being very lewdly written and tending to corrupt youth.
- 1660. Original manuscript and whole impression of Buchanan's History of Scotland seized.

The above notes have been compiled entirely from the Manuscript Record belonging to the Company without reference to any extraneous sources of information, and they are necessarily very incomplete, but will doubtless be of some assistance to the future Historian of the Company.

APPENDIX A.

PRINTING PATENTS GRANTED BY JAMES THE FIRST AND HIS SUCCESSOR.

Robert Barker, to print all Statute Bookes, Actes of Parlt., Proclamations, Bibles, Newe Testaments.

John Norton, the office of printing in the Latyne, Greeke, and Hebrewe tongues, and printinge of Grammers.

Robert Barker, to imprint the boke called Tremelius bible and other bookes in Latyne, Greeke, and Hebrewe.

Jacob Ryme, special to imprint the works of Hieronymus Xanthius in Latyn.

Christopher Hunt, to print a booke in Englishe called the Householders practise.

Jo Leggatt, for printinge the Tho. Dictionary.

Will Stallenge, for printing a booke called Instrucōns for the planting and increasing of mulbery trees and breeding of Silk-wormes.

Arthuro Holding et Tho. Wilson, for the printing Calvin's Commentaries upon the psalmes, the Sermon uppon Job, his sermons upon the Epistle to the Galathians, uppon the Ephesions, upon Deteronomy, Seneca his seaven bookes, Ovid Metamorphoses, &c.

Melchisedeck Bradwood, for printinge Jewell's booke called the Apology of the Church of England and her Articles.

Will Woodhouse, the sole printinge of all Reportes, Abstractes, &c., between Robert Calvin Pl. and Richard Smyth and Nich. Smyth, &c., on the case commonly called the post nati.

George Humble, to imprint a booke called The Theatre of the Empire of Greate Brittainie, with cartes and mappes.

Jo. Speedie, to imprint a booke called the Genealogies of the Holy Scripture with the mapp of Canaan.

Jo. Menshen, to imprint Glossen's Etimoligicon or dictionary consisting of twelve severall languages.

Edw. Alday, to print sett songes et al.

Bonham Norton the offices of prynter or typographer and booke-seller in the Latyne, Greeke, and Hebrewe tounges, and to print the bible in Latyne with the noates called Tremelius bible.

Magistro, Gardian et Coitati de la Stacioners, London, to print and sell Calvin's disticha and other books.

Will Jorden and Nich. Hooker, to imprint the book called God and the Kinge,

Jo. Willie, to print all grammers. Wardens and Coialty of Stationers to print prymmers, psalters, and psalmes, in meteir or prosse with musicall noates.

Jo. Bingham, to imprint Tacktrickes of Elian or Arte of Embataylinge an Army after the Grecian manner.

Jo. Moore, for printing of the Law Bookes of this Kingdome (to commence after the expirie of Wright and Norton's patent).

Will Hilliard, for the making, graving and imprinting of the Kinge's picture.

Fynes Morison, for printing a booke called The Itenary of his travales through Germany, Sweezerland, Netherland, Denmarke, Poland, Scotland, Ireland, &c.

Jo. Marriott, for printing Pharmacopeia Londinenses lately compiled, and written in the Latin tongue by the College of Phisicons of London.

Aron Rathburne's and Roger Burges, for the making of mapps plotts and descriptions of the Cittys of London, Westminster, Yorke, Bristoll, Norwiche, Canterbury, Bath, Oxon, Cambridge, and Windsor.

Samuel Daniell, for printing a book called the History of England, with an Appendix to it.

Will Alley, for printing The Peacemaker or Brittaney's Blessings.

Hester Ogden, als ffulke Henr. Sibbald et Tho. Kenithorpe, for printing a booke called The Sincere and true translacon of the Holy Scripture into the Englishe toungue, &c., and an other booke called The Confutacon of the popishe translacon, Argumets, and Annotacons.

Jo. Leggatt, for printing Tho. Dictionary.

Helene Mason, for printing and selling the Abridgment of the booke of Martyrs.

George Withers, for printing and selling The Hymmes and Songes of the Church.

Caleb Morley, for the sole printing, selling and transporting of a book invented by him for the helpe of memory and grounding of Schollars in severall languages.

Geo. Sandes, the sole printing and selling of the 15 bookes of Ovid Metamorphoses, translated into English himself, and to sett upp and direct a frame for the printing of them.

Joseph Webb, for the teaching the languages after a newe sorte by him devised, and alsoe the printing of the bookes and selling them.

Will Alexander, for printing Kinge David's Psalmes translated by Kinge James.

Thos. Symcock, for printing, publishing and selling all breefes copies and publicacons touching the building, repayring and amending of Church, Chappell, Steeples, Bridges, or other Edifices, and all Bondes and Recognizances for Victuallers, Alehouse Keepers and Vintiners, or licenses to marry, or licenses for selling of wine, alsoe all Ballades, songes and other thinges printed on one side.

Clement Cotton, for printing a briefe Concordance of the Holy Scripture.

C. Sandes, for printing of Paraphrase upon ye Psalmes.

Paule Willett, for printing Sinopsis Papisini.

APPENDIX B.

ROYAL PRINTERS.

Wm. Caxton.

Richard Pynson.

Wm. Faynes.

Thos. Berthelet.

Richard Grafton.
 Edw. Whitchurch.
 Reginald Wolfe.
 Richard Jugge and John Cawood.
 Christopher and Robt. Barker.
 Francis Flower.
 John Norton.
 Christopher (son of Rob.) Barker.
 Robert (son of Rob.) Barker.
 Bonham, Norton, and John Hill.
 Charles and Mathew Barker.
 Thomas Newcomb and Hen. Hill.
 Benjn. Tooke and Jno. Barber.
 John Basket.
 Thomas and Robert Baskett.
 Thomas Baskett and Assigns of Robert Baskett.
 Mark Baskett and Assigns of Robert Baskett.
 Charles Eyre and William Strahan.
 Charles Eyre and Andrew Strahan.
 George Eyre and Andrew Strahan.
 George Eyre and Andrew Spottiswoode.
 George Edward Eyre and Andrew Spottiswoode.
 George Edward Eyre and William Spottiswoode.

UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD PRINTERS.

1585. Joseph Barnes.
 1617. John Lichfield and Jas. Short.
 1624. John Lichfield and Wm. Turner.
 1635. Wm. Turner and Leonard Lichfield.
 1648. Henry Hall.
 1658. L. Lichfield and A. Lichfield.
 1658. Sam Clark.
 1662. Hy. and Wm. Hall.
 1669. Martin Bold.
 1688. The Superior Bedel of Law for the time being.
 1758. The Delegates of the University Press.

UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE PRINTERS.

1533. Nic. Spirink Garrick Godfrey and Sugar.
 1584. Tho. Thomas.
 1589. John Legate.
 1608. Cantrell Legge.
 1627. Thoms. Buck and Roger Daniel.
 1655. John Field.
 1675. John Hayes.
 1688. Edw. Hall.
 1696. Cornelius Crounfield.
 1740. Joseph Bentham.
 1763. John Archdeacon.
 1794. Archdeacon and Burgess.
 1802. Richd. Watts.
 1809. Jno. Smith.
 1826. John William Parker.
 1854. C. J. Clay.

PRINTERS TO THE CITY of LONDON.

- | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| 1584. Hugh Singleton. | 1679. Saml. Roycroft. |
| John Wolfe. | 1710. Jno. Barber. |
| John Windet. | George James. |
| 1611. Wm. Laggard. | Widow James. |
| 1626. Robert Young. | Henry Kent. |
| 1642. Richard Cotes. | 1771. Charles Rivington. |
| 1657. James Flesher. | 1772. Henry Fenwick. |
| 1670. And. Clark. | 1823. Arthur Taylor |

MASTERS OF THE COMPANY FROM THE INCORPORATION.

1556 { Thomas Dockwray, a Notary and Proctor of the Court
 1557 } of Arches, died 23rd June, 1559, and was buried in
 St. Faith's church.

1558 { Richard Waye dwelt in the parish of St. Michael,
 and } Crooked Lane. He died in 1577, having bequeathed
 1563 to the Company 30s. "towardes and for a Recreation
 amongst them." He also gave an annuity to the Parson
 and Churchwardens to be distributed in bread and pence
 every Sunday at his grave.

- 1559 } Reginald or Reynold Wolfe, four times master, was
 1564 } a foreigner by birth, carried on business as a printer in
 1567 } St. Paul's Churchyard, under the sign of the Brazen
 1572 } Serpent. He held a patent for the office of royal
 printer, bookseller, and stationer, dated 19th April,
 1547. His daughter married John Harrison. Wolfe
 and his wife were buried in St. Faith's Church.
- 1560 } Stephen Kevall, dwelt in Billingsgate. His widow,
 and } Jane Kevall, by will dated 22nd March, 1573, be-
 1565 } queathed to the liverye of the Company "to goe with
 my corps to my buriall twentie shillinges for a repast the
 same day amongst them to he had." She also gave
 to the Company a house in Billingsgate called the Dark
 House, subject to the payment of 5*l.* per annum to the
 parish of St. Mary-at-Hill. This house was taken by
 the Corporation of London a few years since for the
 improvement of Billingsgate Market.
- 1561 } John Cawood, succeeded Richard Grafton as royal
 1562 } printer in 1553. He dwelt at the sign of the Holy
 1566 } Ghost in St. Paul's Churchyard. Whilst a partner with
 R. Jugge he rented a room in Stationers' Hall at 20*s.*
 per annum. He died on the 1st April, 1572, and is
 buried in St. Faith, under St. Paul's. In addition to a
 silver spoon and salt-cellar, and various money contri-
 butions, he gave the Company a hearse-cloth to be used
 at the burial of members of the Company, which is
 thus described: "a herse clothe of clothe of golde
 powdered with blue velvet and bordered abought with
 black velvet, imbroydered and frenged with blew,
 yellow, red, and grene"; also a picture of John Raynes
 his master, and one of himself, and a stone engraving of
 the royal arms.
- 1568 } Richard Jugge, scholar of King Coll. kept the bible
 1569 } at the north door of St. Paul's, held the office of Queen's
 1573 } printer jointly with John Cawood. He used as his
- 1574 }

device a pelican feeding her young, with the mottoes “*Pro lege rege et grege*,” and “*Love kepyth the Lawe, obeyeth the kynge, and a good for the commonwelthe*,” the whole supported by figures of Prudence and Justice.

- | | |
|------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1570 | William Seres, five times master, first printer with |
| 1571 | John Day, then, in 1549, dwelt in Peter College in St. |
| 1575 | Paul's Churchyard. This building was converted into a |
| 1576 | hall for the Company, and Seres moved to the sign of |
| 1577 | the Hedge Hog, at the west end of the churchyard. |
| | He held several privileges, including one for psalters and primers, which was subsequently purchased by the Company. |
| 1578 | Richard Tottell, or Totil, dwelt at the sign of the |
| 1585 | Hand and Star, in Fleet Street. He held several licences, under which he printed many law books, and the Statutes in old Latin and French, as entered on the Rolls of Parliament. |
| 1579 | James Gonneld or Goneld, dwelt near Smithfield Barres. |
| 1582 | He died 1594, and his will was proved 10th December, |
| 1585 | 1594, by Catherine, his widow and relict. His son, Benjamin Gonneld, received 5 <i>l.</i> per annum from the Company whilst studying at Cambridge. |
| 1580 | John Day, or Daye, printer. He was born at Dunwich, Suffolk, and carried on his business near Holborn Conduit, and afterwards at Aldersgate. He held several patents, including that for Dean Lowell's Catechism, which was afterwards assigned to the Company. He adopted as his device, Cupid waking a person asleep and pointing to the rising Sun, with the words, “ <i>Arise, for it is day</i> .” He also ornamented several of his publications with the arms of the Company—a practice which has been frequently followed by many Liverymen. Day died in 1584, and was buried at Bradley Parva, Suffolk, and in 1880, upon the restoration of the church, the Company contributed a Stained Glass Window in memory of him. |

He was the first person admitted to the Livery after the Charter of Incorporation.

- 1581 William Norton, dwelt at the King's Arms in St.
1586 Paul's Churchyard. He held the office of treasurer of
1593 Christ's Hospital, and died in 1593 whilst serving as
 master. By his will, which he deposited with the
 Company for safe custody, he gave 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* per
 annum to the Company, and this now forms part of the
 endowment fund of the Stationers' School.
- 1583 John Harrison the elder, dwelt at the White Grey-
1588 hound in St. Paul's Churchyard, and afterwards moved
1596 to Paternoster Row.
- 1587 John Judson. He was chosen warden in 1562, upon
 the death of Richard Haryson.
- 1589 Richard Watkins, dwelt in St. Paul's Churchyard, and
1594 a shop adjoining to the Little Conduit in Cheap. He
 had a patent with James Roberts for printing almanacks, and in 1583 gave up his interest in the sheet
 almanack to the Company for the use of the poor.
- 1590 George Bishop, was one of the deputies to Christopher
1592 Barker. He married Mary, eldest daughter of John
1593 Cawood, and became an alderman of London, and died
1600 in 1610. He bequeathed 6*l.* yearly to the Company,
1602 and 10*l.* yearly for ever towards maintaining preachers
1608 at St. Paul's Cross.
- 1591 Francis Coldock, "by birth a gentleman," lived in
1595 Lombard Street, over against the Cardinal's Hat, and
 afterwards at the Green Dragon in St. Paul's Church-
 yard. He died 13th January, 1602, having married
 Alice, widow of Richard Waterson, by whom he had
 issue two daughters, Joane and Anne.
- 1597 Gabriel Cawood, son of John Cawood, lived at his
1599 father's house.

- 1598 } Ralph, or Rafe, Newbery resided in the house, formerly Thomas Berthelet's, above the Conduit in Fleet Street.
- 1601 }
 1603 Isaac Binge, son of Thomas Binge, of Canterbury, was apprenticed to Henry Denham. He married the widow of Francis Coldock. She had three husbands, all bachelors and stationers, and died 21st May, 1616, and is buried in St. Andrew Undershaft, in a vault with Symon Burton her father, a benefactor to that parish.
- 1604 }
 1610 } Thomas Man (apprentice of John Harrison the elder, and son of John Man, of Westbury, Gloucestershire, butcher), dwelt at the Talbot, Paternoster Row.
- 1614 }
 1616 }
 1605 } Robert Barker, only son of Christopher Barker, was appointed Queen's printer by letters patent during his life. It is uncertain where he dwelt, but probably at the Tiger's Head in St. Paul's Churchyard. He died in the King's Bench Prison, the 10th January, 1645.
- 1607 }
 1611 } John Norton, son of Richard Norton, of Billingalley, Salop, yeoman, was Queen's printer in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and alderman of London. He dwelt at the Queen's Arms, died in 1612, having by his will bequeathed 1000*l.* to the Company to buy lands, the income to be lent to poor young men of the Company. The money was laid out in the purchase of houses in Wood Street, which now produce a considerable rental which forms part of the endowment of the Stationers' School.
- 1615 Thomas Dawson, printer, apprentice of Richard Jugge, dwelt at the Three Cranes in the Vintry.
- 1613 }
 1626 } Bonham Norton, the only son of William Norton. He held a patent for printing common law books with Thomas Wright, and dwelt at the Queen's Arms, and was an alderman of London.
- 1629 }

- 1617 } Simon Waterson, only child of Richard Waterson and
 1626 } Anne Burton, dwelt at the Crown in St. Paul's Church-
 yard, near the Gate of Cheap. He died 16th March, 1634.
- 1618 William Leake, dwelt at the Greyhound in Pater-
 noster Row, and afterwards removed to Gabriel Cawood's
 house, the Holy Ghost.
- 1619 } Richard Field, son of Henry Field, of Stratford-upon-
 1622 } Avon, Warwickshire, tanner. He was bound to George
 Bishop, but served six years with Thomas Vantrollier,
 and the last year only with Bishop. He afterwards
 married the daughter of Thomas Vantrollier, to whose
 business in Blackfriars he succeeded.
- 1620 } Humphrey Lownes, son of Hugh Lownes, of Rode
 1624 } in Astbury, Cheshire, dwelt at the Star in Bread Street
 Hill. He married the widow of Mr. Short. Short gave
 40s. a year to the use of the poor of the Company
 arising out of a leasehold house he held of St. Bartholo-
 mew's Hospital for twenty-six years.
- 1623 } George Swinhowe, son of William Swinhowe or Swin-
 1625 } howe, of Wadworth, in the county of York, gentleman,
 1630 } was apprenticed to Christopher Barker.
- 1627 }
 1628 } George Cole. He purchased his freedom in 1602.
 1631 }
 1632 }
- 1633 } Adam Islip or Islippe. He used the device of a
 1634 } flourishing palm tree with serpent and toad about the
 root, and the motto Il vostre malegnan non grova nulla.
- 1635 } Felix Kingston, was a member of the Grocers' Com-
 1636 } pany, and was translated to the Stationers' Company
 21 June, 1597.
- 1637 Edmund Weaver. He was formerly a member of the
 Drapers' Company, and was translated the 3rd June, 1660.

- 1638 John Harrison. This was either the son or nephew of John Harrison who was master in 1583.
- 1639 } John Smethwicke, apprenticed to Thomas Neuman,
1640 } dwelt in Fleet Street, near the Temple, and afterwards
near to St. Dunstan's.
- 1640 William Aspley, son of William Aspley, of Royston, Cambridgeshire, apprenticed to George Bishop, dwelt at the Tiger's Head, and afterwards at the Parrot, both in St. Paul's Churchyard. He died during his year of office.
- 1641 Henry Fetherston, son of Cuthbert Fetherston, of Chancery Lane. His name is preserved in "Featherstone Buildings," on the site of which he resided.
- 1642 } Thomas Downes. He was made free 6th October, 1606.
1648 }
- 1643 } Nicholas Bourne, son of Henry Bourne, citizen and
1651 } cordwainer.
- 1644 }
1645 } Robert Mead, son of Thomas Mead or Meade, of
1649 } Weston, Somerset, husbandman.
1656 }
- 1646 } Samuel Mann, son of Fraunces Man, of Linne Regis,
1654 } Norfolk, merchant.
1658 }
- 1647 } John Parker, son of George Parker, of Honington,
1648 } Warwickshire, yeoman.
- 1650 George Latham. He purchased his freedom 31 January,
1619.
- 1652 } Miles Flesher, printer. He was one of the twenty
1653 } printers appointed by the decree of the Star Chamber in
1662 } 1648 to print for the kingdom together with the King's
1663 } and universities' printers.
- 1655 Henry Walley. His grandfather, John Walley, bequeathed 50*s.* to the Company to be distributed to the poor of the Company the first quarter day after his

decease. The distribution was made the 27 June, 1586, by Agnes Walley, the widow and executrix, and Robert Walley, the son.

- 1657 Henry Seyle.
- 1659 William Lee, of Lombard Street, bookseller.
- 1660 Philemon Stephens, son of Walter Stephens or Stevens, of Bishops Castle, in the county of Salop, clerk.
- 1661 Humphry Robinson, bookseller, son of Barnard Robinson, of Carlisle, clerk.
- 1664 Richard Thrale, son of John Thrale, of London, yeoman.
- 1665 Andrew Crooke, dwelt near Temple Bar, a bookseller.
- 1666 His widow gave the Company a silver cup weighing 22 oz. 19 dwts.
- 1668 Sir Thomas Davies, knight, alderman and sheriff.
- 1669 Lord Mayor in 1677, when he presented to the Company a pair of silver cups weighing 124 oz. 9 dwts. and was transferred to the Drapers' Company.
- 1670 William Seale.
- 1671 Evan Tyler. He gave 120*l.* to the Company, the interest to be applied towards a dinner for the master, wardens, and assistants.
- 1672 Ralph Smith, of The Royal Exchange, bookseller.
- 1673 Richard Royston, bookseller to James I. Charles I.
- 1674 and Charles II. gave to the Company two silver candlesticks. He also gave 5*l.* to the use of the poor, and is buried in Christ Church, Newgate Street.
- 1675 George Sawbridge, bookseller, died 1681. He gave the Company a larger silver bowl weighing 46 oz. 3 dwts.
- 1676 Abel Roper, bookseller. He gave the Company a silver flagon weighing 34 oz. 13 dwts.

- 1677 Robert White.
- 1678 {
1682 {
1683 } Roger Norton, printer.
1684 {
1687 }
- 1679 {
1681 } Samuel Mearne. He died whilst in office. His
1682 } widow presented the Company with a silver salver and
tankard.
- 1680 John Macock. He bequeathed to the Company a
silver cup weighing 45 oz. 4 dwts.
- 1681 Thomas Vere. He gave the Company a silver cup
weighing 21 oz. 15 dwts.
- 1685 Hugh Herringman. He gave the Company 20*l.*
which was laid out in the purchase of a silver flagon.
- 1686 {
1693 } John Bellinger. He bequeathed a legacy to the
Company subject to an annual payment of 52*s* to the
parish of St. Martin Vintry.
- 1687 {
1688 } Henry Hills, printer, partner with Thomas New-
comb.
- 1685 John Towse, son of Nicholas Towse, citizen and
mercer.
- 1689 {
1692 } Edward Brewster, son of Edward Brewster, Treasurer
of the English Stock from 1639 to 1647.
- 1690 {
1691 } Ambrose Isted, son of Richard Isted, of Lewis, Sussex,
gentleman.
- 1694 {
1695 } John Simms, son of Henry Syms, of Whitfield, Oxon.
yeoman.
- 1696 {
1697 } Henry Mortlocke, bookseller, son of Richard Mort-
lock, of Stanton, Derbyshire, gentleman.
- 1698 {
1699 } Robert Clavell, bookseller, son of Roger Clavell, of
the Isle of Purbeck, Dorset, gentleman.

- 1700 }
 1701 }
 1702 } William Phillips, bookseller, a captain in the Trained
 1709 } Bands, son of William Phillips, of Westfavell, North-
 1710 } amptonshire, Jersey comber.
 1711 }
 1712 }
- 1703 Thomas Parkhurst. He gave the Company 37*l.* to
 purchase annually twenty-five bibles with psalms.
 Hence arose the custom of giving each apprentice
 bound at Stationers' Hall a bible.
- 1704 } Richard Simpson, bookseller, son of Thomas Simpson,
 1705 } of Oxfordshire, shoemaker.
- 1706 Walter Kettily, bookseller, lived at the "Bishop's
 Head," son of Walter Kettleby, of Bibley, Salop, gentle-
 man.
- 1707 Edward Dovrel, took up his freedom by redemption
 24 Oct. 1676.
- 1708 Charles Harper, son of Henry Harper, of Quebb,
 Herefordshire, gentleman.
- 1713 Daniel Brown, bookseller, son of John Brown, Citizen
 and Salter of London.
- 1714 } John Basket, printer to the King, died 22nd June,
 1715 }
- 1716 } Nicholas Boddington, bookseller, son of —— Bodding-
 1717 } ton, of Churchover, Warwickshire, husbandman.
- 1717 } Richard Mount, of Tower Hill, stationer, gave the
 1718 } Company the clock in the Court Room.
- 1720 } John Sprint, bookseller, son of Samuel Sprint, and
 1721 } grandson of John Sprint, of Hampstead, Middlesex,
 clerk.
- 1722 }
 1723 } John Knaplock, bookseller, died 1st January, 1737.
- 1724 }

- 1772 Joshua Jenour, of Fleet Street, died 1774.
- 1773 John Beecroft, son of John Beecroft, of the City of Norwich, gentleman.
- 1774 William Strahan, of New Street, St. Bride, King's printer, born 1715, died 1785. He bequeathed to the Company 1,000*l.* to be invested, and the dividends to be divided amongst five poor journeymen printers, natives of England and Wales, and five poor journeymen printers, natives of Scotland.
- 1775 John Rivington, of St. Paul's Churchyard, bookseller, son of Charles Rivington, of St. Paul's Churchyard, bookseller, and grandson of Thurstan Rivington, of Chesterfield, co. Derby, died 16th January, 1792, aged 73.
- 1776 Robert Brown, of Windmill Court, West Smithfield, printer, died 1781.
- 1777 Thomas Wright, of Abchurch Lane, wholesale stationer, elected alderman of the Ward of Candlewick 1777, sheriff in 1779, and Lord Mayor 1785. He presented the Company with a tea urn, and died 9th April, 1798, having bequeathed 2,000*l.* to the Company for the benefit of poor freemen.
- 1778 Daniel Richards, of Holborn, stationer, died 8th August, 1802.
- 1779 Lockyer Davis, of Holborn Bars, died 23rd April, 1791.
- 1780 William Gill, of Abchurch Lane, wholesale stationer, elected alderman of Walbrook 1781, sheriff 1781, treasurer of Christ's Hospital 1785, and Lord Mayor 1788. He died 26th March, 1798.
- 1781 William Owen, of Fleet Street, bookseller, died 1st December, 1793.
- 1782 Thomas Caslon, of Stationers' Court, bookseller, died 29th March, 1783.

- 1783 John Boydell, of Cheapside, engraver, alderman of Cheap Ward, Lord Mayor in 1790, died 12th December, 1804.
- 1784 Thomas Harrison, printer of the "London Gazette," and deputy alderman of the Ward of Castle Baynard, died 4th November, 1781.
- 1785 Robert Gyfford, of Tower Street, bookseller, died 12th May, 1806.
- 1786 William Fenner, of Lombard Street, printer, and afterwards of Paternoster Row, 30th October, 1809. He gave the Company a large silver coffee urn.
- 1787 Thomas Greenhill, of Gracechurch Street, stationer, died 16th January, 1798.
- 1788 Thomas Hooke, of Walbrook, stationer, died May, 1815.
- 1789 Thomas Field, of Islington, died 28th August, 1794.
- 1790 John March, of George Street, Tower Hill, printer, died 15th February, 1798.
- 1791 Thomas Pote, of Eton, bookseller (son of Joseph Pote), died 28th December, 1794.
- 1792 Henry Baldwin, printer, proprietor of the "St. James' Chronicle," died 1813.
- 1793 John Townsend, of Wandsworth, died 1804.
- 1794 Henry Clarke, of Gracechurch Street, stationer, died 31st December, 1820.
- 1795 William Chapman, of King Street, Cheapside, died 14th August, 1800.
- 1796 Richard Welles, of Cornhill, stationer, died 13th March, 1803.
- 1797 Henry Sampson Woodfall, of Paternoster Row, printer of the celebrated letters of Junius. He died 12th December, 1805.

- 1798 Thomas Cadell, of Strand, bookseller, alderman of London, and sheriff. Gave the Company the window at the north end of the hall, died 27th June, 1803.
- 1799 James Bate, of Cornhill, stationer, member of the Common Council for the Ward of Cornhill, died 5th October, 1809.
- 1800 William Stephens, of Bartholomew Lane, law stationer, died 16th October, 1816.
- 1801 Henry Parker, of Cornhill, stationer, deputy alderman of the Ward of Cornhill, and sometime clerk of the Chamber at Guildhall, died 28th August, 1809.
- 1802 Charles Dilly, of the Poultry, bookseller, born May, 1739, at Southill, Beds. died 2nd May, 1807. He gave 700*l.* Consols to the Company, the dividends of which are divided half-yearly between two poor widows of liverymen of the Company.
- 1803 William Domville, of the Royal Exchange, bookseller, sheriff of London 1804, alderman of the Ward of Queenhithe 1805, Lord Mayor 1813, created a baronet 1814. His portrait was painted by William Owen, R.A. for the Company, and is in the Court Room. Sir William died 8th February, 1833.
- 1804 John Nichols, of Red Lion Passage, Fleet Street, deputy alderman of the Ward of Farringdon Without, printer of the Votes and Proceedings of the House of Commons, died 26th November, 1826.
- 1805 Francis Rivington, of The Bible and Crown, St. Paul's Churchyard, bookseller, died 18th October, 1822.
- 1806 Mathew Bloxam, of the borough of Southwark, M.P., Sheriff, and knighted 1800, died 16th Oct. 1822.
- 1807 Thomas Vallance, of Cheapside, wholesale stationer, deputy alderman of the Ward of Cripplegate Without, died 28th February, 1823.

- 1808 Henry Woolsey Byfield, of Charing Cross, bookseller, died 6th December, 1827.
- 1809 Samuel Hawksworth, of Charing Cross, bookseller, died 1827.
- 1810 John Crickitt, of Great Knightrider Street, Doctors' Commons, marshall and serjeant-at-arms of the Admiralty Court, died 30th August, 1811.
- 1811 Josiah Boydell, of Cheapside, engraver, died 27th March, 1818.
- 1812 Thomas Smith, of Bolton Street, Piccadilly, died at Alençon, France, in 1829.
- 1813 John Barker, of Old Bailey, printer, died March 25th, 1831.
- 1814 James Wallis Street, of Bucklersbury, bookseller, died at Blackwell Hall, Chesham, Bucks, 10th April, 1817.
- 1815 Joseph Collyer, of Constitution Row, Gray's Inn Road, engraver, died 24th December, 1827.
1816. Christopher Magnay, of College Hill, alderman and sheriff of London 1813, Lord Mayor 1821, died 26th October, 1827.
- 1817 Thomas Payne, of Pall Mall, bookseller, died 15th March, 1831.
- 1818 Joseph Gardiner, of Newgate Street, wholesale stationer, died 13th April, 1829.
- 1819 Charles Rivington, of St. Paul's Churchyard, and Waterloo Place, bookseller, son of John Rivington, Master 1775, died 26th May, 1833.
- 1820 William Walker, of Minories and Brighthelmstone, Sussex, died in 1830.
- 1821 William Witherby, of Birch Lane, law stationer, died 19th July, 1840.
- 1822 Robert Davidson, of Size Lane, died 12th May, 1824.

- 1823 George Wilkie, of St. Paul's Churchyard, bookseller, died 26th January, 1826.
- 1824 William Venables, of Queenhithe, wholesale stationer, alderman of the Ward of Queenhithe, and Lord Mayor 1826, died 30th July, 1840.
- 1825 Thomas Bensley, of Bolt Court, Fleet Street, printer, died 11th September, 1835. His printing-house has since been converted into the Stationers' School.
- 1826 Richard Marsh, of Fleet Street, stationer, died 1st July, 1847.
- 1827 Thomas Turner, of Cornhill, paper maker, died at East Farleigh, Kent, July, 1843.
- 1828 James Harrison, of St. Martin's Lane, printer, died 20th March, 1847.
- 1829 John Crowder, alderman of the Ward of Farringdon Within. Lord Mayor in 1829, proprietor of the "Public Ledger," died 2nd December, 1830.
- 1830 John Key, of Barge Yard, Bucklersbury, wholesale stationer, alderman of Dowgate Ward, Lord Mayor, 1830-31, and created a Baronet.
- 1831 Roger Pettiford, of Fenborough Hall, Suffolk, served his time to aldermen Knight and Gill, but never followed any business.
- 1832 Joseph Baker, of Islington, map engraver, died 2nd March, 1853.
- 1833 George Woodfall, Angel Court, Snow Hill, printer, died 26th December, 1844.
- 1834 Charles Fourdrinier, wholesale stationer, died 7th February, 1841.
- 1835 Edward London Witts, of Bread Street, stationer, died 27th June, 1841.
- 1836 Thomas Chapman, of Nevill's Court, Fetter Lane, died 8th April, 1849.

- 1837 } William Barrow, of Strand, stationer, died 5th April,
1841 } 1851.
- 1838 William Francis Chapman, of King Street, Cheap-side, wholesale stationer, died 18th November, 1849.
- 1839 George Rowe, of Fleet Street, stationer, died 28th April, 1848.
- 1840 Thomas Steel, of Chancery Lane, law stationer, died 4th March, 1841.
- 1842 } Charles Baldwin, of New Bridge Street, Blackfriars,
1843 } printer, died 18th February, 1869.
- 1844 Richard Bate, of Tower Street, stationer, died 22nd August, 1856.
- 1845 William Carpenter, of Fetter Lane, printer, died 16th January, 1854.
- 1846 John Walter, of Printing House Square, printer, proprietor of "The Times" newspaper, died 28th July, 1847.
- 1847 William Magnay, of College Hill, alderman of the Ward of Dowgate, Lord Mayor, and created a Baronet 1844.
- 1848 John Lewis Cox, printer to the East India Company, died 1st February, 1856.
- 1849 Benjamin Gibbons, of Walbrook, wholesale stationer.
- 1850 John Bowyer Nichols, of Red Lion Passage, Fleet Street, and Parliament Street, Westminster, printer of the Votes and Proceedings of the House of Commons, died 19th October, 1863.
- 1851 Thomas Gardiner, of Newgate Street, wholesale stationer, died 29th January, 1866.
- 1852 Thomas Taylor, of Little Queen Street, stationer, died June 7, 1871.
- 1853 William Farlow, of Mitre Court, Temple, law stationer, died 23 June, 1866.

- 1854 Samuel Gyfford, of Tower Street, bookseller (son of Robert Gyfford, master in 1785), died 4th May, 1856.

1855 Francis Graham Moon, of Finch Lane, engraver, alderman of the Ward of Portsoken, Lord Mayor, and created a Baronet 1855, died 12th October, 1871.

1856 Nathaniel Graham, of Paternoster Row, bookseller, died 28th October, 1861.

1857 John Dickinson, of Old Bailey, paper manufacturer, died 11th January, 1859.

and
1862 } 1861 John Saddington, of Neville Court, Fetter Lane, copper plate printer, died 9th May, 1861.

1860 Henry Foss, of Pall Mall, bookseller, died 17th and
1862 } January, 1868.

1861 James William Adlard, of Little Britain, printer, died 25th August, 1865.

1863 John Simpson, of Regent Street, music publisher, died December, 1868

1864 James Daikers, Tower Street, stationer, died 3rd September, 1869.

1865 Thomas Jones, of Hamper Mills, Watford, paper maker, died 25th December, 1876.

1866 Edmund Hodgson, of Chancery Lane, book auctioneer, and
1867 } died 3rd May, 1875.

1868 Henry Adlard, of Hatton Garden, engraver.

1869 Henry Good, of Moorgate Street, stationer, died 20th September, 1874.

1870 Henry George Brown, of Thames Street, wholesale and
1876 } stationer, died at Shooters Hill, 3rd November, 1881.

1871 William Tyler, of Queenhithe, wholesale stationer, for some time deputy-alderman of the Ward of Queenhithe, died 23rd January, 1875.

1872. Sydney Hedley Waterlow, alderman of the Ward of Langbourn, sheriff of London 1866, Lord Mayor and created a Baronet 1872, Member of Parliament for Maidstone, treasurer of the Royal Hospital of St. Bartholomew.
1873. Francis Rivington, of Waterloo Place and St. Paul's Charchyard, bookseller, son of Charles Rivington, Master 1819.
1874. William Watson, of St. Ann's Lane, printer.
1875. William Good, of King William Street, formerly of Coleman Street, stationer.
1876. Charles Rivington, of Fenchurch Buildings, solicitor, son of Charles Rivington, Master 1819, Clerk of the Company from 1829 to 1869, died 4th August, 1876.
1877. William Rivington, of St. John's Square, Clerkenwell, printer, son of Charles Rivington, Master 1819.
1878. George Chater, of Cannon Street, wholesale stationer,
1879. Francis Wyatt Truscott, of Suffolk Lane, Cannon Street, printer, alderman of the Ward of Dowgate, served the office of sheriff 1871 and received the honour of knighthood, Lord Mayor 1879.
1880. James Figgins, of Farringdon Street, type founder, alderman of the Ward of Farringdon Without, and J.P. for Middlesex, formerly Member of Parliament for Shrewsbury.
1881. Richard William Starkey, of 27, New Bridge Street. wholesale stationer.
1882. Joseph Johnson Miles, of 32, Paternoster Row, and Millfield Lane, Highgate, bookseller, J.P. for Middlesex.

CLERKS.	ELECTED.
Richard Collins .	. 1575
Thomas Mountfort .	. 1613
Henry Walley .	. 1630
John Burroughs .	. 1652
George Tokefield .	. 1663
John Lilly .	. 1673
John Garrett .	. 1681
Christopher Grandage .	. 1692
Simon Beckley .	. 1697
Nathaniel Pole .	. 1723
John Partridge .	. 1759
John Baldwin .	. 1776
Henry Rivington .	. 1800
Charles Rivington .	. 1829
Charles Robert Rivington .	. 1869

London and Middlesex Archaeological Society.

FOUNDED IN 1855.

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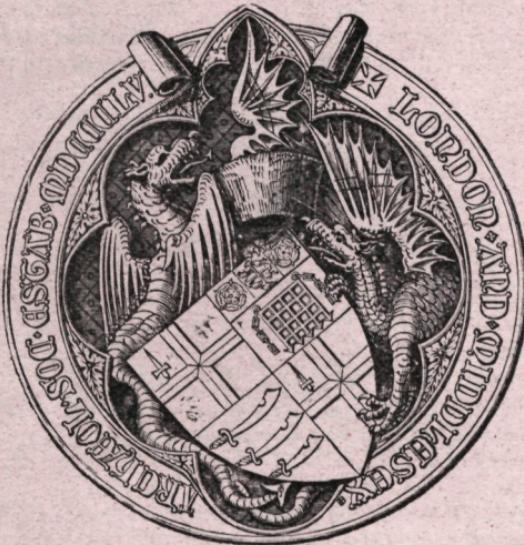
TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

LONDON AND MIDDLESEX

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PART XIX.—PART II. OF VOLUME VI.



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341

SOME ACCOUNT OF JOHN LOVEKYN,
FOUR TIMES MAYOR OF LONDON.
BY MAJOR ALFRED HEALES, F.S.A.

ON the 14th January, 1867, a brief Paper was read at an Evening Meeting of this Society,* by that eminent antiquary and genealogist, the late John Gough Nichols, in reference to the then recent discovery of a Brass (which was exhibited) from the tomb of John Lovekyn, and containing part of the inscription to his memory. The Paper is a fair example of his well-known learning and genealogical knowledge, but, as it was prepared *à propos* to the monument, he evidently considered it would have been travelling beyond his subject had he entered upon the history of the individual very much more fully than as given in the narrative chronicled by former writers. There remained to me, therefore, the opportunity of offering to the Society a more general account of the individual (so far as now obtainable), compiled for the purpose chiefly from materials obtained by the examination of original records.

When it is stated that John Lovekyn was four times Mayor of London, the rare esteem in which he was held at once becomes apparent; and when it is further stated that on the third and fourth occasions he held that important office through the intervention

* Noted in *Proceedings*, vol. iii. p. 561. The Paper is printed in the Transactions at p. 133 of the same volume.

of the king (*rege jubente*, as stated on the Brass), the strongest testimony is given both to the high esteem in which he was held by his fellow-citizens, who twice elected him as their head, and by the king, who subsequently took upon himself to set aside, in favour of Lovekyn, the choice of the citizens, and appoint him to be mayor in place of another who had been duly elected. Incidentally, the circumstance shows us the interest taken by the King in the government of the City, its importance which induced him to interfere in a manner which in these days would create a metropolitan rebellion, and also the despotic power which kings in those days possessed and exercised.

Of the Lovekyn family I believe no pedigree has hitherto been compiled; but it is clear that the family was old and widely spread, and the preparation of such a pedigree would be no light task. The family was located partly in London and partly at Kingston-upon-Thames. The spelling of the name was very much varied. In the official and other records of the fourteenth century it is always spelt Lovekyn; *

* This will be seen in the public records after referred-to; and for another example we may advert to a deed, dated on the Thursday after the Feast of St. Nicholas, in the 30th year of King Edward III. 1356. (Exchequer Augmentation, Ancient Deeds, p. 15, No. 17.) In 1403 Katherine Lovekyn, widow, daughter and heir of Robert de Ely, late citizen and fishmonger of London, conveyed certain property to William Chichele (evidently the brother of the celebrated Archbishop Chicene, and mayor of London in 1411, and again in 1421.—*Stemmata Chicheleana*, No. 1); the deed was of sufficient importance to be attested by the mayor and sheriffs and others. (Harleian Charters, 112, b. 8.)

Maitland prints it Lewkyn or Luskyn;* and in the records of the town and parish of Kingston it is not unfrequently, in rather later times, spelt Lorchyn or Lorchin—as for example, in 1434, one Robert Lorchyn, of Kingston, a barber, was, with others of his craft, fined viij^d for that *capient excessive* ;† and a James Lorkyn, in 1503, occupied a tenement in the wool-market there, at a rent of xij^d.‡

The earliest member of the family whose name I have happened to meet with is recorded in the books of the Bishop of Winchester (as stated by Manning and Bray in their History of Surrey §), where it appears that Roger de Lovekyn of Kyngeston was, on the 2nd November, 1301, instituted to the rectory of East Clandon, Surrey, on the presentation of the abbot and convent of Chertsey, the patrons of the living; but he was a minor at the time, and the custody of the living was given to Hugh de Kingston, vicar of Flore, Northamptonshire; and on 13th May, 1313, he exchanged for the rectory of Esher, which he resigned in 1315.||

About this time there lived at Kingston one Edward Lovekyn, who, filled with devotion, desired

* Maitland, History of London. In the List of Mayors at p. 1195 the name is Johan Lewkyn, and in the List of Sheriffs at p. 1203 it is spelt Luskyne.

† Kingston Court Rolls.

‡ Accounts of the Churchwardens of Kingston.

§ Manning and Bray, History of Surrey, vol. iii. p. 50.

|| Ibid. vol. ii. p. 756, and vol. iii. p. 50, and note g. There is apparently some little complication here, for note c of the former says (with a reference to the bishop's register) that he was rector of Esher on 21 December, 1308.

to establish at Kingston a chapel for Divine worship in perpetuity ; but an institution in perpetuity is not within mortal power. He did, however, all that was practicable ; and his descendant, half a century later, supplemented and enlarged his work, which continued to subsist about two centuries and a half till destroyed by Tudor sacrilege. He must have been wealthy as well as religious, for it appears that the king (Edward II.) was indebted to him in the sum of 1000 marcs, borrowed on the security of the farm or rental of Kingston ; but the property having been allotted to the queen as part of her dower, the king, by letters patent dated on the 7th April, 1308, ordered the issue of a precept to the keeper of his wardrobe and directed to the Chancellor, for the preparation of letters patent under the great seal of Aquitaine for the payment of 240*l.* to Edward Lovekyn in part satisfaction of the loan (rather more than one-third of the amount) ; and the letters patent, relating to the foundation of the free chapel, were dated on the 11th January in the following year (1309).* Probably Lovekyn may have abandoned the rest of his claim in consideration of the grant of letters patent or licence in mortmain, dated the 11th January following, for the endowment of his intended Chapel ; such a consideration received by the king was frequent, and probably customary. At all events it happened, in the present case, just about the same time. The patent granted licence to Lovekyn to give and assign ten acres of land, one acre of meadow, and

* Miscellaneous Records, 32 Edward I.; referred to by Manning and Bray, vol. i. p. 350.

five marcs rent, with their pertinents, in Kingston, for the endowment of a chaplain to celebrate Divine service in the chapel of Blessed Mary Magdalene, of Kyngestone, for the souls of all Faithful departed; such chaplain and his successors in perpetuity to have and hold from the said Edward that land, meadow, rent, and pertinents, for celebrating daily Divine service in the said chapel; and so that neither the chaplain, nor his successors, should be molested on account of the said statute of mortmain; but nevertheless saving due and accustomed service to the capital lords of the fee.*

This royal licence to authorise the endowment was followed by the ecclesiastical sanction of the bishop, dated the 16th July following, enabling the founder and his heirs to appoint a fit chaplain, to be by the bishop and his successors approved and canonically inducted, and to perform divine service in the said chapel (mentioned as being then lately constructed within the parish of Kingston), and there freely to celebrate for the souls of all faithful departed; but guarding the rights of the rector or vicar of the parish and of the cathedral church of Winchester, and reserving power of amendment, revocation, or augmentation of the present grant at discretion.†

I have narrated this rather more fully than I should otherwise have done in consequence of its being the origin of the foundation, for which, beside his civic dignity, John Lovekyn is specially noteworthy.

One Robert Lovekyn, perhaps the brother, at all

* Patent Roll, 2 Edward II. pt. 2, m. 4.

† Winchester Diocesan Register, Wodelok, fol. 112, v.

events the successor, of Edward, seems to have withheld the endowments from the chaplain (perhaps in consequence of some dispute), and was formally excommunicated by the bishop on the 15th December, 1312, who directed letters to be sent to the vicar of Kingston to denounce the offender, during high Mass on Sundays and festivals, as excommunicate.* This proving ineffectual, the bishop, at the expiration of forty days, ordered the sentence to be published in all churches of the deanery, with ringing of bells and candles burning and then extinguished, and at the same time summoned the offender to appear in court.† Presumably this was effectual for the time ; but subsequently there were disputes, in which the chaplain failed to obtain redress from the bishop, and his income having ceased he appealed to the archbishop, whose intervention seems to have at first failed to remedy the chaplain's wrong, as we conclude from an official letter which he addressed to the bishop on the 1st July, 1327, directing him to make speedy and fit provision in accordance with former letters, and expressing his surprise that such former letters had not been effectual.‡

We now come to the steps taken by John Lovekyn for the extension of the work of his predecessor, Edward.

The chapel originally erected seems to have been rather a temporary building, possibly of wood, otherwise no necessity could have arisen for a rebuilding half a century after its construction. We find that it had been rebuilt by John Lovekyn prior to 2nd

* Winchester Diocesan Register, Wodelok, fol. 175, *v.*

† Ibid. fol. 178.

‡ Archiepiscopal Register, Reynolds, fol. 56, *v.*

April, 1352, at which date the episcopal ordinance refers to it as *deinceps construenda*, while the letters patent granted by the king on the 1st October following speak of it as *de novo constructa*, while Lovelkyn's own ordinance on refoundation says, *Ego . . . de novo construens et edificans*. It is this building which exists at the present day: a simple oblong, 37 feet 9 inches by 17 feet 3 inches, with staircase turrets at the eastern angles, constructed of flint with stone dressings; and it forms an excellent illustration of the architecture of the period, being of the Decorated style, but showing in the window-tracery some sign of transition to Perpendicular. When, under King Henry VIII., monasteries had been abolished, and their property (converted to the king's use) had been squandered,* the monarch looked around for further plunder, and colleges and Free-chapels became an easy prey, sufficing to supply his temporary needs.† Part of this property was disposed of, and part remained in the hands of the Crown until Queen Elizabeth determined to found a Free Grammar School, and gave the chapel and, at first, a small part of the property, which she subsequently increased, for the purpose.‡ Recently new buildings for the grammar school have been erected, and the chapel, for want of funds for necessary repair, is in danger of destruction.

* With what gross recklessness the king squandered wealth will be familiar to all readers of Shakspeare, who, in his historical plays, followed (with singular closeness) the Chroniclers' narrations.

† This was done under authority of Parliament at a time when no one would have ventured on any serious opposition to the royal will. The Act is the 37 Henry VIII. cap. 4.

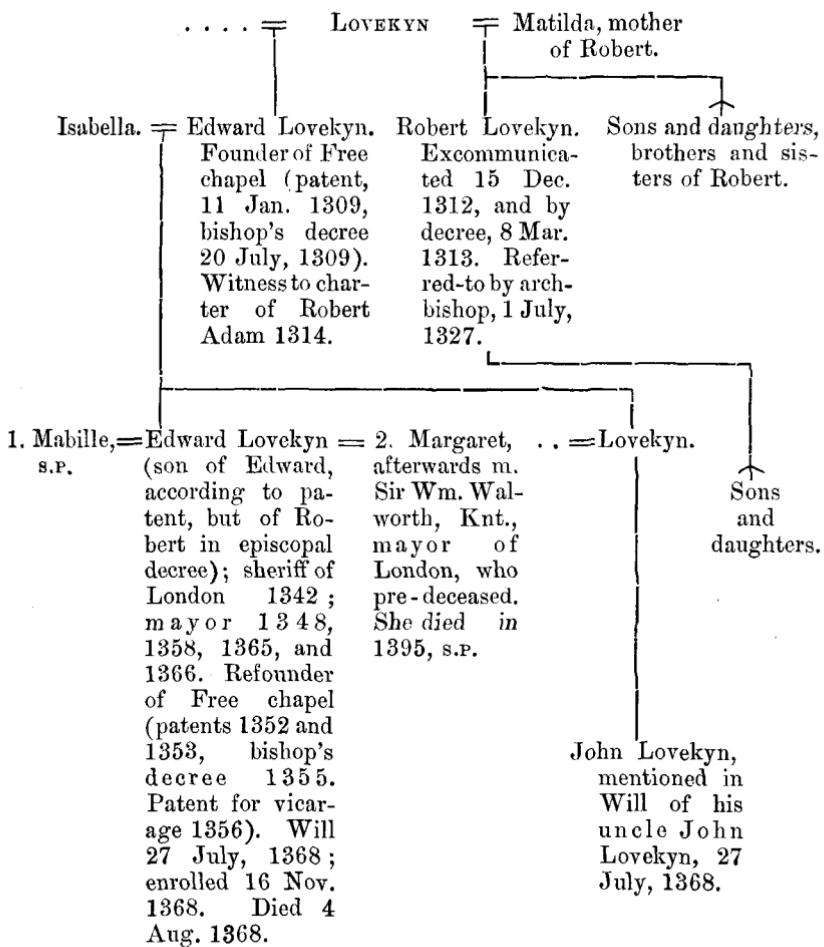
‡ By patents, 1st March, 1561, and 17th May, 1564 (3rd & 6th Eliz.).

The relationship between the first founder and John Lovekyn is not easy to determine, especially as the letters patent, and the record in the bishop's register, are discordant; but presumably Edward and Robert were brothers by different mothers, since Matilda is mentioned as mother of Robert, and not as the mother of Edward the founder, and the brothers, sisters, and sons and daughters of Robert are referred-to. Edward, it appears, married Isabella, and apparently John was the only child of their marriage. The suggestion on the opposite page appears to reconcile difficulties.

It may be noted that, coeval with our John Lovekyn, there was one John, son of John Lovekyn, of Kingston, butcher, who executed an assignment of an acre of land in Kingston, to John Wenge and Agnes his wife.*

Returning to the letters patent obtained by John Lovekyn, we find that their purport was to grant a licence in mortmain to "our beloved John Lovekyn, citizen of London," to alienate, give, and assign in perpetuity a rent-charge of 12*l.* per annum in lands and rents (according to their true value), though of the king's fee, but not held of him *in capite* by military service or grand serjeantry, to certain chaplains, to celebrate in the chapel founded by Edward and by himself, and now newly rebuilt, for the good estate of the king and Philippa, the Queen of England, his most dear consort, and their children, whilst living, and for their souls when they were withdrawn from this light; and for the souls of the said John, and Mabille his wife, and of his father, mother, and

* Exchequer Augmentation; Ancient Deeds, p. 15, No. 17.



One John, son of John Lovekyn, of Kingston, butcher, executed assignment of land, 6th Dec. 1356.

Katherine Lovekyn, widow, daughter and heiress of Robert de Ely late citizen and fishmonger of London, sold property in London in 1403.

ancestors, and all Faithful departed, and according to ordinances made by the said John and his heirs, but after legal inquisition and return thereof that no loss or injury would happen to the king in consequence. For this grant a fee of twenty marcs was paid into the king's hanaper.*

This patent was supplemented on the 7th May following (1353) by another granting a further licence in mortmain, in which it is recited that an inquisition had been held by Adam Fraunceys, mayor of the city of London and the king's eschaetor for the city, taken under a royal mandate and according to the account rendered in Chancery, from which it is evident that this further endowment, amounting to seventy-one shillings and eight pence, was charged upon lands and tenements in the city of London. The rights of the king and his heirs, as capital owners of the fee, to all due and accustomed service, were reserved.†

But the patent permitting the endowment was only a part of the authority requisite for carrying out the object. The sanction of the bishop had to be obtained, and it was his duty to see that the scheme which had his own approval had also the approval of those whose rights might be prejudiced. These were the vicar of the parish, and the appropriators of the rectory (the prior and convent of Merton), and the chapter of Winchester, to whom certain rights were to be given. One can well imagine the trouble and the difficulties which had to be overcome.

* Patent Roll, 26 Edward III. pt. 3, m.13.

† Patent Roll, 27 Edward III. pt. 1, m.7.

First, as to the vicar. It was arranged that, lest, by leave to be present at the first celebration of Mass in the chapel, occasion should be given to the parishioners for abstention from the parish church during the celebration of Divine service, the chaplain should not, without licence from the vicar, celebrate Mass in the said chapel on the greater festivals (a list of which was given), or on Sunday (except when the feast of St. Mary Magdalene fell on that day), prior to the Gospel and offertory of high Mass being sung or said in the church, in the presence of any parishioner except John Lovekyn ; and the chaplains themselves should be bound to attend in the church at high Mass on the four principal feasts, and make their offerings and oblations like other parishioners ; and other restrictions were made, including the prohibition of burial in the chapel. The vicar's assent to even these terms had to be purchased by the grant by Lovekyn of a manse which was to become the future vicarage house.

Not only was the assent of the bishop needed to the foundation, but also to the ordinances for the governance and regulation of the work in future, as drawn up by the Re-founder. All these difficulties were, however, overcome, and on the 7th May, 1353, the seals of the bishop, the chapter of Winchester, the prior and convent of Merton, the vicar of Kingston, and John Lovekyn, were set to the deed, which was then entered in the Episcopal Register.*

The ordinances for the future government of the

* Winchester Episcopal Register, Wykeham, fol. cclxvii. v. to cclxx. v.

foundation, which were incorporated in the Act thus executed and enrolled, embodying the mind and intention of Lovekyn, had no doubt been to him a subject of long and careful consideration ; they run to so great a length that we must content ourselves with a note of their general purport, which will enable us to appreciate his thoughtful and business-like mind and sound judgment.

The gifts of John Lovekyn so largely increased the original endowment of the free chapel that he is spoken of as the re-founder. The deed under which he made such further endowment, as authorised by the royal letters patent, first recites the original foundation by Edward Lovekyn (and Robert Lovekyn, as it adds in error, for his name does not appear in the Acts of the original foundation). It then proceeds with a preamble that he, John Lovekyn, having constructed and rebuilt the chapel and contiguous manse, and most earnestly desiring with unwearied solicitude for the further celebration of Divine service in the said chapel, to the praise and honour of God, and the succour of the souls of both living and dead, and for the increase of the ministers of God both in number and remuneration, so that their needs being provided for they should prosper in spiritual increments, had with that object superadded to the chapel another chaplain for the perpetual service of God therein ; and had provided the after-mentioned ordinances for the government of the chapel. And that he had with the licence of Lord Edward, the illustrious King of England, given, granted, and by this charter confirmed, to the chapel and the chaplains thereof, the property

specified in the letters patent, being together of the annual value of four pounds, with all their rights and pertinents, to hold to the said chaplains and their successors, to celebrate Divine service in the said chapel as after specified, in perpetuity, freely, quietly, well, and peacefully, free from all secular services and demands. It then proceeds to set forth the ordinances or rules which he had provided for the future government of the institution.

And he willed, and, as far as in him lay, ordained and established, that the chaplains aforesaid should be perpetual, and that one of them should be the perpetual warden of the aforesaid chapel and the future head of the other chaplain or chaplains when the increase of the profits and receipts permitted, and should be called the warden of the said chapel, and be admitted and instituted to his wardenship, and the chaplains to their chaplaincies, by the diocesan of the place, the Bishop of Winchester for the time being, on their presentation by the present founder to such wardenship and chaplaincies respectively.

He further willed and ordered that, when, after his death, a vacancy occurred in those offices, the Bishop of Winchester for the time being should, within two months of the vacancy becoming of public note, prefer and institute a warden or chaplain to the vacancy, and cause him to be inducted into corporal possession. And if the bishop should fail to do this, then, immediately after the lapse of such two months, the right of appointment should thereupon devolve on the chapter of Winchester for that turn; which said chapter should, within two months immediately following, prefer and

institute a warden or chaplain (as the case might be), and cause him to be inducted into corporal possession; and, in the event of such vacancy happening during a vacancy of the see, the chapter should also have the appointment. But that, if in any case the warden or chaplain should not be preferred as aforesaid within the further two months allowed, then the appointment should devolve to the Archbishop of Canterbury, fully for that turn.

Also, that the warden and chaplains should immediately after their institution or admission take a corporal oath, that, as long as they respectively held the wardenship or chaplaincy, they would continue in personal residence at the said chapel, and personally minister therein, unless hindered by reasonable cause (but, nevertheless, with occasional absence), and would not undertake any other duty or service. That they should observe this present ordinance in all things, and in default of observing such their oath their institution should become *ipso facto* void.

Also, he willed that the warden should have some chaplain of the said chapel constantly dwelling with him in the residence and manse of the chapel, and sufficiently and honestly maintained with food and drink by him from the income of the chapel, and that he should pay every year, out of the said tenements, to each one of the said chaplains, forty silver shillings for his other necessaries, by equal half-yearly portions (viz., at the feasts of the Purification of Blessed Mary the Virgin and the Nativity of St. John the Baptist), and also a gown (*unam robam*) at the Feast of the

Lord's Nativity, of the same sort (*eiusdem secte*) as the warden himself was vested him.

The warden should faithfully dispose and make use of the residue of income given of God to him, after deducting the requisite expenses of himself and household (of a necessary amount, and not beyond reasonable burthen), for the service of the chapel, and not for any other uses, nor should he in anywise dispose thereof by Will. Moreover, no other administrator of the goods of the chapel should in any way have the power of disposing of such goods by Will.

That the warden should every year make a true inventory of all the goods of the chapel, by indenture, one part to remain in the custody of the warden, and the other in custody of one of the senior of the chaplains, who should exhibit and produce the same at least once a year to the present re-founder (John Lovekyn) during his life, and after his decease to the diocesan, so that it should show forth the state of the goods and property of the chapel.

Also, that the wardens and chaplains should dwell together in the manse provided for them; and the warden should sleep in one room allotted to him, and the other chaplains in others in the dwelling, within the said manse, allotted to them according to the order of the warden; and should daily take their meals together, unless any of them be hindered by reasonable cause.

The warden to provide a suitable clerk to serve the chaplains in masses, and to wait upon them in their room; also to provide them with honest surplices and amices furred with black fur, which they should

wear in the chapel during Divine service ; together with books, chalices, and ornaments necessary for the chapel.

That during a vacancy in the wardenship by the death of the warden, or in any other manner, the care and administration of the goods of the chapel should, during the vacancy, pertain to the chaplain who had longest celebrated there : but that he should, within one month from the preferment or admission of a new warden, faithfully and fully render an account or reckoning, upon his corporal oath, of the receipts and expenses.

Also, he willed and ordered that, as well the warden as the other chaplains, should every day, after dinner and before vespers, say together in the chapel the Office for the dead, viz., *Placebo* and *Dirige*, with nine psalms and nine lections, except on double feasts and in time of Easter, in which time of Easter they should say the said Office with three psalms and three lections according to the use of the Church of Sarum. And with the said daily commemoration they should say together, after Vespers and Compline, the Commendation of the dead. Also, that they should be bound to say, humbly and devoutly, in the choir of the chapel, on all simple feasts, three lections, and on feast days the seven penitential psalms and fifteen gradual psalms, with litany and accustomed prayers. And should daily say matins and the other Hours, according to the use of the before-mentioned Church of Sarum, in the choir of the chapel. And also that all of the chaplains should daily celebrate their masses in the chapel unless prevented by lawful impediment. Thus,

one of them should celebrate every Monday mass for the souls above-written and under-written (when they be removed *ab hac luce*), with the office of the dead ; on every Tuesday should be celebrated the Mass *Salus populi*, for the most excellent prince, Lord Edward, by the grace of God King of England, Philippa Queen of England his consort, and their children, and the Reverend Father William, by the grace of God Bishop of Winchester, and for the good estate of himself and Sybilla his wife, during their lives, and after their decease there be celebrated the Mass of St. Thomas formerly Archbishop of Canterbury ; on Wednesdays, the Mass of St. Mary Magdalene ; on Thursdays, of the Holy Ghost ; on Fridays, of the Holy Cross ; on Saturdays, of the glorious Virgin Mary, mother of our Lord Jesus Christ ; on Sundays and other feasts there should be celebrated the Mass of the day. But every day one of the chaplains should celebrate Mass with the office *De requiem eternam*, for the Souls aforesaid and of Matilda the mother of the said John Lovekyn, and Mabilie the mother of his said wife, and of himself when he departed *ab hac luce*, and of all his benefactors and all Faithful departed. And all the said Masses should be celebrated therein with suitable Collects for the Living and Dead superadded, except at high Mass on double feasts. Also that each of the chaplains in each of his Masses *In memento pro vivis* should have specially in mind the above-mentioned persons whilst living ; in which memento they should specially pray for the peace of the Church and kingdom, and for the Benefactors of the chapel whomsoever. In the *Memento pro mortuis* they should have in mind

the aforesaid then deceased, and also the above-mentioned living when they became deceased; which being finished, the priest should say, " May the souls of John, Edward, and Robert Lovekyn, our founders, and of the said Lord William Bishop of Winchester, and all Faithful deceased, rest in peace through the mercy of God;" and should do the same every day at table, after giving thanks to God after their dinner.

He also willed and ordered that neither the warden nor any other, even if acting on the common wish and consent, should from that time forward sell, or give, or otherwise grant any corody, or bounty, or any possession of the chapel; or in any manner divert, lend, pledge, or otherwise engage any chalice, book, vestments, or ornaments thereof; or let or otherwise demise to any one whomsoever, or alienate in any mode of alienation, without the special licence of the Lord Bishop of Winchester for the time being; and any one who should do to the contrary should straightway be removed, if a warden from his wardenship, and if any other chaplain from his chaplaincy. And such sale, gift, grant, charge, pledge, obligation, demise, or alienation, should be invalid, void, and of none effect; nor should it have the common seal thereto.

Also, he willed and ordered that none of the aforesaid priests of the chapel (the warden only excepted), should introduce any guest into the house at the expense of the funds of the chapel; but that if any one, acting to the contrary, introduced any guest, he should become liable to the warden, or his deputy, for three pence sterling for a dinner, and two pence

for any other meal, which amount should be stopped and retained from the stipend of the introducer of such guest, and expended for the common use.

Also, as it was befitting to all, and especially to ministers of God, to abstain from tippling and drunkenness, since drunkenness takes away the mental faculties, as well as provokes the incitement of evil desire,—he ordered that the warden and chaplains, and their successors, should avoid all taverns, and, as they had no occasion for frequenting them, he stringently prohibited their going to any of such houses unless after having asked and obtained leave from the warden, if present, or his *locum tenens* in his absence.

Also, that the warden and chaplains for the time being should, during all future time, in a sufficient and competent manner, sustain, repair, amend, and, as often as need be, rebuild, out of the pervenients above-mentioned, all the messuages, the mill, and the shops referred to.

Also, that the warden, or each one of the chaplains, should, in the event of, and immediately upon his being peaceably secured in the possession of any other ecclesiastical benefice, give up, in word and deed and without hindrance, his wardenship or chaplaincy and place which he held in the chapel.

Also, he willed and ordered that, if any one of the chaplains be found in default and incorrigible in any of the premises, he should be forthwith removed altogether from the said Chantry by act of the Bishop of Winchester for the time being.

And he, the said John Lovekyn, for himself and

his heirs, warranted in perpetuity, and defended the aforesaid nine messuages, ten shops, one mill, one hundred and twenty-five acres of land, ten acres of meadow, and twenty acres of pasture, and thirty-five shillings of annual rents, with pertinents in the town of Kyngeston aforesaid, together with two messuages with pertinents in the parish of St. Michael de la Crokedelane, London, to the said warden and chaplains, and their successors, wardens and chaplains, celebrating divine service, as pre-arranged, in the said chapel, and faithfully and fully performing their office.

In testimony and faith of all which things he sealed with his seal this charter tripartite, of which, for the greater security, he willed one part to remain in the charge of the warden and chaplain and their successors, and another part in the charge of the prior and chapter of the church of Winchester, and the third part in the charge of himself and his heirs. Given at London, the third day of May, in the year of the Lord, one thousand three hundred and fifty-five.

This charter was approved and ratified by the Bishop of Winchester, but with various, somewhat minute, provisions and stipulations to safeguard the rights of the vicar of Kingston, who might otherwise have suffered loss in the oversight of his parishioners as well as in offerings and oblations, and those of the prior and convent of Merton, the appropriators of the rectory. He notes also that John Lovekyn had with the like object granted and given to the vicar and his successors a certain manse of the average value of 30*s.* per

annum, which the bishop ordered and decreed should be their possession accordingly,* in consideration of which the wardens and chaplains should receive and have all and singular the oblations pervenient to the chapel for all future time, for their own proper use in perpetuity, without objection from the vicar for the time being; but saving, nevertheless, to the bishop and his successors free power to make other order respecting these oblations, if at any future time there should arise any serious harm to the church in consequence of this arrangement.

The difficulties which Lovekyn had to encounter, and his success in overcoming them, furnish proof of his diplomatic skill, as well as liberality. It will have been seen that he had first to obtain two grants of letters patent for licence in mortmain to alienate lands and messuages for his proposed additional endowment, one of which apparently cost a very large sum, and the other cost twenty mares, paid to the hanaper. The bishop had to be conciliated in various ways, including the right of presentation to the chapel after the decease of Lovekyn himself, and no small amount must have been paid to his officials, considering

* By a subsequent instrument, dated 6th May, 1366, it appears that this house had been thenceforward occupied as the residence of the vicar, together with houses and buildings in a certain place by the rivulet and king's highway on the east of the church, built by the priory of Merton, which had by the neglect of the inhabitants fallen into ruin, requiring heavy expense for repairs; and the bishop therefore granted a licence to pull down such buildings and utilize the materials for the building of a vicarage, but not for other purposes. (Winchester Diocesan Register, ii. Edyndon, fol. 53.)

the necessary preliminary negotiation, and the length of the documents which are entered on his register. The chapter of the priory of Winchester, in whom, under certain circumstances, the patronage was vested, had to be consulted ; the consent of the prior and convent of Merton, whose rights as appropriate rectors of the parish might have suffered ; and finally the vicar of the parish, upon whom the liberal gift of a manse to him and successors no doubt exercised weight.

All these difficulties being overcome, and consents obtained, on the 1st day of June, 1355, the bishop, the chapter of Winchester, the prior and convent of Merton, the vicar, and John Lovekyn himself, set their seals to the deed.

In Tanner's *Notitia Monastica* it is erroneously stated * that the chapel had a hospital adjoining to it, and that the foundation was for a master, two priests, and certain poor men. There is no record of more than two chaplains at a time, and not the slightest reason for supposing that it ever supported, or was intended to support, any poor men, or that it ever was (by any one else) styled a hospital.

In addition to the endowment which he had thus made to the chapel, John Lovekyn devised by his will a house, at the corner of Crooked Lane, London, which he had bought of Thomas Brandon, to his chaplain, Richard Claidych, and his successors in the chantry (the free chapel) of St. Mary Magdalene, in Kingston, in augmentation of the endowment,† and by his testa-

* Tanner's *Notitia Monastica*, Surrey, ix. Kingston.

† *Hustings Roll*, 96, No. 196.

ment (as appears by the archives of the bailiffs of Kingston, for the testament is no longer to be found) he gave 40*l.* (a considerable sum in those days) for the repair of the southern part of the church, and remitted a further sum of 10*l.* which he had lent to the churchwardens ; but subject to a condition that twelve of the most trustworthy men of the parish should preserve to the chapel all its rights and liberties.*

In order to preserve the sequence of the work commenced by his ancestor, and thus continued or re-founded by John Lovekyn, it has been necessary to postpone his own personal history for the moment. According to Leland† he was born at Kingston ; but he no doubt served an apprenticeship in London to the business of a stockfish-monger‡—for we find him afterwards carrying it on with a success which we might anticipate, and which was fairly merited by sound sense combined with thoughtful judgment and integrity proceeding from a religious tone of mind ; qualities which his re-foundation of the free chapel of his ancestor, and the ordinances which he himself made for its government, prove him to have possessed ; and which doubtless led to the eminent posi-

* Archives of the Bailiffs, Lansdowne MS. 226, fol. 28.

† Leland's Itinerary, 2nd ed. vol. v. p. 22.

‡ " Stock-fish " is the term applied to cod-fish split open, and salted and dried to the consistence of elastic wood. It forms an important part of the exports and industrial profits of Newfoundland (a country not unlike England and Wales in form and size), where the very peculiar odour is perceptible for miles around the little bays in which it is cured.

tion he attained, as well as to the special marks of royal favour and confidence. In course of time he rose to the dignity of sheriff of the city of London, which office he filled in the year 1342;* and he was elected to the eminent position of mayor of the city in the year 1348, and again in 1358; and he enjoyed the same honour in the years 1365 and 1366 by the king's authority. The ordinary records of the city fix the years, while his monumental inscription says that twice was he mayor, and twice again “*Rege jubente.*”

He was twice married: his first wife was named Mabille, who was probably a widow, since in his will he mentions Letitia Tubbe her daughter--not as his daughter. And the second, Margaret, who was perhaps the daughter of Gilbert de Mordon, mentioned in his will as one for whom prayer was to be made; but he appears to have left no offspring by either. His residence was a little to the west of London Bridge, and the present Fishmongers' Hall is partly built upon the site.†

His will was dated on the Thursday after the feast of St. James the Apostle, 1368—in that year the day fell on the 27th July. He speaks of himself as of *bona memoria, licet corporis detentus egritudinis.* The will, which is enrolled in the Hustings Court of the city of London, relates solely to his freehold property in London. His testament (which in those days was usually a separate instrument) is unhappily not to be found. It would no doubt have thrown much light

* Maitland, p. 1203; Herbert, vol. ii. p. 42, n.

† Herbert, Livery Companies, vol. ii. .55

upon his family, while the legacies and other dispositions would doubtless have furnished us with much additional information respecting his wishes and feelings. By his will he bequeathed his soul to Almighty God, Blessed Mary, St. Michael the Archangel, and All Saints, and directed his burial before the altar in the midst of the chapel of Blessed Mary, in the church of St. Michael Crooked Lane, of which chapel (as we gather from Leland, but not very certainly) he was the founder. He left to Margaret his wife, for her dower, one-third of all his lands and tenements in the city of London, but charging one tenement, *in vico Thamis'*, with a payment of six marcs per annum in perpetuity for the sustentation of a chantry in that church, left by one Pentecost Russel. An annuity of 6*l.* 10*s.* which was secured by deed to Letitia Tubbe, daughter of his late wife Mabille, he charged upon other tenements, which after her decease were to be sold and the proceeds applied by his executors in pious alms for the souls of himself and the said Mabille and Margaret, and of his father and mother, and of Gilbert de Mordon, and all for whom he was bound, and of all Faithful departed. It bequeaths to the prior and convent of St. Mary Bishopsgate all the store which he had in four cellars in the Vintry (perhaps his stock of dried fish), on condition that he should be commemorated by three canon-chaplains. He devised his house at the corner of Crooked Lane, lately bought of Thomas Brandon, to the chaplain of the free chapel at Kingston, and his successors in perpetuity, in augmentation of the endowment, but subject to the performance of due and accustomed

service to the capital lords of the fee. He bequeathed to his nephew John Lovekyn the tenement in Candalwykestrete which he and his late wife, Mabille, had bought; and he directed that all other tenements should be sold (apparently after his wife's decease) and applied by the executors to pious uses and works to the glory of God and the welfare of the souls of himself and those before named. The will appointed as executors his wife in principal, and John Cauntebrigg the elder, Richard Claidych (chaplain of the free chapel), and William de Walworth.

His death took place between the 27th July (the date of the will) and the 6th November, 1368 (when the will was proved). Weever states that it happened on the 4th August.*

His will was inrolled in the Pleas of Land, held *in Hustingo*, London, on the Thursday before the Feast of St. Martin, in the 42nd year of King Edward III.†

According to Stow, John Lovekyn rebuilt the church of St. Michael Crooked Lane, "and was buried there in the choir, under a fair tomb, with the images of him and his wife in alabaster. The said church hath been since increased, with a new choir and side chapels, by Sir William Walworth; and also the tomb of Lofkin was removed, and a flat stone of grey marble, garnished with plates of copper, laid on him, as it yet remaineth in the body of the church."‡ Considering the high esteem in which Lovekyn was held by Walworth, it seems improbable

* Weever, *Funerall Monuments*, p. 410.

† *Hustings Roll*, 96, No. 196.

‡ Thoms's edition of Stow's Survey, p. 83.

that the monument should have been thus removed ; one would suppose it more likely that the brass inscription was let into the gravestone in the midst of the chancel floor, in order to indicate the place of sepulture, while the costly monument, with alabaster effigies, formed a supplementary and more conspicuous monument. However that may be, there was an inscription in brass subsisting in the time of Stow, who gives this copy of the inscription :—

Vermibus esca datur, Louekyn caro pulchra Johannis,
Bis fuit hic maior, iterum bis Rege jubente.
Anno milleno ter E cum septuageno.

This inscription was subsequently lost or stolen, and became a palimpsest brass, with an inscription to the memory of one Rychard Humberstone, who died on the 7th March, 1581. The plate, thus inscribed on the back, was laid upside down in the pavement of Walkern church, Hertfordshire, and, upon its being detached in modern days, the original inscription, with the beginning and end of the lines slightly shortened, was discovered on the obverse. Upon this discovery there were contributed to this Society the interesting notes by the late John Gough Nichols to which I have adverted.

A curious problem arises with respect to the date of his decease, as stated in the inscription, in which the year 1370 is named ; the month and day are not specified. But Lovekyn's will, which is dated the 27th July, 1368, was registered on the Hustings Roll on the 6th November in the same year, an act which certainly would not have been done until, after the

death, the will came into operation. The day of decease is specified in Weever's Funerall Monuments as being the 4th August, 1368. In order to reconcile the discrepancy, it might be suggested that the inscription was cut at some subsequent time, when the exact year was forgotten; but from its palæography it cannot have been much later; and the widow, to whom reference in case of doubt would naturally have been made, did not die till long afterwards, in 1395. And what is more curious is, that in a commemorative inscription, put down some two centuries afterwards, the date was correctly stated. The inscription runs thus: *—

Worthy John Louekyn, Stockfishmonger of London, here is leyd;
 Four times of this City Lord Maior hee was, if truth be seyd.
 Twise he was by election of Citizens then being,
 And twise by the commandment of his good Lord the King.
 Cheef ffounder of this Church in his lifetime was he;
 Such Louers of the common-welth too few ther be.
 Of August the fourth, thirteene hundryth sixty and eyght,
 His flesh to Erth, his soul to God went streyght.

Having thus traced John Lovekyn's birth, parentage, and education (for the religious tone of mind which he manifested doubtless commenced at his mother's knee), his business and prosperity; the worldly honours which he received; the important gifts which he offered to the worship of God, and the thoughtful care bestowed upon their appropriation; his will, and his monument; there still remains a fact to be noted, which incidentally affords proof of his estimable character. He had as an apprentice

* Weever, Funerall Monuments, p. 410.

one William de Walworth, who afterwards became the famous Sir William Walworth, who in 1380 dealt Lynch law upon Jack Cade, in default of which resolute deed the whole history of the kingdom might very possibly have been changed.* In the appointment by Lovekyn of Walworth as one of his executors he speaks of him as *servientem meum*, and afterwards Sir William, in his will, refers to Lovekyn as *magister meus*. Though the statement may appear rather like one of the favourite romances narrated for the edification of youth, yet it is the fact that the apprentice married his master's widow,† and succeeded to the business, and prospered in accordance with his merits; she survived him and died in 1395.‡ The esteem in which Sir William held his former master is conclusively shown, not only by adding to the endowment of the free chapel,§ but by his will, in which, amongst numerous and liberal gifts, were many for ecclesiastical and charitable objects, which, as regards religious personages, were usually coupled with a condition of prayers for his own soul and the souls of John Lovekyn, and of the testator's wife, and father and mother, and all Faithful departed. This is the formula in which the condition is specified in the

* It is stated that he received his knighthood and a pension of 100*l.* for this service. (Stow's Survey of London, Thoms's ed. p. 83.)

† Lansdowne MS. 226, fol. 28.

‡ Her will is on the Hustings Roll 123, No. 1, *v.*

§ Sir William Walworth obtained letters patent, dated 9th Nov. 1371 (for which he paid a royalty of 24*l.*), granting him licence in mortmain to assign lands of his own for the further endowment of the free chapel. (Patent Roll, 45 Edward II., pt. 2, m. 12.)

first instance, but subsequently for the sake of brevity he simply directed that the prayers should be for his own soul and that of John Lovekyn and the other souls aforesaid, specifying none other; this occurs repeatedly.* Then again, in his testament, besides similar mention of Lovekyn, there occurs the direction that the residue of his (Walworth's) property should be chargeable with his own debts and the debts of the said John Lovekyn, if any remained unpaid;† though this direction might refer to debts chargeable against Walworth as executor.

Thus, long after his decease, was testimony borne to John Lovekyn's worth, more powerful because paid incidentally, and palpably free from any object of flattery

* Hustings Roll 139, No. 70.

† Prerogative Register, 1 Rous.

WESTMINSTER HALL AND THE COURTS ADJACENT.

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(*Read at Evening Meeting, 9 April, 1883.*)

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1.—The MS. in the Bodleian Library,* by which the Saxon Chronicle is continued from 1080 to 1154, tells us, under the year 1097 (William Rufus), “This year was in all respects a very heavy time, and the weather was singularly bad at the seasons when men should till their lands and gather in the harvest; and the people had, nevertheless, no respite from unjust taxes. Many shires, moreover, which are bound to duty in works at London, were greatly oppressed in making the wall around the Tower, in repairing the bridge which had been almost washed away, and in building the King's Hall at Westminster. These hardships fell

* Laud [formerly in E. 80], tr. Giles.

upon many." This is the record written at the time, or at latest within a quarter of a century after, of the first building of Westminster Hall. It shows that there was then no Suitors' Fee Fund to draw upon, and that there was the same ignorant impatience of taxation which has been the trouble of all governments.*

2.—The Saxon Chronicle also informs us that King William held his Court for the first time in the new building at the Easter of 1099; so that it did not take quite so long in building as the new Law Courts of our time. At Christmas he held his Court in Gloucester; at Easter in Winchester; and not till the Whitsuntide of 1100 again at Westminster. At Lammas-tide he was slain, and Henry the First succeeded.

He held his Court at Westminster the Christmases 1100, 1101, 1102, and 1103, and spent the succeeding Easters of each year at Winchester. He spent also the Michaelmas of 1102 and the Whitsuntide of 1104 at Westminster. The following Christmas, however, he held his Court at Windsor, not again holding one at Westminster till the Christmas of 1105. At Easter 1106 he was at Bath, at Whitsuntide at Salisbury. Soon after he had to go to Normandy, and did not hold a Court again at Westminster till the Whitsuntide

* Another monkish chronicler, Ranulph de Higden, puts it forcibly, that William Rufus "pylded and schaved the peple for tribut" (Trevisa's translation); but, for some reason, that king was so hated by the ecclesiastics of his day that one cannot help doubting their testimony, and suspecting that he was a better ruler than they would have us think.

of 1107. He was there again at Christmas, and at the Whitsuntide of 1108, and was then a whole year absent. He held a Court again at Westminster at the Christmas of 1109; but at Easter was at Marlborough, and at Whitsuntide for the first time held a Court at New Windsor. The following year it is said he "wore not his crown at Christmas, nor at Easter, nor at Pentecost" (1111). The whole of 1112 and 1113 he was in Normandy; and in 1114 he held only one Court, and that was at Windsor. The Christmas of 1115 he was at St. Alban's; and the Easter following at Odiham. The whole of several years following were spent in Normandy; and it is not till the Whitsuntide of 1121 that we find a great Court recorded as again held at Westminster.

3.—It is not necessary to continue these details, for enough has been said to show that it was a real grievance which existed when the Barons insisted, as one of the clauses of *Magna Charta*, that the Common Pleas should not follow the king's court, but should be held in a certain place. The original theory of the royal judicature in settling disputes between the king's subjects seems to have been derived from patriarchal times, and to have been akin to that when the king or the chief sat in the gate, in the sight of the people, ready to do justice to all comers. Something of the sort is shown by the opening of Shakespeare's play of *King John*. The scene is a room of state in the palace at Northampton, and the Sheriff of Northamptonshire whispering to Essex, who says:—

My liege, here is the strangest controversy
Come from the country to be judged by you
That e'er I heard. Shall I produce the men?

KING JOHN. Let them approach What men are you?

The men are Philip Falconbridge and Robert his younger brother, and the question at issue between them is as to the legitimacy of the elder. John, after hearing both parties, declares the law in unexceptionable terms, addressing the younger :—

Sirrah, your brother is legitimate ;
Your father's wife did after wedlock bear him.
Your father's heir must have your father's land.

He declines, very properly, to enter upon the question whether the late Sir Robert was *inter quatuor maria*, as modern lawyers would say ; but the matter ends, as cadi justice often does end, in a compromise—the elder brother resigning his right to the Falconbridge lands, on condition of being accepted as a left-handed connection of the royal family, and made a knight.

If causes like this were heard by the king himself and settled in this rough and ready manner, wherever his Court happened to be held, one can well understand that the uncertainty of where or when any redress of grievance could be had must have been a great denial of justice and injury to the suitor. If during the lengthened periods in which some of our kings had to be absent from this country no Courts were held at all, and no means existed of obtaining a remedy for civil wrongs between subject and subject, it is not surprising that this should have been insisted on as a matter requiring reform. Nothing can more

contribute to internal peace and prosperity in a country than settled laws and easy access to the tribunals.

4.—A glance at King John's "Itinerary," as published by the late Sir T. D. Hardy in the Rolls Series, will confirm the fact that this particular head of the Magna Charta embodied a much-needed legal reform. Indeed, with regard to nearly all the heads of the Great Charter, they seem to us, nowadays, to embody such truisms of justice, that we can hardly understand the importance that was attached to them at the time. But it is evident that this was great. Four times a year was the Magna Charta ordered to be read in the cathedrals. Not only was it a regular custom for several reigns to make the first act of every parliament a confirmation of Magna Charta, and of the other established statutes of the realm, so that, as William Penn tells us, it was thirty-two times ratified, but twice a year the bishops assembled in Westminster Hall to pronounce a solemn curse upon all who should contravene the provisions of the Great Charter. This extraordinary proceeding has struck the fancy of the American Quaker poet, Whittier, who writes:—

In Westminster's royal halls,
Robed in their pontificals,
England's ancient prelates stood
For the people's right and good.
* * * *

Right of voice in framing laws,
Right of peers to try each cause ;
Peasant homestead, mean and small,
Sacred as the monarch's hall --
Whoso lays his hand on these,

England's ancient liberties—
Whoso breaks, by word or deed,
England's vow at Runnymede—
Be he prince or belted knight,
Whatsoe'er his rank or might :
If the highest, then the worst:
Let him live and die accurst.
Thou who to thy Church hast given
Keys alike of hell and heaven,
Make our word and witness sure,
Let the curse we speak endure.”

* * * *

Gone, thank God, their wizard spell,
Lost their keys of heaven and hell ;
Yet I sigh for men as bold
As those bearded priests of old.
Now too oft the priesthood wait
At the threshold of the State—
Waiting for the beck and nod
Of its power as law and God.

A print representing this scene is in the Gardner collection.

5 —The 11th chapter of Magna Charta, as re-enacted in 1225 by Henry III., and again by 28 Edw. I. stat. 3, cap. 4, is in these well-known words, “ Communia placita non sequantur Curiam nostram sed teneantur in aliquo loco certo,”—“ Common Pleas shall not follow our Court, but shall be holden in some place certain.”* The place so fixed was Westminster Hall, and it remained so fixed until the 4th December, 1882, when the First Commis-

* Co. Lit. 71a; Plow. 244; 2 Inst. 21; 12 Co. 59; Regist. 187; 4 Inst. 99; 11 Co. 75.

sioner of Works, Mr. Shaw Lefevre, offered to Her Majesty the key of the new building called the Royal Courts of Justice, and addressed her in the following words :—“ May it please your Majesty,—Your Commissioners of Works and Public Buildings have been charged with the erection of this building during the last eight years. It is now complete. It falls upon me to announce to your Majesty that it is ready to be constituted as ‘ the certain place ’ in which, in accordance with the ancient laws of your kingdom, justice shall be administered in the future by your Majesty’s Courts.” Her Majesty accepted the key and delivered it to the Lord Chancellor, expressing her “ confidence that the independence and learning of the judges, supported by the integrity and ability of the other members of the profession of the law, will prove in the future, as they have been in times past, a chief security for the rights of her Crown and the liberties of her people.” Lord Selborne, the Lord Chancellor, on receiving the key from the Queen, said : “ These Royal Courts of Justice, stately enough to satisfy even those who are most accustomed to Westminster Hall, will not, like Westminster Hall, recall the memories of Norman or Plantagenet, or Tudor or Stuart kings ; but they will be for ever associated with the name of your Majesty, and with the glories of a reign happy, beyond all which have preceded it, in those qualities of the Sovereign which have caused your Majesty to be so universally beloved and revered, in the advancement of all the arts of civilisation, and in the general peace and prosperity of the British people.” It is the time between the interesting interview of John with

his barons at Runnymede in 1215, and this still more interesting interview of Victoria with her most distinguished subjects in 1882—666 years, just two-thirds of a millennium—that represents the time during which Westminster Hall has been the certain place where justice has been done between subject and subject, in the name of the Crown of England, by a succession of her greatest men.

6.—Of the great names which have been associated with the administration of justice in this hall and the courts adjacent during the 666 years, there is no time to speak,—but a grander roll no building in the world can boast. I have had the honour to address this Society on former occasions on the historical associations of Lincoln's Inn and of Serjeants' Inn.* All these, and more than all, belong to Westminster Hall. The Chancellors have sat there to administer equity; the justices to administer common law, for twenty generations of man's life; and it is curious to observe that with the removal of the “certain place” in which both branches of our jurisprudence have grown up there has come a complete revolution—no one, till the present generation of lawyers has passed away, will probably find out how complete—in the manner of administering the laws. In dealing, therefore, with this Hall, and the courts appended to it, now demolished, we are recording, as we did for Serjeants' Inn, what is virtually a closed chapter of our legal history.

* Trans. Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. iv. 425; v. 234.

7.—The best authority we have for the appearance of the Courts of Law, when they sat in Westminster Hall itself, is the four fine illuminations belonging to Mr. Lowndes, exhibited to this Society by the late Mr. G. R. Corner on 18th December, 1860, and illustrated by him in a paper in the *Archaeologia* (xxxix. 357). Their date is of the time of Henry VI. (*circa* 1454). In the Court of Chancery the Chancellor sits in a scarlet robe trimmed with white, and wears a cap. On each side of him sit the Masters in Chancery, all priests. The senior master, that is the Master of the Rolls, has a scarlet robe trimmed with white, and the others are dressed in mustard de villers.* The clerks and registrars sit at a table below, covered with green cloth. One of them is impressing the great seal on a document with a roller, and in front of him are a number of writs folded up and labelled. Standing at the bar are serjeants and apprentices of the law (that is, barristers) in parti-coloured gowns.† In a row behind are five other persons, some of whom are probably solicitors.

In the Court of Queen's Bench sit five judges in scarlet lined with white, all wearing coifs. The masters and other officers sit at a green covered table similar to that in the Court of Chancery, and all wear parti-coloured robes. One stands on the table and is

* Mr. Corner originally suggested that this second judge might be the celebrated Fortescue; but the tonsure makes that impossible. The circumstance that the Master of the Rolls has his special judicial dress shows that his office had at this early date become one of importance and of a judicial character.

† *Trans. Lond. & Midd. Arch. Soc.* v. 240; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2d S. iii. 414.

administering the oath to the jury. At the bar a prisoner in fetters is holding up his right hand, and a serjeant stands on each side of him. In a row behind are six more prisoners, all chained together by the legs, and some looking intensely miserable.

In the Court of Common Pleas seven judges are sitting, robed in scarlet and white, like the others, and wearing coifs. A bare-legged defendant, in custody of an officer, stands at the bar. The peculiarity of the Common Pleas is indicated by the circumstance that all the counsel, of whom five are visible in the picture, are serjeants ; apprentices having no right of audience in this court then, nor for nearly four centuries after. The disposition of the Court is in other respects similar to those already noticed.

In the Court of Exchequer, the Lord High Treasurer (sitting as President) wears a scarlet robe lined with white, and a scarlet hat ; the four barons sit in mustard-de-villers, and also wear high caps instead of the coif ; for it was not necessary that the Barons of the Exchequer should be of the degree of serjeants. Serjeants and barristers are pleading before them. Upon the table are a number of gold coins which the officers of the Court are counting, and in the foreground of the picture is a strong cage, the inmates of which are two unlucky defaulters.

8.—In all the four Courts the judges seem to be sitting against the wall of the hall, which is decorated with escutcheons of the arms of England and of Edward the Confessor. At a later date the courts were screened off, and still later the Courts of Exchequer

and of Common Pleas were held in separate buildings. In 1570 seven chestnut pillars were erected in the Court of Exchequer upon stone bases, and a vellum document in the Gardner collection gives the inscriptions upon their bases as follows:—

Regni Elizabethe Anglie Francie et Hibernie Regine XII.	A.D. 1570.
Nicholaus Bacon Miles Dñs Custos Magne Sigilli Anglie	A.D. 1570.
Robertus Dudley Comes Leicestrie Magister Equitum .	A.D. 1570.
Gulielmus Cecilius Principalis Secretarius Regine . .	A.D. 1570.
Gulielmus Paulet Marchio Wintō Thesaurarius Anglie .	A.D. 1570.
Gualterus Myldmay Miles Cancellarius ac Thesaurar .	A.D. 1570.
Jacobus Dyer Miles Capitalis Justiciarum de Banco .	A.D. 1570.

On the newel of the staircase in the Hall were the arms of Boteler, Earl of Kent, as shown in a drawing in the same collection, made by John Carter, on 25th August, 1781. Mr. Gardner informs me that he recollects himself seeing them when a boy.

9.—We may now refer to one or two curious incidents affecting the fabric of the Hall.* On the 12th February, 1237, there was so great a flood arising from the overflow of the Thames that boats might have been rowed up and down in the Hall. On St. Edmund's day, 1242, the country was all drowned for six miles about Lambeth, so that Westminster Hall was only accessible on horseback.† On October 13, 1305, King Edward I. made a great feast at Westminster. Edward, his son, occupied the Hall for his father, but did not sit in the high seat.‡ On Sunday, the 20th April, 1315, Edward II. himself made a

* Holinshed.

† Ibid.

‡ Ann. Lond. p. 143.

great feast at Westminster to the Archbishop of Canterbury and many earls and barons. At 9 o'clock a fire broke out in the hall.* In 1377 Richard II. keeps his coronation feast in the Hall; and the crowd of spectators is so great that the guests can hardly reach their places.† But when, three years later, a duel is to be fought in the court between Annesley and Katrington the crowd is even greater still.‡ In 1382 the Earl of Suffolk died in the Hall.§

10.—In 1395 commenced the extensive repairs and alterations of Richard II., which give to the Hall very much of the appearance it now possesses. He increased the height of the walls by two feet, altered the windows, added a new roof and a stately porch. The contract for the works is printed in Rymer's *Fœdera*.|| Henry de Yeveley was the architect, with whose name we were made familiar by the learned paper communicated to this Society by Mr. J. G. Nichols, and published in the second volume of our *Transactions*.¶ He had then been thirty years in the royal service as director of the king's works at Westminster. The contract extends to facing the walls on both sides—called making well and faithfully the table of the walls—raising them, and inserting twenty-six corbels, according to the purport of a form and mould made by counsel of Master Henry Yeveley. Richard Wasshbourn and John Swalwe were the masons who executed it. The twenty-six corbels were to support

* Ann. Parl. p. 279.

§ Ibid. p. 333.

† Chron. M. St. Albans, p. 162.

|| Vol. vii. p. 794.

‡ Ibid. p. 263.

¶ p. 259.

the new roof to be made by Nicholas Walton, the master carpenter, of which Sir Christopher Wren said, “We have the best oak timber in the world, yet the senseless artificers would work their own chestnuts from Normandy ; it works finely, but soon decays.”* Brayley and Britton describe this roof as “one of the noblest examples of scientific construction in carpentry that exists in any part of the world.” To support it there were erected the six buttresses on the western side which have just now been again revealed, and the three buttresses on the eastern side in St. Stephen’s Court.† Mr. Rickman seems to have ventured to suggest that it was also supported by a colonnade inside, and divided into a nave and aisles, but of that there is no evidence whatever. He founded the suggestion on the discovery of a triple doorway on the north side, when that front was renewed in 1820. The north front and the towers supporting it are of this period. Richard kept his last Christmas in it, with great festivities.

Whatever may have been the foundation for Wren’s criticism of the roof, if we may trust Brayley and Britton, it is now all oak. For the repairs made prior to the coronation of George IV., when the last corona-

* Widmore, p. 49.

† It is to be remarked that the buttresses on the western side are for the most part more elegant in form than that on the eastern side, of which a drawing is given in Brayley and Britton’s Westminster, and no traces of the crocket and finial with which the latter is furnished appear upon them. The fourth buttress on the western side, one of those which has been hollowed out to serve perhaps as a guard-chamber, seems to have required strengthening at a later period, and approaches the form of the eastern buttress.

tion feast was held there, forty loads of well-seasoned oak, obtained from old ships broken up in Portsmouth Dockyard, were used.

11.—The same authorities inform us that, before the erection of the Law Courts, the demolition of which we have just witnessed, the Courts of King's Bench and Chancery occupied a considerable space at the upper or south end of the Great Hall, and were separated from each other by a flight of steps and a passage communicating with a landing-place leading to the House of Commons. In the first half of the eighteenth century there was also a range of counters, book-cases, &c., on each side of the Hall, for the use of book and print sellers, mathematical instrument-makers, sempstresses, haberdashers, and other trades-people, who were permitted to carry on their avocations there. A print representing it at this time is given in Brayley's *Londiniana*, and shows the sidebar at which the “side-bar motions,” so profitable to the juniors of a past age, used to be made.

The same strange indifference to the outward effect of the great architectural work of a past age, which is not confined to our own country, but which we find evidence of in the surroundings of most of the great cathedrals and public buildings of the Continent, led to the erection outside of Westminster Hall of a number of mean buildings, completely hiding its best architectural features, some of them used for public purposes, but others occupied by tradesmen and victuallers.

12.—That some portions of William Rufus's building are still in existence is shown by two papers read before the Society of Antiquaries by Mr. Sidney Smirke, in 1835 and 1836, while his brother, Sir Robert Smirke, was engaged in the repair and restoration of the Hall. They found traces of the former existence of a kind of arcade or gallery, formed of Norman columns with round-headed arches, destroyed by the alterations made in the fourteenth century. One of these arches was left complete in its position adjoining the northern jambs of the south-east window, and considerable portions were also left, *in situ*, at the southern extremity of the west side. This arcade appears to have opened into a very narrow passage, running longitudinally, and obtained in the thickness of the walls. Evidence also of the original Norman windows was obtained. One of the ancient doorways was also found at the south-east angle, where it would have led into the lesser hall of the palace, called the white hall; another on the west side, a third at the north end of the west side, and indications of a fourth at the north end of the east side, opposite to it, which appears to have given access from the outer court of St. Stephen's. Mr. Smirke remarks, further, that the workmanship was of a rude character, and that its being so in a building of such importance indicates that, at this period, good and experienced masons were wanting. Moreover, he found that no two of the Norman windows were equidistant from the adjoining ones; that similar irregularity characterised the arcade or gallery, both in the width of the several openings and

their distances apart,* to such an extent as must have greatly disordered and deformed the work and injured its general effect. On removing the ashlarred surface of the walls, several carved capitals of the original Norman work were found embedded in the masonry, with their faces much mutilated and set inwards; in fact, made use of as common ashlarling in the execution of the fourteenth-century alterations. The sculpture represent figures of men and animals curiously interwoven with foliage.

13.—These discoveries establish the fact that the walls of the Hall, in their substance, are the veritable walls erected by William Rufus. The removal of the modern buildings on the west side has developed further evidence of this; and we may rely upon the culture of the present distinguished First Commissioner of Works, Mr. Shaw Lefevre, and the learned architect, Mr. Pearson, to take care that these evidences are preserved. Indeed, it is noteworthy that in the walls and remains of adjacent buildings now disclosed are visible traces of the work of almost every century since the Hall was first built. There is work intermediate between the time of Rufus and that of Richard II.; there is evidence of modification in the buttresses and other portions during the century after Richard II.; there are considerable buildings of the Elizabethan period; a curious Caroline doorway; the erections of Sir John Soane; and finally the work

* Mr. Micklethwaite has since ingeniously shown that this statement is not correct as applied to the smaller row of arches.

of our own time. Thus the building, requiring constant adaptation to the varied exigencies of the high purposes to which it was applied, is in itself a continuous epitome of English history.*

14.—The restoration which Mr. Smirke ultimately made (and communicated to the Society of Antiquaries on 2nd February, 1837, *Archaeologia*, xxvii. 135) shows on the east side twelve large windows, and smaller recesses between each of them. Certainly, if the monkish historians are to be believed, Rufus was utterly unreasonable when he said, “It was to lite by the halvendel, and therfore he had i-cast to ordeyne it for the chambre.” (R. Higden, tr. Treviso, Rolls ed. vol. vii.) Among the Norman capitals, which were found preserved by their straight backs having been used in the new work, and their carved faces having been turned inwards, was one apparently representing Æsop’s fable of the Dog and the Ass. At one side is a dog fawning on his master, who is leaning over and patting him, while two attendants are looking on; at the other side is an ass putting his fore-legs on his master’s shoulders, while he turns to escape from the unwelcome caress, and of his two attendants one is beating the ass with a stick.

* Dr. Edwin Freshfield has obtained a fine series of photographs of these ruins, which will preserve a record of their actual appearance, whatever may be the fate of the building. Mr. Somers Clarke has also made a thorough analysis of the present appearance of the fabric. The present writer is much indebted to Mr. J. T. Jones, clerk of the works at the Palace of Westminster, for his courtesy in enabling him on several occasions to visit the site and inspect the remains.

Interesting discoveries were also made in the course of the repairs effected by the Smirkes of the original appearance of the external portion of the hall. At the eastern angle of the outer south wall, which was, of course, altogether obliterated when the grand vestibule to the new House of Commons was made, were found indications of an arcade above the clerestory, the spaces between the columns forming it being made of reticulated work, composed of alternate Caen and Reigate stones, about seven inches square. The bright colour of the Caen stone, alternating with the grey of the Reigate stone, must have had a good effect. Mr. Buckler informed Mr. Sidney Smirke that, in 1822, he had observed similar reticulated work on the north wall, filling the heads of some large arches, fifteen feet across. A sketch of them, made by Mr. Buckler, illustrates Mr. Smirke's paper in the 27th volume of *Archaeologia*, p. 138.

Mr. Smirke's account of the condition of the Hall at the time his brother was employed to repair it is appalling:—"The side-walls were in some places considerably out of the perpendicular, and formidable fissures cleft the whole substance of the walls. Near the south end of the west side a hollow space was found to have been left in the masonry, capacious enough to admit several men, almost exactly over which was imposed one of the huge trusses of the roof. These defects, added to the indifferent execution of the original masonry throughout, had produced, and were producing, serious effects."

15.—Among the early statutes of the realm there are

three which are specially associated with this place, and are known as the Statutes of Westminster, the 1st, the 2nd, and the 3rd.* King Edward held his first Parliament here on the Monday of Easter utas or octave, in the third year of his reign, 25th April, 1275; and because the state of his kingdom and of the Holy Church had been evil kept, and the prelates and religious persons of the land grieved many ways, and the people otherwise entreated than they ought to be, and the peace less kept and the laws less used, and the offenders less punished than they ought to be, by reason whereof the people of the land feared the less to offend, he ordained and established the first of these statutes, directing that the peace of the Church and the land be maintained, that there shall be no disturbance of free elections, that amerciaments shall be reasonable, that all men shall be ready to pursue felons, what sort of men shall be coroners, that no waste shall be made in the lands of wards, that none shall commit champerty or extortion, that if a serjeant-counter commit deceit he shall be imprisoned for a year and a day, and from thenceforth shall not be heard to plead in the Court for anybody, and making other excellent provisions suited to the times.

The second of these statutes was made after Easter in the 13th year (1285), and is a statute of much greater length, relating mainly to matters of real estate, which have ceased to be now of more than technical interest, but contains at least one provision of great importance with regard to the liberty of the

* 3 Edw. 13 Edw. 18 Edw.

subject ; that forbidding the viscount to imprison a man except upon indictment by an inquest of twelve jurors. The third is otherwise known by the three first Latin words of its provisions as *Quia emptores terrarum*, and is the one by which the multiplication of manors was prohibited ; it is also one of a long series of statutes directed to prevent land coming into mortmain, and running pari passu with equally persistent efforts on the part of the Church and the real property lawyers to get it into that undesirable condition. “ It is to be understood that by the said sale or purchase of lands or tenements, or any parcels of them, such lands or tenements shall in nowise come into mortmain, either in part or in whole, neither by policy nor craft, contrary to the form of the statute made therefor of late.”

16.—We have referred to these three important statutes inasmuch as, being the Statutes of Westminster, our account of Westminster Hall would not have seemed complete without doing so ; but it will not be necessary to notice at any length other Parliaments held at Westminster, because as a rule they were not held in the Great Hall. Indeed, the Hall is evidently a building for the courts of law and for banqueting ; and its use as a Parliament house would in some sort be inconsistent with these purposes. Thus the Parliament of February 1308 was held in the refectory of the monastery ; and other Parliaments were held at times in various apartments of the palace. When the two Houses met separately, the Lords occupied now the Painted Chamber, now the smaller (or white) hall ;

the Commons first met in the Chapter House of Westminster Abbey, and afterwards in St. Stephen's Chapel.

One memorable Parliament, however, took place in the Great Hall; that at which Richard II. resigned his crown to Bolingbroke (1319). The scene is represented in a well-known miniature from the Harleian MSS., and is recorded with wonderful accuracy in Shakespere's play : "The Lords spiritual on the right side of the throne ; the Lords temporal on the left ; the Commons below." The Duke of York brings a message of resignation from Richard and invites Henry to ascend the throne, which he proceeds to do, but is intercepted by the bold protest of Richard Merks, Bishop of Carlisle, who is arrested for his pains. His speech is so far effectual, however, that it causes Bolingbroke to send for Richard, that in common view he may surrender, and then ensues the remarkable scene of acting with the crown, the paper of accusations, and the mirror, which Shakespere has transcribed from the chronicles with very slight alteration —just so much as sufficed in his hands to transmute a bald and jejune narration into one of thrilling interest :—

With mine own tears I wash away thy balm—
With mine own hands I give away my crown—
With mine own tongue deny my sacred state—
With mine own breath release all duteous oaths—
God save King Henry, unkinged Richard says,
And send him many years of sunshine days.

17.—The coronation of the new king followed shortly

afterwards ; and the feast in Westminster Hall, with which it ended, is described in the graphic words of Froissart :—“ At the first table sat the king ; at the second the five peers of the realm ; at the third the valiant men of London ; at the fourth the new-made knights (forty-six in number) ; at the fifth the knights and squires of honour ; and by the king stood the Prince of Wales, holding the Sword of the Church, and on the other side the Constable with the Sword of Justice, and a little above the Marshal with the sceptre ; and at the king’s borde sat the two arch-bishops and seventeen bishops ; and in the midst of the dinner there came in the Champion of England, all armed, upon a good horse richly apparaled, and had a knight before him bearing his spear, and his sword by his side, and his dagger. The knights took the king a libel, the which was read [containing the challenge]. That bill was cried by the herald in six places of the hall, and in the town. There was none that would challenge him. When the king had dined, he took wine and spices in the hall, and then went into his chamber. Then every man departed.”

Henry V. also held his coronation feast in the Hall ; and in 1416 he entertained in it the Emperor Sigismund with great festivity. Indeed, it was the scene of coronation dinners and other high festivals until the time of William IV. Cromwell himself inaugurated his Protectorate with a feast in the Hall, having had the colours taken at Dunbar hung up in it, pursuant to an order of the Parliament, dated 10th September, 1650. The coronation solemnities since that date are recorded in an interesting series of volumes in

the library of Westminster Abbey. The great authority for the ceremonies by which the earlier ones were regulated is the famous *Liber Regalis* of Abbot Litlington, which Lord Beauchamp some years ago edited for the Roxburghe Club. One feature has always been the great feast in the Hall ; that held on the coronation of Richard I. (*Cœur de Lion*) is said to have been kept up for three days.* Poor Richard II. himself kept his coronation feast amid great public rejoicings.

18.—It will not come within the scope of this paper or the time at my disposal to refer at length to the great State Trials of which Westminster Hall has been the theatre ; but some of them have special claims on our attention : that, for instance, of William Wallace, which took place on 23rd August, 1305. It appears to have proceeded before a commission constituted by a writ of Privy Seal, dated 18th August, and addressed to Sir John Segrave, Peter Maluree, justicier, Ralph de Sandwych, John de Boswell, and John le Blound, mayor of the city of London. This commission ordered them to deliver the prison of London, that is, the Tower, of this one prisoner, William Wallace. It was not, therefore, a general commission of gaol delivery, but a commission of gaol delivery limited to one prisoner. But there is this remarkable fact, that it does not appear from the narration in the *Chronicles* (*Annales Londini*, ed. Stubbs, pp. 139-142) that Wallace was in prison at all. He was being hospitably enter-

* *Itin. Ric. 143 (R.S.)*

tained at the house of William de Leyre, citizen of London, in the parish of Allhallows “ad fenum,” and was taken on horseback thence to Westminster Hall to his trial. He was there placed *super scamnum australe*, and, as is well known, crowned in derision with laurel leaves. But there is another extraordinary circumstance about this alleged trial, the discovery of which we owe to my learned friend, Mr. Luke Owen Pike, who has investigated the facts in the preface to his edition of the Year Book of the Period, published within these last few days in the Rolls Series. While the public document directs that Wallace be tried according to the law and customs of the country, the private commission directs the judges to try him according to the instructions previously given to them. It would seem that, upon this, all the trial that took place was an accusation by Justice Maluree, a denial of treason, but qualified admission of other offences by the prisoner, and a sentence of guilty. The formal record is given at length in the Chronicle already quoted; and, divested of the verbiage, it seems to amount to this, that being accused of sedition, homicide, depredation, incendiarism, and other diverse felonies, he was for such manifest sedition sentenced to be taken to the Tower of London, then to the Tower at Aldgate, and thence through the midst of the city to Elmes, there hanged, beheaded, mutilated, and quartered. The expression “manifest sedition,” and the suspicious circumstances attending the texts of the Commission, seem to show that this Scottish hero was put to death by a most flagrant perversion of the

forms of justice to carry out the arbitrary orders of the king.

19.—Mr. Pike in the same learned work draws attention to the discovery which he made many years ago among the Pleas of the King's Bench of an even worse case—that of Andrew de Harcla, Earl of Carlisle, about twenty years later, the 18th of Edward II. There was some semblance of regularity, he says, in the commission of gaol delivery in Wallace's case, though the commission was of an exceptional kind. The only commission that issued in the case of Harcla was far more remarkable. It may be translated “for degrading Andrew de Harcla, Earl of Carlisle, an enemy and traitor to us and to our kingdom, whom formerly we girded with the sword of an earl, and for pronouncing and returning judgment upon him after degradation for his said enmity and sedition, according to the tenour of a certain schedule which we have sent to you, or any five, four, three, or two of you, under the foot of our seal.” The schedule is in French, and, after reciting the various misdeeds of Harcla, proceeds thus: “which are notorious, and known in the kingdom, and our lord the king records it,” wherefore the horrible sentence of drawing, hanging, mutilation, and quartering was to be passed. In yet another case in the same reign the same proceeding was repeated, with the variation that the words were, “and our lord the king of his sole power records it.” Thus (as Mr. Pike remarks) King Edward II. claimed the power of converting into a legal record

of conviction anything of the nature of treason that he held to be notorious, and his commission was not to try the accused but to pass a sentence prepared by himself. The manner of this judgment might never have been known to us had not the king sent to Geoffrey le Scrope, Chief Justice, and the other judges of the King's Bench, his command that the said record and process before us should be recited and enrolled. This was an arbitrary denial of justice, and misuse of the forms of law, to destroy an individual at the mere will of the king, without affording him opportunity of defence or of a fair trial, which shows that at the times in which it happened ideas of national justice were indeed at a low ebb.

20.—Of other great state trials held in Westminster Hall, it is sufficient to name those of Charles I., of the Seven Bishops, of Warren Hastings, of the Scottish lords, of Lord Ferrers, and of Queen Caroline, to remind you of the many ways in which Westminster Hall has had to do with the making of history. It would seem that in most cases when these extraordinary trials were going on the whole Hall was occupied by them, and the ordinary courts must therefore have been unable to sit.

21.—We find in the Year Books some interesting records, which throw light on the origin of the relation between the Courts of Common Law and the Chancery. Thus, as early as 1292 (20 Edw. I.), the Viscount (if I may be permitted to follow Sir Travers Twiss's ex-

ample in the restoration of this ancient title for the official now called Sheriff) returns a writ of *recordari*, making an endorsement upon it that the cause was false. Hyham, the serjeant, argued to the judge: "Sir, we will aver that he has made a false return, and we pray a writ of *sicut alias*, and that the Viscount may be punished." Metingham, the judge, says, bluntly, "You shall not have it." "But," says Hyham (with the weak argument of a man when principle is against him, and he has to rely upon precedent), "we had it in the plea between So-and-so and So-and-so." Metingham: "It was badly granted in that case; so go to the Chancery and there pray your *sicut alias*, for we have no warrant to grant it." The reporter, however, makes the curious remark that Justice Metingham "did grant the writ himself after all." The same judge is credited, in another case, with the pithy remark, "Felony is such a venomous thing that it spreads its venom on all sides." (Year Book, ed. Horwood, pp. 352, 358, R.S.) The times, however, were not those of great lawyers; indeed Edward I. had had to take severe measures against his judges for their venality.

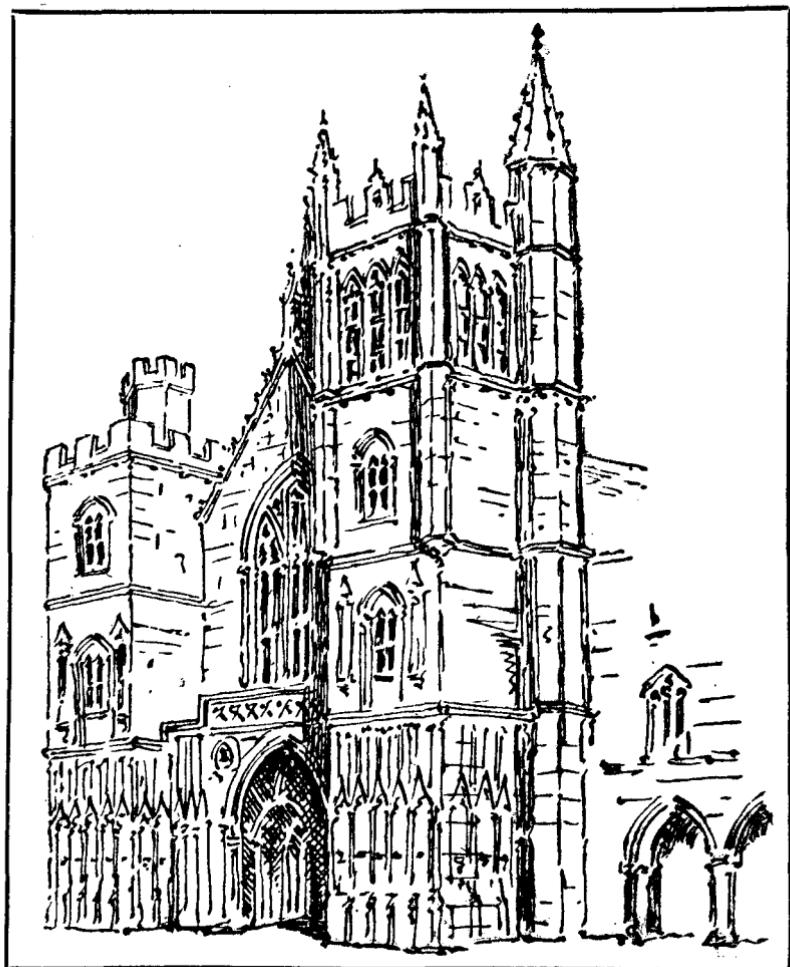
In 1305 some interesting cases are recorded. John de Poketot, clerk, is taken from the Tower to Westminster and judged there, notwithstanding his clergy, but it was for the crime of robbing the Treasury. The same day we get a record of a very early instance of punishment for contempt of court. Sir W. de Breus, for his opprobrious answer before the justices of the king at Westminster, was sent to the Tower for one

night, and the next morning came before the same justices with six soldiers, bareheaded and in tunics, as prisoners, and made his apology. (Ann. Lond. p. 143.)

On 28th October, 1312, we get a curious case of the biter being bit. J. de Redinge, a clerk, made a false charge against Sir Edmund de Maule, steward of the king, of forgery of the king's little seal, before the justices sitting in the great hall, and they condemned Redinge to be drawn and hanged. (Ann. Parl. p. 273.)

In 1332 two clerks of the Chancery fought together in the Great Hall, the king being there actually in the Parliament chamber, with the prelates and magnates. One killed the other, and was immediately hanged. These two cases seem to show that in those days there was a more ready means of dealing with red-handed criminals, and that in flagrant cases of offence very little respect was paid to the outrageous claims made on behalf of criminous clerks.

22.—It is one of the most useful functions of this Society to take note of those changes in the outward aspect of our cities which tend to break off from the past, and of these the present generation has not seen one so significant or so important as that which has removed the courts of law from Westminster. The tribunals which all might approach, and which made familiar to the meanest the processes of law and justice, are now exchanged for a stately palace, with janitors to keep the public from its doors, and soldiers in sentry boxes all around it. The same laws will be administered, and the judges will earn the same veneration ; but we as archæologists must be permitted

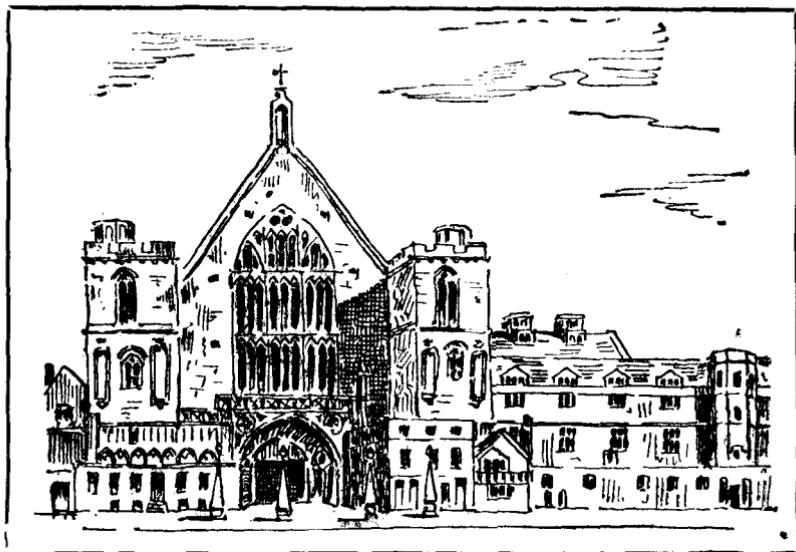


THE NORTH END OF WESTMINSTER HALL WITH ONE TOWER AS NOW AND
THE OTHER ELEVATED AS PROPOSED BY MR. PEARSON.

400 WESTMINSTER HALL AND THE COURTS ADJACENT.

to bestow our tribute of respect upon the spot where for 666 years the subtlest intellects of each succeeding generation have striven to elicit principles of right, which, by the happy instinct of English law, have broadened, settled, and secured, step by step, from precedent to precedent, the freedoms of Englishmen.

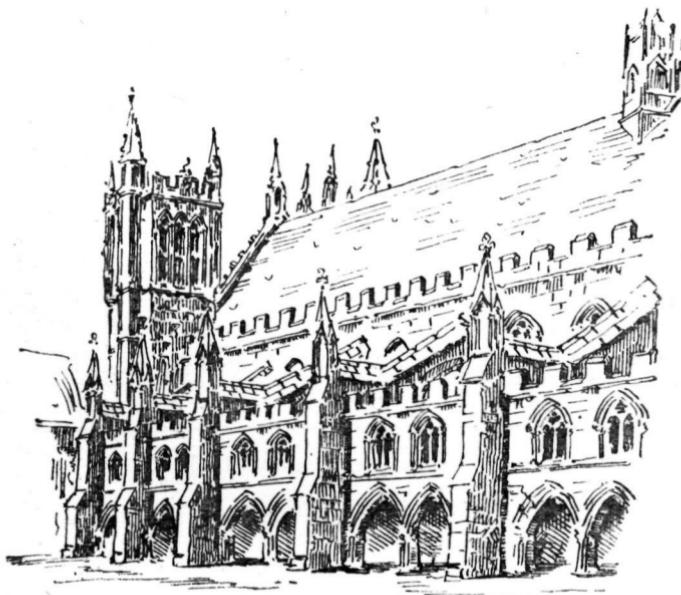
NOTE.—By the courtesy of the proprietors of the "Pall Mall Gazette" the Society is enabled to illustrate this paper by views of Westminster Hall at three stages of its history—1st, as it appeared in 1800; 2nd, as at present; 3rd, as proposed to be restored by J. L. Pearson, R.A., F.S.A. The Society has taken the opportunity to put on record its sense of the careful study which Mr. Pearson has devoted to this memorable building, and of its general approval of the plans for preserving the west side of it. These illustrations will assist the judgment of the members with regard to the new features which are proposed by Mr. Pearson.



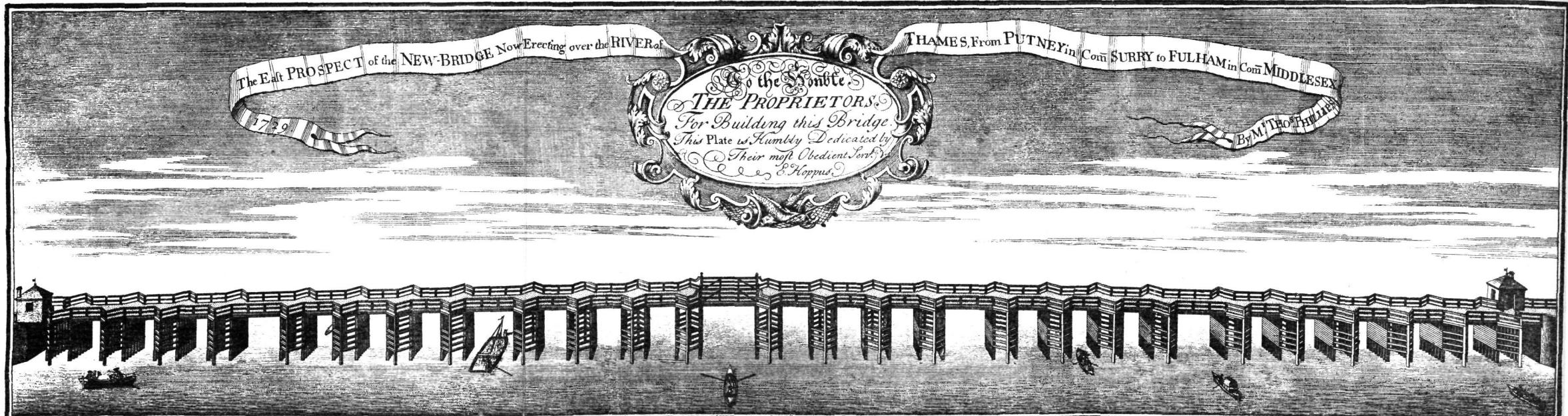
WESTMINSTER HALL IN 1800.



THE WEST SIDE OF THE HALL, FACING ST. MARGARET'S CHURCH, AS IT NOW APPEARS, 1885.



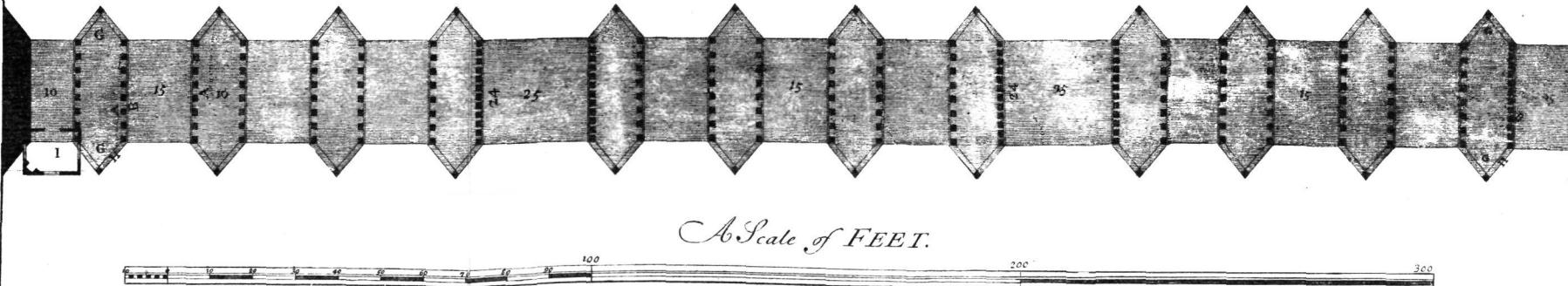
THE WEST SIDE OF THE HALL WITH THE NEW CLOISTER AS PROPOSED.



*EXPLANATION
of the Plan & Profile*

- A. The several Rows of Piles.
- B. The Planks on the Piles Above High water and Below Low water.
- C. The Capheads Framed to the Piles.
- D. The Beams on the Capheads.
- E. The Planks on the Beams.
- F. The Road or Pavage over the Bridge.
- G. The Sterlings.
- H. The Bars to strengthen the Sterling.
- I. The Toll-Houses.
- K. The Brick Butments to the Shear.

The ICHNOGRAPHY or PLAN of Part of the Above-mention'd BRIDGE,
from the South end to the Middle of the great ARCH To a Larger Scale.



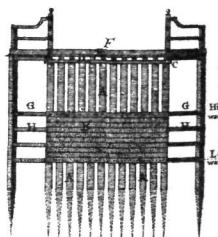
A Scale of FEET.

Ioⁿ Harris Sculp^t

FROM AN ENGRAVING IN THE POSSESSION OF JOHN E. GARDNER, ESQ., F.S.A.

Printed for and sold by SAM. SAUNDERS, at the Globe under St. Dunstan's Church, Fleet Street and the above
ED: HOPPUS, at the Seven Stars in Aldergate Street LONDON

*THE PROFILE
at the Great Arch.*



E. Hoppus Delin^t

OLD FULHAM OR PUTNEY BRIDGE.

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.



OLD FULHAM BRIDGE, OTHERWISE CALLED PUTNEY BRIDGE.

BY J. F. WADMORE, A.R.I.B.A.

AMONGST the many changes that have taken place in and near London in the last century and a half, few will (on reflection) appear more remarkable than the aspect which the Thames then presented, when considered in contrast with our own times.

With the exception of old London Bridge (then covered with antiquated buildings) there existed no other mode of crossing to the opposite shore than by ferry; when the watermen, with the aid of their apprentices, carried on a brisk and profitable trade at the various stairs and landing-places, of which there were no less than twenty-three between London Bridge and Westminster Stairs, and thirteen between Westminster and Fulham. In illustration of this I may quote a passage in the "Spectator," No. 383, May 20th, 1712:—

We were no sooner come to the Temple Stairs but we were surrounded with a crowd of watermen offering us their respective services. Sir Roger, after having looked about him very attentively, spied one with a wooden leg, and immediately gave him

orders to get his boat ready. As we were walking towards it, " You must know," said Sir Roger, " I never make use of anybody to row me that has not either lost a leg or an arm. I would rather bate him a few strokes of his oar, than not to employ an honest man that has been wounded in the Queen's service. If I were a lord, or a bishop, and kept a barge, I would not put a fellow in my livery that had not a wooden leg." After remarking that the Thames was the noblest river in Europe, the old knight, turning his head about twice or thrice, bade me take a survey of this great Metropolis; how thick the city was set with churches, and that there was scarce a single steeple on this side of Temple Bar. " A most heathenish sight," says Sir Roger; " the fifty new churches will very much mend the prospect; but church work is slow, church work is slow."

What would Sir Roger think now could he view the numerous bridges, embankments, palaces, hospitals, and railway stations which crowd upon our sight, with the rapidly-moving penny-boat, which has superseded the ancient ferry?

It may, perhaps, appear startling to many to be informed that the old timber bridge between Fulham and Putney is now the oldest existing bridge over the Thames in the metropolis, and to know that it was erected with the intention of supplying an immediate temporary want, until its place could be occupied by a more permanent structure; yet such is the fact.

Although erected in 1726, it has usefully served the purposes for which it was designed; while two stone bridges of later date, Westminster and Blackfriars, have become ruinous, and their places supplied by more recent structures.

Since Putney Bridge was opened for public traffic, no less than twelve other bridges have been erected, viz. Westminster in 1750, Blackfriars in 1769, Bat-

tersea (another wooden structure) in 1771, Vauxhall in 1816, Southwark in 1817, Waterloo in 1817, Hammersmith in 1827, London Bridge in 1831, Chelsea Suspension (or Victoria) Bridge 1858, Lambeth, 1862, Albert 1873, and Wandsworth 1873, to say nothing of Hungerford Bridge and the various railway bridges now crossing the stream.

Before, however, we proceed further, it may not be amiss if we glance at a few circumstances connected with the previous history of Fulham and Putney.

The first mention of Fulham that I am aware of is to be found in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles, A.D. 879,* where we read, shortly after the defeat of the Danes by Alfred, and the conversion of their chiefs to Christianity, at Wedmore, that a body of pirates, which had previously sat down at Fulham on the Thames, departed in the succeeding year to Ghent, in France.

Fulham, or Foulhame, as it appears to have been called in earlier times, was no doubt a hamlet on the manor of Fulham, which is said to have been given to Bishop Erkenwald and his successors by Tytilus,† a bishop, with the consent of Segebard, King of the West Saxons, and remained in the uninterrupted possession of the see up to the year 1647, when it passed into the hands of Colonel Edmund Harvey, of the Parliamentary forces, for 7617*l.* 8*s.* 10*d.* The manor, according to the account given of it in Domesday Book, contained forty hides of land, which in the times of Edward the Confessor had been valued at 50*l.*, but was then only worth 40*l.* Mention is also

* Stephenson's Translations of Anglo-Saxon Chronicles, p. 47.

† Lysons's Middlesex, vol. iii. p. 346, ed. 1795.

made of Putelei,* afterwards Puttenheth and Putney, as yielding at that time 20*s.* per annum to the lord of the manor for the rights of the ferry as regards Surrey, while those of Middlesex were vested in the see of London.

The ferry was constantly beset by parties travelling to or from London and the west of England, as they could drop down by the tide and take horse at Putney.

In the household expenses of Edward I.† an order is made for the payment of 3*s.* 6*d.* for the conveyance of the King and the Royal family to Fulham and Westminster, as follows :—

*Roberto de Passagier de Puttenheth pro stipendio suo, et aliorum; nautarum passantium magnū partem familie regi ultra Thamsem ibidem et ducend.—eundem regum et magnam partem familie sue usque Westm. per aquam per munus dicti Roberti apud Westm. 15 die Feb. 3*s.* 6*d.*‡*

Again,—

*Robert Passatori de Puttenheth passanti usque Fulham familiam et officia hospitii regis cum 2 bargiis ultra Thamsem, per 2 dies mensis Marcii principio 4*s.* apud Westm.§*

These few remarks will, I think, be sufficient to prove both the antiquity and importance of those rights of ferry which the trustees had to purchase before they could proceed to the erection of a bridge. As to the necessity of some more certain and better means of communication, we may mention as a fact that it was recognised by Lord Essex in 1642, when,

* Lysons's Middlesex, vol. i. p. 424. † Ibid. vol. i. p. 425.

‡ Paid to Robert, the ferryman of Putney Heath, and to the other watermen of the ferry, for taking a party of the King's household down the Thames, and landing the said party at Westminster, February 15th. 3*s.* 6*d.* § Proc. Soc. Ant. pp. 51-54.

in command of the Parliamentary forces, he threw a bridge of boats over the river to enable him to follow up Charles I. who lay at Kingston, having retreated from Brentford, crossing the river by Kingston Bridge. The chronicles of the day speak of the event as in the “memorable accidents” of Tuesday, November 15th, 1642 :—

The Lord-General hath caused a bridge to be built upon barges and lighters over the Thames between Fulham and Putney, to convey his army and artillery over into Surrey to follow the King’s forces, and he hath ordered that forts shall be erected at each end thereof to guard it ; but for the present the seamen, with long-boats and shallops full of ordnance and muskets, lie there upon the river to secure it.

Putney appears to have been, to a great extent, the head-quarters of the Parliamentary forces, under the command of Fairfax, Cromwell, Ireton, and many others. The councils, we are informed, were held in the church, and the members sat round the communion table.* Before debate they usually had a sermon from the celebrated Hugh Peters. On the 1st of November, 1647, they completed their proposition for the future government of the kingdom, which they forwarded to the King at Hampton Court on the 13th. Two days after this he made his escape to the Isle of Wight. We may therefore reasonably conclude that the bridge of boats was made use of up to this date—that is, from 1642 to 1647,† and possibly later ; the

* Lysons, vol. i. p. 408. Brayley’s Surrey, ed. Walford, p. 197.

† Fulham and Putney continued to be the head-quarters of the Parliamentary forces of Fairfax and Cromwell to this day in order that they might overawe Parliament and the Metropolis, and at the same time check the impatience of the Presbyterians and Independents, then much divided.—Brayley’s Surrey, ed. Walford, p. 197.

convenience and facility which this bridge had afforded was too great to be lost sight of. We accordingly find that, on Tuesday, the 4th day of April, 1671, a Bill for building a bridge over the Thames from Fulham to Putney was read. Its supporters appear to have met with uncompromising opposition from the citizens and corporation of the city of London, and the Bill was lost, on a division, by 67 to 54. We are, fortunately, able to give a *résumé* of arguments used on the occasion, which are not without interest. The extract is from Grey's Debates,*—April 4th, 1671:

Mr. Jones, the member for London, states that the Bill will question the very being of London. Next to pulling down the borough of Southwark, nothing can ruin it more. All the correspondence westward for fuel and grain and hay, if this bridge be built, cannot be kept up. The water there is shallow at ebb. London requires a free passage at all times, and if a bridge, why, a sculler can scarce pass at low water. 'Twill alter the affairs of watermen to the king's damage, and the nation's cost.

Mr. Waller defended the Bill, saying that men might go by water if they pleased, and not over the bridge, and so pay nothing; that, if bad for Southwark, it was good for this end of the town, where Court and Parliament are. At Paris there were many bridges: at Venice hundreds. The King cannot hunt but he must cross the water, and the whole nation have the convenience.

Sir Thomas Lee wisely remarked that it would make building at this end of the town all the better.

Col. Birch remarked, that, where a cart carries something to the city, it usually brings something back.

Mr. Secretary Trevor said no law can be made but will

* Debates of the House of Commons, by the Honourable Anchitelle Grey, Esq. published in 1769, and dedicated to the Right Hon. Arthur Onslow, Esq. p. 414. See also Knight's London, vol. iii. p. 162.

transfer one or other inconvenience somewhere. Passages over rivers are generally very convenient; and, by the same reason you argue against this, you may argue against London Bridge and the ferries.

Sir William Thompson said it would make the skirts (through London) too big for the body; the rents of London Bridge for the maintenance of it would be destroyed. It would cause sands and shelves, and affect low navigation, and cause ships to lie as low as Woolwich. If it should affect navigation and the Westminster barges, he would regret it.

Col. Stroude said in no case were all the bridges of a city built at one time; no city in the world so long as London, and only one passage for five miles.

Mr. Boscowen remarked, if a bridge at Putney, why not have one at Lambeth, and more? and as for Paris, where there are bridges there are no watermen at all. And the same reason that serves Paris may serve London. Neither Middlesex nor Surrey desire it.

Sir John Bennet said the Corporation would agree to it if they were thereby secured from another bridge at Lambeth.

Mr. Love, the Lord Mayor* of this year, was of a different opinion. If carts go over, the city must be destroyed. It is said that it encourages but a few ferrymen, though in truth it does many. Hears it is to be of timber, which must be vast, and so hinder the tide, that watermen must stay till it rises. When between the bridges the streams are abated, in time no boat will pass, and the river be rendered useless for passage.

Sir Henry Herbert said it looked like a monopoly. There were several projects of this kind in the late king's time but rejected, because the Londoners and adjacent countries would be prejudiced by it. It was a matter of too great concern for a thin House. Lost by 67 to 54.

* This statement is inaccurate, Mr. Love was only a member of the Court of Aldermen at this time. The Lord Mayor was Sir Richard Ford, M.A., Exeter College, Oxon., citizen and mercer.

There is every probability that the Act for building the bridge between Fulham and Putney was mainly carried by the aid and influence of Sir Robert Walpole; the centre lock was long known as Walpole's Lock. There is a story* current, for the truth of which I cannot vouch, that one evening Sir Robert was returning from Kingston, where he had been in attendance on his royal master at Hampton Court, to take part at an important debate in the House of Commons. When he arrived hot and in post-haste at the ferry, to his utter disgust and dismay, discovered that the tide was down, and that the ferry-boats were laid up high and dry on the opposite shore, nor was there a ferryman to be seen. It was in vain that he and his servant shouted till they were black in the face and hoarse in the throat. The ferrymen (Tories to a man) were carousing with mine host at the Swan at Fulham, and regaling themselves with beer and tobacco, while they secretly enjoyed his discomfiture. All Sir Robert could do was to ride on, leaving his maledictions on the ferrymen at the Swan.

These were no idle threats. At a Parliament holden at Westminster on the 9th day of October, 1722, and continued by several prorogations to the 20th day of January, 1725, a Bill was brought in for building a bridge across the river Thames from the town of Fulham, in the county of Middlesex, to the town of Putney, in the county of Surrey, and read for the first time on the 22nd of March.† On the 30th, and again

* History and Associations of the Old Bridge, by A. Chasemore.

† Journals of the House of Commons, vol. 20, p. 631.

on the 2nd of April it came on for debate, and was referred to a Committee, the Petitions presented to the House to be heard by Counsel, when the House considered the Report of the Committee for the Bill, and the Report was read. The name of the Lord Mayor was retained as one of the Commissioners, but those of the Aldermen were struck out on amendment. The Bill as passed was ordered to be engrossed, and sent up to the House of Lords, and returned by them as approved on the 24th of May, and received the sanction of his Majesty when he prorogued Parliament. (12th of Geo. I. June 8th, 1726).

The importance in which the matter was thus regarded may be best understood by the number and influence of the illustrious list of noblemen and gentlemen, who were appointed Commissioners to carry out the Act. Amongst them we find the Lord High Chancellor, the Lords Privy Seal, Steward and Chamberlain for the time being, the Dukes of Somerset, Richmond, Bolton, Bedford, and Newcastle, the Earls of Lincoln, Peterborough, Burlington, Scarborough, Grantham, Godolphin, and Hertford, Lords Viscount Townshend, St. John, Falmouth, Lords Percy, De La Warr, Onslow, Walpole,* Lord Viscount Fermagh, Lord Herbert, Lord Carpenter, Lord Viscount Palmerston, Lord Malpas, Lords William, Henry, and Nassau Powlet, the Speaker of the House of Commons, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Knights of the Bath, Baronets, Knights, Judges, Officials, and a large

* Lord President of the Council and Lord High Treasurer.

number of Honourables, Right Honourables, and Esquires, Members of Parliament, and others, to the number of not less than 110, including the Lord Mayor for the city of London.

With quaint irony, which gives point to the story before mentioned, the Commissioners were required to meet at Fulham, on the 26th July, 1726, at the sign of the Swan,* (then a small but useful tavern, where passengers waiting for the ferry could resort, and, if need be, find refreshment for man and beast); at which time and place the Commissioners accordingly met for the first time. The proceedings must have been conducted in the open air, as it was not possible that sixty-eight noblemen and gentlemen who then attended could have found shelter in the humble hostelry of the inn. Amongst those present we find recorded† the names of the Dukes of Grafton and Newcastle, the Earl of Scarborough, Lord Onslow, Sir R. Walpole, K.G., Sir John Stanley and Coleby, Baronets, Sir John Hobart, K.C.B. Sir R. Gough and Sir Thomas Jones, Colonel Howard, Sergeant Birch, Colonel Armstrong, Colonel Paget, Sergeant Chapel, Charles Montague, Charles Dartiquenave, Esq., Surveyor of the Water and Gardens, Nicholas Dubois, Master Mason, Thomas Ripley, Esq. Controller of His Majesty's Works, William Kent, Esq. Master Carpenter, Richard Arundel, Esq. Surveyor of His Majesty's Works, and many others.

* The signboard was supported on wrought ironwork bearing the date of 1698. The inn was destroyed by fire Sept. 18th, 1871.

† MS. Minutes of the Commissioners.

Arthur Onslow was voted into the chair, and John Eden appointed clerk. The first resolution was, "That a humble petition be presented to His Majesty, praying that he would be graciously pleased to grant letters patent, under the Great Seal, for the incorporation of the Commissioners and trustees." The Duke of Newcastle, having been requested to do so, undertook to present the same to His Majesty.

The second, "That such a bridge be built as may supply the present exigency, and be useful for the building of a more substantial bridge, as there may be occasion." And a Committee of the greater number of the Commissioners present was appointed to receive proposals and report, when the Commissioners adjourned to meet again at 5 o'clock; a petition was then received from the poor watermen claiming an interest in the Sunday ferry, alleging their rights to the same, time out of mind, and praying that their rights might be recognised as laid down in the Act.

The next meeting of the Commissioners was at the Bull Inn, in Putney, on the 22nd of August, on which occasion the Duke of Newcastle, Sir Robert Walpole, and many others were present, Arthur Onslow, Esq. again in the chair.* At this meeting a copy of the petition to His Majesty was submitted, and the Committee were informed that the same had been duly presented to His Majesty; and then the Duke of Newcastle informed the Commissioners that His Majesty had been

* In the following pages the dates of various adjournments of the Committee are omitted, in order to abridge what would be otherwise tedious.

graciously pleased to give directions for the preparing of a charter of incorporation, Mr. Onslow and Mr. Stables to forward the passing of the same.

The claims of William Skelton and Bennet Hammond Gotobed, two owners of the copyhold rights of ferry, were next considered, and the Committee gave instructions for a survey of the river, showing the different places where a bridge might be erected, and Mr. Thomas Ripley reported on three places:—

Firstly, from Putney to Mr. Gray's land at Fulham.

Secondly, from Brewhouse Lane to Fulham Dock.

Thirdly, from the east corner of Mr. Prettlewcl's garden to the carpenters' yard at Fulham.

The Committee having considered the three, selected the first, where the width of the river between the banks was 780 feet, with 18 feet of water at high tides and 6 feet at low, or an average of 13 feet on ordinary tides. Three designs for a bridge were next submitted for the approval of the Committee: the first from Mr. Thomas Ripley,* the second from Mr. John Price, and a third from Mr. William Halfpenny. Mr. Ripley proposed to build a bridge 23 feet wide and

* Thomas Ripley was born in Yorkshire, and is said in his early days to have kept a shop and coffee-house in Wood Street, Cheapside. He was admitted to the freedom of the Carpenters Company in 1705, and by the interest of his patron, Sir Robert Walpole, obtained the appointment of clerk of the works at the King's Mews; he subsequently became Chief Carpenter, then Controller of his Majesty's Works, and lastly Controller-General of Works, Buildings, Gates, and Bridges, as well as that of Conductor of the Royal Progress. His principal works were carrying out Charles Campbell's design for Houghton Hall, Norfolk, for Sir R. Walpole, Wolverton House, Norfolk, the Admiralty, Whitehall, and many other works and buildings. He died

780 feet long, the centre lock to have 17 feet of waterway above the highest tides, the piles to be 15 inches in diameter, shod with iron, driven 6 feet into the bed of the river. If built entirely of fir, he estimated the cost of construction at 8,000*l.* including pavements (abutments) at the end of the bridge, that the annual repairs would be from 50*l.* to 60*l.*, and that it could be completed in two months, and would last from twelve to fourteen years. And he further added that he did not think that any wooden bridge though of oak would last above thirty years. If the piles were of oak the cost would be 9,000*l.* The roadway was to rise nine inches in every ten feet. That the bridge when erected would be useful in the nature of scaffolding for the erection of a stone bridge.

Mr. John Price* submitted a plan and section of a

at his official residence at Hampton Court, 10th February, 1758, and was buried in the parish church. His name occurs no less than three times in Pope's Essays.

Ode to Lord Burlington.

Who builds a bridge who never drove a pile,
Should Ripley venture all the world would smile.

Again—

What brought Sir Vasto's ill-got wealth to waste ?
Some demon whispered Vasto have a taste ;
Heaven visits with a taste the wealthy fool,
And needs no rod, but Ripley with a rule.

* John E. Price, of Richmond, Surrey, rebuilt the church of St. Mary, Colchester, Essex, and The Canons, near Edgware, belonging to the Duke of Chandos, Headley, Surrey, &c. He published some considerations for building a bridge over the Thames from Fulham to Putney, with a design, 8vo. 1726; also a second letter of the same date, 8vo. 1726. A. P. S. part xxi. p. 175.

bridge, to be 20 feet wide, with a total length, including abutments, of 852 feet from high-water mark, to be divided into nineteen bays, from 45 to 30 feet wide, so as to allow 685 feet navigable water-way; to be $12\frac{1}{2}$ feet high above high-water mark; that the bridge might be built for 8,600*l.*, and completed within nine months; with open piles, 18 inches diameter, as proposed, the bridge would stand fifty years. The annual repairs were estimated at 100*l.* per annum for the first seven years and 200*l.* afterwards.

Mr. William Halfpenny* submitted a plan for a bridge to be 24 feet wide, with nineteen bays or openings to be 32 feet wide each; to be 16 feet above ordinary and 12 feet above the usual high-water mark; to be all of oak, at a cost of about 2,800*l.*; that it would take about a year and a half to construct, and would stand thirty years, and cost about 500*l.* in repairs.

Objection seems to have been taken to the plan submitted by Mr. Price on the ground that the bearings between the piers were supported by a king-truss on either side of the bridge; that the middle would be necessarily weak, and require a cross-piece, which would throw the whole weight on the king-post. Mr. Price fully explained to the Committee the nature of a truss, and endeavoured to throw discredit on the plan submitted by Ripley, by saying that the piles could not be driven down as proposed

* A man of versatile attainments, architect and carpenter, the author of the *Magnum in Parvo*, or the *Marrow of Architecture*, 1722—1728, and many other works on architecture.

by him without splitting to pieces; nor did he conceive that a wooden bridge, so built, could be made available as scaffolding (centering) for the erection of a stone bridge. The objections to Mr. Halfpenny's plan appear to have been both as regards construction and gradient, which was not less than 16 feet in 60 feet. A plan and model for a bridge of boats* was also submitted, which could be finished in two months, and would cost 5,000*l.* the repairs being estimated at about 300*l.* per annum. There were to be two openings of 24 feet each for barges, and thirty others of 12 feet for wherries. The Committee, however, finally came to the conclusion that Mr. Ripley's plan should be adopted, and oaken piles used.

Whereupon the Committee proceeded to consider three tenders for the erection of the bridge according to the model and plan agreed to.

1st. From Mr. Thomas Hall, carpenter, for finishing the bridge by Midsummer-day, 1727, at a cost of 7,500*l.* one-third to be paid when one-third of the work was completed, one-third when two-thirds of the work was finished, and the remainder on the completion.

2nd. Mr. Thomas Phillips undertook to finish the bridge in two months (if required) for the sum of 6,698*l.*; one-third to be paid at the beginning of the work, one-third when half was done, and the remainder when the bridge was completed.

3rd. Mr. John Meard, carpenter, undertook to

* No doubt this was suggested by the remembrance of the former pontoon bridge erected by Lord Essex in 1642. (See page 405.)

finish the bridge in two months for 6,650*l.* payments to be made as in the proposal of Mr. Phillips.*

As Mr. Hall would not agree to keep the work in repair for any sum, or for any term of years, nor give security for its standing any time, the Commissioners agreed to accept Mr. Phillips's proposal for the building of the bridge with oaken piles, for the sum of 6,698*l.*; he giving security to keep the work in repair for twelve years, accidents by fire and damage by barges only excepted. Further tenders were then entered into with Mr. Joseph Andrews, mason, for stone-work, for 1,756*l.* and from Mr. John Mist for roads and paving, at 6*s.* per yard square, and keeping it in repair for twelve years at 50*l.* per annum.

These matters being settled, the Committee next proceeded to consider the rights of the ferry, that on the Middlesex side being held of the manor of Fulham, of my lord bishop, with the right of free passage for his servants and visitors passing and re-passing at all times free; while that of Putney was held of the manor of Wimbledon, whereof her Grace the Duchess of Marlborough was lady, and Messrs. Pettywood and Skelton joint tenants, at the estimated rental of 30*s.* per

* In the "Daily Post," August 22, there is the following notice: "The Commissioners for building a bridge from the town of Fulham to the town of Putney, in Surrey, met on Thursday last, and made an agreement with Mr. Meard and Mr. Phillips, two persons of great note and substance in the profession as carpenters, to build them for present conveniency a bridge, consisting of sixteen arches, to be 37 feet wide, and of height proportionate for West Country barges to pass under. The passage over the said bridge to be 25 feet from rail to rail, including a footpath on either side, and to keep it in repair for fourteen years."

annum. Mr. Skelton, it appears, also erected and maintained the landing, or causeway, at Fulham, which he held on a lease for three lives, and received for the same 12*l.* per annum. Messrs. Pettywood and Gotobed were the copyholders on the Fulham side, at a quit-rent of 10*s.* per annum. The total estimated rental, on an average of seven years, was 407*l.* 12*s.* 10*d.* for which they claimed twenty-four years' purchase. The rights of Messrs. Pettywood, Skelton, and Gotobed were referred to a jury, which was held at Kingston, on the 7th day of October, when the following award was made:—

	£ s. d.
To Daniel Pettywood, Esq. for his half interest of Putney side	2289 0 0
To Daniel Skelton, Esq. for his half interest of Putney side	2180 0 0
To Daniel Pettywood, Esq. for his half of Fulham side	2398 0 0
To Bennet Hammond Gotobed, Gent. for his share of Fulham side	2401 0 0
To the Right Honourable the Lord Bishop of London	23 0 0
Total	<u>£9291 0 0</u>

At the same time the damages awarded to the watermen of Fulham and Putney, for the Sunday ferry, were assessed at 31*s.* per annum for each side of the river.

The celebrated Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, or Mrs. Freeman, as the Queen delighted to call her—herself assuming the name of Mrs. Morley—appears to have been more alive to her interest in the horse-

ferry than the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of London, and a letter was duly presented by her steward (Mr. Green) to the Commissioners, in which she stoutly protests against loss or damage. It is dated from Blenheim, and is as follows :—

GENTLEMEN, Sept. 7th, 1726.

I am the owner of the inheritance of the ferry from Putney to Fulham, and do hereby make my application, pursuant to the said Act, for satisfaction for such prejudice, loss, or damage, as I may sustain or suffer on occasion of erecting the said bridge.

I am, Gentlemen,
Your most obedient humble servant,
S. MARLBOROUGH.

Upon which Mr. Green was requested to intimate “to her Grace” that her claim would be submitted to the consideration of a jury, which jury was composed of the same panel as those who gave the verdict for the other proprietors. Mr. Green appeared as counsel for her Grace, and submitted the following evidence, viz. the admission of Richard Segar, son and heir of Edward Segar, dated 13th of February, 6th of Henry VIII. to the half part of the ferry, at 15*s.* per annum rent, to him his heirs and assigns, “Et nihil dat Domino de fine quia hæres.”

The admission of Charles Dawes to a moiety or half of the Putney ferry, within the said manor, to him and his heirs, with remainder over, per redditus. 8th April, 17th Car. II. 1665.

The Duchess of Marlborough’s deed of purchase of the manor or lordship of Wimbledon, in the county of Surrey, was from Sir John Eyles and others, trustees of the South Sea Company, under the Act of Parlia-

ment 7th Geo. I. to her and her heirs for ever, the consideration-money paid being 19,650*l.* That the moieties of the quit-rent of Messrs. Pettywood and Skelton were 15*s.* each, and the fine on the first purchase arbitrary, but with no fine on subsequent purchases. Whereupon the jury retired and found as follows:—

	£ s. d.
For the annual quit-rent of Mr. Skelton	18 15 0
For the annual quit-rent of Mr. Petty-	
wood	18 15 0
For the interest of her Grace the Duchess	
of Marlborough	218 0 0
For the extinguishing of the interest the	
said may have in the said horse-ferry .	109 0 0
Total . .	<u>£364 10 0</u>

A valuable fishery existed in connection with this manor* as far back as the time of Harold. In 1663 it was let for the annual gift of the three best salmon caught in March, April, and May.

The manor and estate of Wimbledon† was sold to Sir Theodore Janson, in 1717, on the failure of the South Sea Company, of which he was a director, at which time the fishing was let at 6*l.* per annum, and afterwards on lease, which expired in 1830, at 8*l.* Sturgeon were rarely caught, but always claimed by the water-bailiff for my Lord Mayor, as chief conservator of the Thames.

Mr. Ripley's plan appears to have met with some

* Brayley's Surrey, ed. Walford, p. 21. Blunt's Royal Dictionary of Royal Fisheries, 1670.

† The manor of Wimbledon is now held by John Poyntz, Earl Spencer.

outside criticism, other than Pope's, from Mr. John Gregory and Thomas Beal, who suggested remedies for certain defects which they anticipated. As the argument is somewhat new, I venture to give it; for, say they, in a petition presented to the Commissioners:—

“ When the ice is frozen hard to the piles, they standing naked as usual, with the small ends downwards, when the tide comes strong under the ice it will probably heave up the bridge, and loosen the ribs in the ground, and rack the braces and framing at the top. Then there may come a sudden thaw, and the shoals of ice which will be brought down the river with the land-floods will drive hard against the bridge, it being top-heavy and before loosened and racked by the frost, it is, in our humble opinion, in great danger of being overthrown. Therefore, to prevent such a casualty, if we are employed in it, we will take such a method as we have put forth in the following proposals.”

This appears to be, to fix the larger ends of the piles downwards, to be turned in with an engine, “as the butt-ends had most heart,” and, tapering upwards, will be the better able to resist the ice; also to “warp” the piers on every side with planking.

The closing of the petition is certainly quaint, for they add—

We being the root of this contrivance, it is to be hoped you will not permit any branch of it to be grafted into any other's proposals.

(Signed) JOHN GREGORY,
Peter Street, Westminster.

The financial question appears to have been somewhat shirked. Meetings were called and advertised in the “Gazette” to take place at the sign of the Queen's Arms, Fulham, at the Horn Tavern in New Palace Yard, Westminster, at the Black Bull in Putney, again

at the Horn Tavern, at the Queen's Arms, again at the Horn Tavern, all of which had to be adjourned for want of a quorum.* At a subsequent meeting at the Parliament Coffee House, in Old Palace Yard, Westminster, on the 14th of March, a sufficient number of Commissioners being present, the following report of the expenses contingent upon the erection of the bridge was brought up and considered:—

For compensation of rights of Ferry:—

To	Daniel Pettywood Esq.—	£	£	s.	d.
Fulham side	2289				
Putney side	2398				
		—	4687	0	0
To William Skelton, Esq.	2180				
To Burnet Hammon Gotobed	2401				
To the Right Rev. Lord Bishop of London .		23		0	0
To the Most Noble Sarah Duchess of Marlborough, lady of the manor of Wimbledon		364	10		
		—	9655	10	0

To be paid to y^e workmen for building y^e timber bridge:—

	£	s.	d.
Mr. Phillips, carpenter .	6698	0	0
Mr. A. Jelfe, mason .	1766	0	0
John Mist, pavier, 2311½ cubic yards of paving at 6s. per square . . .	693	18	0
For enlarging the works as proposed . . .	408	12	0
	—		
	9566	10	0

Sums to be paid to the watermen

Allowance for contract repair

Total £19,404 0 0

* A similar difficulty appears to have arisen in 1736, when, on account of the scanty attendances, the meetings were ordered to be held at Wills's Coffee House, at the corner of Bow Street, Covent Garden.

Seeing that the sum of 16,000*l.*, as originally proposed, would be unable to meet the necessary expenditure, it was thought impracticable to carry out the scheme under the Act, and a Committee was appointed to meet at the Parliament Coffee House to consider and report to the Commissioners; whereupon the following resolution was passed, and confirmed at a subsequent general meeting :—

That it is the opinion of the Commissioners that the said Act of Parliament incapacitates all of the nobility and others of the trustees, although incorporated, to contribute to the work by any loan of their money, or by purchase of any annuities, and that it cannot be expected the trustees will subject themselves to censure of Parliament and actions at law upon the part of the said Act.

The draft of a Petition was accordingly drawn up by Mr. Ripley,* with the approval of the Commissioners and the Chairman, who was desired to attend on the Secretary of State, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Speaker of the House of Commons, with a copy of the Petition to Parliament, for their approbation. The Petition set forth the cost of compensations to be paid for the ferry, the cost of construction and maintenance, together with the annuities to be paid to the watermen; that the produce of the said ferries would not be sufficient to raise money on loan, nor would the tolls of the bridge under the present Act be sufficient to answer the purpose; requesting that they might be supplied with powers of granting annuities in perpetuity or to assign the tolls to a contractor; and that the Commissioners when in-

* Setting forth the cost and repairs of the bridge.

corporated should have power to lend or advance moneys without fear of any legal consequences ; and that they also be empowered to grant to any persons or families a licence to pass free of toll during their lives for such terms as should be agreed upon ; and, lastly, that the bridge might be free and exempt from all rates and taxes whatsoever except those paid on incomes or profits ; and that the Chairman be desired to present the Petition, which appears to have been performed by Henry Vincent, Esq.

On the 22nd of May, 1728, the Chairman, who had presented the Petition, informed the Commissioners that in answer to their prayers the Act had been prepared as amended, and, having been read the third time in the House, had been presented and approved of by the Lords, 1st of Geo. II. 1727.

Under the new powers conferred by this Act, subscriptions were invited for the sum of 30,000*l.* at 4 per cent., the tolls to be mortgaged for the repayment of the same, and that one moiety of the subscriptions be paid at the time of subscribing, and the other at such time as the trustees may think fit. Sir Matthew Decker also proposed to grant life privileges free from tolls to families for one payment in advance of 200*l.* This, however, was not adopted. As a practical way of obtaining the money it was agreed that five of the Committee appointed by the Commissioners meet at the Lottery Office at Whitehall, on Tuesday, the 18th of June inst. at 5 o'clock in the afternoon, and that they have full power to publish advertisements, to open books of subscription, receive the money, and do all other matters as they shall think fit and reason-

able for effecting the work, and that they adjourn from time to time, and from place to place, as they think fit. Mr. Blew was also ordered to get the draft of the charter from the Attorney and Solicitor General. On the 6th of July the Commissioners reported that they had opened a book for subscriptions as proposed, but that up to the 5th instant the amount subscribed had only amounted to 7,100*l.* and that 1,775*l.*, one-fourth, had already been paid; that amongst the 180 Commissioners named under the Act only 19 had subscribed anything; and they recommend that the book be shut, and the money paid to the bankers returned to the subscribers.

This first attempt to collect subscriptions and erect a bridge having failed, the Commissioners again advertised for plans, and contractors who would be willing to undertake the work and keep it in repair; and the secretary was desired to attend at the Lottery Offices, at Whitehall, on and after the 15th, from 9 to 1 p.m. to receive such plans and sections as might be submitted pursuant to the notice. On the 6th of August he reported that he had attended as directed, and handed in two letters, the first from Captain J. Perry, of Rye, who, after saying that he was then engaged on works connected with the harbour and in constructing a pier, as also draining-works in Lincolnshire, stated that he could not, before September, make his survey of the site of the proposed bridge; he offered to build a bridge by a new method, not yet practised in England; and that he would find friends for the security of his work. The other from Richard Newsham, of Cloth Fair, London, offer-

ing to construct a bridge for a small sum of money, to last longer and better than any others, of which he offered to submit a model.

Mr. John Goodyer also submitted scantlings for a bridge, which he laid before the Commissioners, but declined to be an undertaker, and accept a mortgage of the tolls as repayment.

The next meeting of the Commissioners took place at the Lottery Office, Whitehall, and Mr. Blew, the secretary, submitted his bill of costs as against the Commissioners for legal and other expenses:—

	£ s. d.
On the bill for building the bridge, which did not pass direct to the extent of his own solicitation, 31 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i>	164 17 0
On the first bill, including charges of entertainments, 21 <i>l.</i> 0 <i>s.</i> 3 <i>d.</i> ; and Clerk of the Council and officers' fees, &c. together on his own solicitation, 42 <i>l.</i>	265 13 9
On the second bill, entertainments are put down at 6 <i>l.</i> 2 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> ; clerks' fees and draft copy fees to the clerk and officers, 11 <i>l.</i> 2 <i>s.</i> 2 <i>d.</i> ; his own solicitation, 31 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i>	176 13 6
	<hr/>
	£607 4 3
 <hr/>	
Received on account	£ s. d.
Balance due	<hr/>
164 17 0	<hr/>

The Committee having found that the sum of 164*l.* 17*s.* for the first bill should be deducted, Thomas Blew consented to receive the balance

£92 7 3

On the 24th of September, 1728, Captain J. Perry addressed a letter to the Commissioners and personally explained his proposal for a new bridge, “ by which the frequent and tedious repairs of the bridges at Kingstone and Staines would be avoided, and all passage by wheels, or otherwise, stopped, sometimes for several months together, while such repairs are carrying on, are under the necessity to be performed by the incommodious and tedious use of punts or ferry-boats.” By the plan which he proposed the repairs would only be necessary every thirty years.

Mr. John Price also sent in a communication, and himself attended with a model for a stone bridge, and estimates, to be constructed on twelve piers, 52 feet long by 12 feet wide, to be constructed of Portland stone, which he estimated could be brought by water for 30*s.* per ton ; there being 310 tons of block stone in each pier the cost would be 465*l.* and the piers, twelve in number, 5580*l.* From them, up to the springing of the arch, to be in ashlar stone, filled in solid, with brickwork wrought in tarris ; and for raising the money thus the contractor should be allowed 4*l.* per cent. for goods supplied on mortgage, the capital to be repaid in one, two, three, or four years. Mr. Price estimates the total cost of the structure to be about 45,000*l.*

Having taken the whole subject into consideration, the Committee came to the conclusion that the suggestion of Mr. Huggins, in accordance with the third clause in the second Act of Parliament, should be adopted for raising the sum of 30,000*l.*, no person being permitted to subscribe less or more than 1,000*l.*;

advertisements to be issued in the “*Daily Courant*,” and other papers; that Mr. Eden’s salary as secretary, for his care and pains, be paid 100*l.* out of the subscriptions to be raised, dating from July 26, 1726.

Twenty-six gentlemen, amongst whom we find the Right Hon. the Earl of Halifax, the Right Hon. Sir Robert Walpole, Sir Matthew Decker, Bart. the Hon. Sir Charles Wager, Knt. The Right Hon. Mr. Onslow, and others, having agreed to subscribe the sum of 1,000*l.* each,* it was arranged that the selection of a design for the building of the bridge be left to them. On the 11th of December they again met, and decided upon building a timber bridge, which they proposed to construct in the most sound and workmanlike manner, writing their names on the back of the design. Finally, a draft assignment of the tolls from the Commissioners to the subscribers was drawn up and duly signed.†

Colonel Armstrong is requested by the Commissioners‡ to view and report on the bridge, which he did on the 16th of March, stating that the principles were, if anything, better than agreed to in the draft signed by the Commissioners.

At a meeting § at the Lottery Office, Whitehall, E. Vincent, Esq. in the chair:—

* Nov. 20, 1728.

† Dec. 11, 1728.

‡ Oct. 31, 1729.

§ Nov. 11, 1729.

Present —

The Commissioners named in the Acts of Parliament.	Subscribers for Building the Bridge.	Trustees named in the Deed of Assignment.
Sir Richd. Manningham Edwd. Vernon, Esq. Anthy. Corbier, Esq. Gilbert Marshall, Esq. John Robinson, Esq. John Lawton, Esq. Willm. Ward, Esq. Regld. Marriott, Esq. Geo. Denning, Esq. James Porten, Esq. Geo. Hartley, Esq. Danl. Pelliwood, Esq. Thos. Beak, Esq. Robert Williamson, Esq. John Baskett, Esq. John Eyre, Esq. Collett Mawhood, Esq. Geo. Harrison, Esq. William Harvest, Esq. Richard Arundel, Esq. Surveyor-General of His Majesty's Works	Lord Carpenter Sir Mathew Decker Sir Chas. Wager Sir Geo. Walton Capt. B. Solgard Edwd. Salter, Esq. Thos. Phillips, Esq. Kingsmill Eyre, Esq. Robt. Mann, Esq. Willm. Cheselden, Esq. Edw. Harrison, Esq. Edw. Jones, Esq. Burrington Goldsworthy, Esq. Thos. Cranmer, M.D. Geo. Doddswell, Esq. Thos. S. Ripley, Esq. Joseph Andrews, Esq. Thomas Hustler, Esq.	Rt. Hon. A. Onslow, Esq. Sir A. Fountain Willm. Harding, Jun. Esq. Percival Lewis, Esq. John Torriano, Esq. Henry Vincent, Esq. Rich. Lilley, M.D. John Armston, Esq. Denzil Onslow, Esq. Chas. Selwyn, Esq.

The deed of assignment was engrossed, and signed by the Commissioners,

Mr. EDEN,
Secretary, and

Mr. MANSON,
Doorkeeper of the Lottery Office,

} Witnesses.

and afterwards enrolled in Chancery, one part being let to the Right Hon. A. Onslow, Esq. on the part of the Commissioners and the trustees, and the other retained by the trustees as the proprietors of the bridge. Adjourned *sine die*.

The following is a full list of the names of the

~~Matthew~~

~~John~~

~~Matthew~~

~~John~~ ~~Matthew~~ ~~John~~ ~~Matthew~~ ~~John~~ ~~Matthew~~

~~John~~ ~~Matthew~~ ~~John~~ ~~Matthew~~

~~John~~ ~~Matthew~~ ~~John~~ ~~Matthew~~

~~John~~ ~~Matthew~~ ~~John~~ ~~Matthew~~

~~John~~ ~~Matthew~~ ~~John~~ ~~Matthew~~

~~John~~ ~~Matthew~~

thirty original subscribers to whom the Commissioners handed over this power, and by whom the construction of the bridge was carried out and completed :—

The Right Hon. Sir R. Walpole, Knt. of y^e Most Noble Order of y^e Garter.
 The Right Hon. George Lord Carpenter.
 Sir Matthew Decker, Bart.
 The Hon. Sir Charles Wager, } Knights.
 Sir George Walton, }
 Joseph Andrews, Esqs.
 Stephen Bliss,
 The Hon. Col. George Carpenter.
 Wm. Chisselden, Esq.
 Thos. Craumer, M.D.
 Geo. Dodswell,
 Kingswell Eyre,
 Willm. Genow,
 Barrington Goldsworthy, } Esqs.
 Edwd. Harrison,
 John Huggins,
 James Hustler,
 Edmond Jones, Gent.
 Robert Mann, } Esqs.
 Thos. Martin, }
 John Martin, Gent.
 Abraham Meure, Esq.
 Capt. James Molley.
 Henry Parsons, Esq.
 Timothy Perry, } Gent.
 Thomas Phillips, }
 Thomas Rysley, } Esqs.
 Edward Salter, }
 Captain Peter Solgard.
 George Tilson, Esq.

The shares were afterwards sold in moieties ; and

after the passing of the Reform Bill in 1832 they were split up into eighteenths and twentieths, to enable the holder to have a vote for the counties of Surrey and Middlesex.

The first meeting of the proprietors was held at the Lottery Office, Whitehall, November 27, 1728, on which occasion Sir Charles Wager was voted into the chair, and several models and designs of bridges were submitted for the approval of the meeting.

1. The model and a design for a timber bridge by Mr. Ripley, before offered to the Commissioners for approval.

2. A model and design for a stone bridge by Mr. Price, together with the model of a timber one of the same kind with that which Julius Cæsar built over the Rhine, estimated cost 20,250*l.*

3. A design for a timber bridge by Mr. Halfpenny, formerly laid before the Committee.

4. A design for a timber bridge by Mr. Goodyear.

5. A model of a bridge by Captain Perry, with estimate.

6. Two several designs for timber bridges, by Sir Jacob Ackworth, with description and estimate. Sir Jacob also submitted the draughts of the following timber bridges: Chertsey,* Staines, Datchet, and Windsor. These designs were then referred to a committee for consideration,† and they reported in favour of Mr. Ripley, if the piers could be built of moor-stone at a cost of 15,000*l.* Sir William Ogbourne's

* This structure appears to have been but a slight affair, as an Act was obtained in 1797 for erecting a new one.

† Dec. 10, 1728.

opinion being asked, he gave it in favour of Sir Jacob Ackworth, as he said that the piers were too weak to support the weight they would have to carry. Mr. Ripley did not procure any estimate, but stated that the cost would be about 16,500*l.* The Commissioners therefore rejected the design submitted by Mr. Ripley and others, and reported favourably on that of Sir Jacob Ackworth. The Commissioners then proceeded to survey and report on the bed of the Thames, and view the lands on both sides; which report was drawn up and presented by Ripley. The width of the centre opening of the bridge was to be 28 feet, and that there should be four others 25 feet wide, and all the rest 15 feet.

It was further resolved that a committee be appointed to settle the particulars, form, and construction of the bridge, consisting of Sir Charles Wager, Mr. Huggins, Mr. Ripley, Mr. Cheselden, and Mr. Phillips. The bridge, as settled by them in a report submitted to the subscribers on the 22nd January, 1728, was to be 786 feet long, and full particulars are given of the various scantlings, head and water-way, and a model of the same was prepared by Mr. Phillips, and submitted for the approval of the shareholders. Another committee was appointed for procuring an estimate consisting of the before-mentioned names with four more added. By the orders of this committee a copy of the instructions of the committee was sent to Sir William Ogbourne and Sir Jacob Ackworth for their assistance in making an estimate. Sir William Ogbourne appears to have gone rather more into detail, but their estimates are singularly close,

that of Sir Jacob's being 11,516*l.* 10*s.* and that of Sir William's 11,555*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*

As the contract with Mr. Phillips for the construction of the bridge was founded on the figures supplied by Sir Jacob Ackworth, I venture to transcribe it.

The whole length of the bridge to be 786 feet.

The breadth thereof 24 feet.

	£	s.	d.
*498 piles, 1½ loads in each pile, is 622½ loads, at 3 <i>l.</i> per load	1867	10	0
*Driving the piles at 2 <i>l.</i> each	996	0	0
*609 loads of cubed timber and plank at 2 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> per foot or 6 <i>l.</i> 5 <i>s.</i> per load	3806	5	0
*Workmanship to do. at 1 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> per foot, or 3 <i>l.</i> 15 <i>s.</i> per load	2283	15	0
2120 yards of paving with shells, clay, chalk, gravel, and sandwich stone, at 7 <i>s.</i> per yard	742	0	0
*For gins, stages, and barges	300	0	0
*214 cwt. of wrought-iron in shoes for piles and nails at 30 <i>s.</i> per cwt.	321	0	0
Painting	100	0	0
Making good the ground and works at the end of the bridge	400	0	0
Two houses for the toll-gatherers	140	0	0
3125 ft. of Portland stone and work at 3 <i>s.</i> per foot	460	0	0
For watchmen, candles, &c.	100	0	0
	<hr/>		
	£11,516	10	0

Sir Jacob Ackworth's estimate for those items marked with a star amounted to the sum of 9,674*l.* 10*s.* And Mr. Phillips undertook to carry out the same in a substantial manner for the sum of 9,600*l.*: 2,500*l.*

to be paid down at the time the contract was signed ; 2,500*l.* when one-third was done ; 2,500*l.* when two-thirds were done ; 2,100*l.* on completion of the work.

On the 24th of March the Committee reported that they had purchased and paid for the rights of the ferries, and had purchased the three boats employed therein, for the sum of 50*l.*; but that they would require an expenditure of 20*l.* for repairs, and that four regular and two extra men would be required for the service of the ferry. Some objection having been made as to the amount of tolls taken on the 14th of April, 1729, it was accounted for by the fact that a coach with four horses and two saddle-horses did not pay then, but did so on the following day.

As one of the men then employed was summoned to Waterman's Hall, as a fit and proper person to be sent on board one of his Majesty's ships of war, Sir Charles Wager was requested to procure his discharge. Sir Charles at the same time informed the Committee that he was about going abroad in command of a squadron of his Majesty's ships of war,* and requested them to appoint some other person to receive the sub-

* Admiral Sir Charles Wager distinguished himself greatly in a gallant action with some Spanish galleons in 1708, off Cartagena. His own ship attacked the Spanish commander-in-chief's, whose ship unfortunately blew up, and out of 600 men on board only 13 survived. She is stated to have had 700,000*l.* of gold and silver on board at the time; another ship ran ashore and so escaped.

Sir Charles set out on the 19th of December from Portsmouth for the Mediterranean, with instructions to send the "Vinot" with Captain Hardy, and the "Leno," Captain Dent, to fetch home a convoy of the Turkish fleet.—*Daily Journal*, Dec. 24, 1726.

scription money, for which an account was opened in the Bank of England; which was accordingly done in the names of the Honourable George Carpenter and others. As the supervision of the Committee over the construction of the bridge entailed a loss of time and trouble in looking after the work, they were to be allowed a guinea a week for their services.

In order that proper provision might be made to meet the requirements of Edmond Gibson, then Bishop of London, his Lordship was requested to furnish the proprietors with a list of persons attached to, or having connection with, the Palace, which was accordingly done, when we find the following names recorded :*—

My Lord Bishop, his lady and children ; Dr. Bettesworth, brother-in-law to the bishop, his lady and children ; Dr. Tyrwhit, son-in-law to the bishop, and his lady ; his lordship's chaplains, Drs. Cobden and Crow, with other officials ; Mr. Skelton, register ; Mr. Powlet, secretary ; Mr. Thomas Powlet, receiver ; and Mr. Castilione and sixteen domestics ; five of Dr. Bettesworth's, and a like number of Dr. Tyrwhit's ; in all thirty-four persons, the number of children not being mentioned.

To complete the approaches to the bridge it was found necessary that about 200 square feet of Putney churchyard should be purchased, and arrangements having been made with the Vicar and Churchwardens a faculty was granted by his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, through his Commissary, the Right Worshipful John Bettesworth, June 16, 1730.

A careful examination of the minutes of the earlier meetings of the proprietors shows that, although Sir

* A.D. 1730.

Jacob Ackworth's design for the bridge was selected, it was materially modified in execution, and its construction superintended, by a committee of eight of the proprietors, of whom Mr. Ripley at one time, and Mr. Cheselden at another, appear to have taken the chief part. The committee met sometimes at the Black Bull or the White Lion at Putney, at other times at the King's Arms at Fulham; two or more were to be a quorum, and one guinea a week was allowed for their expenses, although they do not always appear to have limited themselves to that modest amount. They were also authorised to employ a clerk of the works, one Reisbrook. The interest shown by Mr. Cheselden in the construction of the brick arches and abutments, and arranging for the toll-houses, gave, no doubt, some colour to the statement made by Faulkner,* in his History of Fulham, that Dr. Cheselden† (then one of the leading

* Faulkner, Chasemore, p. 8.

† William Cheselden, the eminent surgeon and anatomist, was born in 1688 at Barrow-on-the Hill, near Somerly, Leicestershire. He was educated at Leicester, and at the age of fifteen was placed under the immediate tuition of the anatomist Cowper, and at the same time studied surgery under Mr. Ferne, the head surgeon of St. Thomas's Hospital. At the early age of twenty-one he gave lectures in anatomy, which were first published in quarto in 1711, and in the same year he was chosen a member of the Royal Society. In 1713 he published, in octavo, his Anatomy of the Human Body, which was reprinted in 1722, 1726, 1732, in folio, and in 1734. An eleventh edition was afterwards struck off in 1778. On the retirement of Mr. Ferne he was elected head surgeon of St. Thomas's Hospital, and he was also consulting surgeon at St. George's Hospital and Westminster Infirmary. In 1723 he published his Treatise for Operations for Stricture. In 1729 he was elected honorary and corresponding member to the

surgeons of his time) gained his experience in architecture while practising as surgeon at Chelsea Hospital, which enabled him to design a bridge standing on so many wooden legs. At a meeting held at the Lottery Office, in Whitehall, 2 July, 1730, the following resolution appears to have been passed, which is, no doubt, what Faulkner refers to :—

“ Resolved, as the bridge is built entirely according to a scheme and principles laid down by Mr. Cheselden, and as he has been very serviceable in directing the execution of the same, that the thanks of the proprietors be given to him for the advantages which have been received from his advice and assistance, they being of opinion that no timber bridge can be built in a more substantial and commodious manner than that which is now erected.”

It was also resolved—

“ That a book be made with a draught and description of the bridge ; that the same be done in such manner as Mr. Cheselden may direct, and that he be desired to advise with Mr. Ripley and Mr. Phillips about the same ; that the whole expense do not exceed thirty guineas, and that no more books be printed than shall be for the use of the proprietors.”

At the same meeting it was resolved—

“ That Mr. Phillips well deserves a gratuity from the proprietors for having been so expeditious, and having performed his work in such a substantial and workmanlike manner, and that he be presented with a piece of plate not exceeding the value of thirty guineas.”

Academy of Sciences at Paris. In 1737 he obtained the appointment of head surgeon to Chelsea Hospital. He died suddenly at Bath, of apoplexy, in April, 1752. He was a great friend of Pope's, and is said to have had some knowledge of architecture.—Biographical Dictionary, by Rev. H. J. Rose, B.D. (1857), vol. v. p. 271.

A vote of one hundred guineas was also given to the secretary, Mr. W. Eden.

On the 6th of October the Committee had reported on the completion of the bridge, and that the contractors were entitled to be paid. In November four tollmen were appointed, to be provided with coats, hats, staves, and lanthorns, and that they do commence to receive toll of foot passengers on the 14th of November. On Tuesday, the 25th of November, the bridge was ordered to be opened to coaches, carriages, and horses, and the secretary was instructed to publish in the newspapers an account of the tolls, as settled under the Act.

On the following page is an abstract of the balance-sheet of expenses incurred in carrying out the provisions of the Act.

UNDER THE 12TH OF GEO. II. CAP. 36, THE FOLLOWING TOLLS
WERE SANCTIONED :—

	£ s. d.
For every coach, chariot, Berlin chaise, chair, calash, drawn by six or more horses	0 2 0
For the like carriages drawn by four horses	0 1 6
For the like drawn by less than four horses	0 1 0
For every wagon, wain, dray, barrow, cart, or carriage, drawn by four or more horses or oxen	0 1 6
By less than four	0 1 0
For every horse, mule, or ass, laden or unladen, not exceeding the sum of	0 0 2
For every foot-passenger on Sunday	0 0 1
On any other day	0 0 0½
For every drove of oxen or neat cattle xii. per score, and after that rate for any greater or less number.	
For every drove of calves, sheep, or lambs, per score	0 0 6
and after that rate for a greater or less number.	

ABSTRACT FROM BALANCE SHEET, SHOWING THE COST OF ERECTING THE BRIDGE, &c. &c. A.D. 1730.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
By Thirty Subscribers of 740 <i>l.</i> each	- 22,200	0	0	To Compensation to owners of the ferry	8,387	9	11
Produce of ferries, as per account	- 587	14	10	Cost of building the bridge, as per particulars	- -	- 14,697	4
Tolls, part Christmas and Ladyday quarter	£451	1	11½	Account relating to ferries	- -	311	15
Tolls to quarter end- ing Midsummer	734	5	9	Charges of management—			
	1,185	7	8½	Ladyday quarter	£77	10	6
				Midsummer do.	- 92	8	9½
					169	19	3½
				Balance available for dividend to Mid- summer quarter, 1730	- -	- 406	10
				Carried forward to next quarter	- -	0	3
					£23,973	2	6½
					£23,973	2	6½

By Clause 20, the rights of the Bishop of London to a free passage over the bridge for himself, and all persons residing in the episcopal palace at Fulham, and for all horses, coaches, cattle, goods, and things, is carefully reserved to the bishop, in lieu of the right he had hitherto enjoyed in the ferry.

The jurisdiction of the Mayor and Corporation of London over the river is also maintained.

The first carriage that passed over the new bridge was that of His Royal Highness George Prince of Wales. An account of this is given in the “*Weekly Journal*,” Nov. 22, 1729 :—

Last Friday His Royal Highness the Prince went to hunt in Richmond Park ; and on going thither and in returning back passed over the new bridge, between Fulham and Putney, in a coach and six, with two other coaches in his retinue, attended by his guards, which is the first time of any coach passing over the same. His Royal Highness was pleased to order five guineas to the workmen. It would appear, however, than an officer attending Lord Cobham’s regiment of horse, then quartered at Fulham to attend the King and Prince at such times as they may go over the bridge, requested that the proprietors would allow both horse and foot to pass over the bridge without paying toll, in consideration of the sum of 15*l.* paid yearly by His Majesty for the passage of the troop over the ferry. This was accordingly agreed to, but the secretary and toll-men were to take an account of the number so passing.

An account of the number of horse and foot soldiers, passing over the bridge, was accordingly kept, between January 18th and the 1st of March, when it was found that if all had paid tolls the receipts would have been increased by 9*l.* 19*s.* 3*d.* It was decided, therefore, to present a memorial to the Secretary of

State, and subsequently to petition His Majesty that the annual allowance of 15*l.* hitherto paid for the ferry, might be increased. A Royal Warrant* was accordingly issued by Queen Caroline, R.C.R. (as guardian of the kingdom for His Majesty then in Germany), and signed by Her Majesty's commands —R. Walpole, William Clayton, and William Young— addressed to Henry Pelham, Esq. Paymaster-General of the Forces, authorising the payment, out of the army contingencies, of 200*l.* for the two years last past, and a further payment of 100*l.* per annum for the future, which amount continued to be paid down to the year 1820.

* * * *

How different were the approaches to the bridge in those days a glance at Roque's Map, published in 1745, will abundantly prove.

Starting from Knightsbridge, where there were a few insignificant buildings facing the Park (with the exception of Lownde's House, a fine old mansion, the grounds of which are now converted into Lownde's Square), the Londoner intent on going to Fulham would turn off to the left, across the fields, down an insignificant road, called Bell Lane (now the Brompton Road), to Little Chelsea Bridge; thence by Walham Green, where the Roque family resided; and Parson's Green, said to have been founded by William III. where a fair was annually held on the 17th of August. Here it was that the Republican party threw up some earthworks, which were stormed by the King's forces, and the two armies stood face to

* Dated Aug. 16, 1732.

face for some hours, when the King retired, and the Earl quartered his troops at Fulham, and caused the bridge of boats, before referred to, to be thrown across the stream; thence to Munster House to the town and bridge, the ground, on either side of the way, being under cultivation as market-gardens.

A royal road, called the King's private road, led from Buckingham Palace to the King's Road, leaving Chelsea and Ranelagh to the south, across the stream by a bridge with an ill-omened name (Bloody Bridge), and so by Parson's Green, skirting Lord Peterborough's house* and park to Fulham.

Now studded with smiling villas and well lighted with gas, Wimbledon and Putney Heath then consisted of large and open wastes,† infested with highwaymen and footpads, who constantly preyed on the purse and person of the unwary traveller. Here it was that the celebrated Jerry Abershaw carried on his depredations ere his career of robbery and murder was cut short and he himself suspended in chains on Wimbledon Common, the scene of his crimes, as a warning to others; here also (alas, too numerous to chronicle) were many others whose names and deeds are faithfully recorded in that *old black-letter book* y'clept *the Newgate Calendar*. Here also were debts of honour settled and wounded pride avenged, in many a duel the memory of which has passed away and left no other note than that recorded in the daily

* Originally built by John Tamworth, Privy Councillor to Queen Elizabeth, A.D. 1599. Brewer, vol. iv. p. 83.

† See Roque's Map, 1745.

press;* and later on, when England roused herself to stem the tide of revolution and of conquest led on by Bonaparte, His Royal Highness George, then Prince of Wales, in 1811, crossed with his staff and retinue the timber bridge, and, reaching Wimbledon, some 50,000 Volunteers passed in review before him. Nor has the lustre of its breezy heath yet passed away; sufficient yet remains to please the eye and still recruit the frame of any peaceful citizen; while worldwide is its fame, as year by year the camp at Wimbledon musters its Volunteers to show their skill in musketry, and hold their own against all comers; so year by year the oft-recurring match is rowed between the sister Universities of Oxford and Cambridge; begun in 1835, each year the rival crews have met, while victory still hangs in the balance or is wooed with oft-repeated challenge; while many fours, and pairs, and sculling matches, attest the watermen's aquatic pluck, to record which would fill a volume. One old familiar face yet hovers near—"Old John Phelps," once Champion of the Thames—a link between the present and the past.

The convenience that Putney Bridge afforded to the public was readily appreciated by the public. Accordingly, in 1736, we find that the inhabitants and residents of Westminster arranged for the intro-

* Such as that between Lord Chandos and Colonel Henry Compton in 1652, and between William Pitt, then Prime Minister, and Walter Tierney, M.P. for Southwark in 1798, fought on a Sunday; also between Lord Castlereagh and George Canning in 1809, when the latter was wounded in the thigh. Brayley's Surrey, ed. Walford, p. 197.

duction of a Bill into Parliament for building a bridge across the river there also.

As it was anticipated that if this design was carried out the receipt from the tolls would be diminished, the proprietors resolved to petition Parliament for any damage they might sustain should the project be carried into law. As the petitioners say,—

If the bridge were made toll free their interest would be near if not totally destroyed. Nevertheless, say they, we are not desirous of obstructing a design of so general a benefit, but humbly hope that if the bridge at Westminster is built and thus property shall appear to be affected in the manner they apprehend, they shall have such relief as in justice and equity shall seem most meet.

And request that a clause may be introduced in the Bill exempting them from all rates and taxes except those hitherto paid by the ferry before the bridge was built. In this as in other petitions against the bridges subsequently erected they were unsuccessful.

Old Westminster Bridge was commenced in 1739, and completed in 1750, at a cost of 389,500*l.* (Charles Labelye, engineer). Of this amount 197,500*l.* was raised by tolling, the rest by a Parliamentary grant. It was taken down in 1853.

Besides a fair and liberal interest which the proprietors received for the capital they had invested in the erection of the bridge, they were entitled as freeholders, both in Middlesex and Surrey, to a vote for both counties. After the passing of the Reform Bill in 1832, many of the shares were split up into tenths and twentieths, for 40*s.* freehold votes. These votes were objected to, in 1864, before the Revising Bar-

rister, to which an appeal was lodged, in the Court of Common Pleas (in the case of *Tepper v. Nichols*). It was argued that, as the trust had lapsed, they had no right to the vote. The appeal went against the proprietors, who consequently lost a valuable privilege which they had enjoyed uninterruptedly for about one hundred and forty years. Chasemore, in his history and associations of the old bridge, mentions the following anecdote attributed to the celebrated punster, Theodore Hook, who resided at Egremont Villa. Walking in his garden which overlooked the bridge, a friend of his remarked : "It is a good investment?" "I don't know," said Hook, "but you have only to cross, and you are sure to be tolled."*

With sundry repairs from time to time, the old bridge was sufficient for all practical purposes. Some fifteen or twenty, four-horse coaches passed over it daily, to and from Portsmouth, Southampton, Guildford, and Kingston, which were discontinued on the opening of the South Western Railway in 1840 ; but the water-way was not sufficient when steamboats were introduced on the Thames. In the severe frost which occurred in February 1870, two barges which had been frozen in the ice near Hammersmith Bridge broke away, and were carried down the river by the tide with great rapidity (the centre of the stream being narrowed by reason of large floes of ice on either shore), and were driven with great force against one of the pierheads on the Surrey side of the centre lock, smashing it completely. The damage done was

* Chasemore, p. 21.

so serious that the proprietors decided upon removing the broken piles, and throwing two arches into one, making an opening of 44 feet. This, however, was not sufficient to meet the increasing wants of the steam-tugs and barges, with sometimes six or eight vessels in tow; and as the Thames Conservancy Commission had already reported on the necessity of increased facilities being afforded for the navigation of the river in 1868, the proprietors agreed to a clause being inserted in the Thames Navigation Act, promoted by the Commissioners in 1870, to enable them to raise a sum of 6,000*l.*, and carry out further improvements.

In the spring of the following year the middle lock (Walpole's Lock), together with the two side-locks, were removed, and their place supplied with wrought-iron trellis girders, cross-girders, and buckle-plates, resting on cast-iron cylinders, 5 feet 6 inches in diameter, and ornamental granite caps, with a clear waterway of 70 feet, and two side-locks of 40 feet each. The work was successfully carried out without any stoppage of the traffic, and completed early in the following year, according to the designs and under the superintendance of Mr. John Mair, C.E., and Messrs. Wadmore and Baker, architects. The alteration afforded three feet more clear head-way in the centre lock. In excavating for the foundation of the cylinders a few coins of Elizabethan date, and the well-known tobacco pipes,* were found, together with a small cast figure of a bird, in lead (supposed to be Roman), and the lower jaw of a boar ; these, I am

* See illustration by Chasemore, p. 47.

sorry to say, I cannot produce for the satisfaction of the curious.

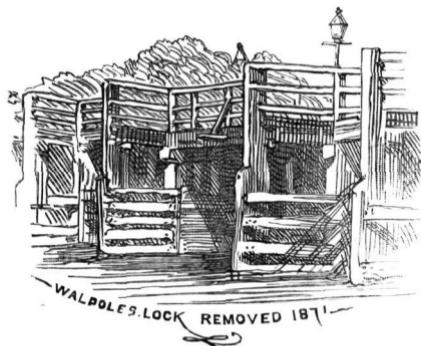
Mr. Nichols, of Newcastle, was the contractor.

Much dissatisfaction having been expressed against the payment of toll on all metropolitan bridges after the removal of the turnpikes, a Bill was introduced by the Metropolitan Board to enable them to open them to the public (called "The Metropolis Toll Bridges Act," 40 & 41 Vict. c. 99, 1877). Under the powers contained therein, compensation was to be allowed to the shareholders and proprietors. The first bridge freed was Waterloo ; the others followed. Old Fulham Bridge, together with its rival, Hammersmith, were opened and declared free by His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales and Princess of Wales on the 30th July, 1880, the proprietors receiving for their rights the sum of 58,000*l.* of which 2,000*l.* were invested in Consols to meet the watermen's annuity. In the following Session an Act was obtained by the Metropolitan Board for pulling down the old bridge, together with the Aqueduct erected by the Chelsea Waterworks in 1849, and building a new one to combine the utilities of each. By the courtesy of Sir Joseph Bazalgette I am able to give a few particulars of the structure which will shortly be commenced, and will in a year or two render useless the old timber bridge which has now existed over one hundred and fifty years, and leave but a brief record of its history in these pages.

The proposed site of the new bridge is about 125 feet higher up the river ; by this means a better gradient is gained, both on the Fulham and Putney

sides, by making the approach on the former direct from the termination of the present High Street, with a gradient of 1 in 40 feet, passing in the rear of the Vicarage and through the garden ; and in the latter, by the removal of the old dilapidated buildings of Bridge Wharf, and the widening of Windsor Street, as seen on the accompanying plan.

The new bridge will be constructed entirely of granite, with five segmental arches, the centre one having 144 feet clear water-way, with a height of 20 feet above Trinity high-water mark, and on either side two arches, one 129 feet in width and the other 112 feet. The total length of the bridge between the abutments on either side will be 700 feet, with a width of 44 feet ; the piers from which the arches spring will be 18 feet wide ; so that the total clear water-way will be 628 feet. The cost, with the approaches, will be not less than 200,000*l.* The supply of the Chelsea Waterworks will be carried under the footway in four pipes, 24 inches diameter, and two of 12 inches, three being placed on either side.



METROPOLITAN BRIDGES.

TABULAR STATEMENT showing the Date of Erection and Cost of Completion of the undermentioned Bridges, together with the Amount of Compensation paid by the Metropolitan Board and the Corporation of the City of London for the purchase of the Tolls.

	Commenced.	Finished.	Cost.	Compensation.	Architect or Engineer.
Old London Bridge	1176	1209	—	—	Peter de Colechurch.
Fulham and Putney	1729	1730	23,973	58,000	Sir Jacob Ackworth.
Old Westminster	1739	1750	383,500	—	Charles Labelye.
Old Blackfriars	1760	1769	152,840	—	R. Mylne.
Battersea	1770	1771	22,500	—	— Dixon.
Vauxhall	1811	1816	300,000	255,000	Dodd, Bentham, and Walker.
Waterloo, with approaches	1811	1817	1,000,000	474,200	Sir John Rennie.
Southwark	1815	1817	800,000	200,000	Sir John Rennie.
Hammersmith	1825	1827	80,045	112,500	Tierney Clarke.
New London Bridge	1825	1831	200,000	—	Sir John Rennie.
Albert Bridge		1873	170,000	170,000	Roland M. Ordish.
Chelsea or Victoria	—	1858	120,000	75,000	Thomas Page.
Lambeth	—	1862	48,924	35,000	Peter Barlow.
New Westminster	1853	1862	336,600	—	Thomas Page.
New Blackfriars	1865	1869	265,000	—	Joseph Cubitt.
Wandsworth	1871	1873	53,311	53,311	J. H. Tolme.

TWICKENHAM AND ITS WORTHIES.

By C. J. THRUPP, Esq., BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

THE pleasant and salubrious village of Twickenham, situate some ten miles from London on the Middlesex bank of the River Thames, is probably known to most people ; though perhaps few, if questioned, know more about it than that Eel Pie Island and Pope's Villa and Strawberry Hill are there. But for more than four hundred years Twickenham has been a favourite place of abode with very many famous and illustrious personages, besides Pope and Horace Walpole, whose memories are so inseparably connected therewith as to invest the place with an adventitious renown that will possibly endure for all time ; and a sketch of these worthies and their residences (many still extant) may contribute towards the topography of this part of Middlesex, whilst others may be interested in the meaning of the name of Twickenham and in the history and annals of the parish and its church.

The meaning and derivation of the word “Twickenham” has aroused much speculation. Norden, in his *Speculum Britanniæ*, says the place is so called “either for that the Thames seems to be divided into two rivers by reason of the islands there, or else of the two brooks which neere the town enter into the Thames, for ‘Twicknam’ is as much as ‘Twynam,’ *quasi inter binos amnes situm*, a place seytuate between two rivers.” Upon this it may be remarked that to any Latin scholar this twisting of Twynam is too

tortuous and far-fetched; that though there are or were two islands there, there are not nor were there two brooks between which Twickenham is or was situate; and moreover that in no document, contemporary or otherwise, has Twickenham ever been called "Twynam." In records anterior to the Conquest we find the place called "Twitham" or "Twittanham" or "Twicanham." Sometimes, as on an alms-dish in the church of unknown date, it is called "Twitnaham." Pope called it Twitenham, Horace Walpole called it Twit'nam—

Twit'nam the Muses favorite seat,
Twit'nam the Graces loved retreat.

In the Parliamentary Survey of 1649 it is called Twicktenham. Others have given it an Anglo-Saxon derivation, viz., from "Twy" two, "ken" to look, and "ham" a village, *i.e.*, a town or village which has two views from it—one up and the other down the river. Upon this it may be remarked that so has every other town on the river.

Again, it is suggested that it is a corruption of Twyggengham, *i.e.*, "the town amongst twigs, boughs, or trees," from the many willows that once grew on the banks there; but, considering that before A.D. 1227 one vast forest or warren extended from the River Brent to Staines, one does not see why Twickenham alone should have been singled out as the town among trees—to say nothing of the fact that before Pope's time there were no willows there at all.*

* It is asserted that the first weeping-willow known in this country was planted in Twickenham Park in the early part of the eighteenth

Again, it is supposed that the place was “Gwickenham,” *i.e.*, “the town built on windings or bays of a river,” and modified by use into Wickenham and Twickenham, just as Gissleworth (in Domesday) got modified into Thistleworth and Isleworth. But Twickenham is not the only village in this neighbourhood built on a bay of the river; on the contrary, nearly all the towns on the river are so built. Another suggestion is, that, as Chiswick is the “wic” or village of cheeses, Twickenham may have been the town or “wic” whence the cheese came.

Another suggestion is that Twickenham means “the two islands home,” from “Twy” two, “igge” an island, and “ham” a home. If Ickenham, also in Middlesex (about six miles off as the crow flies), could be shown to have or have had an island, this last derivation might have some air of plausibility about it, as there used to be at Twickenham another island besides Eel Pie Island; but I have been unable to

century by a Mr. Vernon, who had been a Turkey merchant at Aleppo, and who then resided at Twickenham Park. He is said to have imported a graft of willow which became the original of all the weeping-willows in our gardens. Those who are of this opinion say that Pope's celebrated tree was one of the earliest scions of Mr. Vernon's. Others, however, maintain that Pope's willow was the eldest and first; and their account of its origin is that a present came from Spain to Lady Suffolk, of Marble Hall, and that Pope was in the company whilst it was being unpacked. Amongst the contents he noticed some pieces of stick which appeared to have life in them; and, fancying that they might produce some horticultural novelty, he planted them in his garden, and thus the willow was produced.

As regards other willows or osiers this part of the Thames is singularly bare of them.

ascertain that Ickenham is or has or had in it any island, and moreover in Domesday Book Ickenham is called Ticsham.

Altogether I am not satisfied with any of these derivations.

The tower and body of Twickenham church are of very different ages and styles. The tower is of stone in the early Perpendicular style, and is supposed to have been built about the middle of the fourteenth century. The body, however, to which this tower appertained fell down (through neglect) in 1713, and was rebuilt of brick by John James, the architect of St. George's, Hanover Square, and seemingly according to the same pattern. It is very solid and very ugly, and it is difficult to understand how Sir Godfrey Kneller, who as churchwarden employed John James, could have seen any "artistic merit" in the design. The interior has, however, within the last ten years been slightly improved by decorations in the Byzantine style. The only brass the church contains is one to Richard Burton, chief cook to Henry VI. A.D. 1443. One other interesting monument, that seems only to have lost its canopy at the time the church fell, may here be noticed. It is erected to the memory of Francis Poulton and his wife in 1643, and consists of their two half-length figures in baked clay, appropriately coloured and costumed, the man as a lawyer of the period (he was a Bencher of Lincoln's Inn), bareheaded, with a ruff and black gown tufted with velvet; whilst the wife has a wimple and gown with puffed sleeves. They each have one hand on a skull.

On the exterior of the church are votive tablets to

Kitty Clive the actress, who died here in 1785, Pope's nurse Mary Beach (1725), and Thomas Twining 1741, the founder of the well-known bankers and tea-merchants in the Strand, some of whose descendants have ever since resided in Twickenham, and to whose munificent philanthropy and liberality Twickenham owes its economic museum and hospital.

The registers of the church are very full and complete, commencing in the year 1538, 30 Henry VIII. when (as is well-known) the keeping of them was first strictly enjoined. On the last page of the first and oldest volume of these registers are two curious memoranda showing how differences were then settled without the aid of lawyers :

The iiiij. day of Aprell in 1568 in the presence of *the hole paryshe* of Twyenam was agreement made betwyxt Mr. Packer and his wyffe and Hew Ryte and Sicylye Daye of a slander brought up by the sayde Ryte and Sicylye Daye upon the afore-sayde Mr. Packer.

The xi. daye of Aprell in 1568 was agreement made betwyxt Thomas Whytt and James Heane, and have consented that whosoever geueth occasion of the breakyng of Christen love and charytye betwyxt them to forfeitt to the *poor of the paryshe* iij s. iiiij d. beyng dewelye proved.

Otherwise these registers afford little interest to other than genealogists, and after all the perpetuation of the annals of families is their chief use, as indeed we learn from some lines inscribed in these very registers by a quondam curate of the parish :—

. A Parish Register ;
How few exceed this boundary of Fame,
Known to the world by some things more than name !

This tells us when they're born and when they die ;
What more ? Why this is all their history :
Enough if Virtue filled the space between,
Proved by the ends of being to have been.

But the Minutes of the vestry and churchwardens accounts, which are for the most part in good preservation, and date respectively from A.D. 1606 and A.D. 1618, are of more public interest, and as throwing light on the events of the seventeenth century I am tempted to give some extracts. Amongst the receipts for 1631 and other years are sums, usually about 6*s.* 6*d.*, paid by other parishes (Teddington, Cranford, and others) "for the loan of the parish pewter," meaning, it would seem, the sacramental plate.

In 1632 the outgoing churchwardens made an inventory of the parish goods, which they handed over to their successors in office :—

A greater silver and gilt cuppe, with the cover given by Mr. Hollingsworth ; a lesser silver cuppe, with a cover ; two pewter flaggons ; a greene velvet cushion for the pulpitt ; greene carpett for the communion table ; blacke cloth for the funeralls ; one joyned chest ; two joyned stooles : one little chest with two locks ; one diaper table-cloth for the communion table.

It will be observed that there are no copes or other vestments.

Throughout this century there are entries of moneys paid by the churchwardens for the sacramental bread and wine, which show that the communion was then administered only five times a year, viz., Michaelmas, Whitsuntide, Bartholomewtide, Christmas, and Easter; and that the number of communicants was least at the first-named feast, and increased at each feast in

the order above-mentioned. There is a curious entry in 1657 (in the year before Oliver Cromwell's death),

That it was mooted in the vestry whether the clarke of the parishe be servant to y^e minister or to y^e parishe or noe, and whether y^e clarke shall sette y^e Psalms in y^e absence of y^e minister; as allsoe which order shall be taken for readinge y^e Scriptures publickly in y^e church.

In 1659 there is an entry of 1*l.* 10*s.* paid for painting and putting up the king's arms in the church.

In 1687 there is an entry :

Paid for the book of thanksgiving for the queen's being with childe, 1*s.*

This child was the Pretender.

In April 1676 a parish officer was appointed to secure the town against vagabones, beggars, and other persons harbouring in barnes or outhouses, also to prevent theefing and robbing.

But this officer does not appear to have been very efficient, for in April 1683 a butcher was robbed of 18*l.* on his way to Brentford market; and as appears from these accounts, the hundred of Heston, Isleworth, and Twickenham had to make good his loss.

In 1698 we find,

Pd old Thomlins, for fetching home the church gates, being thrown into y^e Thames in the night by drunkards, 2*s.* 6*d.*

The churchwardens were in the habit of paying for the destruction of vermin. In 1773 and 1774 are the items respectively—

Pd for 54 hedgehogs, 18*s.*

,, 4 polecats, 1*s.* 4*d.*

And similar entries occur frequently from time to time until recently.

In 1790 there is an entry “that a whipping-post be erected at the workhouse immediately.” Whether this was to apply Duke Humphrey of Gloucester’s test of impotent folk does not appear.

The first notable residents at Twickenham that I shall mention were also the earliest in point of time—I mean the “nuns” of Syon. Syon Monastery was founded in Twickenham Park by Henry V. in 1415. By his charter of that date he “did found, ordain, and for ever establish a certain monastery of the Order of St. Augustine, called of St. Saviour, of sixty nuns or sisters in a certain forest of land of our demesne of our manor of Isleworth, within the parish of Twickenham, in the county of Middlesex, under the name of the Monastery of St. Saviour and St. Bridget of Syon, of the Order of St. Augustine.” The nuns remained in their Twickenham abode until 1431, when by leave of Henry VI. they removed to a larger edifice built by them in Isleworth parish—the present “Syon”—afterwards called Syon House, and made the residence of the Dukes of Northumberland; and on the summit of one turret of which now stands the lion formerly over the gateway of Northumberland House at Charing Cross. Two deeds relating to the affairs of this monastery, while it was located in Twickenham, have been preserved in Twickenham parish-chest. They both bear date in the year 1444, and one of them has a richly illuminated initial letter, in excellent preservation, and

of great beauty, whilst both have the conventional seal attached.

The next illustrious resident in Twickenham Park, was Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam, who lived here some years in what was then called Twickenham Park House, which stood very near the site of Syon Nunnery. Here he spent much of his leisure time; and here, in 1592, he was honoured by a visit from Queen Elizabeth, to whom he presented a sonnet in praise of the Earl of Essex. Lord Verulam sold the estate in 1596. In 1668 it came into the possession of Lord Berkeley of Stratton, so styled from his victory at Stratton over the Roundheads, to whom there is a fine monument in Twickenham church. This nobleman was of the same family as the Fitzhardinge Berkeleys. The house afterwards passed through the hands of many noblemen, but its last noble occupier was Field-Marshal Lord Frederick Cavendish, shortly after whose death, in 1803, it was pulled down, and its site sold for building purposes. Near its site was erected, by the late Lord Kilmorey, a house, which he called St. Margaret's, but which is now converted into a school for the education of female children of naval officers. I think the present use of this land is likely to be of more benefit to the community than the first use by the nuns.

Going westward we next come to Cambridge House, built about 1610 by Sir Humphrey Lynd, a zealous Puritan, but deriving its name from its most celebrated occupant, Richard Owen Cambridge, author of the *Scribleriod*, and many other literary

works, and the valued friend of Horace Walpole, Dr. Johnson, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Garrick, and Lord North. A pleasant story is told of him *à propos* to his contributions to a periodical of that age, called "The World," a prototype of the existing publication of that name. As Mr. Cavendish was going to church one Sunday morning, a paper was put into his hands requesting an essay. His wife observing him rather inattentive during the sermon, whispered, "What *are* you thinking of?" He replied, "Of the next world, my dear." This house was afterwards the residence of Mr. Bevan, the banker, and is now occupied by his daughter, Lady John Chichester. To a house built by Archdeacon Cambridge, Mr. R. O. Cambridge's son, in the meadows at a little distance, an observatory was added by Mr. Bishop, whose astronomical reputation is well known in these days.

Marble Hill, or Marble Hall, may be next noticed. This was built for the Countess of Suffolk at the expense of George II., and the then Earl of Pembroke designed the building and superintended its erection. The gardens were laid out by Pope, the cellar was stocked by Dean Swift, and the poet Gay was so constant a resident there that a suite of rooms were named Mr. Gay's rooms. This house was afterwards inhabited for many years by the Marquis Wellesley, and from 1824 by General Peel. Little Marble Hill, close by, was formerly the residence of Lady Diana Beauclerk, a well-known artist, and the wife of Topham Beauclerk, Dr. Johnson's friend.

We next come to Orleans House, at present used by the Orleans' Club but formerly inhabited by Louis

Philippe, and afterwards owned by his son, the Duc d'Aumale, into whose possession it would seem, from the turn affairs are now taking in France, that it is not improbable it will revert. But it has a far earlier history. In 1650 it—as being then in the occupation of one Andrew Pitcairne, a groom of the bedchamber to Charles I.—was confiscated, and is fully described in the Parliamentary Survey of Crown property then made. It is there described as a pleasant and delightful tenement about twenty poles from the river, built partly with brick and partly with timber, and Flemish wall, with comely chambers; the gardens, not only rare for pleasure but exceedingly profitable, being planted with cabbages, turnips, and carrots, *and many other such-like creatures*, together with sixteen acres of cherry gardens. In 1694 the young Duke of Gloucester, the son of Queen Anne, then Princess of Denmark, was sent to reside there for his health. He took with him a regiment of boys, whom he used to drill on an ait then opposite the house, but which has since become annexed to the mainland. The air of Twickenham, however, failed to restore him to health, and he died there at the early age of twelve years.

In 1720 it was leased to James Johnstone, the Secretary of State for Scotland, who pulled down the old house, and erected the present structure. He built the large octagon room at the end of the house especially for the reception and entertainment of Queen Caroline, consort of George II., who visited him there. Considering that at the time of this visit she must have well known that at the distance of

some three hundred yards Marble Hall was being erected at her husband's expense, for her former lady of the bedchamber, Lady Suffolk, some curious, perhaps envious, feeling about the new house may well have had part in bringing about this visit. Mount Lebanon, so named from its magnificent cedars, and for one hundred and fifty years belonging to the Byng family, and afterwards for twenty years to the Dukes of Northumberland, was occupied by the Prince de Joinville down to the time of his return to France, in 18—. The next large house, York House, was at the same time occupied by his nephew, the Comte de Paris. This house, however, has earlier boasted of yet more illustrious inmates. It was given by Charles II., soon after the Restoration, to Lord Chancellor Clarendon, on the public announcement of that nobleman's daughter's marriage with the Duke of York, afterwards James II., and in this house were born the Princesses Mary and Anne, successively Queens of England. It was not wonderful, therefore, that the Princess Anne should have supposed that her native air might have proved beneficial to her son, the young Duke of Gloucester, whose visit to the almost adjoining Orleans House in search of health I have already noticed. York House now belongs to Mr. Grant Duff.

Opposite the church are the remains of the old manor house, called “Arragon House” and “Arragon Tower,” it being reported that Catherine of Arragon lived there after her divorce; and, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, I am disposed to assume that this name would not have been given to the

house arbitrarily, or without reason. Certain it is that this house, together with the manor, was part of the jointure of another of Henry the Eighth's queens, viz., Catherine Parr, and also of Henrietta Maria, queen of Charles I., and also of Catherine of Braganza, queen of Charles II. The last-named queen resided there occasionally. This house has been long severed from the manor of Twickenham, upon which I may here make some observations, as it has rather a curious history and incidents. It is very uncommon for one manor to be parcel of another manor, but the manor of Twickenham appears originally to have been parcel of the manor of Isleworth. In a record of 1301, Twickenham is mentioned as a hamlet "berewicus," appendant to the manor of Isleworth. There are two manors of Isleworth, viz., Isleworth Syon, belonging to the Dukes of Northumberland, and Isleworth Rectory, belonging to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. But Isleworth Syon is by far the larger and more important; and in the parish of Twickenham more land is holden of the manor of Isleworth Syon than either of the other two manors, whilst, curiously enough, Twickenham Manor extends into Heston and Isleworth. The customs of Twickenham Manor are primogeniture and an arbitrary fine, whereas those of Isleworth Syon are borough English and an extra quit-rent called "dycyng," levied from all the tenants; and it is very singular that from these two manors, originally so intimately connected, should have been evolved such diverse and discordant customs. The first mention we have of the manor of Twickenham as an independent manor is in the will

of one Warberdus, a priest, by which (A.D. 830) eight hides of land, with y^e manor of Twitham, in Middlesex (which had been granted to him) were given to the Church of Canterbury. The monks seem, however, either not to have obtained possession of this bequest, or to have lost it again, for we find that King Eldred, by his charter (A.D. 948), gave to the same monks “y^e manor of Twiccanham, in the county of Middlesex, with its appurtenances.” The manor, however, again fell into the hands of the Crown, when the Church was despoiled by Henry VIII. As I have already observed, it formed part of the jointure of Queen Catherine, Henrietta Maria, and Catherine of Braganza. The last-named queen leased the manor to Lord Rochester, who assigned it to Lord Bolingbroke, on whose attainder, in 1715, it was forfeited to the Crown. Thenceforward the manor was in lease to various individuals until 1855, when it was sold to Charles Osborne, who resold it to T. Wisden, Esq. in whose family this manor is at the present time vested. Passing by Grove House,—where lived and died successively the Duke of Wharton, whom Pope describes “as the scorn and wonder of our age,” possessing

“. . . . each gift of nature and of art
And wanting nothing but an honest heart.”

and James Craggs, who succeeded Addison in 1718 as Secretary of State, died here in 1720, and was buried in Westminster Abbey, Pope furnishing the epitaph to his monument,—we come to Pope’s Villa. Pope’s fame is so well established that it would be a work of supererogation to mention here more than

his connection with Twickenham. He is as Macaulay terms him “the man of Twickenham,” and in his (and Horace Walpole’s) time the fame of Twickenham as the abode of literary and distinguished personages was at its zenith. Pope settled in Twickenham in 1718, in the thirtieth year of his age. His father had just died at Chiswick, but Pope brought with him to Twickenham his aged mother; and began, with funds partly derived from his father’s estate, partly supplied by his own literary labour,* to rebuild and improve a house and five acres of ground, of which he had taken a long lease. The grounds were laid out with great ingenuity, so as to amplify the space, and delight the eye with variety of pleasing vistas; and, as the greater portion was situate on the opposite side of the high road to the house, he formed his celebrated grotto to serve as a subterranean connection between them. He is said to have laid out 5,000*l.* on the grotto and garden alone. The grotto remains to this day, though stripped of its ornaments of marble, spar, gems, &c.; but the house has long been rased to the ground, though very near its site stands a nondescript Swiss Chinese villa, called “Pope’s Villa,” at present inhabited by Mr. Labouchere, M.P. In this locality Pope lived and wrote from 1718, to his death in 1744, in most congenial society. Swift, Gay, Arbuthnot, Warburton, and Atterbury were constant visitors; Lord Bolingbroke, Lord Peterborough, and, for a short time, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, his neighbours and associates. But the caricature of his

* The *Iliad* alone, which was begun in 1715 and finished in 1720, brought him in 5,000*l.*

house, the despoiled grotto, and the tablets in the church to the memory of his nurse, his parents, and himself, are all the relics that Twickenham has to show of her great man. The inscription on the tablet to Pope written by Warburton is very poor in style and expression, and might even now be well replaced by one more worthy its object.

ALEXANDRO POPE

M. H

Gulielmus Episcopus Gloucestriensis

Amicitia causâ fac. eur.

M.DCC.LXI.

Poeta loquitur

For one who would not be buried

In Westminster Abbey :

Heroes and Kings ! *your distance keep,*

In peace let one poor poet sleep

Who never flattered folks like you ;

Let Horace blush, and Virgil too.

Pope's monument is, however, side by side with that of one hero, Admiral Chaloner Ogle.

Pope died in 1744, and in 1747 Horace Walpole—the famous author, antiquarian, and dilettante—came to Strawberry Hill, then a cottage with five acres of ground attached, of which he had bought the fag-end of a lease. The next year he bought the freehold, together with some more adjoining land, and began to turn the cottage into a castle. Everybody has heard of Strawberry Hill, with its brick and mortar turrets, its Gothic windows, and its lath-and-plaster walls. It has, as a building, been warmly praised and bitterly abused ; but it has been well said that

the pleasure in seeing Strawberry Hill supersedes censure, and criticism wishes to be deceived. A love for the Gothic has been carried to the length of adopting as chimney-pieces, in various rooms, copies of celebrated Gothic tombs in Westminster Abbey and Canterbury Cathedral; whilst the windows, ceilings, and doorways in many other cathedrals and chapter-houses have been extensively plagiarised. Here Horace Walpole lived chiefly from 1747 until his death in 1797. He spent the time that was not devoted to literature in filling Strawberry Hill with curios of every description—pictures, miniatures, enamels, missals, ivory, and jewelled cups and shrines, old china, old armour, old furniture, besides many antique busts, statuary, bronze, mosaics, and lachrymatories. Macaulay wrote of it: “Every apartment is a museum; every piece of furniture is a curiosity. There is something strange in the form of the shovel; there is a long story belonging to the bell-rope. We wander among a profusion of rarities of trifling intrinsic value, but so quaint a fashion, or connected with such remarkable names and events, that they may well detain our attention for a moment. A moment is enough. Some new relic, some new unique, some new carved work, some new enamel, is forthcoming in an instant. One cabinet of trinkets is no sooner closed than another is opened.”

Lord Macaulay was, however, mistaken in his estimate of the value of this collection, for in 1842 the celebrated George Robins disposed of it, in a twenty-three days' sale, for the large sum of 33,468*l.*. One suit of armour alone fetched 320*l.*; and some

twenty or thirty miniatures by Oliver Hilliard Cooper and Petitot, which then found their way at large prices into the Bale and Hamilton collections, were, at the dispersion of those collections at Christie's, in 1881 and 1882, bought at still larger prices by the late John Jones, and now form part of the collection shown in his name at the South Kensington Museum. Horace Walpole was not only a distinguished archaeologist, but also a sprightly writer. Here, at Strawberry Hill, surrounded by all his archaeological treasures, he produced in succession the Castle of Otranto, the Lives of Painters and Engravers, Royal and Noble Authors, and last, but not least, his Letters. Here he gathered round him a social circle, which included Garrick, Mrs. Pritchard, Kitty Clive, Paul Whitehead, the two Misses Berry, General Conway, the Ladies Suffolk and Diana Beauclerk, George Selwyn, and many other distinguished noblemen and literati of that day. He succeeded, in his seventy-third year, to the Earldom of Oxford, but he never would assume the title, nor did he ever take his seat in the House of Lords. After his death, Strawberry Hill came into the possession of the Waldegrave family, and it was the seventh Earl Waldegrave who sold its contents in 1842. His widow, however, after her third marriage with Admiral Harcourt, bought back, when and where she could, many of the articles so dispersed in 1842, and at her death in 1879 bequeathed them with the house, which she had completely renovated, enlarged, and decorated, to her fourth husband, the present Lord Carlingford. Space fails me adequately to chronicle

many other worthies of Twickenham. Henry Fielding, the novelist (whose house is still shown), wrote here Tom Jones. Dr. Donne, the poet; Robert Boyle, the philosopher; Bishop Stillingfleet, Sir John Hawkins, author of the History of Music; Hudson (who had Sir Joshua Reynolds for a pupil), Scott, and Marlow, the painters, all lived and flourished here, as did Dr. Radcliffe, the physician, and Sir Godfrey Kneller, who built Kneller Hall, now used as a Government training-school for army bandsmen and bandmasters; whilst in later and more recent times J. M. W. Turner, the painter, and Alfred Tennyson, the poet, lived and worked here for years. There have been many other personages, notable in their day, resident at Twickenham, whom I cannot even enumerate here; but I trust that this notice of Twickenham and its worthies, brief and imperfect as it necessarily has been, will not be unacceptable to the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society.

EARLY RECOLLECTIONS OF WEST-MINSTER HALL.

BY

HENRY POOLE,

MASTER MASON OF WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

[Read at Evening Meeting 9th April, 1883.]

UP to 1818, the Courts of King's Bench and Chancery were held in a cancellated wooden inclosure, erected on a raised platform at the south end of the interior of the Hall. It projected nearly forty feet from the south wall, and occupied the whole width of the southernmost bay of King Richard II.'s building. The two piers beyond the southernmost side windows and the arch resting on them, once contained a large window similar to that at the north end of the Hall. These features were thereby its southern end, which it is well to note at this point. The alterations are due to the additions made by Sir Charles Barry.

This wooden inclosure rose to a little above the springing line of the south window. It inclosed two large courts, between which was a passage, reached by a flight of steps, opening into the two courts east and west, with a higher ascent southward beneath the great window, thus connecting the Hall with the Houses of Lords and Commons.

For additional access southwards and on the floor of the Hall were wide passages against the walls, through two openings in the thick-end wall, communicating with other passages, one leading into Old Palace Yard.

The inclosure presented a pseudo-Gothic front, answering to what is now called the Batty Langley style, A.D. 1700. In the centre was an arched doorway, and on each side a semi-octagonal breast, having three windows and two storeys. Taken altogether it was by no means bad of its kind. I well remember its demolition in 1820, and afterwards I myself helped to remove the massive flight of steps which remained *in situ*, till the preparations in the Hall began to be made for the coronation of King George IV.

At and previous to that time the Hall was surrounded on three sides by buildings. At the south end were the parliamentary buildings. On the east side were the Cloister Court of St. Stephen's Chapel, the Speaker's House and Court, and some official houses. The north front had been cleared of attachments which had once spoiled it. The west side was invested by some ancient Elizabethan buildings used as offices of the Exchequer, and south of them were the Courts of Law, with apartments forming the long western frontage of the King's Bench Record Office.

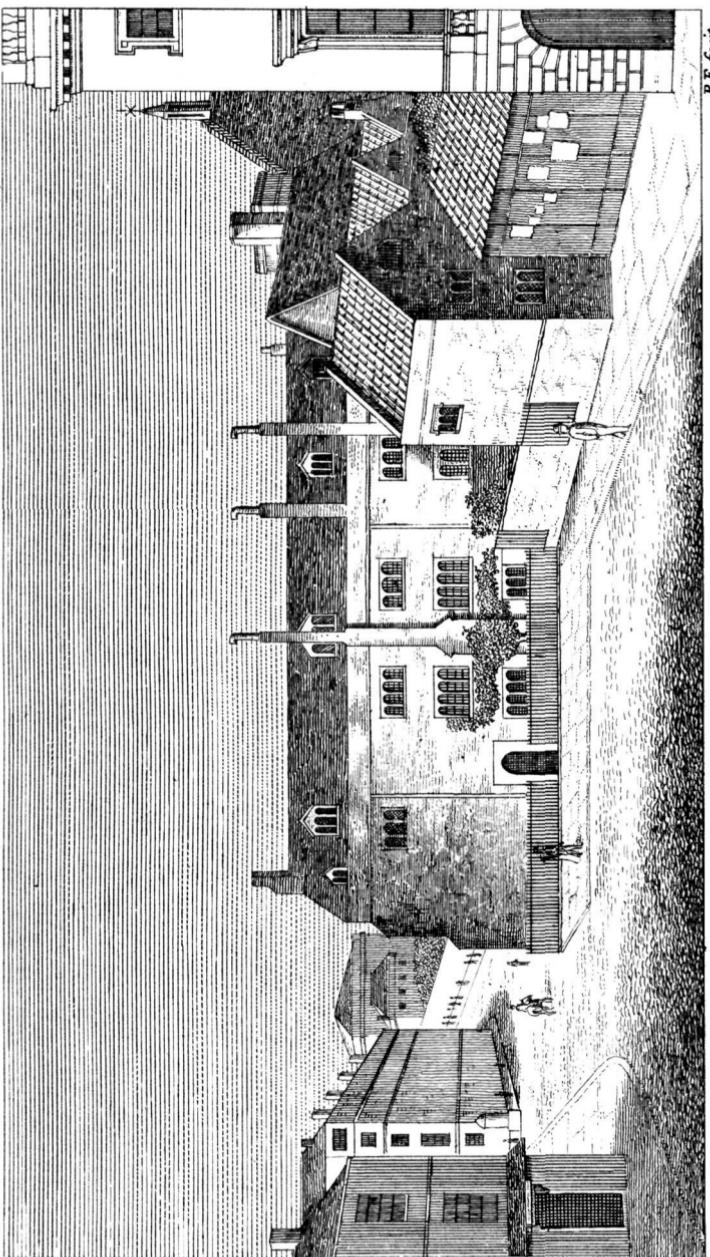
This western frontage had been erected by William Kent, the architect of the Board of Works, about 1740. It was a range of buildings in the Italian style, with a handsome frontage towards St. Margaret's Street, having five windows. It had also a flank façade towards Old Palace Yard, extending to the

older front of the Houses of Parliament. At the junction of these façades was a square corner tower, with western and southern windows. The great fire of 1834 destroyed the tower and the flank buildings.

Kent's building was evidently designed for subsequent extension northward, by adding two bays and a square tower similar to that at the southern end, and a flank building to connect that tower with the northern front of the Hall. This is indicated, so far as the tower and connected bays are concerned, by a pretty drawing made in 1793, as engraved in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, which shows the frontage as far as Kent had carried it, but leaving a large area occupied only by the judges' stables and coach-houses, of which the drawing shows the wooden gates and tiled roofs. This spot became occupied by a pediment central breast and the intended third bay and tower, built by Soane eighty years afterwards.

The old Courts of Law inside and west of the Hall had become unfit for the constantly increasing judicial business of the great Metropolis. In 1820 Mr. Soane (afterwards Sir John) was appointed by the Government as architect of the new Courts of Law. He at once made a plan and designed an elevation in the Italian style, and proceeded to carry it out, having probably previously obtained the approbation of the judges and law officers. But this plan and elevation were criticised by some influential Members of Parliament. This led to the appointment of a small "Committee of Taste," as it was called, and to a reduction of the plan and an alteration of the design, of which only the northern square tower and its connections

Gent. Mag. Suppl. 1806. Pt. I. p. 185



WESTMINSTER HALL IN 1793.

(From the *Gentleman's Magazine*)

P.F. scat.

were retained for the sake of symmetry with Kent's southern building. The remainder of the elevation was altered from the Italian to the Gothic style of King Richard II.

This was thought at the time to be a severe rebuke to Mr. Soane, for it at once led to a demolition of much of the building, which he had carried up on his own plan and in the Italian style. Soane was certainly not the man to bear calmly any interference. I well remember seeing him gently thrust aside a chief clerk in the Foreign Office who ventured to make a suggestion while he was planning, with his clerk of the works, some important alterations to the building in Downing Street, when Canning was succeeding Lord Castlereagh as Foreign Minister.

It is not unlikely (and I think I remember a rumour) that other assistance was obtained by the "Committee of Taste" for the Gothic elevation beyond the square tower. The elder Pugin was then becoming well known; and he, about two years afterwards, published a beautiful drawing of the building as it was carried out; it therefore seems probable that this was the original design approved by the said Committee of Taste. This engraving is now to be seen in Crace's collection of prints in the King's Library at the British Museum.

Between the back of the buildings of Kent and the west wall of the Great Hall, Soane was required to build the new Law Courts, on a space of about 240 feet long and 60 feet wide. With this very limited area, between high buildings on all sides, he overcame difficulties in respect of light, ventilation, and

access to the Courts, which at the conclusion of the works became a theme of approbation and admiration. All the interior was of the Italian style, and had his own individuality stamped upon it, and it was well suited to the purposes and dignity of the Courts, although it seems to have had few imitators. His models and his drawings were excellent. Many of the former, of the most refined character, I have seen and admired in the works of Mr. Palmer, the modeller and plasterer of Smith Square, and also his models for the grand royal entrance to the House of Lords, which he executed only a few years afterwards.

Mr. Soane began by making several doorways in the western wall of the Hall, opening into a corridor outside of that wall, extending the whole length of it, and under the arched flyers between the attached buttresses and the wall. In connection with this corridor he built, most ingeniously, eight courts on the ground floor, with other courts and rooms above. The six large buttresses sadly obstructed his operations, but he managed to retain them, and to case them in as walls. Probably all the pinnacles of these buttresses had been removed before.

In the formation of the long corridor the whole outer surface of the western wall between and above the doors was lined with thin ashlar. Wherever an ancient Norman buttress came in the way that also was cased with thin ashlar. By this means a series of piers was made,* and their tops were formed as abutments for large arches, segmental and pointed.

* These piers and arches have been found since this was written to be ancient work of King Richard II.

Thus was gained a wall surface consistent with the ancient work ; and while it appeared as a wall arcade it served as a support to the flat which covered the corridor. In some cases the Norman buttresses have had their lower parts cut wholly away, and the parts above have had massive stone corbels inserted to support those upper parts. In some instances the Norman buttress has wholly disappeared.

The removal of the buildings on the west side of the Hall has revealed parts of the long hidden detached buttresses of King Richard II. Five of the flyers of the connected arch buttresses appear to be in fair preservation and tolerably complete. The restoration needful will be considerable, but it may probably be effected without the removal of any one of the structures. The pinnacles of all are entirely lost ; but Brayley and Britton's excellent work, *The Palace of Westminster*, shows a corresponding buttress then existing in the Speaker's Court on the east side of the Hall, with the pinnacle included ; this buttress was necessarily removed by Sir Charles Barry, as it was useless and in the way of his works of the New Palace. At present none of the lower parts of these buttresses are exposed, for the Contractor has not been allowed to approach too near to the ancient structure.

Of the five Norman buttresses which were intermediate with the detached buttresses of Richard II. only two remain ; and of the others against which the arched flyers abutted the lower parts have been destroyed and their upper parts have been left, and

in most cases converted into corbels through which the flyers interpenetrate and are incorporated.

It is satisfactory to find that the archivolts of the flying buttresses are in good condition, and that their springers are exposed. The archivolts rest on moulded corbels, under which are grotesque animals with wings or legs, and seem to be almost perfect, or requiring but little repair. It may be hoped that the sixth, and southernmost detached buttress will be found in part, at least its footing.

One of the doorways cut through—that under the second window from the north end—has been abandoned, and so (the wall surface in the Hall having been restored) the opening has been concealed.

The question naturally arises now as to what will be done with the large area about to be cleared, and what will be done towards the completion of the wall and other parts.

The external display of the windows on the western side, joined to what remains of the five arched flying buttresses, is already very grand; and when the windows are in the evening dimly illuminated from the gas-lights within the Hall, the effect is most pleasing.

The parapet of the wall has been lowered, in former times, to the greatest extent possible; it is now apparently but a little above the gutter, and it is covered by a common coping of stone. Thus the enormous surface of the roof of slate has become fully exposed from ridge almost to drip, except that there are the modern excrescences of dormer windows, which, although useful in throwing light into

the interior and on to the timber-work inside the roof, are, whether seen from the outside or from within, inconsistent and intrusive.

The absence of a proper parapet is the cause of this unsatisfactory appearance of the building on both west and east exteriors.

The authority for a restoration of the parapet is to be found in Hollar's prints. In these the parapets are shown adorned with grand battlements, resting evidently on a bold string course of stone. These two features at once give propriety as well as beauty to the roof, and there seems to be no alternative but to carry out that restoration.

The same old drawings show that the ancient roof was covered with lead in wide sheets with roll junctions. This fact is confirmed by a censorious letter, written in 1750, to the *London Gazette*, protesting vigorously against the removal of the lead from the roof of Westminster Hall, and the substitution of slate for it, as proposed by the Board of Works. Nevertheless in August of that year the lead was removed and its weight of 10,000 pounds was reported. The writer in the *Gazette* charged the authorities with bad motives.

The restoration of the Norman buttresses should also form a portion of the new work.

The full restoration of the wall must of necessity take place, inclusive of the filling with ashlar all Soane's doorways, both outside and inside. It might be desirable to retain one of those doorways as a western access. A similar access to the nave of the Abbey from the north green is an improvement to the front towards the public way.

The full development of the six detached buttresses and of the ten Norman buttresses will necessitate the lowering of the ground, down perhaps to the level of the floor of the Hall, thus undwarfing the western wall and restoring its original height and dignity. The effect of a sunken garden or grass-plot will be quite as pleasing as that which surrounds the Natural History Museum at South Kensington.

There are many, perhaps, who would prefer to abolish the dormer windows because they are modern and intrusive. If they can be hidden outside to a great extent by the proposed battlemented parapet, it will be well. But the interior of the Hall requires as much light as it has at present, and the beautiful roof was, I remember, brought pleasantly into view when the diffused light of those twenty-four dormers was gained. The beautiful heraldic stained glass of Willament in the south window has darkened that end of the Hall by diminishing the daylight by more than one-half.

The grandeur of the view of the Victoria Tower at the extreme end of the north front, and the west side of Westminster Hall at the near end, with the intermediate buildings on the east side of Old Palace Yard, all as seen from the Parliament Street approach, has an effect upon the mind which warrants its being called "One of the finest sites in Europe."

This will doubtless lead eventually to an improvement of the eastern and northern sides of the church of St. Margaret, which now presents on all sides bald and mean façades, and these at a moderate cost

might be made harmonious with the improvements opposite and adjacent.

The appearance of Westminster Hall, when built by King William Rufus, may have been of the simplest character, with the present walls on the four sides, triplicate doorways at the north end, the central doorway being a grand one. When the north end was examined by Mr. Sydney Smirke, indications of this triple entrance were seen. There were in each side wall twelve large Norman windows, nearly in the positions of the present windows ; and between these were twelve small windows, making altogether forty-eight. In the repairs carried out by Sir Robert Smirke, assisted by his younger brother Sydney (afterwards Sir Sydney), the interesting remains of the windows were brought to light. Mr. Sydney Smirke wrote a very elaborate account of them, accompanied by drawings, all of which have a place in the *Archaeologia* (of 1834-5-6). Every window was of the Norman type, having a circular head and pillared jambs.

The large windows had annulets in the middle of their jamb pillars. With the lower range of these pillars the small window pillars were coincident; each jamb of the small windows had two pillars in front, and two behind them. (See illustration, plate 40, page 492, Brayley.) The interior of this window wall was pierced by a low passage arched over, continuing through all the piers. This passage may have been continuous also throughout the north and south ends, for at the south-west corner there existed indications of a Norman arch which may have been one of a range of windows at the south end.*

* See Britton and Brayley, plate 39.

How the Hall of Rufus was covered there is no evidence. Shingles were used in other parts of the Palace. Sir Sydney Smirke has suggested that the roof was in three spans, supported by pillars. In such a case the middle span would be both wider and higher than the sides. The market halls of Rouen, of a little later date, are thus constructed, the intermediate floor and also the roof being upheld by a range of pillars.

The two Smirkes sought earnestly for some signs of supports under the floor, but with no result.

In the early history of the Hall it is related that there was at the south end and the west or Chancery side a large marble table twelve feet long and three feet wide, and over against it a marble chair was placed, both being on the floor. The Canterbury chair may be a type of this. When the two courts of King's Bench and of Chancery were erected on a raised platform the chair and table became disused and lost, for in 1666 search was made without any result. Probably the requirements in the repairs and decoration of the Palace may have led to both objects being used.

In Edward Hall's Black Letter Chronicles, 1548, in the passage following the account of "kynge Edward y^e fyfth borne in sanctuariye," it is related as follows:—"The Kentyshmen thys season, whose wittes be euer mouable at the chaunge of Prynnes, came to the subberbes of London, & spoyled houses, robbed berehouses, and by the counsayll of Sir Geffray Gates & other sentuary men they brake up the kinges Benche, & deliuered prisoners, which fel

at Radcliffe, Limehouse, & S. Katherines to burning of houses, slaughter of people," &c.

This expression of the King's Bench seems to mean the large table of marble, which, by the violence of the Kentish men was thenceforward rendered useless, and perhaps was soon made into material for works at the Palace ; and so the search made for it in 1666, as related by Dugdale, was fruitless.

As to what extent the Hall was decorated before the time of King Richard II. little is known. In the time of Edward I. there is a record of its being white-washed and decorated. And in Edward II.'s time there was placed a *dorsorium* of wool, wrought with the figures of the King and Earls. Perhaps large tapestries may have been suspended from the triforium gallery.

King Richard II. found the walls settled and unsound, the roof (perhaps shingled) racked and probably rotten ; its supports unsafe, and the floor unpaved. He cleared away all the roof, made the walls thicker by the addition of one foot seven inches, and higher by the addition of two feet.* He then erected on the west side six detached buttresses, to give support to as many arched flying buttresses, which, with their straight tops, sloped up nearly to

* After this passage was written the stripping of the lower part of walls on its outside has shown that the alleged thickening of the wall to the extent of one foot seven inches has been misleading and is erroneous. The expression evidently applies to the thickening of the lower part only, by a series of wide piers between which arches are constructed ; over all the wall is continued a little higher, and upon it rested roofs or floors of important buildings added by King Richard II. and his successors.

the top of the parapet. He treated the east side similarly, but with fewer buttresses, because of there being already buildings partly superseding the support of buttresses. He decorated and weighted the detached buttresses with large pinnacles.

He then proceeded to erect one of the finest timber roofs that has ever existed, spanning the whole width of the Hall, strengthened by hammer-beam trusses, ingeniously and beautifully formed. This roof he covered with thick lead, with rolls, as distinctly shown in Hollar's drawing. In carrying up the walls he abolished all the twenty-four small Norman windows, and changed the style of the twenty-four larger ones to that of his period. He carried up the enormous gable-ends, as became necessary for the high roof, with gable-turrets at the ends, and an intermediate lantern of wood to serve as a chimney for the log-fire, and to ventilate the interior. The parapets he surmounted with grand battlement work.

At the south end he introduced a grand window, having numerous compartments with elaborate tracery above. At the north end he made a similar window, and, abolishing the simple porch of Rufus, he erected in the thick wall the gracefully arched and groined porch which we now see.

And lastly he laid a pavement of Purbeck stone throughout the extent of the floor, first displacing the rude and primitive clay floor with its deposit of black earth accumulated, as Sir Sydney Smirke thought, by the strewing of rushes according to the custom of the three centuries since Rufus. This clearance of clay and black earth made the Purbeck stone floor some distance lower than the former floor.

He appears to have made all this complete, excepting a portion of the eastern tower, which his successor finished, so that the names of the two kings, Richard II. and Henry IV., have ever since been applied to these towers.

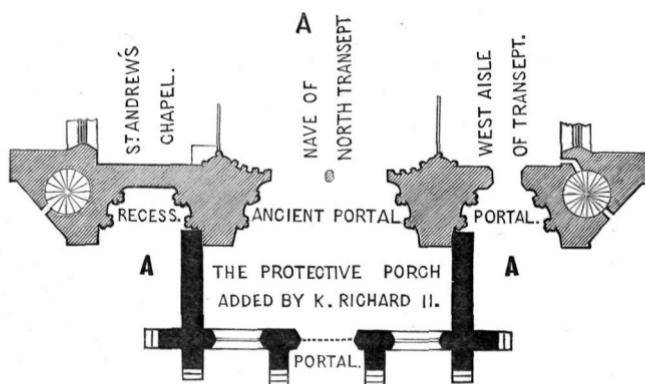
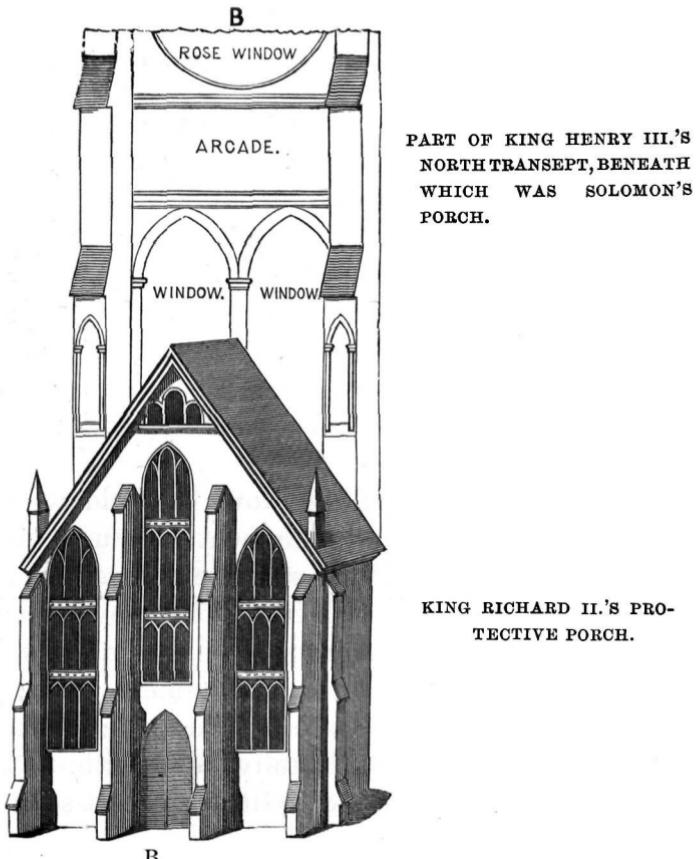
King Richard's quarrels and troubles culminated in his imprisonment in the Tower of London, where he made a formal renunciation of the throne, appointing as his successor Henry, Duke of Lancaster. On the next day, the last of September 1399, the two Houses of Parliament met in Westminster Hall, which King Richard had just before so lovingly restored, and by their vote confirmed his resignation and the appointment of King Henry IV. as his successor. His death in Pontefract Castle, where he was a prisoner, occurred in the following spring, and he was buried in Westminster Abbey, near the shrine of the Confessor, in the same tomb which he had made six years before for his wife, "the good Queen Anne" of Bohemia.

I may mention by the way that Richard II.'s love for Westminster Abbey is shown by several marks left there. None, perhaps, more important, (though so little known,) than the enclosing wall, full of lofty and wide windows which he built to protect from the destructive effects of weather the famous "Solomon's Porch" at the north side of the Abbey. After the exposure of nearly a century and a half this porch must, in its delicate and intricate work, have suffered so much that no protection could have been so suitable as that simple and capacious inclosure which we see in Hollar's north prospect. With so large an amount of bright light thereby admitted the splendour of the

porch was hardly abated, and the utmost possible amount of light seems to have been secured, as well as the utmost protection. In those days the phrase "dim religious light" had not been coined; and, even if it had been, there would not have been the mistake made, as in these days, of darkening so many churches and cathedrals, which has dimmed the architecture and spoiled the light so much needed for the Church service. The dim religious light of the evening ought not to prevail throughout bright daylight.

This protective building of King Richard's, shown in Dugdale's *Monasticon* or Dart's *Westminster*, north side of Abbey (and here annexed), was efficacious against external influences for perhaps 250 years; but in the same period the ravages of internal damp would have full force, as those who knew the Abbey before the heating apparatus was adopted can fully testify. The external decay of that long period would probably have so disintegrated the firestone, of which the not very substantial structure was composed, that its removal became necessary. The same period of internal decay from damp would have greatly injured the delicate work of the beautiful porch, so that when its protection was gone the whole became uncared-for by some, and despised by the multitude of that debased period, who, as iconoclasts, were much more disposed to mutilate and destroy such works than to preserve or replace them.

Under such circumstances Solomon's Porch was probably deprived of its beauties, and hammered away, so that when the next surveyors and architects came there was nothing for them to do but to smooth



PLAN AND ELEVATION OF THE PORCH OF KING RICHARD II. ADDED BY HIM TO PROTECT KING HENRY III.'S PORCH, WHICH HAD DECAYED.

See Hollar's View in Dugdale's and Dart's works, and King's Plan in Dugdale's.

the mouldings and carvings away ; thus all the refined characteristics were destroyed.

In this state it came into Sir Gilbert Scott's hands. His keen discernment and his great experience enabled him to discover the features which had appertained to such a porch as he had before him. He studiously sought in the ruined parts for some elements, and not without success, and then he proceeded to make the design which has been so successfully carried out by him.

In the course of pulling down the old work the utmost watchfulness and judgment were used to find ancient fragments. Many such were found, in every case confirming Sir Gilbert's fore-knowledge and design ; in some cases determining a doubtful matter. There are several instances of fragments of ancient stonework being found *in situ* and in fair preservation ; these have been faithfully dealt with, and can be seen, and will confirm Sir Gilbert's great solicitude and veneration.

ADDENDA.

The illustration is introduced to show the Elizabethan building (referred to on page 466) which extended in an oblique direction from the line of the north end of the Great Hall. In it is shown the extreme north-west corner of Kent's Palladian front, against which is seen the gate of the judges' stables. Then follows a building having a roof with three gables; beyond and above them rises another gabled roof. Then comes the north turret of the Hall, and the north end of the main roof with its gable and pinnacle. Westward stands a long building, the Exchequer Office, which must have caused a deflection of St. Margaret's Lane, always crooked and narrow also, because that against St. Margaret's church was a long line of offices and houses that much contracted the public way.

In Noorthouck's *History of London*, 1773, there is noticeable a further confirmation of the then existence of low buildings only, westward of the Great Hall, in an engraving by Benjamin Green, showing the west front of St. Margaret's church, above the roof of which nearly the whole length of the roof of the Hall is seen.

Over the south aisle is seen the backs of the houses then attached to the east end of St. Margaret's church, over which rises the southern end of Kent's Palladian front; the only other object intervening being a small chimney east of the north aisle, except the tower and body of the church, of which the apex of the latter coincides with the ridge of the Hall.

In this engraving it is interesting to see the plain and rude porch which preceded the so-called Runic Porch yet remaining. And still more it is to see the remains of the Turret which by means of its winding-stairs led to the ancient Rood Loft, of which there remain inside of the church unquestionable vestiges. Beyond this turret is a low building of two stories, which was probably the residence of the Rector of former days.

Between the three-gabled buildings and the Exchequer offices there existed some irregular areas, one of which had acquired the name *Hell* (one of several other such quaint names of fiction which had long clung to various spots of the ancient buildings). Within one of those areas was noticeable an ancient pump known by the name *Hell Pump*, which remained in its place until about 1824, for that place fell in very nearly with the new line of pavement kerb which was placed in 1803 when *Hell* itself was destroyed ; but the name was yet applied to the pump when, in 1824, Mr. Adam Lee, the *Labourer in-Trust* of the Houses of Parliament, recounted to me his knowledge of the pump and its place.

The appellation *Labourer-in-Trust*, just quoted, applied to officers who superintended the works and the weekly returns of those works. When I first became conversant with the office of His Majesty's (King George III.'s) Works and Public Buildings, in 1819, Nash, Soane, and Smirke were the attached architects. Below them were five clerks of works, and then a third class of eleven *Labourers-in-Trust*. Some of the latter number had official residences. Adam Lee had for many years a snug residence in Cotton Garden. But Cotton Garden was cleared to accommodate the Italian witnesses, brought over by order of King George IV, to give evidence against Queen Caroline on the trial at the House of Lords ; and then, if I rightly remember, Adam Lee removed to his own residence within two doors of the dialled house on New Palace Yard Terrace, the latter being the exact spot of the ancient Clock Tower, built in 1365, *temp. Edward III.* About the time of Adam Lee's removal, the *Labourers-in-Trust* became dubbed *Clerks of Works*, and so the quaint, ancient, and honourable title died out.

Pumps in those days were quite essential to a supply of water to compensate for the short comings of the Chelsea Waterworks, then hardly emerging from the infancy of wooden water-pipes. Many houses, and all stable yards, manufactories, and inns, had their pumps, and many public places also had pumps for general use. Hell pump became one of them. Near, in St. Margaret's

churchyard, by the Grosvenor tomb, was another. A third public pump was Broken Cross, so called, but I never saw the cross. It was situate towards the south-end of Princes Street, and was in use incessantly by a multitude of inhabitants and wayfarers. It seemed to have acquired a superstitious reverence, for I have seen paralytic and sprained limbs pumped upon early in the morning, with real or supposed curative results. There was a fourth public pump also equally busily in use in the middle of the Broadway.

The advance of the Chelsea Waterworks, the increasing impurities of the wells, and the nuisance of pumps in the thoroughfares, combined to bring pumps into disrepute, and so they became abandoned, and ultimately disappeared altogether.

HENRY POOLE.

16 *September*, 1884.

WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE FOUR NORTHERN CHAPELS OF THE
APSE : ST. PAUL, ST. JOHN BAPTIST, ST. ERASMUS, AND
ABBOT ISLIP.

By HENRY POOLE,
MASTER MASON, WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

[Read at an Evening Meeting of the Society, 10th March, 1884.]

The object of this paper is to make known a conjecture which, when thoughtfully commented on, seems to clear up some of the unaccounted-for changes brought about nearly three centuries ago in some of the apsidal chapels on the north side.

This essay might, as regards the main object, have been much curtailed ; but so much before unknown or newly-discovered has been brought into its scope that it is deemed best to include all the collaterals, even although they are not essential to the aforesaid main object in view.

The early history of the first three of these chapels is in impenetrable obscurity. Two are just mentioned in a cartulary now in Heralds' College, to which the attention of Dean Stanley was directed by Mr. Doyne C. Bell, F.S.A., in which it is said that “ Brother John of London, afterwards the recluse, and brother J. Northampton, had made the painting of the higher panel of the altar of St. John Baptist for,” and

“Brother John Sutton had made the painting of the dedication of the church at Westm’ with the judgments written at the altar of St. Paul. And likewise a picture at the panel of the King St. Sebert for.”* This is all that appears to be known regarding the first two chapels, but three others are named in the same cartulary, to which no places are now assignable, St. Helen, St. Thomas, and Holy Trinity. Probably St. Erasmus’s chapel was of later date, as certainly was that of Abbot Islip.

Although all who hear or read this paper may have seen these four northern chapels, yet few can remember or are aware of the greater confusion (bad enough now) which once prevailed in some of them, and therefore it will be the more to the purpose to commence this paper with a description of the chapels as they were from about 1600 to 1876.

In St. Paul’s chapel, at the time of the erection of the monument of Sir John Puckering, about 1598 (for the proper placing of which the western part of the screen, whatever it was, was necessarily cleared away), there existed only four monuments, namely, those of the Countess of Sussex and Sir Thomas Bromley against two of the beautiful old arcades, Sir Giles Daubeney on the floor, and Lord Bourchier in the screen. The other arcades were soon after monumentalized by Carleton 1631, Cottington 1635 and 1679, and Fullerton King Charles I.

In order to afford a good view of the Puckering

* This latter picture may have preceded the stone panel now over that king’s tomb, attributed to King Edward IV.’s period.

monument the adjacent part of the screen was then (1598) made of a plain wall, as shown in Dart's plan; perhaps it was also a dwarf wall. In 1718 this low screen-wall was occupied on the north face with Scheemaker's monument of Sir Henry Belasyse. In 1766 the low screen-wall was raised to a prodigious height and to the full width of the space, so as to attach to its south face the large frontispiece monument of Pulteney, Earl of Bath, as it is shown in Neale's perspective view of the north aisle of the chancel.

In 1840 was placed on the floor of the chapel Chantrey's mass of marble to commemorate James Watt. About the same time there took place some rough dealing by Edward Blore, the then architect of the Abbey. He removed from under the canopy of Lord Bourchier's tomb the *en dos d'ane* covering of wood, which is so well shewn in Neale, Plate II. p. 75 (Neale says that there were once two leaden coffins). The donkey-back the writer well remembers, for he has often touched its loose oaken planks, and peeped behind to discover the contents. This valuable relic could well have been replaced with new work like the old; but Mr. Blore preferred to overlay the tomb with a thick slab of stone—a deplorable change! *

It will be proper here, before describing the modern

* There yet remains on the upper part of the monument much of the blazonment, in heraldry, badges, and mottoes, which Neale spoke of sixty years ago. These, with skilful treatment, could be developed and, moreover, preserved. See Neale, Plate VIII.

alteration made in St. Paul's chapel, to describe how this and many other even more important alterations were brought about.

It is due to the memory of a former Sub-Dean, the Rev. Lord John Thynne, to state that, up to a late period of his long and useful life, his was the ruling spirit of the Dean and Chapter in all matters relating to repairs, alterations, and restorations. His judgment in these processes was trustworthy, and he never flinched from preventing mischief or waste, whenever either showed itself; and thereby was accorded to him great power as well as influence in all architectural matters. Lord John had for many years expressed his abhorrence of the many enormous monuments of the last century placed in the midst of the area, and having still larger, and quite unnecessary, stone walls at their backs, generally of repulsive plainness and ugliness. He saw how much daylight they shut out and how much view both behind and before they obstructed. After much consideration designs for the reduction of the ugly intrusions were submitted, which met with the approbation of the Dean and Canons (notwithstanding the known repugnance and hesitation of the excellent architect of the Abbey to such alterations of monuments, even those of recent date), it was determined, despite all possible opposition, to proceed boldly with the reductions, to which in the end universal approbation was accorded, some valuable discoveries were made, and even the kind co-operation of the worthy Sir G. Gilbert Scott was acquired. The alterations were made in about six

months, at the end of which the writer was requested to make a Report on the works, which he did in January, 1877. The concluding paragraph of the Report is as follows:—

“Brick and Stone Walls cleared away.”

“ Of these obstructions removed the superficial measurement is about 1,000 feet. As the greater part of these are intermediate or internal, stopping light and view as they did both ways, the actual gain is nearly twofold, *i.e.* 2,000 feet superficial. The floor space gained by the same means is at least 100 feet superficial.”

This is a digression; but it has seemed desirable to give this brief statement (perhaps the only one extant) of the origin and ultimate execution of alterations to many state and private monuments, before detailing those to the first that this Paper has now brought us to, namely, that of the Earl of Bath. Its erection in 1766, and its form, have already been adverted to. As to its reduction a few words will suffice.

It was evident that the whole extent of the stone wall beyond the architectural outline of the marble frontispiece of the Pulteney monument was superfluous to the design. That superfluity was therefore cut away, and thereby the back as well as the front of the monument presented the simple frontispiece outline as now seen. The monument was thus quite separated from both the main pier of the fabric on the west side and the jamb of the doorway on the east. Then from

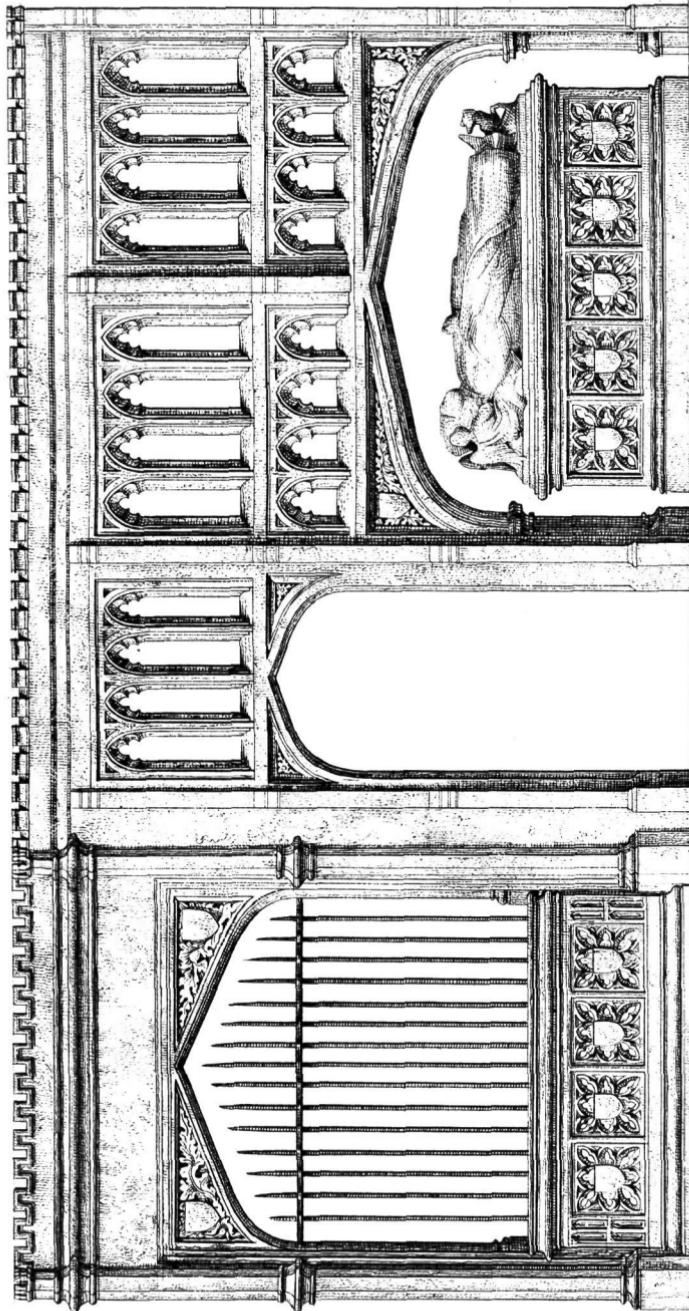
the back were removed the fine monument of Sir Henry Belasyse and the tablet of Captain Macleod, a small mural one. The former was deprived of an unnecessary sub-base, and replaced, not on one side, as before, but central with that of the Earl of Bath, thus combining two harmonious outlines; and by the union restoring the most perfect stability to the two, the isolation of the Bath monument having disturbed its former stability.

The adjoining doorway into the chapel had long been in a crazy state. Examination proved that it once had a screen, like that of St. Nicholas's chapel, on the south side. Bourchier's tomb had absorbed or removed the eastern half of the screen, and some other tomb or monument had caused similar destruction to the west side; but next the door-jamb vestiges were left, and under Sir Gilbert Scott's direction the vacancy between that door-jamb and the Bath monument was filled up with screen-work; a legitimate restoration, which, at the same time, gave complete stability to the loose door-jamb, and additional stability to the monument of the Earl of Bath.

There was confidence felt that the Puckering monument covered stonework of the ancient arcade of St. Paul's chapel. The southern massive pier of the monument was brick, plastered over, like that which now remains on the northern side. It was evident that the monument would look better without these piers, and that the partial if not entire removal of that on the south side, which buried much of the grand pier of the fabric, would restore lost beauty to the

fabric itself—would not detract from the beauty of the monument—and, especially, it might reveal some traces of the early arcade in fair preservation. On this began some careful cutting away of the solid brick pier, and soon came evidences of a successful issue, by the revealment of some fragments of beautifully carved drapery amongst loose pieces of stone rubble behind the brickwork. Soon after the span-dril and arch, as well as the capital of a column, were reached, all in high preservation but ruthlessly mutilated. Careful cutting and scrutiny afterwards brought to light some of the carved spandrels of the arch, showing a most refined group of St. Anne teaching the Virgin Mary to read, St. Anne standing, and the child seated on a corbel. Nothing can exceed the beauty nor the high preservation of the work, for it was coated thickly with whitewash, which dimmed the work and damped the hopes of the discoverers; but not for long, for on carefully removing the whitewash the beauty of all became evident. It was moreover found that under the whitewash, as it was peeled off, the whole of the carving, whether solid or in loose fragments, had been tinted with a wash of Venetian red. The loose fragments are now in the case of curiosities in the Chapter House. The carving, *in situ*, is slightly seen from the floor, and fully seen from a short ladder. It is to be hoped that the *north* pilaster of the monument may some day be removed, and a similar discovery made behind it.

The chapel of St. Paul may for the present be dispatched with the intimation that at the back of the Bath monument there was left good room for the



Abbot Flacett.

Entrance.

Abbot Colchester.

H. Poole, del.

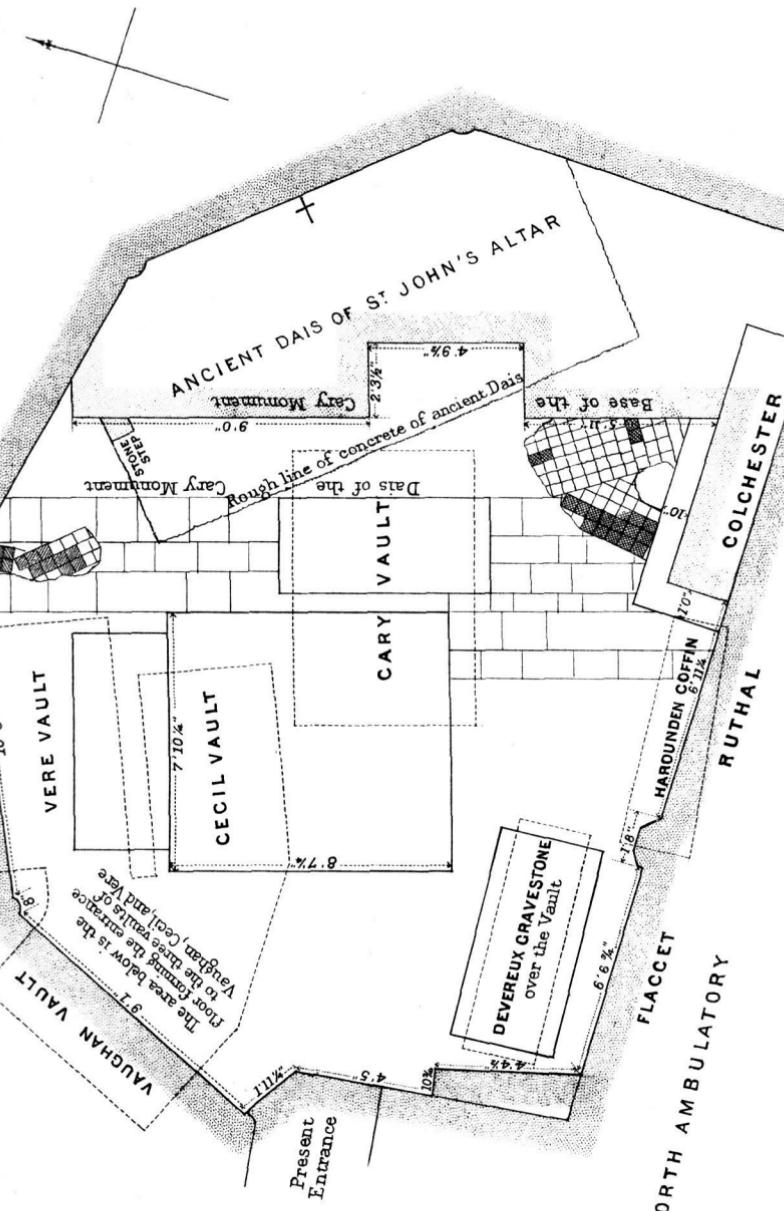
THE SOUTH SIDE OF THE SCREEN OF THE CHAPEL OF ST JOHN BAPTIST
shewing its appearance before the intrusion of Bishop Ruthal's Monument.

J. & W. Emes, lith.

FLOOR OF ST. JOHN BAPTIST CHAPEL
from the Working Drawing, 1881.

Henry Poole, del.

Scale of Feet
0 1 2 3 4 5 10 15 20



attachment of two busts and their corbels (one of these places is already appropriated to the bust of Sir Rowland Hill), and with the intimation that on making the grave of Sir Rowland southward, that side of the vault of Sir Giles Daubeny and his dame was found insecure and was repaired. The vault has no covering except the table of the tomb, and it contains only one coffin rudely formed of inch oak boards. The lid was loose and broken across. Under it was found the body embedded on and enveloped in cere-cloth, all perhaps characteristic of the time. In digging the grave a large portion of the lower part of a stone coffin much mutilated was found in the way. It was raised, and is now placed on the floor northward. In this small space forty-five burials are known —Sir Giles's dame 1500, to Baron Delaval 1808, and Sir Rowland seventy-two years later.

And now let us return to the immediate subject, the ancient screens of the two chapels of St. Paul and St. John, broken off at the description of Lord Bourchier's tomb.

Chapel of St. John Baptist.

One of the earliest notices of this chapel is in Camden's "Reges, Reginæ, Nobiles et alii, 1600," soon after the monument of Lord Hunsdon had been made complete. He describes the tomb of the Bohuns as being the first on the left on entering the chapel. He then gives the other six in the following order, "Carey, Ruthal, Flacchet, Colchester, Millinge, Vaughan" (Colchester should evidently be next to Carey,

as the tomb always was). So all the places of that period can be accounted for. The then place of the beautiful tomb of the Bohuns was on the floor, so placed after its removal, probably from the recess in the wall of the south ambulatory, where afterwards were placed the grave and tomb of King Richard II. as suggested in Dean Stanley's paper in the *Archaeologia*, vol. xlv. Probably it was elevated on a basement, so as to be seen on all its four sides, with its inscription then more or less traceable. In making the circuit of the chapel with the first five tombs on the left he would come to the coffin cover of Abbot Milling on the floor near the south side, and on going out he would pass, still on the left, the tomb of Sir Thomas Vaughan, then a complete table-tomb, standing on the floor and attached to the west wall, near the south-west angle of the chapel. It must here be told that the Careys had made a large vault near the middle of the chapel with a descent to it on the south side, so there was then ample space for all the seven tombs and monuments in Camden's list.

The Carey or Hunsdon vault contains the coffins of two ladies whose names are associated with the promotion of early literature. One is the Lady Elizabeth Evers, daughter of Sir John Spencer, who suggested to the poet Edmund Spenser his "Mother Hubbard's Tale." To Lady Evers the poet dedicated it.

The other lady is Alice, daughter of John Egerton, first Earl of Bridgewater. An accident in her life, as related by Warton, led to the production of Milton's

“Comus.” She became the wife of Richard Vaughan, Earl of Carbery. Can the possible consanguinity of Sir Thomas Vaughan, whose vault and tomb are adjacent, have established a claim of Richard Vaughan’s family to be buried in the Carey vault? for of the later family three at least lie there.

Soon after the whole floor was honey-combed with other vaults and graves, which the writer has lately explored and made plans and notes of. Before there was only the Carey vault already spoken of, and an ancient vault partly under the north-western seat, not before recorded.

On the death of Dorothy (Nevill), the first wife of Thomas Cecil, the first Earl of Exeter, he made a vault north of that of the Careys. This was followed by another of the Veres, still further north, for which a cavernous recess in the main fabric wall was formed, and westward of the Cecil vault was formed a descent common to the two latter vaults as well as the ancient one described before. In the south-west corner of the chapel was discovered the lost vault of Devereux, the last Earl of Essex. The whole of the soil beside is filled with solid layers of coffins side by side. They are in number sixty-seven, comprising four abbots, fifty-six titled personages and their children, and seven knights and commoners, in date from 1420 (Abbot Colchester) to 1784 (the Countess of Home), a century since.

At this point it will be well to state that these explorations which led to the discovery of the coffin of

Robert Devereux, the third and last Earl of Essex, were instituted at the instance of the late Evelyn P. Shirley, Esquire, of Ettington, near Stratford-on-Avon, an eminent antiquary and a great promoter of antiquarian research. Mr. Shirley was deeply interested in the history of the Devereuxes, for through the marriage of an ancestor of his name with the heiress of the large estates of the Earls of Essex, both in England and Ireland, the said Evelyn P. Shirley had by descent acquired possession of those estates.

On his application to the Dean for information as to where the interment and memorial lay the Dean was unable to help him, for no record exists in the archives of the Abbey and no historical work exists which throws any light on the matter. The Dean, whose strong desire to elucidate any fact in history is well known, at once gave directions for search to be made. The particulars of this search are set forth in a Paper of the present writer, contributed to Money's "History of the First and Second Battles of Newbury" (Simpkin and Marshall, 1881).

It was not, perhaps, until 1608, when the first Earl of Exeter formed the Cecil vault, and followed up with the erection of the enormous table-tomb which covers not only the Cecil vault but partly also that of Carey, that the tombs of Bohun and Vaughan were found to be insufferable obstacles. They were got rid of by spoliation and replacement. Sir Thomas Vaughan's complete tomb was deprived of one side and one end, and, to place the other side and end and the top, the arcade where it now stands was almost wholly destroyed by cutting a deep recess in the

main wall, and on the seat so widened placing the imperfect tomb. The Bohun tomb, to make it more placeable, was mutilated at the back by the hammering away of the beautiful table moulding, and, perhaps, other parts. The beautiful arcade next St. John's altar, in which had been inserted an aumbry, was then deprived of its central pillar, and in the main wall a deep recess was cut, in which, and on the seat so widened, the half-buried tomb of the Bohuns now stands. All this terrible demolition of the arcades and tombs is due to the erection of the intrusive tomb of the Cecils. The tomb has gradually become ruinous, and no help has ever been given to stay that ruin, nor to secure the loose parts, many of which are therefore totally lost.

The reference to the Carey vault has naturally led to the description of other and later vaults, and to the Cecil tomb and consequent events in the chapel. This and the anticipatory information flowing therefrom is so far done with; and return now is made to 1596, when Sir John Puckering died in April, and Lord Hunsdon in July.

In that year the two powerful families of those deceased courtiers, having buried their chiefs in adjacent chapels, seem to have followed the fashion, which had already set in, of placing monuments to obliterate both the altar and the arcades of the chapels. St. Paul's altar and one of the arcades had already been seized, but the gem of architecture in the western arcade was free, and the Puckerings seized it; and in like manner the demolished altar of St. John, and the beautiful arcade south of it, were

with impunity seized by the Careys. Continuing their unanimity, the families had designs made for the contiguous monuments, each occupying the full width of the arcades taken, that of Carey towering up into the vaulted ceiling.

They next prudently considered how the monuments should best be exposed to view, and especially how the enormous monument of Lord Hunsdon could best be approached.

At that time all the chapels of the apse had the original central doorways with complete screens. But the earliest plan of the Abbey, in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, and the earliest allusion to the chapel of St. John, by Camden, both subsequent to the erection of the two monuments, indicate that the doorway in the screen of St. John's chapel was closed by the placing of the tomb of Bishop Ruthal. How came it to be placed there? And why? And where could it possibly have been before? For two centuries this has been a mystery—now by this Paper to be, it is hoped, for the first time dispelled. This is, indeed, the main object of this long communication.

Could the Ruthal monument ever have formed the western half of the screen of St. Paul's chapel? Yes; it is well suited, and would just fill that space and complete the screen in a manner exactly corresponding with that of Lord Bourchier in the other half of the screen. It was removed to afford the full space of the arcade to the new monument of Puckering, and to allow of the latter being fully seen from the ambulatory, for it is evident from Dugdale's plan that the

place of Ruthal's monument immediately became occupied by a plain and probably a low wall.

Chapel of St. Erasmus.

Before determining why the Ruthal monument was placed as at present, the original circumstances of the little area called St. Erasmus's chapel, must be considered. Recent exploration made by the writer has brought to light the existing remains of the eastern wall of St. Erasmus's altar, proving that the L-shaped space was truly a complete though small chapel, as indicated by the name over the entrance. The removal of plain modern casing on the panelled wall behind the monument of Mary Kendall, and an examination of the clumsily-arched opening beyond, show that similar open panel-work continued northward as far as possible, returning at an angle of 45° against the ancient pillar of the arcade. The writer had occasion to dig the ground under the floor, and there discovered the foot of the ancient altar-wall, which he marked by placing thereon a step of the exact size and shape of that altar-wall. The open panel work over the altar is evidenced by the wall mullion of the southern opening remaining exposed, showing that it, and detached mullions northward, stood on a sill about five feet above the floor, rising to the spring of the arched tracery behind the Kendall monument. By this open panel-work over the altar the space west of the altar was well illumined.

The placing of the Ruthal tomb in the middle of
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St. John's screen deprived the chapel of its proper entrance. To supply the want the only means was to make a way through the altar-wall of St. Erasmus's chapel, thus converting that chapel into a passage, which has so disguised the little chapel that its name has nearly been lost, although distinctly written over the entrance. Yet not quite lost, for it has been applied by historians and by the people of the Abbey to St. John's chapel, and it is yet current with some.

Having made the opening through the wall, the groined ceiling was reduced by a triangular portion and then supported by means of an arch made of the two spandrels which formed the head of the open tracery removed from over the altar. These spandrels can be traced in their similarity to a corresponding spandrel *in situ* behind the Kendall monument. They are now resting on a debased jamb and capital, and a corbel. Thus was obtained a new and excellent entrance into St. John's chapel, affording the most effective view of what became the principal object of interest there, namely, the Carey monument.

Now that attention has been concentrated on this most interesting little chapel of St. Erasmus, it seems opportune to revert to its original formation. There has been a belief prevalent that it was scooped out of the ancient solid pier. This may be legendary, and partly true. Looking across the sacrarium, at the corresponding pier on the south side, we see an arched recess of the period of Henry III., containing a small tomb of King Henry III.'s children. It may fairly be inferred that at first this northern pier was faced with a similar arch and recess, without a tomb.

In later times places were sought for additional chapels within the *domus*. It was seen that northward of the main pier and the said recess there was a space of 7 feet by 4 feet, and that by piercing through the wall at the back of the recess (a thickness of about 4 feet), there would be obtained a square lobby, which, joined on to the space of 7 feet by 4 feet northward, would be available for the desired chapel of St. Erasmus. The skill of the masons of that period overcame all difficulties of so apparently hazardous an operation, and they succeeded in combining a beautiful doorway, decorated walls, and groined ceiling, all in the solid pier. Continuing that ceiling over the northern space, and connecting with these features an altar-wall of open-work, and a continuation of similar wall surface towards the east, thereby covering the old wall surface, which would, if left, have been incongruous, the beautiful little chapel of St. Erasmus was created.

In order to obtain a parallel surface on the ancient northern wall, a depth of about 5 inches is cut away at the eastern end of that surface, as is shown by a portion of that lower wall yet standing above the floor of the raised dais. Not less curious is the worn surface of the ancient floor as seen against the south face of the dais step, which shows how much the floor was worn away by the devotees and monks who stood against the shrine on the north side.

It seems probable that the altar was a shelf-like slab, supported by corbels in the wall. There are two hagioscopes directed towards it, one from the adjoining chapel westward, now Abbot Islip's chapel,

another in the projecting angle on the south of the altar-space. There remains the wicket-gate at the entrance, two-fold, with iron grille-work attached to it, and suspended from the stone arch over it, at one time ensuring great security. On the step of the dais are indications of there having been an inner altar-gate, and over it of a hook to suspend a lamp, over which is a hole in the vaulted ceiling supposed to have been made for the escape of the smoke of the suspended lamp. The walls and ceiling have been profusely decorated. There remain indications of hooks in the upper part of the wall, as if to suspend tapestry or pictures. At the north end there is a bold corbel-table inserted in the wall, and on the wall over it is the mark of a standing figure, giving an impression that this was the shrine of St. Erasmus. Taking the chapel with all its combinations into consideration, it must have been a centre of great attraction and devotion. Those who well know this puzzling part of the Abbey may be able to apply all this description. Others must realise it by visiting the spot with this Paper or memoranda therefrom in their hand.

The tomb of Abbot Colchester now requires to have its final history related, and an attempt made to realise its first form. There can be no doubt that what remains of it is in nearly its original place, and that it formed part of the screen. But what were its accessories? I answer that the tombs of Lord Bourchier and Bishop Ruthal, combined with a doorway, formed before 1696 the screen of St. Paul's chapel; and the tombs of Abbot Colchester and Abbot Flacchet, simi-

larly combined with a doorway, formed the screen of St. John's chapel. It is reasonable to conclude that the Colchester tomb had accessories of some sort. Now, on examining that tomb, it is found that its two ends have always been exposed and free from attachments, and it may be assumed to have been enclosed by piers at its ends, and spanned by a broad arch resting on those piers. It therefore became an easy process to abolish both piers and arch, leaving only the table-tomb without accessories, thus making room for the entire tomb of Ruthal which could not be divested of similar accessories, and so the chapel of St. John lost its doorway and that part of its screen which was once combined with the Colchester tomb.

Now it may be asked what was done with the arch that once spanned the Colchester tomb? Let the querist stand in the ambulatory near Queen Eleanor's tomb, with his back towards it and his eye directed over the Ruthal tomb on to the arch which supports, and is so clumsily combined with, the ruined arcade over Sir Thomas Vaughan's tomb, and he will be struck with the suitableness of this arch to span the Ruthal tomb between, or rather the Colchester tomb next to it. This combination of objects has led to the conjecture that the arch is one of the two that faced the broad ceiling that spanned the table-tomb of Abbot Colchester, utilised to give support to the mutilated arcade. It is warrantable to assume that, as the death of Abbot Colchester occurred in 1420, and that of Robsert in 1431, the design of the monument of the first influenced that of the second; or, that the same architect having designed the simpler

one of Colchester, with an uncusped canopy and its detached tomb, may have modified Robsert's so as to make a richer monument adapted to the necessary attachment of a coffin-filled tomb made to rest on an abbot's or some other grave below.

With these conjectures, together with some facts, viz. the abolition of the greater portion of the screen of St. John's chapel and its door—the equally evident fact that the Ruthal tomb *is now partly in the place of the abolished screen*—and also the existence of an ancient arch in every way suited to span Colchester's tomb; these conjectures and these facts combined, I say, appear to clear up the mystery in which the *chapel had been enveloped*, and which has caused the production of the print annexed, and has also fulfilled the main object of this essay.

It is presumed that, as there are or were within the tomb of Lewis Robsert two coffins, there must have been some urgent necessity for its being so filled, even above the level of the floor of St. Paul's chapel. In those days it is probable that almost every chapel-screen had been used to bury, close to it and even under it, an abbot or other dignitary. The practice is exemplified by the recent discovery of Abbot Ha-rounden's coffin partly under the screen of St. John's chapel. The urgency is exemplified in the instance of a more modern tomb, which the writer has found to contain two coffins, one wholly and the other, the lower, partly above the floor, evidently caused by the previous interments having been found in the way of getting a proper interment over them.

Now reverting to the alteration of the screen of St. John's chapel.

This demolition of the arcade has already been attributed to the requirements of the Cecils, when in 1608, on the death of Dorothy (Nevill), the first Countess of Exeter, the family vault was constructed and preparation made for the great tomb which occupies the central part of the floor. James Harvey, the experienced clerk of works of the period, had superintended and directed the work to the three chapels, viz. the removal of the altar wall of St. Erasmus', the destruction of the screen-doorway, and the arch canopy over Abbot Colchester's tomb, both in St. John's chapel, and the removal of Ruthal's tomb from St. Paul's chapel, and its re-erection in St. John's chapel. This clerk of works no doubt had stored the materials which those removals and clearances had produced, and he was quite ready to adopt such of them as were suitable, and so the Colchester arch was trimmed, as may be seen by examination, to suit the maintenance of the mutilated arcade under which he placed the Vaughan tomb.

It is to be feared that much destruction and mutilation took place under Harvey's direction, for his authority and connection with the Abbey extended from 1570 to 1628, but he was bed-ridden and pensioned in the last years of his long life. It is to be hoped that the successor, Edward Fulham, who was clerk of the works for 34 years, was more conservative, for his son the Rev. Edward Fulham, D.D., was the first canon of Windsor after the Restoration. These events occurred in the last five years of Dean

Goodman, who died in 1601; in the time of Dean Andrews 1601-5, and in that of Dean Neale 1605-10. Perhaps the first dean was too old, and the others too new, to take an earnest interest in such matters as monuments, and so the clerk of works under all three may have had almost uncontrolled direction.

But more damage still awaited the remaining part, the table-tomb, of the Colchester monument, which part had not suffered much through the loss of its arched canopy. In 1761 an admiral named Holmes died, and his two "grateful nieces" employed the sculptor Wilton to make a large monument, having the group a nearly life-size figure of the admiral, with his hand resting on a full-size gun on a wheeled carriage, behind which was a full-sized anchor, and a flag and staff of like proportion, the flag draping the whole back-ground. All these were on a large pedestal, and against a pyramid of marble of great magnitude, and behind was a stone wall occupying a width of nine feet and a height of sixteen feet.

In 1878 took place the reduction of this mass of masonry. The sculpture was reduced in subordinate parts, the pyramid was shortened, the wall was wholly removed beyond the outline of the pedestal and pyramid, and the back now presents the plain wall left with the architectural outline of the front. The gain of light and view was at the time appreciated by all. It is already a thing of the past and is scarcely remembered, and such particulars as are here given are the more necessary for the present as well as future time. Those who care to realise the reduction of this, and the monument of the Earl

of Bath, may do so by reference to Ackerman's Plate XLIX. p. 198, and Neale's plate of the north aisle, IV. p. 30. It may be noted here that the small mural tablet of Captain Macleod, necessarily taken from the back of the Earl of Bath's monument in St. Paul's chapel, was replaced in St. John's chapel at the back of the monument of Admiral Holmes. A kinsman of the Macleod family, missing the monument from its original place, became very indignant at the removal and at some very unimportant reduction which it underwent; but on finding that it occupied a place as good as before, and had been reverently dealt with, this gentleman became reconciled. This little incident is mentioned because it is the only expression of dissent that has occurred respecting the many and very much greater alterations of modern monuments.

But we must now return to describe the mischief done by the placing of this Holmes' monument partly on the site of the Colchester table-tomb. It was in the time of Dean Thomas and his clerk of works, Benjamin Fidoe, that all the intrusive erections of John Wilton, the sculptor, were erected.

The table-tomb of Colchester was then in the proper axis line of the screen, and otherwise complete as well as clear of the steps of the platform to the Carey monument. To have placed the monument against the tomb there would have greatly encroached on the floor of the ambulatory, and the thin wall of the monument would have been free of the pier of the fabric, connection with which was necessary for the support of the wall. Therefore the Colchester tomb

was placed further north, and raised upon the steps of the Carey platform ; the plinth of the tomb was omitted and mutilation of its lower part followed, beside much damage arising from its total removal and unskilful re-erection.

There can be but little doubt that this removal of the Colchester tomb may have been the immediate or the remote cause of the fearful ruin of the Ruthal tomb as we now see it.

When in 1598, or thereabouts, the workmen removed the Ruthal tomb from between its effective abutments in St. Paul's chapel, they removed also the doorway of St. John's chapel, together with the piers and canopy of the Colchester tomb. They then proceeded to erect the Ruthal tomb between its new neighbours of Colchester and Flaccet, connecting it substantially with the latter as we now see it. But they were obliged to erect its eastern end without the high abutment it had before, and to be content with only the slight abutment of contact with the now low tomb of Colchester. The latter tomb was so far tolerably safe; but its safety was gone when, in 1761, the tomb of Colchester was removed to give place to the Holmes monument. The abutment, slight as it was, was destroyed ; the pier at the foot was thrust eastward by the heavy and badly re-constructed arch, which fell down, and produced an irretrievable ruin, such that no skill of that period could overcome. They stuck up on the ruin of the western pier the heraldic and central stone of the bratishing of the south side, and they consigned the other, of the north side, to the head of the coffin of Abbot Milling, which had

already been placed on the table of Abbot Flacchet's tomb.

The chapel of St. John may now be dismissed with just one other fact, which ought not to be left unmentioned. The alterations of Vaughan's tomb seem to have led to the formation of a mass of masonry at the end of the recess and near the foot of the tomb. It had almost the appearance of a seat raised on the seat of the recess and it was topped by a portion of the ancient seat on which the tomb was placed. Examination of the parts adjacent showed how much improvement would result by the removal of this unmeaning mass, for the angle pillar would be revealed and the ancient seat would be made complete. The removal confirmed all this, and it became evident that the masonry had been so placed to conceal the absence of the lower part of a marble pillar, and to support the upper part left. The fragment of an old pillar of the same diameter was found to fill the vacancy ; the old seat displaced was replaced properly, and some little new seat and ashlar restored all things to nearly their original state, and so the recess became decent and satisfactory. Schnebelie's drawing of the tomb and recess, in Gough's "*Monumental Remains*," shows exactly how they were up to 1878, and the comparison will confirm the propriety with which the restoration was made.

Before quitting the chapel of St. John the Baptist, it will be proper and opportune to notice two gross intrusions inside and outside. The first is the marble coffin of Abbot Milling, which after being placed for nearly two centuries with its lid above, and forming

part of the middle of the floor, was taken up and rudely consigned to the top of the table of Abbot Flaccet's tomb. It could not be placed on the table without mutilating the beautiful arched recess in the east end of the tomb by cutting away that feature as much as three inches. Thus the Flaccet tomb has been barbarously injured, the cross thereon concealed by the coffin, and the beautiful cross on the Milling coffin-lid, floreated and once plated, is too high to be seen without mounting. Moreover the bulk of the coffin cuts off the view both outward and inward, it also darkens the ambulatory, as well as utterly spoiling the grand simplicity of Abbot Flaccet's Tudor tomb.

It would be wrong thus to criticise and to invoke attention to this miserable mutilation and intermingling, if it were quite irremediable, but it is not so. There remains a space on the north side of the floor to which Abbot Milling's coffin could well be consigned. It is at the east end of that side of the chapel where the monument of Colonel Popham stands. By the insertion of a ledge of stone to represent the projection of the stone seat which once existed there, and by placing two blocks of stone against that ledge and of the same height, together with a long bearing-bar of metal resting on the blocks of stone, a good shelf-like support would be made to carry the coffin, and its top would be very nearly coincident with the top of the pedestal of Popham's monument. The plan of the chapel shows how well the wall under Popham's monument is adapted to the form of the coffin if the head of the coffin is put

towards the east, for then the space between the Exeter tomb and the coffin becomes nearly parallel, and the foot of the coffin being several inches narrower than the head of it, there is less appearance of obstruction. It is true that thus there is, at first thought, a seeming reversal of the head and foot of the coffin, but this is rendered unimportant by remembering that the coffin has been empty for nearly three centuries, and so the impropriety is counterbalanced by the fitness of the position to the place.

Of course this removal and alteration would involve the repair and joining of the lower part of the coffin, which is broken into three pieces; and also the making good the mutilated panel at the foot of the Flaccet tomb; but the improved view of both sides of the tomb, and the display of the two crosses on the table and lid, would greatly outweigh any regret of cost, and would retrieve the errors of the period.

The other case of intrusion is of even greater repulsiveness than the first, because thereby is hidden a large surface of one of the most important marble piers of the ancient fabric. The Jacobean monument of Juliana Crewe, 1621, which is in itself interesting, and of its kind pleasing, is most unsuitably affixed against the south side of the noble pier of the fabric against which the head of Flaccet's tomb abuts. Thereby about ten or twelve feet of height above the plinth of the marble pier and a width of four feet is concealed by the monument itself and by the vile plastering which has been laid over the round pier, the small pillar, and the moulded bases. Let this state of the pier be compared with that adjacent east-

ward, recently freed from the encumbering walls which had almost wholly buried that pier, and the need for removing the Crewe monument will become apparent.

Now returning to the Crewe monument, it is proposed to remove the entire monument and place it on a surface which has been reserved for such a change. There is on the back of the reduced wall of the Holmes monument a space admirably adapted for the Crewe monument. Above this space has already been placed a small tablet of Captain Macleod, and under the space is the tomb of Abbot Colchester. The intervening part is well illuminated from the windows opposite, and there the monument will suit its new place under greater advantages. A slight reduction of the angel corbel and the vase at the summit will be requisite, and these two features may well be spared.

The Bohun tomb could with propriety be brought forward from its present cavity by widening its supporting seat similarly to what is already proposed for the bearing of the coffin of Abbot Milling. The double arcade in which it is now recessed is the most perfect one exposed on the north side of the apse. It is substantially complete, except the central pillar of marble, its stone base, and the now mutilated capital, which has been converted into a pendant. It would be an unpretending restoration to replace the pillar and base, and even the capital might be satisfactorily reproduced by a careful study of the four capitals remaining, for they furnish a very good authority.

Abbot Islip's Chapel.

The fourth and last chapel of the series now under consideration is that of Abbot Islip. It is situate west of the chapels of St. Erasmus and St. John. It corresponds in position to the royal chapel of St. Edmund on the south side, and it may have been originally similar to that chapel, until the time of Abbot Islip, and it may have had another name, as to which history is silent.

In the same manner that Islip's predecessor, Abbot Littlington, had formed the chapel of St. Blaize on a portion of the floor of the south transept, with the intention of its becoming his burial-place (for his gravestone once existed in front of the altar of "his chapel"), so Islip in similar plenitude of power and wealth appropriated the area now under consideration for his chapel, with like intention of being buried there. That intention was devoutly fulfilled, for the table and pillars of his tomb yet remain in the chapel.

The architecture of all the additions made by Abbot Islip to the ancient fabric is excellent. With the view of making an oratory or chantry over his chapel, and to make an access to it, a slip on the western side was enclosed for stairs of stone, thus reducing the space to an oblong. To obtain an effective light from outside the thick wall of the fabric was pierced for a Tudor window of four lights with narrow lights in the head. The jambs next the window are richly panelled, and the arched head between them similarly decorated. Beyond, south-

ward, is formed a beautiful groin supported on four clustered piers. The space beyond is similarly formed and ornamented as the corresponding space next the window, but the panelling of the ceiling ceases at the spring of the arch, and the jamb-wall contains a pretty Tudor doorway, which is at the foot of the stairs, and is really the proper and original entrance into the chapel, although it is now blocked up.

The manner of contriving the decorative screen which forms the south side next the ambulatory is most ingenious and admirable; the inside of it, towards the chapel, is made to agree, to a great extent, with the window-wall opposite; but the two main compartments are divided into three ranges, each of five lights, which combine with similar paneling on the south face of the screen. Outside and above this is a rich cornice, on which rests the parapet wall of the chantry. The face of this parapet is full of rich tabernacle work. At the western end of this façade is formed a beautiful doorway, which was once common to the chantry and to the doorway now blocked.

This southern face of the screen and door of Abbot Islip's chapel below, and the parapet of the chantry above, are of the most refined character, and are well worthy of admiration. It is startling in passing out through the screen of the chapel to compare the inner face of the screen with the outer face. The transformation is admirable.

The blocking-up of the proper doorway into Abbot Islip's chapel led to the mutilation of the stonework of the screen. The range of five lights at the eastern

side was entirely cut away more than seven feet high, and a pair of folding doors, one of three lights and another of two, shaped like the stone destroyed, are made to serve at the entrance to the chapel.

The interior of the chapel is only further remarkable by containing the table and its metal pillars, which once formed the tomb of Abbot Islip. It now serves as a table, and is placed next the window. It stood, in the early part of the last century, in the middle of the chapel. It had a high base of stone or marble; at each corner was a metal pillar, and over them lay the black marble table. On the plinth lay an alabaster figure of the shrouded abbot. This figure had disappeared probably not long after the Suppression.

In 1619 died Sir Christopher Hatton, a kinsman of the Lord Chancellor. His monument was at once intruded against the arched recess on the east, which it entirely blocks up, together with the hagioscope direct towards the altar of St. Erasmus. This was soon after followed by another classic Jacobean monument of Lady Hatton. It is a cenotaph, probably erected by their son, Lord Hatton, who died in 1670, and with his sister, who died in 1624, was also buried there. Some of the Pulteney family have also been buried in the Abbot's chapel.

And now for a few words on the once grand oratory over Abbot Islip's chapel. Its floor seems from early times to have been occupied by the funereal draped figures which accompanied the state funerals of royal and eminent persons.

It may be presumed that the east recess of Abbot

Islip's chapel had an altar which was demolished at the Reformation, and that its place was afterwards occupied by the Hatton monument. Ascending the stairs to the oratory there remains a pretty hagioscope opposite the place of the altar of the lower chapel. It is now crowded with glass cases containing effigies, several of which the writer remembers standing on the floor of King Henry VII.'s chapel.

The case against the ancient altar is remarkable for having been first covered with the remarkable Retabulum now so well placed for observation at the back of the sedilia over King Sebert's tomb, and so ably described by Burges in Scott's Gleanings. But Mr. Burges starts with an error in attributing the discovery to Mr. Blore, Sir Gilbert Scott's predecessor. It had been discovered late in the last century by that excellent antiquary and architect, John Carter. This fact, although printed in Carter's letters—Gentleman's Magazine—appears to have escaped both Blore's and Scott's, as well as everybody else's, observation.

It fell to the writer of this paper to carry out in 1876 the many alterations and reductions of the eighteenth century monuments in Westminster Abbey; and, soon afterwards, to explore the vaults in the chapels of St. Paul and St. John next to each other; but most thoroughly the last. From all this duty he has acquired knowledge confined for the most part to his own recollection. He previously had given continued study to the probable course of events connected with the important and grand monuments of Abbot Col-

chester, Bishop Ruthal, Lord Hunsdon, and Sir John Puckering.

Weighted with this knowledge and study, he determined to make an effort to disincumber his mind, and, conferring with some of the members of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, he was encouraged to commit his study to a paper, which was courteously accepted by that Society, and read at their meeting on the 10th of last March. The acceptance was followed by the still more honouring determination of the Society to give it a place in their printed annals.

ON THE EARLY MUNICIPAL HISTORY OF LONDON.

By G. L. GOMME, F.S.A.

[Read at an Evening Meeting, held at Skinners' Hall, 12 November, 1884.]

IN considering the facts accumulating for the history of early English municipal institutions one finds that there exists a strong thread of connection between the several municipal boroughs. Such towns as Nottingham, Malmesbury, Berwick, Chippenham, Marlborough, Arundel, Huntingdon, Rochester, Coventry, Beverley, widely apart as they are geographically and chronologically, contain one with another types of municipal organization or relics of local institutions which justify the conclusion that each municipality has something in the way of evidence to contribute towards a general history of English municipal institutions. If we are investigating the early municipal history of English towns we approach the subject by a common route; we gather up all that there is to say about pasture lands, common lands held by burgesses, town customs and polity, and we may be pretty sure of being able to map out from this accumulation of facts some such picture as researches into the history of the early village community enable us to conjecture was the origin of township and municipality alike. There would be the variations arising from local circumstances, but on

the whole the general outline would be faithfully depicted in each individual case. Nottingham would be found to have preserved some features more archaic than Malmesbury, Berwick would possess in one form that which Chippenham possesses in another, and so on ; but Nottingham and Malmesbury, Berwick and Chippenham, and the others, despite all variations, have a general and decided likeness.

But, remarkable and instructive as is the likeness between one municipal borough and another, there are some equally remarkable and instructive exceptions to this general rule. London stands out as the most prominent of all these exceptions, and is, perhaps, absolutely unique throughout her long and glorious history. She is unique in two ways—at the commencement and in the present stage of her history. As the hill-fort of the Romans, standing out above swamp and waters, and yet commanding such an important position, she is unique in origin ; as a city, whose suburbs have outgrown and almost hidden from sight and knowledge the parent urbs, she is unique in her later and present history. And whether we approach her early history from one side or the other, up or down the stream of time, difficulties clog the way. If we stand on the Roman oppidum and attempt to penetrate onward from thence there is the shock of Teutonic conquest to meet, there is the rapid commercial prosperity, there is the strong mediæval power ; if, on the other hand, we stand in the modern Guildhall there is the vast stretch of houses and streets obscuring the topographical outlook, and hiding in almost impenetrable gloom that view of London from extra-London which is so valuable to the archaeologist. We can see Col-

chester and Dorchester and Winchester and Chester and even York from points of vantage which lay outside the borough walls; but where are we to go if we want to see London in the same way? At Breakneck Steps we may see with Mr. Waller the old course of the Fleet river;* in this alley or that court we may select the last remnants of ancient land or water marks; but everywhere vast buildings shut out that view of ancient London which would have shown her standing in the midst of country fields and country scenes; which would have shown the gathering in of her citizens to their town homes, and the wandering forth of her citizens to their country-haunts and walks. For when the citizen lived who came into contact with the early municipal history of London he walked out of a city gate into green fields—to Finsbury archery-butts, to Moorfields, to the fields where churches came to be built dedicated to St. Giles and to St. Martin; or maybe he walked along the narrow trackway by the river which led to the little village of Charing and to the king's city of Westminster. This is the citizen with whom we must converse of the older history which he is still in touch with; and this is the London which must be asked to give up its tale of older days.

We must first look at the question objectively. I have spoken of London as originating in the Roman hill-fort, for I take it that whether we agree with Dr. Guest or not as to Plautus in A.D. 43 having first occupied the site of the future capital of England,†

* Transactions, London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, vol. iv. page 96 *et seq.*

† *Origines Celticae*, vol. ii. p. 405.

there can be no doubt that any Celtic existence which the place may have had was not of a nature to influence its later history. But from Roman times the remarkable fact remains that commercial greatness began to dispute for pre-eminence with military greatness. London took her place in the Roman empire. Roadways converged to her. The two great roads, Ermyn Street and Watling Street, entered Roman London at our now-called Bishopsgate and Newgate points of the city boundary proper, and connected the city with all parts of Britain. In Mr. Green's words, "the route which crossed the downs of Kent from Richborough to the Thames linked the roads that radiated from London over the surface of the island with the general network of communication along which flowed the social and political life of the Roman world."*

Such roadways were among the first undertakings of the Romans in a conquered country,† and by their means the towns grew up to an importance quite out of proportion to their native capacity. London became a great centre of Roman commerce. Her life was connected with all outer life by the great causeways which the Roman soldier had built; her wall girt her round securely from the immediate outer world, and when her citizens looked for the means of gaining the necessities of life and wealth they took their stand at the city gates and looked up the roadways which led to Verulamium, Etocetum, and Uriconium; to Duro-

* *The Making of England*, p. 3.

† *Arnold's Roman Provincial System*, p. 16.

magus and Eboracum, to Portus Magnus, and to Continental Rome.*

This is one of the most important and distinctive facts to notice in connection with Roman London. The native capacity of British cities for greatness depended on causes perfectly local in character; but as soon as Rome brought them, by means of her great system of roadways, into the imperial system, development moved at a pace measurable, not by British skill but by Roman necessities. This important factor in the history of Roman towns has not been sufficiently dwelt upon and enforced. It accounts for a great deal that is otherwise unaccountable. It bridges over years of rapid progress with a history that belongs not to Britain but to Rome; it accounts for the rapid uprising of London into Augusta, and it accounts for her wonderful progress and wealth during the Roman rule. But all this time London is the London connected by roadways with the commerce and progress of the Roman world; her British history, if she had any, is past and gone, and one has to think of her, not as situated in Britain, but as situated on the Ermyn and Watling Streets, which were connected with all other parts of Britain, and which brought London more closely into connection with other cities situated on the roadways than with the natives who still occupied the open country. She dominated the country round her, no doubt, just as all Roman cities did; but she was independent of it, and used it not for existence but for her own

* See Arnold's Roman Provincial System, p. 208, for the relationship of a town to the surrounding district.

purposes, as contributory to her wealth and luxury, not to her necessities. Thus, then, the distinction which we see Roman London occupying, and one which is very important to our present subject, is its connection with the Roman world, its place on the Roman roadways; and not its connection with the Celtic Britons, who lived near it, nor its place on the map of Britain.

We see this dependence of Roman London upon her roadways to other cities and to other parts of the Roman world brought out very distinctly in the significant story of her fall. It is a story for the most part told from the silence of history rather than from the monuments of history. London, herself, was nothing, and meant nothing, to the barbaric conquerors who gradually closed upon her. The Saxon conquerors did not march, as the Roman conquerors had done, straight to this stronghold, and pounce upon it as a point of vantage; or as the Danes did later on, and William did still later. The fight between Roman London and the Teutons was of a different character altogether. Sharp sword-and-shield conflicts there were, no doubt, but these did not decide the battle. It was the breaking-up of her connection with the outer world that broke the power of Roman London.

Mr. Green has depicted the events with incisive force. "The conquest of Kent," he says, "had broken its communications with the Continent; and whatever trade might struggle from the southern coast through the Weald had been cut off by the conquest of Sussex. That of the Gwent, about Win-

chester, closed the road to the south-west; while the capture of Cunetio interrupted all communication with the valley of the Severn. And now the occupation of Hertfordshire cut off the city from northern and central Britain.”* It was thus that Roman London passed into another stage of her history—the work of two hundred long years of almost unbroken silence so far as history is concerned, but a work as effectual and a silence as eloquent as if the clash and din of arms had dictated some of the most stirring of epic poetry.

What we have now got to do is to ascertain if this silence of history is broken by the despairing cry of conquered Roman London or by the successful shoutings of the barbaric conquerors. When we thus get rid of *old* Roman London, and her connection with a great system of commerce, we come into contact with a very different state of things. The Saxon conquerors came into the land unacquainted with the system that made commerce one of the chief agents of social and political progress. Their treatment of the towns was one of utter and complete destruction. They did not understand their value, and, barbarian-like, they trod them under foot. A conspicuous example of this is to be found in the narrative of Roger of Wendover. The citizens of Andredceaster “were all put to the sword and their town totally destroyed. The desolate site is still pointed out by the traveller. Ella and his three sons remained in that district, which they proceeded to cultivate; it is called, to this day, in English, ‘Sussex,’ or the

* *The Making of England*, p. 110.

country of the South Saxons.”* This really gives us the initial point in the Saxon conquest. After they had conquered they settled and began to cultivate. They commenced, in short, at the very bottom of the ladder of political life. They did not occupy the palaces, or the temples, or the senate-house, or the dwelling-places of the conquered Roman citizen. They nestled down on the open lands by the side of the old city, and began to cultivate in their own fashion.

The cultivation and improvement of the country, says Adam Smith, must be prior to the increase of the town.† The facts connected with the post-Roman history of London exactly fit in with this rule of political economy. Mr. Loftie tells us the tale succinctly and graphically. The Romans left Britain in 410. The East Saxons are in London in 610. Of the intervening years, eventful as they were to the country at large, we have no record relating to London.‡ But these two hundred years, dark as they are to us, settled the future constitution of the greatest city in the world. In the London district we see the Saxon cultivator approaching near. Mr. Green tells us by what route and how;§ and, though I cannot bow to the decision of Dr. Guest that good reasons may be given for the belief that even London itself for awhile lay desolate and uninhabited, we must recognise the settlement of the little village of Charing within bow-shot of its ruins. Kensington and Ful-

* Roger of Wendover, anno 492.

† Wealth of Nations, book iii. cap. i.

‡ History of London, vol. i. pp. 50-52.

§ Making of England, p. 110.

ham occupy clearings to the west, while Hampstead and Islington on the north almost complete the chain. One cannot doubt that these village settlements were, like all English settlements, based upon the village community system. Mr. Seebohm has been enabled to trace out evidence of the open-field system in the lands at Westminster which made up the scenery for the dying eyes of Edward the Confessor;* and when we come to consider that Lammas lands, and all the historical significance of these curious relics of the early village system,† existed on the site now occupied by Leicester Square, there can be no difficulty, I think, in concluding that the settlement at Charing and elsewhere near London was an agricultural settlement. This, then, is where the Saxon destroyers of London were busying themselves during that long period of history of which we know nothing; and the reason that we know nothing is that the business was the business of settlement and "making"—that ordinary routine of life which is never chronicled by indigenous historians.

And during all this time the old commerce of London, when it was Roman London, dwindled down to nothing. The new masters had not passed the cultivating stage. Without going into the history of Anglo-Saxon commerce, which would throw considerable light upon the subject, there are sufficient broad facts to indicate the wide difference of the Lon-

* Seebohm's *Village Community in England*, p. 100.

† I have traced out some of the more important archaic features of Lammas lands in the *Antiquary* (1882), vol. vi. p. 41.

don built upon the old Roman ways and the London hemmed in by Saxon communities.

The evidence of early Anglo-Saxon commerce is meagre enough, so meagre indeed as to suggest the probability of its not being very extensive.* The first important notice which we have of the subject is not of earlier date than the close of the eighth century;† and the chief articles of commerce were objects of gold and silver, slaves, horses, and the metals. The tolls imposed at the landing-place of Billingsgate by Ethelred all relate to wine, fish, and other produce of this nature. What I am anxious to arrive at is that the Saxon commerce of London was not a food commerce, showing the city to be simply an emporium for the surrounding agricultural communities. Mr. Craik says there is no evidence or reason for believing that a single cargo of corn was ever exported from England during the whole of the Anglo-Saxon period;‡ and, looking at the nature of the settlement in England by self-supporting communities, we can well understand this to be so. We can get a step further from another standpoint. Mr. John Stuart Mill observes that the things most liable to fluctuations in value, those directly influenced by the seasons, and especially food, were seldom carried to any distance in Europe during the Middle Ages. Each locality

* See Macpherson's *Annals of Commerce*, vol. i.

† Craik's *History of British Commerce*, p. 62; cf. also for this later period Spence's *Equitable Jurisdiction of the Court of Chancery*, vol. i. p. 53.

‡ *History of British Commerce*, vol. i. p. 69.

depended as a general rule on its own produce and that of its immediate neighbourhood. In most years accordingly there was in some part or other of any large country a real dearth ;* and in this fact we get a clue to the chief causes of the famines that occurred in England during this period. Not only was there not a single cargo of corn exported from England, but it was not exported from one locality to another.†

Thus as the starting-point for our consideration of the early municipal history of London we meet with the strongly contrasted positions of *Roman London*, the centre of commerce situated on great highways which connected her with Europe; and *Saxon London*, first hemmed in by small agricultural settle-

* Political Economy, book iv. cap. ii. sec. 4.

† So late as 1257 the importation of corn from Germany to meet a famine is looked upon as a special and unusual circumstance, and as such is recorded in the *Chronicles of the Mayors and Sheriffs of London*. In this year, it says, there was a failure of the crops; upon which a famine ensued to such a degree that people from the villages resorted to the city for food, and then upon the famine waxing still greater many thousand persons perished; many thousands more, too, would have died of hunger had not corn just then arrived from Almaine (p. 40).

At the latter part of the last century most of the villages in England, and almost all of them in Scotland, were independent of the world, so far as food was concerned. The corn they grew and the cattle they fed was sufficient, and more than sufficient, for their support. Carry this fact up the stream of time, and we arrive at a general rule applicable to early Saxon times and its commercial supineness. A curious glimpse of this is given by *Giraldus Cambrensis*, in speaking of the district of Wye, so late as the eleventh century. The country, he says, sufficiently abounds in grain, and if there is any deficiency it is amply supplied from the neighbouring part of England (p. 350).

ments, then overcome and occupied by these bands of fighting agriculturalists. And the question before us may now be asked in the following terms: What is the evidence that exists as to the descent of Roman municipal custom: what is the evidence of Teutonic village custom; and, finally, in what relationship do they stand towards each other? *

Modern inhabitants of the great city, and students of her history as well, are apt to think of municipal London as a London of chartered rights, of lord mayor's shows, aldermanic banquets, guild festivities, and common council debates; and that beyond these facts there is nothing in her history or her customs which need trouble the historian. But fortunately chartered rights do not by any means express all the rights appertaining to municipalities: there is a vast body of custom and unwritten law which tell us more than even chartered rights can tell, and it is with this that I shall now have to deal.

Now the mere grouping of London municipal customs into Roman and Saxon origins will not establish the fact we are most anxious to get at, namely, which system of polity predominated in the government of London? But if we see one group of customs becoming distinctly and clearly recognised as municipal law, and so losing its historical origin in

* "I shall next take notice of some ancient customs which had their original from the Romans (as I take it) and if a collection of all of them were drawn up and published together I am apt to think that it would be very useful as well as a pleasant undertaking, and conduce in a great measure to the clearing of many particulars of Roman history."—Bagford's letter in Hearne's Leland, vol. i. p. lxxiv.

its later utility, and if we see another group of customs delegated to municipal usage only, having no force as municipal law, we may be reasonably sure as to the method of fixing upon the dominating power. The men who practise customs because their fathers practised them, though they have a historical continuity of race origin, have no historical continuity of power if they have not succeeded in getting those customs promoted to the dignity of legal sanction. The case here put generally is applicable to the early municipal history of London : we see municipal law and municipal custom side by side; the one with a legal or political sanction at the back of it, the other supported by social effort only. I have succeeded in collecting what I shall venture to characterise as a remarkable collection of customs practised in London far down in the mediæval ages, and which are unquestionably of Teutonic origin. But I have not found this body of custom recognised or codified. It obtains in one locality and not in another; it is mentioned incidentally by one authority and not by another; it is practised by one body of citizens and not by another; it has no cohesion one item with another, no systematic codification into municipal law; it is, in short, the sport of an under-current life of the citizens, and not the outspoken action of the dominant life. And hence I conclude that this Teutonic custom existing here in the midst of mediæval London had met with a power with which it was hard to fight. That power could not have been Norman, because the Normans, partly Teutonic themselves, would have legalized or chra-

tered their innovations. And the London charters of Norman times are distinct and definite in their formal recognition of existing municipal law. If it was not the Norman, then, who fought with the Teuton and relegated his barbarous law into municipal custom, it must have been the Roman. The Roman with his precious gift of commercial insight, with the growing powers of wealth, stood firm to his old ways; and while the Saxon Londoners kept their folkmoots, drowned their criminals, pilloried their minor offenders, tilled their lands, the Roman merchants kept to their own laws, until they ultimately superimposed them upon the whole community.

There can be no doubt, I think, that in London the same sort of thing went on as the result of Saxon conquest as we know went on in other parts of the falling Roman Empire. Mr. Story, in his work on the Conflict of Laws, has the following passage: "When the northern nations, by their irruptions, finally succeeded in establishing themselves in the Roman Empire and the dependent nations subjected to its sway, they seem to have adopted, either by design or from accident or necessity, the policy of allowing the different races to live together, and to be governed by and to preserve their own separate manners, laws, and institutions in their mutual intercourse. While the conquerors, the Goths, Burgundians, Franks, and Lombards, maintained their own laws, and usages, and customs over their own race, they silently or expressly allowed each of the races over whom they had obtained an absolute sovereignty to regulate their own private rights and affairs according to their own muni-

cipal jurisprudence. It has accordingly been remarked, by a most learned and eminent jurist, that from this state of society arose that condition of civil rights denominated *personal rights* or personal laws in opposition to territorial laws." The eminent jurist here referred to is Savigny, who, in his History of the Roman Law in the Middle Ages, speaking of the state of things which existed between the conquering Goths, Burgundians, Franks, and Lombards, and the races conquered by them, says: "Both races lived together, and preserved their separate manners and laws. From this state of society arose that condition of civil rights, denominated *personal rights* or *personal laws*, in opposition to *territorial laws*. In the same country, and often indeed in the same city, the Lombard lived under the Lombardic, and the Roman under the Roman law. The same distinction of laws was also applicable to the different races of Germans. The Frank, Burgundian, and Goth resided in the same place, each under his own law, as is forcibly stated by the Bishop Agobardus in an epistle to Louis le Debonnaire. 'It often happens,' says he, 'that five men, each under a different law, may be found walking or sitting together.' " The same thing happened in India during the successive waves of conquest, and the Bishop Agobardus might have written the same account from Calcutta, or Bombay, or Madras. With this important lesson from the history of law before us, it appears to me that we may be guided by its significant teaching in an attempt to settle some of the leading features of the early municipal history of London.

Now, the Anglo-Saxons, as masters of London, would introduce the village system, or its central ideas, into the government of the town : these would be, the village tenement, the communal lands around, the common pasture beyond these.

Commencing, then, with the subject of municipal polity, let us see what evidence there is of old village life as the basis of later municipal life in London. Every free villager was an owner of a tenement within the village, and the possession of such a tenement was the basis of all his political and social rights. Mr. Coote draws attention to the fact that the citizens of London were landowners,* and he specifies two remarkable instances, namely, Becket's father and Osbern, who in later days held many possessions.† Mr. Loftie does something more than suggest that, in the oldest days, the aldermen were the owners of their respective wards ;‡ and the process by which this ownership was obtained is an interesting feature in London municipal history. Looking at the earlier times by the light of later events, the facts appear to shape themselves somewhat as follows. The Saxon settlement upon the old Roman site was not of the same nature as an ordinary village settlement in the open country. The citizens did not cluster into one space, with their lands stretching round them. The Roman wall dictated a boundary to their settlement which they could not and did not ignore ; and, therefore, great open spaces of unbuilt land separated the

* Romans of Britain, p. 377.

† Ibid. p. 380.

‡ History of London, vol. i. pp. 158-161.

tenements of the new settlers. Such open spaces could not be used for agricultural purposes, and they became the means of starting in London the wide-reaching powers of economical laws which proclaim that private ownership, not collective ownership, is the means to national prosperity. These ward-owning aldermen followed without a break the model, if not the personality, of the Roman citizen, and they sealed the fate of the smaller tenements which existed all around. Mr. Riley, in his introduction to the *Liber Cus-tumarum*, has summarised from the text of that remarkable volume several instances of public land, that is, land belonging to the municipality, having been appropriated and built upon.* We get a glimpse of this corporation property, too, from the *Chronicles of the Mayors and Sheriffs of London*. At page 35 of Mr. Riley's edition we read how Henry III. issued letters patent restoring the right of the citizens, among which it is said that "they shall have all issues of rents arising from houses and tenements as well in the city aforesaid as in the suburbs thereof." And again, at page 83, we read how the populace, in 1262, "endeavoured to throw open lanes, which, by writ of his lordship the King, and with the sanction of the Justiciars Itinerant, the community assenting thereto, had been stopped up and rented to certain persons" (p. 59). "King Henry III. in 1265 came to London and gave away more than sixty houses belonging to the citizens, they, with all their families, being expelled."

* Introduction, pp. cx.-cxiii.

These facts show us, I think, the break-up of the old system of village ownership; because the struggle which they indicate could not have resulted from the existence of a Roman municipal polity, which fully recognised individual ownership, whereas they present to us a picture of the growth of individual power converting village tenements into personal property. But this process was arrested before it finally swept away the last remnant of old constitutional life; and the possessions which now remain in the hands of the City Corporation, situated in the neighbourhood of Broad Street, New Broad Street, Broad Street Fields, Fenchurch Street, Aldgate, and the Minories, testify to the times when the Corporation of London held land by the common law of village rights before they had converted it into rent-bearing holdings.

We shall see more fully how these facts relating to citizen tenements suggest the break-up of the old village system if we turn to some remarkable evidence to be found in old citizen law. We have said that the tenement in the village was the basis of all rights in the village. It was, therefore, an important symbol, and its destruction would be considered most fatal. It was thus used as an engine of judicial procedure. At Folkestone, if either the mayor or any of the jurats refused to assume their respective offices upon being elected, "the commons were to go and beat down their principal messuage" (Report of the Record Commission, 1837, p. 453). On the occasion of the election of bailiff at Hastings it was a law that "if the said bailiff be absent, or will not accept

the charge, all the commoners shall go and beat down his chief tenement" (*Sussex Archaeological Collections*, vol. xii. p. 197). The same law obtained in all the Cinque Ports, and it moreover belongs unquestionably to old Teutonic village law. It has also a much wider application in English provincial districts.

Now let us turn to London. The assize of Henry II. states "that the house of the individual who harbours a heretic *shall be carried out of the town and burnt*" (section 21; See *Palgrave's English Commonwealth*, vol. ii. p. clxxiii.) There is the same principle underlying this and the above-mentioned law. And if we turn to the Preston Guild laws we shall see how this is. Every new burgess was obliged to erect his burgage within forty days (*Ancient Custumal of Preston*, section 5); and the shortness of this period is explained by the fact noted by the authors of the *History of Preston Guild* (p. 47), Messrs. Dobson and Harland, that the houses "were formed of a framework of oak, and the interstices were filled with a sort of plaster formed of clay mixed with straw, reeds, or rushes. Each piece of wood in the framework was usually tenoned, fitted into a mortise, and fixed by a wooden peg. *The framework was put together by the builder before it was taken to the site.* When the old buildings facing the market-place were removed in 1855 much curiosity was excited by an examination of the framework, each tenon and mortise being numbered to correspond with each other, so that when the frame was placed on the site it had to occupy the com-

ponent parts could be as easily fitted to each other as when it was framed."

It appears also by one of the Paston letters, "that small houses were sometimes framed and made ready on the spot where the wood was felled." Some dispute having arisen the owner or occupier of the wood refused his consent to the carrying away of the timber-work after it had been made ready to set up. The letter says, "Brother Paston, I recommend me unto you, praying you that ye take the labour to speak with Thomas Ratcliffe, of Frampsden (Suffolk), for the deliverance of part of a house which lyeth in his wood at Frampsden, which house the owner hath carried part thereof to Oxford, which, so departed, the remanent that remaineth in his wood shall do him little good, and it shall hurt greatly the workmen and the owner thereof also, which is my tenant, and the house should be set upon ground."*

This carrying of the frame-work to the site clearly explains the possibility of carrying the houses out of the city of London, bearing in mind the evidence given by the assize of Fitzalwyne, first lord mayor of London, that the houses in the city were all thatched (*Liber Albus*, vol. i. p. 328), and the curious story told by Stow of his father's house having in one night been moved bodily some distance.

Another distinguishing feature of the early Teutonic community was the power of its assembly in the regulation and management of its lands. Such an assembly existed in some municipal boroughs in 1835

* Ramsay's *Paston Letters*, vol. i. p. 33.

in a very distinct form ; and the ancient powers of the London court of hustings are to be attributed to the same cause. In this court all kinds of real actions for the recovery of lands and tenements within the city and its liberties are cognisable ; and in this language we can easily recognise a translation of that which would have described the archaic duties of the old village assembly, especially if we take into consideration the exceedingly curious powers which attend proceedings under this court. The recorder must pronounce judgment, and forty freeholders formed the inquest, chosen from twelve men and the aldermen from the ward where the tenements in question lie, and the same number from each of the three wards next to the said tenements.* Such a court as this was the result of no political legislation. It is the descendant of that archaic assembly which belonged to every village community

But when we come to speak of the assembly of the citizens there is much closer analogy to the assembly of old Teutonic communities ; and its decay and final wiping out from the institutions of the city mark the struggle between the community as the Saxon Londoners understood it and the community as the Roman Londoners sought to make it. Nothing is more curious than the history of the London folkmoot. We see it standing out, now and again, in all its original strength, attended by all the citizens in early Teutonic fashion ; but we see towering behind it, overshadowing it too, a small compact body of alder-

* See *Privilegia Londini*, 1702, p. 162.

men, just such a body, in fact, as Mr. Coote tells us governed the Roman municipia, a high class of citizens —*optimates, meliores, primates, potentes*—who monopolised all municipal power and privilege to the absolute exclusion of the other class.* Though we see this struggle going on late down in history, though our only record of it is a post-Norman chronicler, it appears to me to be something far greater, historically speaking, than a struggle for liberty against a mediæval tyrant king. If the actual struggle is against Henry III. and his faction, the contending parties are old foes, who have met and fought often before, and who fight on the historic ground chalked out by the place of meeting of an open-air folkmoot, and who use such archaic weapons as the “Yea, yea,” and “Nay, nay,” of Teutonic folk-speech. We know how late in modern times relics of archaic custom have survived; and when I consider these struggles of mediæval Londoners, and all that they reflect upon the past history of the city, it appears to me as if these citizens wielded weapons of stone and bronze, to tell us of the age from whence they are descended.

The folk-moot was held in the open air, upon a piece of ground at the east end of St. Paul’s church, adjoining the cross.† Here, at all events, we stand upon undoubted Teutonic ground, conquered from the Roman by men who knew and loved the village institutions they sought to transplant into the city. But then there is no evidence that this assembly of

* Romans of Britain, p. 368.

† See *Liber Custumarum*, pp. 338, 339, and my *Primitive Folk-moots*, p. 158, where I have discussed the archaic importance of this.

the citizens ever wholly dominated the city, and was recognised as the supreme council; but it seems more than probable, since at times it took its part in those survivals of the old primary assemblies of the nation which met to elect their king.*

The fight between the popular assembly or folk-moot, where every citizen had a right to attend, and the smaller body, is well related in the *Chronicles of the Mayor and Sheriffs of London, 1188 to 1274*. In 1249, upon the Abbot of Westminster and his advisers desiring to hold a conference with the mayor and aldermen, “*the whole of the populace opposed it, and would not allow them, without the whole of the commons being present, to treat at all of the matter*” (p. 18). Again, in 1257, on the occasion of charges being made against certain aldermen, the King gave orders to the sheriffs to convene the folk-moot on the morrow at Saint Paul’s Cross, upon which day all the aldermen and citizens came there. The proceedings are fully described, but the passage interesting to us is the following: “*To which inquiry (no conference being first held among the discreet men of the city, as is usually the practice) answer was made by some of the populace, sons of divers mothers, many of them born without the city, and many of servile condition, with loud shouts of ‘Nay, nay, nay’*” (p. 38). In 1262 we

* For the significance of the action of the London folk-moot in the election of Stephen, see Green’s *History of the English People*, vol. i. pp. 151, 152; Freeman’s *Norman Conquest*, vol. v. pp. 245, 305. That this connection of the London folk-moot was kept up is shown by the oath of fealty the citizens in assembly gave to Prince Edward, 1252. See *Chronicles of the Mayors and Sheriffs of London*, p. 20.

have the following remarkable passage. “The mayor, Thomas FitzThomas, during the time of his mayoralty, had so pampered the city populace, that, styling themselves the ‘commons of the city,’ they had obtained the first voice in the city. For the mayor, in doing all that he had to do, acted and determined through them, and would say to them, ‘Is it your will that so it shall be?’ and then, if they answered ‘Ya, ya,’ so it was done. And on the other hand, the aldermen or chief citizens were little or not at all consulted on such matter” (p. 59). In 1265 the populace cried “Nay, nay,” to the proposed election of William FitzRichard as sheriff, and demanded Thomas Fitz-Thomas (p. 91). In 1266 “the low people arose, calling themselves the commons of the city” (p. 95). In 1271 the old dispute broke out again in the election of mayor, and the record of this is very instructive (pp. 154-156).

In these curious and instructive passages I cannot doubt that we have a record of the final chapters of the history of the Teutonic folkmoot in London. Its name, its place of meeting, its popular form, its formula of “Yea, yea,” or “Nay, nay,”* all proclaim its primitive origin. But then under what circumstances do we see it with these evident signs of its historical origin? There are by its side “the discreet men of the city.” We have never met with it, either before the date of these records we have quoted or afterwards, as the dominant power of the city, impressing its forms and ceremonies,

* Cf. Freeman’s Comparative Politics, sect. v.

its political system, its derivative forces, upon the municipal history of the city. It was never powerful ; it was only fitful. And we may well ask why the Teutonic conqueror, who met in his folkmoot without let or hindrance, bowed in municipal government to another body, separate and distinct from it ? The answer I am inclined to seek in the masterful pages of Mr. Coote's Romans in Britain, where I find that Roman prowess, ingenuity, commercial acumen, and political insight, managed to keep at bay in some places the savage barbarism of Teutonic conquest.

Other subjects of municipal internal polity claim attention at this juncture before we turn our attention to London beyond the walls. At the election of chief magistrate in Teutonic communities many curious and significant customs were observed, chiefly in connection with the old religion. In early Aryan days, when a village was first established, a stone was set up. To this stone the head man of the village made an offering once a year.* Of the many traces of this custom in England I will not speak here ; but of its survival as a London municipal custom there exists some curious evidence accidentally preserved. Holinshed tells us that when Cade in 1450 forced his way into London he first of all proceeded to London Stone, and, having struck his sword upon it, said, “ Now is Mortimer (*i.e.* Cade) lord of this city.” Pennant in 1793 was the first to note that this act was something more

* For examples, see Indian Antiquary, vol. ii. p. 66; Biddulph's Tales of the Hindoo Koosh, pp. 105-107, 114; Forbes Leslie's Early Races of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 497.

than meaningless nonsense,* but it was reserved for Mr. Coote to put it in its true place as a fragment of municipal folk-lore.† He points out that Holinshed attached a meaning to it, and that the crowd of Londoners who witnessed it must have attached a meaning to it. Well, what was that meaning? It is almost lost to us in London municipal custom. We find that London Stone entered into municipal legal procedure, as when the defendant in the lord mayor's court had to be summoned from that spot, and when proclamations, and other important business of the like nature, were transacted there;‡ but there is no direct clue to the action of Cade and its consequent association of London Stone with an archaic Teutonic custom. But if we turn to a parallel municipal custom elsewhere we shall find the clue we are in search of. On the mayor's day at Bovey Tracey the mayor used to ride round the stone cross and strike it with a stick.§ This significant action proclaimed the authority of the mayor of Bovey, and it is not difficult to translate this curious parallel into the explanation which comparative politics afford of the old municipal custom at London Stone. But it will be noted that, while at Bovey Tracey the custom obtains almost the force of a municipal law, in London it had sunk so low in its scale of importance as only to have been rescued by the record of the acts of a rebel.

* Some Account of London, p. 4.

† London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, vol. v. p. 282.

‡ Brandon's Customary Law of Foreign Attachment, p. 6; and Lord Mayor's Court of the City of London, p. 14.

§ Ormerod's Archaeology of Eastern Dartmoor, p. 11.

I have another remarkable custom to mention in connection with this stone-worship, if it may be so designated. In the Totnes Times, of 13th May, 1882, is an account of the customs adopted on mayor's Monday at Bovey Tracey, which gives us the additional piece of information, unnoticed by Mr. Ormerod in the book above quoted, that young men were induced to kiss the magic stone, pledging allegiance in upholding ancient rights and privileges. In London there is a remarkable survival of such a custom, though it is not identified with London Stone. In Bagford's Letter to Hearne* there is related how the porters at Billingsgate "used civilly to intreat and desire every man that passed that way to salute a post that stood there in a vacant space. If he quietly submitted to kiss the same, and paid down 6d., then they gave him a name, and chose some one of the gang to be his godfather." Now, in these curious relies of old London life we have stumbled upon a set of facts altogether outside the municipal formularies of Roman London. That they are hidden among the popular customs, as distinct from municipal law, proclaims that they had been ousted from their official place by a power that we must recognise to be Roman, but that they exist at all shows that they owed their origin to a power which we must recognise as extremely archaic, and therefore Teutonic.

In strict association with this subject is a piece of curious legal procedure, preserved for us in the

* See Hearne's Leland's Itinerary, vol. i., p. lxxiv.

Chronicles of the Mayors and Sheriffs of London. In the charter of Henry III., granted in 1267, is the following clause, that, as to pleas of the Crown, the citizens "may deraign themselves according to the ancient custom of the said city ; this, however, excepted, that upon the graves of the dead it shall not be lawful to make oath in the precise words as to what the dead persons themselves would have said if they had been living." This custom was common to the Teutons and Scandinavians in ancient times.* In the present instance allusion is made, says Mr. Riley, to a privilege which had been allowed in London to a person when accused : to the effect that when one of his compurgators or jurors had died, whom he had selected to clear or exonerate him by making oath as to his belief of his innocence, it was allowable for the accused to say on oath, over the deceased person's grave, what the precise nature of his intended verdict would have been ; such oath having the same virtue as that of the deceased in favour of the person so accused.†

The other subject of municipal internal polity which we must consider is that of punishment awarded for offences against the laws. Pennant has a very interesting note about Execution Dock, which in his time still remained at Wapping. The criminals, he says, are to this day executed on a temporary gallows, placed at low-water mark, but the custom of leaving the body to be overflowed by three tides has long

* See Thorpe's Ancient Laws and Institutes of England, pp. 59, 123.

† Chronicles of London, p. 108.

since been omitted.* It appears to me that this curious practice bears upon the face of it the character of an archaic survival, and something which indicates a Teutonic origin. These things do not originate in the days of Charters and Acts of Parliament, and we see here an old custom passing away into oblivion. There can be no doubt, I think, that this represents the old punishment by drowning, an undoubted Teutonic and Scandinavian custom.† This old custom was extant in the Cinque Ports; and it is an important fact to notice that the transitional custom mentioned by Pennant is confirmed by a record of the actual practice. Kemble, in the first volume of his *Codex Diplomaticus*, speaks of a woman who, being condemned to death for aiming at the life of a nobleman, was executed by drowning on London Bridge, in the middle of the tenth century. A singular prerogative, belonging to the castellan of Baynard's Castle, consisted in the fact that, if any traitor was taken within his soke or jurisdiction, it was his duty to sentence him to death by drowning, in conformity wherewith the offender was bound to a pillar in the Thames, used for mooring vessels, at Woodwharf, near Baynard's Castle, and left there two floods and two ebbs of the tide.‡ We read also, in the *Liber de Antiquis Legibus*, that in the year 1266, while the Earl of Gloucester was treating for peace with Henry III. at

* *Some Account of London*, p. 324.

† See Hampson's *Origines Patriciae*, pp. 104-105; Grimni's *Deutsche Rechtsaltherthümer*, pp. 696-699.

‡ See Stow's *London* (edit. Thoms), p. 25.

Westminster, certain of his partizans pillaged many of the citizens of London, and slew one of their number; whereupon the Earl had four of the offenders seized, bound hand and foot, thrown into the Thames, and drowned. And such, the chronicler adds, was the judgment passed during all this period upon those who were condemned.* I should like to lay stress upon the importance of this piece of evidence, because it is an example, all too seldom found, of a modern custom meeting its true explanation and significance by a reference to ancient custom, and it thus illustrates the correctness of the principle I have followed in less certain cases.

There are other modes of punishment in London which take us back to the village life of our Teutonic ancestors. In the *Chronicles of the Mayors and Sheriffs of London* we read that the bakers, "whose bread did not weigh according to the assay of the city, not being placed in the pillory, as they used to be, but at the will of the Justiciar and Earl exalted in the tumbril, against the ancient usage of the city and all the realm" (p. 43). There were two pillories in London; one stood in Cheapside. In 1269 we read, in the above-named Chronicle (p. 127), it was out of repair.

A curious legal custom is mentioned by Aubrey as still obtaining in London during his day, he having observed one instance. If an unmarried man was capitally condemned, he was pardoned if a woman

* Riley's *Liber Custumarum*, Introd. pp. lxxxiii., lxxxiv.; *Chronicles of the Mayors and Sheriffs of London*, p. 97.

begged for his release upon condition that he married her.* This is old German law.

Now the particular fact upon which I wish to dwell in connection with these various subjects is that they do not exist in any of the recognised collections of city law and custom. They have never been codified, never been able to lift themselves beyond the title of municipal usage. I have collected them from all sorts of places, and have had to piece them together in a kind of patchwork, with no chronological basis of connection between them. Archæologically they present us with a fair field of observation, because they belong to one era of archaic society ; but before the tribunal of historical succession they have been found wanting. And, I think, if we look a little further we shall find that the Roman Londoner had an excellent piece of machinery wherewith to thrust in the background the barbaric usages of his conquerors. Roman law and Roman lawyers were powerful where commerce was concerned ; and their recognition by the ignorant Teutons was, as we well know, among the first steps towards the formation of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom. Well, how do we find that Roman law and Roman lawyers were treated in London ? Legal history contains within it some of the most archaic survivals of our complicated social system, and when its details are treated minutely it comes home to the student with considerable force. Now the order of the coif is the oldest established association of lawyers in our country ; there is no law

* Aubrey's *Remaines of Gentilisme and Judaisme*, p. 126.

for its first institution, no charter from a sovereign, nothing to show from whence it sprang except its remarkable parallel to Roman customs. The assembling of the Roman Jurisperiti at early morn, *sub galli cantum*, and their peripatetic exercise up and down the Forum, in actual consultation, or ready to confer with the *consultores* or clients, is described by Horace and many other writers. Horace's words are (Sat. I. i. 9) :—

“Agricolam laudat juris legumque peritus
Sub galli cantum consultor ubi ostia pulsat;”

and again in the first epistle of his second book he explains more at large the custom, which is again mentioned by Cicero in his oration for Murena. But this practice applied to those lawyers whose years and honours had grown with their knowledge of the laws. In their younger days, on the public days of market or assembly, the masters of the art, says Gibbon, were seen walking in the Forum ready to impart the needful advice to the meanest of their fellow-citizens, from whose votes on a future occasion they might solicit a grateful return. Let us take a step further in the history of Roman lawyers. When they awaited their clients at home the youths of their own order and family were permitted to listen; and Gibbon goes on to point out the evident corollary from this, that some families, as for instance the Mucian, were long renowned for their hereditary knowledge of the civil law. Now all these facts are in exact parallel to the

early customs of the order of the coif. Serjeant Pulling points out the significance of the order as a family of lawyers, so to speak, who appear at the earliest dawn of English history, but originating from no special enactment from the government of the day, called into being by no charter or sanction of the sovereign. But the close parallel between the order of the coif as a family or corporation of lawyers and the Roman lawyers who developed into hereditary custodians of legal knowledge becomes even more remarkable when we consider their practices, and the theory of their duties. They assembled in the parvis of old St. Paul's cathedral, each serjeant having been allotted a special pillar in the cathedral at his appointment, where they met their clients in legal consultation, hearing the facts of the case, and taking notes of the evidence, or pacing up and down. Parvis sometimes implies the church porch, but in the case of St. Paul's it comprehended the nave or the middle aisle of the old cathedral, or Paul's Walk. This is only the old Roman practice over again, and a practice which was clearly related in the nature of parent to child, not that of descendant from a common ancestor. Further than this is the parallel between the theory of their action. As the Roman lawyer was ready to give aid to the poorest citizen without pecuniary reward, so was the serjeant "truly to serve the King's people" without pecuniary reward. I cannot discover that Mr. Coote, in the many remarkable and acute parallels between Roman and English institutions, has touched upon this; and I am disposed to class it as one of the most curious pieces of evidence

on this subject which is yet brought to light, and one which well deserves some close attention.*

It is before such an institution as this, formed of men learned in law far more extensive and philosophical than the barbarian codes could furnish, that Teutonic custom in London gradually declined into municipal usage of mediæval and later days.

We have now reviewed some of the municipal customs of London, and they have shown to us, according to my interpretation of the facts, some features of the contest between Roman and Saxon. The men who occupied, in early days, the little hill-fort, and who built up around it a flourishing commercial port, stood the shock of isolation, and then the shock of conquest, without giving up everything to the new comers. Fortunately for them, the new comers did not understand, and did not appreciate, the commercial importance of the place, and did not comprehend the system of government necessary for such a place. They occupied the lower part of the ruined city while the Roman traders kept to their old bounds. This seems to me to be the state of affairs as revealed to us by a study of the institutions as far as we have gone. And we now have to go a step further, and ask, Did the Saxon conquerors and settlers of London, who gave to the Roman city her Teutonic folk-moot, her Teutonic modes of punishment, did they also bring with them their agricultural system? London decommercialised (if I may coin

* I have sought, in vain, for some fresh information on this point; and upon my consulting Dr. Edwin Freshfield he doubted Mr. Pulling's reading of the facts.

such a word) must have become London agriculturalised. The limits of the old walls did not bind the limits of the new citizenship. A Saxon citizen not only possessed tenements within, but he possessed his corn-lands, pastures, wood and forest, without the town boundaries. And he possessed them not by individual ownership but as a member of the whole community. I am now speaking of times when London was supported by her agriculture, and not by her commerce. These agricultural lands without the boundary were held in common tenure, as we know the agricultural lands of other municipal towns were held down to within recent days. But we see here, just as we saw in matters relating to internal polity, that the influence of the Roman began to exert itself very early. Lands held in common were converted either into corporate property, let out to tenants paying rent, or were seized upon by citizens who had ceased to be members of an agricultural community, and had begun to see the advantage of individual ownership.

FitzStephen, so late as the reign of Henry II., was able to give an account sufficiently archaic to afford evidence of the general agricultural aspect of London citizenship. Everywhere, he says, without the houses of the suburbs, the citizens have gardens extensive and beautiful, and one joining to the other (*contigui*). Then he describes the arable lands of the citizens as bringing plentiful corn, and being like the rich fields of Asia. And then come the pastures. On the north side there are pasture fields, and pleasant meadows intersected by streams, the waters of which turn the

wheels of mills with delightful sounds. Very near lies a large forest in which are wild beasts, bucks and does, wild boars, and bulls.* Now, such a description as this, coming from a Norman chronicler at a time when Roman and Teuton had both become Londoners, and when London was the capital of the nation, tells a great deal more than the meagre words of the Latin narrative. It must be noted that the citizens owned all these lands—garden grounds, arable lands, and pasture. The citizens then were agriculturists. The gardens were contiguous, and the pasture and forest were in common. This much we do know; and by analogy we know also that such a state of things shows a Teutonic settlement, shows a remarkable parallel to the land system of other English municipal towns — Berwick, Nottingham, Malmesbury, and others.† The long series of parallel customs and remarkable archaic analogies, which, I think, proclaim English municipal institutions to have been founded upon a Teutonic basis, proclaims, too, that London municipal institutions possess a large share of the same original stock. The very name of Long Acre, preserved in modern street nomenclature, tells its tale of archaic land tenure. It was one of the long narrow strips of arable into which the lands of the citizen community were divided. Such strips, possessing exactly the same name, “Long Acre,” exist in many parts of the country as portions of the village community, as it survives in England to this day, and we cannot disassociate the London “Long

* *Liber Custumarum*, vol. i. p. 4.

† See *Archaeologia*, vol. xlvi. pp. 403-422.

Acre" from the same set of facts. When once we can grasp the conception, and FitzStephen enables us to do so, that London was once agricultural London; that her citizens depended upon their garden ground, arable lands, and pastures for the means of existence; and when we add to this that her folkmoot was the old Teutonic folkmoot, where one and all had a right of attendance; that her hustings court, possessing its ancient name, was the court which governed the tenures of citizen landholding; that parts of her criminal law belonged to the ancient code which was extant in the homes of Scandinavia and Germany,—we may identify some portions of the early history of municipal London as belonging to Teutonic times. And correlatively I would urge that where we see signs of the breaking-up of this archaic system, signs of a something which exists always alongside of it and yet is not a part of it, we see the latent powers of Roman citizenship exerting themselves.

What, then, has become of the garden ground, arable lands, and pastures of London citizenship? Some of it became corporate property, and remains so to this day, the city still owning their conduit-mead estate in Marylebone, which was once citizen meadow land, lying by the conduit which supplied water to the city. But this last outlying relic of old citizen land does not tell us of the alienations which have taken place during these last eight hundred years. Just let us turn, for instance, to the Liber Albus,* and study that most instructive list of grants

* Vol. i. p. 552.

and agreements made by the city. “Concessio majoris et communitatis” is the formula. And the mayor and commonalty grant extra-mural property away with a free hand—“de domo vocata Bedlem extra Bysshopisgate, de domo extra Newgate, de quadam domo extra Crepulgate.” And besides these there are such instructive documents as “Memorandum de quadam Placea terrae extra Crepulgate capta in manum civitatis.”* I cannot conceive a more instructive piece of work than a map of the city property, restored from the archives and documents of the city, to show the possessions of the earliest times.

Some of the old citizen land remained citizen land, changing its uses as the circumstances of the time changed. Thus Finsbury Field † and Smithfield were used for games and sports, as open lands outside the city, long after their archaic significance as open lands had passed away.

But even in the question of the extent of the city lands outside the boundary of the walls we have to turn to Roman authorities for an explanation of the abnormal state of things in London.

In the long series of charters, which a recently published work has made more generally accessible to readers, there is a charter ‡ granted by Henry I.

* In the Chronicles of the Mayors and Sheriffs of London we read how Henry III. in 1265 came to London and took all the foreign lands of the citizens into his hands, foreign lands being those without the liberties of the city (see p. 83).

† See Chronicles of the Mayors and Sheriffs of London, p. 174, for a relation of the possible loss of this to the citizens in 1173.

‡ Historical Charters and Constitutional Documents of the City of London, 1884.

confirming to the city of London the county of Middlesex in fee-farm. Such a grant as this points to much more than a King's favour, even if we take into account Henry's peculiar position. There is evidence of ancient rights claimed by the citizens, "and the citizens of London may have their chases to hunt *as well and fully as their ancestors have had.*" Mr. Green places these ancient rights far back in the past. "Middlesex," he says, "possibly represents a district which depended on London in this earlier [i.e. 500—577] as it certainly did in a later time; and the privileges of the chase which its citizens enjoyed throughout the Middle Ages in the woodland that covered the heights of Hampstead, and along the southern bank of the river as far as the Cray, may have been drawn from the rights of the Roman burghers."* No doubt, I think, the limits of the "territorium" of Roman

* The Making of England, pp. 106, 107.—One or two instances of the usages of the citizens outside the city boundaries may perhaps be useful; they are taken from the Chronicles of the Mayor of London: In 1232 the citizens of London mustered in arms at the Mile End and were arrayed in the London Chepe.—Chronicles of London, p. 7. "His Lordship the King requested them [the Corporation] to permit the Abbot of Westminster to enjoy the franchise which the King had granted him in Middlesex in exchange for other liberties which the citizens might of right demand. To which the citizens made answer that they could do nothing as to such matter without the consent of the whole community." Chronicles of London, p. 16.—This subject was afterwards settled, it being decided that the Sheriffs of London may enter all vills and tenements which the Abbot holds in Middlesex, even unto the gate of his abbey.—Ibid. p. 61. "Upon the King (1257) approaching Westminster the mayor and citizens went forth to salute him, *as the usage is*, as far as Kniwtebrigge."—Ibid. p. 34.

London determined the limits of the wood and forest rights of Saxon and later London, just as the walls of Roman London determined the limits of the city boundary.

I have now touched upon some of the chief features of municipal polity, law, and custom, which seem to me to illustrate the continuance of Roman life in London, and its struggle with a powerful Teutonic life. I have stated the main arguments during the progress of my researches, and they do not need to be repeated here; but, in conclusion, I may perhaps observe, that I have still some accumulations of evidence which I have not brought forward now, but which seem to confirm the proposition that I have ventured to put forward. I had hoped, before finally going to press, to have received the invaluable opinion of the late Mr. H. C. Coote upon my view of this subject, but the death of that lamented scholar, one of my most generous and kindly friends, prevented this.

NOTES ON TWO ANGLO-SAXON CHARTERS RELATING TO HAMPSTEAD
IN THE TIMES OF KINGS EADGAR AND
ÆTHELRED.

BY PROFESSOR JOHN W. HALES, M.A. &c.

Spoken at an Evening Meeting at King's College, 12 January, 1885.

I.—EXTRACT FROM KING EADGAR'S CHARTER TO MANGODA.

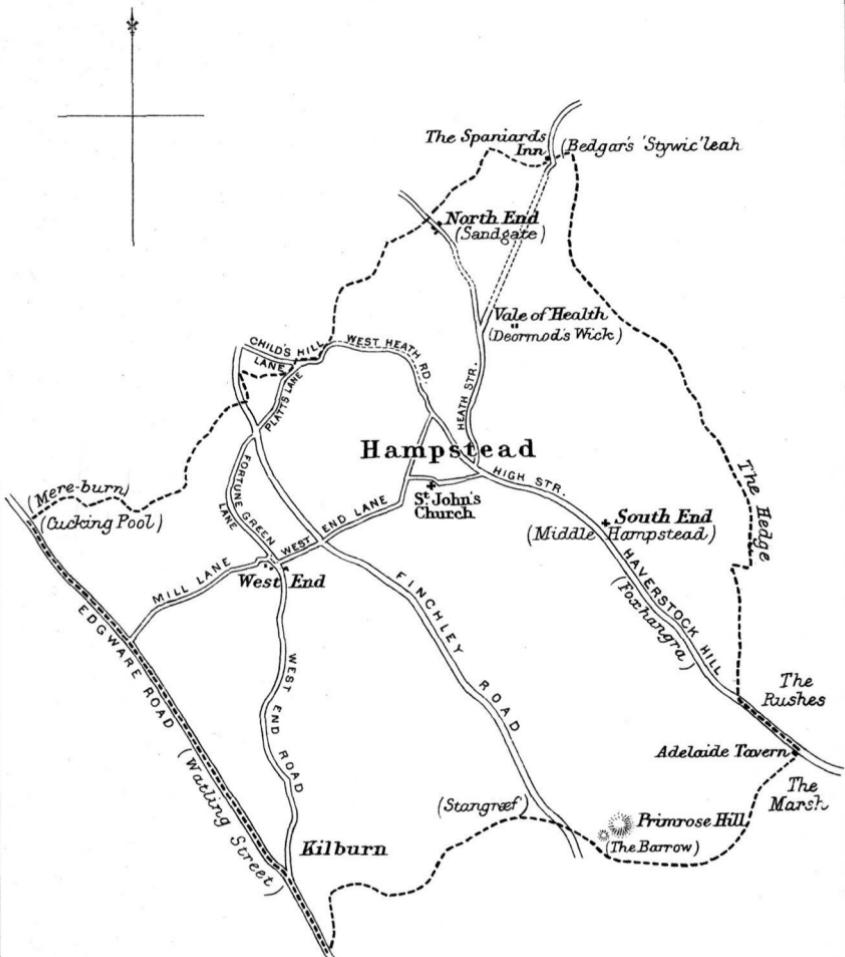
Þir ryndon þú land gemæpa to hámjtebe; of Sandgatan rúð andlangz pegez tó fox-hangpan; of þam hangpan pegez to Wætlinga-jtþræte; nofð andlangz jtþræte oð coccinge pól; fñam coccinge pôle éaft oð Sandgate.

Translation.

These are the land boundaries at Hampstead: from Sandgate South along the road to Foxhanger; from the hanger, west, to Watling Street; north along the Street to the Cucking-pool; from the Cucking-pool, east, to Sandgate.

II.—EXTRACT FROM KING ÆTHELRED'S CHARTER TO ST. PETER'S,
WESTMINSTER, A.D. 986.

Ærege æt Sandgete ryá eaft to Bebedapeg Stypic leage; þær ujð to Deorimodeg pican; of Deorimodeg pican to meðeman Hemjtebe; ryá fñofð andlangz hagan to þiſc leage; of þiſc leage pegez æftegi meijice tó þom beajupe; of þam beajupe pegez andlangz meapice tó Stanȝrafe; of þam ȝrafe innon Wætlinga jtþræte; ryá nofð andlangz Wætlinga jtþræte tó mæj-buþnan; of mæj-buþnan eft eaft æftegi meajice tó Sandȝete.



J. & W. Emslie, lith.

HAMPSTEAD IN SAXON TIMES.

Translation.

Starting from Sandgate, east, to Bedegar's "Stywic" (?) lea ; there south to Deormod's house ; from Deormod's house to Middle Hampstead ; so forward, along the hedge to the rushes ; from the rushes, west, by the side of the marsh to the barrow ; from the barrow, west, along the boundary to the stone-pit (?) ; from the stone-pit to Watling Street ; so north along Watling Street to the boundary brook ; from the boundary brook, back, east, by the side of the boundary to Sandgate.

I trust I shall not have to apologise for calling attention to what may seem at first sight unimportant and even frivolous. If we look minutely into these charters we shall find that they are very suggestive not only with regard to Hampstead but with regard to Anglo-Saxon England. There are three ways in which the study of these old documents seems to be especially important. In the first place it is a great help to our knowledge of Anglo-Saxon; it is wonderful to discover how many Anglo-Saxon words have not yet been registered in our current dictionaries ; in the next place it is of great interest in casting light on the social life and customs of ancient eras ; and in the next place it makes us thoroughly realise how very old the limits of property are in this country. We are very apt to think of the old Anglo-Saxon times as times of disorder and anarchy, and popular histories often speak of them as such. We may therefore be surprised to find with what curious accuracy the limits of property were defined one thousand years ago. We are hearing a good deal just now of the Boundary Commission, and the boundaries of the

new borough of Hampstead have just been defined. It is extremely interesting to note that one hundred years before the Norman Conquest the boundaries of Hampstead were precisely the same as have just been so adopted. I wish only just to throw out these hints and now turn particularly to these two charters.

The first is a charter of King Edgar, the date of which is uncertain, and the second is a charter of King Æthelred, the date of which is 986. I am sorry to find that copies of these charters have not been ready to put in your hands, but possibly this rough map may be of use in enabling you to follow what would otherwise seem to be a very obscure and confusing matter.

The first of these two charters has been known for a great many years. The original exists in the archives of Westminster and is printed in the appendix to Park's *Hampstead*. It is printed also in Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus*, and in Madox's *Formularium Anglicanum*.

The other document, I think, we are now calling attention to for the first time. It has only lately become accessible; it is one of the Stowe MSS. lately secured by the British Museum. This charter has, I believe, never yet been printed, except in Mr. Maunde Thompson's catalogue of the Stowe MSS. It is No. 10 in that catalogue.

With regard to the first, Park suspected that it was a forgery. We know that monkish forgeries are common enough; but I think we may fairly believe in the genuineness of this document. The date given

is 978; King Eadgar died in 975; so that there must be some error there. But such errors of date do creep into old documents, or at least into apographs or copies of them. The probable date, I think, must be about ten years before that given; it cannot have been earlier than 963, because one of the signatures is that of the second wife of King Eadgar, the lady known as Queen Elfrida. There is no reason for believing that the monks forged this, because it is not a charter granted to them. It grants the land at Hampstead to a certain nobleman of the name of Mangoda. He is mentioned in the Latin or introductory part of the charter as *nobilis minister*; as receiving this grant in return for his most devoted obedience, *pro obsequio ejus devotissimo*. Its internal style is exactly like other charters of King Eadgar. There is another charter of King Eadgar, printed by Kemble, almost exactly like it. We shall, therefore, accept it as a genuine document. I may add what Park could not notice, that Æthelred's charter refers to this preceding one. I say Park could not notice this, because he never saw King Æthelred's charter. It was, in Park's time, in the possession of the Duke of Buckingham at Stowe, who promised Park a sight of it; but the death of his Grace prevented this.

I shall take each of these charters in detail, if you will kindly follow me on the map.

The first charter gives the limits of Hampstead very roughly. I will read what it says, and I hope to have some suggestions as to how far my interpretation is accurate. What you find on this map is quite conjectural, and I shall be extremely glad to consider

amendments. . Taking the Anglo-Saxon part of it, it says, “These are the boundaries for Hampstead” (so that you see the name is well recognised). “From Sandgate along the road to Foxhanger; from the hanger west to Watling Street : north along the street to the Cucking Pool ; from the Cucking Pool east to Sandgate.” These limits are very simple. I venture to suppose that by Sandgate is meant what we now call North End. The present northern boundary crosses the road at North End. The charter ignores what is called the East Heath, and goes straight down the road to Foxhanger. It says that it goes along “the way”; I believe this is the main road through Hampstead—the road through Hampstead to Hendon. This is certainly a very old road. Norden and Camden believed that it was a Roman road—that it was indeed the Watling Street. It is quite clear they were wrong ; but it is certainly a very old road. And there can be little doubt it is what is meant in the charter we are examining.

We may translate “hanger” “hill-wood,” or “woody slope.” Our friend Mr. Halliwell-Philipps defines it as a wood on the declivity of a hill. Such names as Foxhill and Foxhanger are very common in these old documents. I believe what is here meant is what is now called Haverstock Hill. I shall be very glad if any one can give me any information as to when the name Haverstock Hill came into use. I find the name not only in Park, but in Roque’s map of London in 1741—5. I will just mention that I have suffered in studying this matter from the disadvantage

of not having seen that part of our friend Mr. Gardner's famous collection that concerns Hampstead. You will deeply regret to hear that some time ago he met with an accident which still confines him to his chamber. He has kindly promised to show me his Hampstead illustrations as soon as his health permits. Not only on archæological grounds we wish him a speedy convalescence.

I should like to make one suggestion about the derivation of the word *Haverstock*. I suggest that it comes from aver, the Low Latin *averia*, which means cattle. I suspect a pound once stood there. In Roque's map Pond Street is called Pound Street.

If you will look at the map again we will now proceed from the extreme south-east corner, exactly where the Adelaide Tavern stands at present, straight across to Watling Street. There is no doubt that Edgware Road is the Watling Street, and at this present time the western boundary of Hampstead extends for about two miles along the Edgware Road — from near the North-Western Railway Station, where Kilburn Priory once stood, to Cricklewood.

Following the charter, we go straight along the Watling Street to the Cucking Pool. Now, that is one of the most difficult of these old words. I have some reason for believing that there was a pool just at that point. In the first place, in Park's map there are traces of certain pools. In the next place, I find, just opposite, the old Saxon name "the Slade," which has been defined to mean flat marshy ground ; and to this day, although you will not find it marked

even on the 25-inch Ordnance map, you will see if you visit the spot that the road rises slightly at this point, and that this rising is due to a bridge over a brook, or what has been one. Lastly, I find that in the time of Edward III., just after this part of Hampstead had passed into the hands of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, there is a complaint brought against the Knights of St. John by a jury for not keeping the road at that particular point in better order, for it was completely overflowed and made impassable (see page 193 in Park's *Hampstead*). They present that there was a certain ditch in Hampstead lying near the King's way in that part, leading from Edgware to London, that was so blocked up with solid matter and earth, and that through want of scouring (*scuriacionis*) and flushing (*inundacionis*) the said road, by reason of the abundance of water in the rainy weather and at other times, was so broken up and bemuddled that men with horses and vehicles were not able to cross over it as they used to do, to the great damage of the entire neighbourhood (*ad grave nocumentum totius patricæ*) and of all others who were wont to go that way; which ditch the Prior of St. John in England was bound to repair and amend. Putting all these points together we may conclude that there was a pool at this special point; and that this pool was used as a boundary marsh.

Then comes the question what is meant by “cucking”? I have been in correspondence with several eminent scholars about this word; everybody finds

it puzzling. Possibly it is the name of a punishment which prevailed in England as late as the last century; if not as the present,—the well-known punishment applied to “scolds.” You may ask whether this punishment is so old as the tenth century. The cucking-stool is mentioned in a Political Poem of Edward the Second’s time; see Wright’s Collection; and something of the kind is mentioned in Domesday Book; see Way’s *Prompt. Parv. s. v. Cukstoke*. But this word is very obscure; and I am by no means certain about it. One shrinks from insisting that “cucking pool” stands for “cucking-stool pool.” Possibly cucking means merely *stercoraceous*.

Then the northern boundary is from the Cucking Pool, whatever *coc cinge* means, back to Sandgate.

I shall now just run through the second charter, which is much more minute. I will first read it: “Starting from Sandgate East to Bedgar’s Stywic (?) lea. Then south to Deormod’s House. From Deormod’s House to Middle Hampstead; so forward along the hedge to the Rushes. From the Rushes west by the side of the marsh to the Barrow. From the Barrow west along the boundary to Stone-pit (?); then to Watling Street; then north to the boundary brook; from the boundary brook east along the boundary to Sandgate.”

This second charter includes what we now call the East Heath. I venture to suggest that Bedgar’s lea was near where “the Spaniards” now stands. There is a great deal of difficulty about the word “stywic.” It has been suggested that we should read

the word “styric,” which would be connected with our word “steer.” Thus “styric leah” would mean a kind of bullock-run. But one would rather make sense of the word as it stands. To change the *n* into *r* is cutting the knot rather than untying it. Perhaps it may yet be made out. It is conceivable that the word comes from the A.-S. *stige*, a sty; or is connected with the A.-S. *stow*, a place, a dwelling; or the A.-S. *stif*, stiff, hard. In the third volume of Kemble’s Cod. Dipl. p. 409, I find “Tò ðam fílan wege se hátte *stifc weg*.” The form *stywic* does not seem to occur anywhere else.

Then we go on to Deormod’s Wick. Luckily, we have something to guide us in this matter; it is the phrase “Middle Hampstead.” If you look at the map of Hampstead you will find that the middle of it is almost exactly where St. Stephen’s church now stands. Just below that, to the east, is what is called South End. We must then assign Deormod’s Wick to some spot between “the Spaniards” and South End. I place it just opposite the end of Well Walk, very near what is now called the Vale of Health.

Then we get to Middle Hampstead; and then in this second charter we come at the south-east corner to the Rushes. It is not at all difficult to believe that the land in that part of London, near Kentish Town, near the upper part of Chalk Farm Road and Prince of Wales’s Road, if you look at the level of it, was once marshy and abounding in rushes. Then at that point we come just below to where the Adelaide Tavern now is. Then we turn west by the side of

the marsh. I believe that this spread where St. George's Square is now built. Then on to the Barrow. I believe that is part of Primrose Hill—the lower, the western, part. There are or were traces of the name barrow in that neighbourhood. The exact site of the barrow itself is now occupied by the reservoir of the West Middlesex Water Company.

Then we go west to "Stone-grave." I have walked over the ground, and I find that in the Boundary Road, on the piece just between St. John's Wood Park and Marlborough Hill, there is a very considerable rise in the ground, and that is the point where the present southern boundary of Hampstead goes most to the north. I think it is almost certain that this "stone-grave" stood at that point. I shall be glad to have any explanation of what this compound means. Possibly it means stone-pit; possibly the stone-grave; possibly the grave, or it may be the grove, near the stone.

From this comparatively high point the ground drops; and we go on to the Watling Street, which is reached close by where Kilburn Priory subsequently stood. *Watling* is here spelt with a "c" instead of a "t." Along the street we go until we reach the Mere-burn. At that particular point, as I have pointed out above, a bourne or brook runs across the Edgware Road. This is what I mentioned as probably forming the pool which is called the Cucking Pool. In other charters we read of a mear-pit and a mear-tree and a mear-stone. The word is probably cognate with our word mark. From the Mear-burn we go back to Sandgate.

These are the two special charters I wished to bring before the Society. I hope that if any kind of corresponding document for any other part of London can be found it will receive careful attention. There is a very interesting one about the Tyburn. I will only add that the grant given by these two charters was confirmed at Westminster a few years afterwards by Edward the Confessor.

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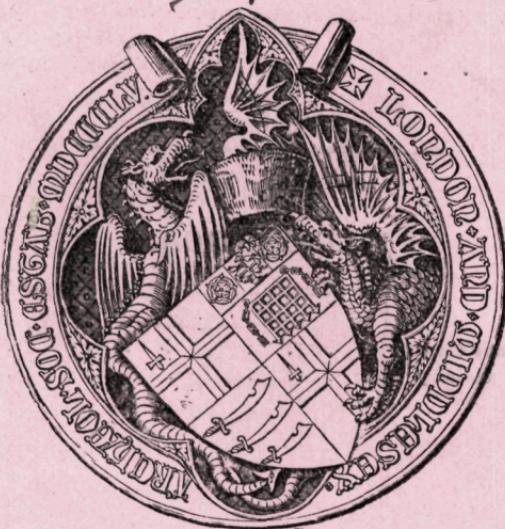
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TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
LONDON AND MIDDLESEX
Archæological Society.

PART XX.—PART I. OF VOLUME VII.

3 of Vol VI



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Vol. VII. V/

JANUARY 1888.

Part 3



MEMBERS OF THE GOLDSMITHS' COMPANY WHO HAVE
BEEN ALDERMEN OF THE WARD OF ALDERSGATE.

BY JOHN STAPLES, ESQ. F.S.A.

ALDERMAN OF THE WARD OF ALDERSGATE.

(*Read at a Meeting of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society, in Goldsmiths' Hall, on the 27th June, 1883.*)

THE HALL of the Goldsmiths' Company is situated in the Ward of Aldersgate, and appears, in early times, to have formed a centre, in the immediate

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neighbourhood of which the craftsmen of the Guild were established. Foster Lane is described by Maitland as a place well inhabited, chiefly by silversmiths and working goldsmiths; Gutheron's Lane, now called Gutter Lane, was the home of the goldbeaters, and inhabited also by engravers and others who work for silversmiths; Carey Lane was a place of some trade for silversmiths; Silver Street, Goldsmith Street, and St. Martin's-le-Grand, were inhabited by the gold-and silver-smiths and refiners. Over against Goldsmiths' Hall was a large house used for refining of silver. The King's Exchange for coin was situated in what is now Old Change. In the early part of the fourteenth century all persons who carried on the trade of goldsmith were compelled to have their shops in Cheapside. Goldsmiths' Row and the King's Exchange were the only places in the City of London where silver or plate, and vessels of gold or silver, were permitted to be sold.

Goldsmiths' Row, extending from Old Change to Bread Street, was erected in 1491 by Thomas Wood, Goldsmith, then Sheriff of London. Stow describes it as "the most beautiful frame of fair houses and shops that be within the walls of London or elsewhere in England. It containeth in number ten fair dwelling-houses and fourteen shops all in one frame, uniformly builded four stories high, beautified towards the street with the Goldsmiths' Arms and the likeness of woodmen (in memory of the founder's name) riding on monstrous beasts, all of which is

cast in lead, richly painted over and gilt.” Sir Richard Martin kept his Mayoralty in one of the houses in the year 1594, when the said front was again newly painted and gilt.

In 1629 persons of mean trades are said to be in occupation of some of the shops in Cheapside, and the Lord Chief Justices were ordered to consider what laws and statutes there were to enforce the Goldsmiths to plant themselves for the use of their trade in Cheapside, Lombard Street, and parts adjacent. In May, 1617, the Lords in Council ordered that all shops in Cheapside, other than Goldsmiths, should be shut up; and in July following a further order in Council was issued directing that the Aldermen, or their Deputies, should be committed to prison if they did not forthwith cause the said shops to be closed.

From time to time prominent members of the trade and Guild living in the Ward of Aldersgate or its immediate neighbourhood became Aldermen of the Ward.

Reference is made in the City archives to William le Mazerer, or Mazeliner, who served the office of Sheriff in 1279, was chosen Alderman of Aldersgate Ward in 1284-5 (13 Edward I.), and held the position of Coroner of London in 1289.

“On the Feast of St. George * (23 April), in the 17th year of King Edward the First, A.D. 1289, Walter Bacun, who alleged that he was a Chaplain, † had fled

* Letter-Book A, fol. L. Riley’s translation.

† A parish priest or curate.

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to the church of St. Paul in London : on which day came therec William le Mazeliner, Coroner of our Lord the King in London, together with John le Breton, then Warden* of the City of London, Baroncin, John de Banquelle, and other trustworthy persons. And the said Coroner in presence of the persons aforesaid demanded of Walter for what reason he so kept himself in the church ; whereupon he acknowledged that he was a thief, and had stolen sixteen silver dishes that belonged to Sir Baroncin ;† and upon acknowledgment so made the said dishes were delivered by the Coroner before-mentioned to William de Betoyne, then Sheriff of the said City, to be kept by him under seal of Sir Baroncin.

“ And on the Wednesday next after the Feast of St. Mark the Evangelist (25 April), the said dishes by command of our Lord the King were opened out in the Guildhall, and delivered by the said Sheriff to the Coroner before named : whereupon the said William le Mazeliner, the Coroner, delivered the aforesaid sixteen dishes to the said Baroncin in presence of the said Warden, John de Banquelle and other trustworthy persons there present.”

Notwithstanding his confession of guilt, no punishment was inflicted on the priest, but he would obtain benefit of clergy, or having escaped to sanctuary would be allowed to abjure the realm.

* Appointed by Edward I., in place of a Mayor for certain offences by the authorities committed.

† A wealthy merchant of Lucca.

Le Mazeliner was a member of the Goldsmiths' Company, but the books of the Company for this period have not been preserved, therefore no information can be obtained to show his position in the Guild.

HENRY DE SECHEFORD, Goldsmith, was chosen Alderman of Aldersgate Ward in 1319-20, the 13th of Edward II. On the 19th May, 1323, he was witness to a deed for the purchase of premises and land on which Goldsmiths' Hall now stands. It does not appear that he served the office of Prime Warden of this Guild, but he must have been a man of some position, for the records of the Corporation show that in 1328-9 he was admitted into the office of Chamberlain of the Guildhall, London, in the presence of Hamon de Chiggewelle, Lord Mayor, Nicholas de Farndone, Richard de Breteyne, Gregory de Norton, Anketin de Gisors, Reginald de Conduit, Henry de Combe Martin, Aldermen, and a great commonalty. He represented the City in Parliament at Westminster in 1326 and 1335.

His will is enrolled in the Court of Hustings, and from it we learn that he resided in the parish of St. Agnes; that he had three wives, Isolda, Matilda, and Alice, and two daughters—Agnes, who was a nun in the church of St. Helen's, and Matilda. He died in 1337, leaving, besides other property, "all his tenements and the brewhouse which he acquired from Lucy Kynkestede, in the parish of St. Michael le Querne and St. Lenard in St. Vedast Lane, for a term

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of ten years after his decease, for providing chaplains to pray for the souls of his two wives Isolda and Matilda, as well as for discharging his debts. He also left one hundred marks as a marriage portion for his daughter Matilda.

THOMAS REYNHAM, Goldsmith, was chosen Alderman of Aldersgate Ward, 12 March, A.D. 1379-80 (3rd Richard II.) He * was one of three Goldsmiths from whom the City (45 Edward III. A.D. 1371) purchased "parcels" of plate for a present to be made to our Lord the Prince (of Wales)† on his return to London from the parts of Gascoigne.

A detailed account is given, and the mode of calculating the value is peculiar though simple : "3 dozen of esqueles,‡ weighing by goldsmith's weight 49*l.* 12*s.* 7*d.*, adding six shillings in the pound with the making, total 70*l.* 19*s.* 4*d.* Also 30 salt-cellars, weight 15*l.* 6*s.* 2*d.*, which amounts, with the making, to 21*l.* 17*s.* 8*d.* Also 6 chargers, weight 12*l.* 7*s.* 9*d.* which amounts, with the making, to 17*l.* 14*s.* 2*d.* Also 12 hanappes,§ weight 8*l.* 12*s.*, which amounts, with the making, to 12*l.* 7*s.* 7*d.* Also one gallon pot, gilded, weight 8*l.* 15*s.*, amounting to 22*l.* 15*s.* Also one potel|| pot, gilded, weight 4*l.* 13*s.*, amounting to 12*l.* 18*s.* Also one other gallon pot, gilded, weight 6*l.* 0*s.* 10*d.*, amounting to 15*l.* 13*s.* 8*d.* Total, 173*l.* 8*s.* 11*d.*" The total value of the plate pre-

* Letter Book G, fol. cclxxi.

† Edward the Black Prince.

‡ Porringers, or deep plates.

§ Handled cups.

|| Pottle or two quarts.

sented on this occasion was 975*l.* 10*s.* 1*d.* The number of "each manner of vessel was, first, 6 pots gilded, one plate for spices, 3 basins gilded, 6 basins and 6 ewers of silver, 12 potel pots, 3 dozen of hanappes, 20 chargers, 10 dozen of esqueles, 5 dozen of salt-cellars, one gilded hanappe in form of an acorne, one pair of botels in ivory."

By his will, enrolled in the Court of Hustings, dated 11 May, 1388, he directs :

- (1) His body to be buried in St. Paul's church-yard, and leaves 27 marks for maintaining the fabric of the cathedral and for prayers for his soul.
- (2) He bequeaths to his sister Reyna tenements in Petiwales, in the parish of All Hallows Barking, for life.
- (3) To the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's Cathedral his tenement in Guderoun Lane [Gutter Lane], parish of St. Peter, Westcheap.
- (4) Also for the fabric of the church of St. John Zakary, one great spice plate of silver-gilt, and for the high altar of the same 6*s.* 8*d.*
- (5) 20*s.* to each of the following orders of friars, viz., the Minors, Augustine, Preaching, and Carmelite.
- (6) 100*s.* to the Charterhouse.

ADAM BAMME, Goldsmith, chosen Alderman of Aldersgate Ward 5th Richard II. A.D. 1381-2;

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translated to Cheap Ward 1386. He served the office of Sheriff in 1382. Was Lord Mayor in 1390, and again in 1396. He was one of the representatives of the City in Parliament at Cambridge in 1388.

He was Junior Warden of the Goldsmiths' Company in 1380, when by consent of the good folks of the Company and of the Commons a feast was made at the time of the Wardens taking office. "At which feast were present my most Honorable Lady Isabel, daughter of the King of England,* and her daughter, the Countess of Oxenford, the Lord de Latymer, the Grand Master of St. John of Clerkenwell, the Mayor of London, with his other good folks of the City."

In a great dearth (A.D. 1391) the price of wheat rose to sixteen shillings and eight pence per quarter. To prevent a famine in the City he procured corn from parts beyond the seas to be brought to London in such abundance as sufficed to serve the City and the county near adjoining. "By this good conduct the wants of the poor were effectually supplied, and the City was preserved in peace. To the furtherance of this good object he took 2,000 marks out of the orphans' fund in the Chamber of London, to which twenty-four of the Aldermen added twenty pounds each."

The following account shows that an offence against an Alderman in those days was punished with great severity."

"On Monday, the 3rd day of August, in the 12th

* Edward the Third.

year of Richard II. A.D. 1388, etc. Simon Ferry, porter of the Compter of *William Venour*, one of the Sheriffs, at the suit of *Adam Bamme*, an Alderman of London, was brought before Nicholas Extone, Mayor of the City aforesaid, and the Aldermen ; and interrogated for that he had uttered to Adam Bamme aforesaid in a loud voice many shameful and opprobrious words, insomuch that many persons gathered round them, and in their presence in many ways insulted him, manifestly in contempt of our Lord the King, and of his officers in the same city, which Simon fully acknowledged the same, and confessed that he had badly, disgracefully, and opprobriously spoken in manner aforesaid, and he put himself under the favour of the Court as to the same.

“ And after due counsel had been held thereupon between the said Mayor and Aldermen, because that the same Simon, by many disgraceful and bad words, in the King’s highway, in presence of many bystanders, had abused the said Aldermen, etc., it was adjudged that he should be discharged and removed from his office, and should not be admitted to hold any office with any Mayor or Sheriffs, from thenceforth in the City, and that he should be imprisoned for one year then next ensuing, unless he should meet with increased favour as to such imprisonment.*

“ And forthwith, on the same day, the said Adam Bamme requested the Mayor and other Aldermen to remit to him the imprisonment aforesaid, at whose

* Letter-book H, fol. cxxxix. (Latin).

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request the same was accordingly remitted to him, he finding sufficient surety for his future good behaviour as towards the people of our Lord the King, and especially towards the same Adam and his people."

He died in the year of his last mayoralty (1397), and was buried in the church of St. George, Botolph Lane. On his death the King appointed Richard Whittington to fill the office for the remainder of the year.

His son, Richard Bamme, held the Manor of Gillingham, Kent, in 1432. He died in 1452, leaving issue by his wife Joan, daughter of John Martyn, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and was buried beside his father in St. George Botolph Lane.

HENRY BAMME, Goldsmith, served the office of Warden to the Company in 1380. He was chosen Alderman of Aldersgate in the 6th Richard II. 1382-3, and was re-elected annually to the 10th of Richard II. 1386-7. He was twice married : his first wife was Margaret, his second Alice. By his will enrolled in the Court of Hustings, dated 7th November, 1413, he directs his body to be buried in the church of St. Michael, Huggin Lane, where lay the body of his former wife Margaret :* he left

- (1) To his son John the reversion of a tenement in Old Change, in the parish of St. Mary Magdalen, Old Fish Street, with remainder to Henry and Thomas his other sons;
- (2) To his son Henry the reversion of a tenement in West Cheape, parish of St. Vedast;

* Letter-book H, folio clxiii.

- (3) To his son Thomas the reversion of a tenement in Wood Street, parish of St. Michael, Huggin Lane. These reversions to take effect after the lapse of six years from the decease of his wife Alice, to whom he leaves the said tenements for life;
- (4) If his sons should all die without a legitimate heir, the above tenements in Wood Street to revert to the Rector and Churchwardens of St. Michael, Huggin Lane, for providing a chaplain to pray for his soul, &c.

SIR NICHOLAS TWYFORD, Goldsmith, descended from a family who had settled at an early period at Twyford in Buckinghamshire. Thomas de Twyford was presented to the Rectory of Twyford in 1207; subsequently he became Archdeacon of the county of Bucks. Sir Nicholas was appointed goldsmith to King Edward III. He resided in the parish of St. John Zackary. He had a family by his wife Margaret, who survived him. On the 24th of June, 1375, he was chosen Alderman of the Ward of Coleman Street. He served the office of Sheriff in 1377 and Lord Mayor in 1388, when he was translated to Aldersgate Ward. He was knighted by Edward III. with Sir William Walworth and others. It is recorded of him that in his Shrievalty he was arrested by the Lord Mayor in open court.

The account is as follows :* On Sunday the feasts

* Letter book H, fol. xcii.

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of St. Perpetua and Felicitas, 7th March, 1378, in the first year of Richard II., before the hour of noon, a conflict arose in Westcheape between certain persons of the trade of pepperers, from a certain rancour that had existed between them, by reason of which conflict no small affray arose throughout the whole City, and that, too, while the Bishop of Carlisle (Thomas de Appleby) was preaching in St. Paul's Church Yard; * in which place, because of such conflict, and the wounded fleeing thither with very great outcry, no little tumult and alarm ensued. The Mayor, Nicholas Brembre, being informed thereof, went with other Aldermen to Westcheape to restore peace and to maintain it; and after he had so restored order he convened his Aldermen on this matter to meet after dinner on the same day at Guildhall.

Nicholas Twyford, one of the then Sheriffs, attended at the mandate of the Mayor, and there came with the said Sheriff one of his suite, *John Worsele*, who was publicly accused before the Mayor of being a principal mover of the strife, by reason whereof the Mayor personally arrested him and ordered him to be sent to the Compter of Andrew Pykeman, *the other Sheriff*. Upon which arrest being made, the said Nicholas the Sheriff went to the Serjeant at Arms who so had him in custody by precept of the Mayor, and said that he was to be taken to his own Compter in Mylk stret, alleging that he had been arrested by himself before he came

* At St. Paul's Cross, no doubt.

there, and that that Compter belonged both to himself and his fellow Sheriff. It was accordingly whispered * to the Mayor that the person who had been so arrested by him could not be taken to the place named by him, as the said Nicholas the Sheriff was opposed thereto. The same objection being repeated to the Mayor, in answer to his inquiry why the man was not taken to the other Sheriff's Compter, *the Mayor there bodily arrested him*, the said Nicholas.

A Common Council was summoned, the Mayor related the facts, and charged the Sheriff aforesaid that he had behaved rudely to him and indeed rebelliously in the Guildhall.

And because the said Nicholas the Sheriff could not deny this, but acknowledged it, and the same being confirmed on the testimony of ten Aldermen who had been present, it was pronounced by the Common Council with one accord that the said Nicholas should *vacate his office of Sheriff* until he should have deserved to meet with more favour. It was also decided that he should remain in the custody of the said Andrew, the other Sheriff; that his Compter should be taken into the hands of the Mayor, and all his goods and chattels sequestered until he should have given sufficient security to keep the City indemnified, as towards our Lord the King, for the time that he should hold such office of sheriff.

It is stated in the sequel that he was speedily

* *Ventilatum.*

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restored to the office of Sheriff, on giving surety for his good behaviour, and that in the Mayoralty of John de Northampton, 5th Richard II., his surety was cancelled and annulled by reason of his subsequent good conduct.

In his Mayoralty it was enacted that in future the Sheriffs should have no procession on horseback when going to Westminster to be presented :—

“ On Wednesday the Feast of the Translation of St. Edward the King and Confessor (13 October), in the 13th year of Richard II. A.D. 1389, in presence of Nicholas Twyford, Knight, Mayor of London, John Hadle, Nicholas Extone, William Cheyne, Recorder, Hugh Fastolf, John Hende, Adam Bamme, John Loveye, John Walcote, John Shadworth, Henry Bamme, Thomas Austin, Adam de Saint Ives, William Wottone, John Fraunceys, William Sheryngham, Thomas Wilford and John Pynchone, Aldermen, and an immense number of the Commonalty, assembled in the Guildhall for the election of a Mayor, it was mooted, and for the common advantage of the Commonalty set forth ;—that whereas the men of divers trades, at the presentation of the Sheriffs on the morrow of St. Michael the Archangel (29 September), before the Barons of the Exchequer at Westminster, as the usage was, had been wont to array themselves in a new suit, and to hire horses for riding upon, and to incur many other expenses ; and then shortly afterwards, on the Mayor riding to Westminster on the morrow of St. Simon and St. Jude (28 October), as it had

been the custom to do, they again incurred the like expenses, and this, every year; and whereas by reason of such vesture and outlays, within so short a time and in each year, very many men in their goods were in many ways aggrieved and impoverished; and forasmuch as it seemed, as well to the said Mayor and Aldermen as to the Commonalty, a matter of necessity to curtail such expenditure in part, in relief of the Commonalty; and to the end that the Commons might be better enabled, as they are bound to do, to pay honour to the Mayor on his said riding to Westminster; as also for the purpose of avoiding and getting rid of such heavy outlays and expenses, by common consent of the said Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty, it was agreed and unanimously granted that no Sheriff should in future, for the day of his presentation aforesaid, give any vestments to any other persons than the servants of the City and his own officers and serjeants; or should on that day, himself or by others, have any riding; but that the said Sheriffs always afterwards on that day, together with their servants and others who might desire to go with them, should go by water in barges and boats, or else proceed by land, to Westminster aforesaid, and in like manner return to London without there being any arraying of men of the trades in like suit for that purpose; except that such men of the trades as should wish to accompany them, should walk in such suit of vestments of the livery of their respective trades as they might then have. And that if any Sheriff should in future in any way infringe

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upon the ordinance aforesaid, he should immediately pay to the Chamberlain of the said City for the time being, to the use of the Commonalty, 100 marks sterling, without any remission thereof.”*

He was buried in 1390 in the church of St. John Zakary, which had been rebuilt at his cost and charge.

His will is enrolled in the Hustings Court, and is dated 11 June, 1390. It contains (*inter alia*) the following bequests :—

- (1) The house in the parish of St. John Zakary, wherein he lived, to his cousin Thomas Conelee, of county Bucks, after the decease of his wife Margaret.
- (2) All his lands, tenements, &c. in the parishes of Tottenham and Edmonton, county of Middlesex, to remain to his cousin John Twyford after the decease of his said wife.
- (3) To the Rector and Churchwardens of St. John Zakary, an annual quitrent of two marks from a tenement called “le crane,” in the parish of St. Nicholas Shambles, wherewith to observe the anniversary of himself, wife and children, with further sums for masses, for maintaining the fabric of the church, and for candles on his tomb, &c. &c.

SIR MATTHEW PHILIP, Goldsmith, son of Arnold Philip, of the city of Norwich, chosen Alderman of

* Riley's Memorials, p. 515.

Aldersgate Ward 10 July, 28 Henry VI. A.D. 1450:
Sheriff 1451: Lord Mayor 1463: Created Knight of
the Bath 5th Edward IV. (1466): Knighted at the
restoration of Edward IV. 1471.

“ When the King (Edward IV.) was at Coventry after the battle of Tewkesbury he had daily messages from the Lords in London how that the Bastard Fawcomberge had assembled great people, and both by land many thousands, and by water with all his ships full of people, he came afore London thinking to rob and spoil and do all manner of mischief, and thereto many of the contrye of Kent were assenting, and came with their good wills, as people ready to be appliable to such seditious commotions. So that right in a short time the said Bastard and his fellowship had assembled to the number of 16 or 17 thousand men as they accounted themselves. Which came before London the 12th day of May (1471) in the quarrel of King Henry (the sixth), whom they said they would have out of the Tower of London, as they pretended. And for that cause they desired the Citizens of London that they might have free entry into the City, where first their intent was to have with them the said Henry, and after to pass peaceably through the City, as they said, without any grievance to be done to any person, upon the intent from thence to go towards the King wheresoever they might find him, him to destroy, and all his partakers, in quarrel of the said Henry, if they might have of him the over (upper) hand.

“ But so it was, that the Mayor, Aldermen, and

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other Officers and Citizens denied them their entry. The Lords and the Citizens urged the King to approach and come with all possible haste to the City to the defence of the Queen, then being in the Tower of London, my Lord Prince, and my ladies his daughters. The King sent forward a detachment of 1500 men on the 13th May, and himself departed out of Coventry towards London on the 16th of May.*

"Here it is to be remembered, that when the Bastard and his fellowship could not purchase of the Mayor and Citizens of London the overture of the said city for their passage through, neither for their promises nor for great threatenings and menacings, they made semblance to pass over the Thames by Kingston Bridge, and thither drew with them the whole host. But they returned again and came before London, and shewed themselves in whole battle in St. George's Fields. Wherefore incontinent they assailed the city with great violence, with shot guns such as they had brought out of their ships in great number, and laid them on length (along) the waterside, straight over against the city, wherewith they prevailed nothing, for the citizens again-warde in divers places, laid ordnance and made so sharp shot against them that they durst not abide in any place along the waterside, and so were driven from their own ordnance. 'A great fellowshipe' afterwards set fire to the bridge and burnt sixty of the houses on the bridge, but they did not profit thereby,

* Camden Society, pp. 32-33.

for the citizens had set such ordnance in their way that though all the way had been open it had been hard for them to have entered by that way, but upon their lives. Another ‘great fellowshipe,’ dividing into two parts, went to Aldgate and to Bishopsgate with the intent to enter the city there by assault, and they shot guns and arrows into the city, doing much harm and hurt. The Mayor, Aldermen, and worshipful Citizens of the city were in good array and set to every part where was behoveful great fellowship, well ordered and ordained to withstand the malice of these rebels.

“The Earl of Essex and many knights, squires, gentlemen, and yeomen, right well arrayed, came to the assistance of the citizens, and eventually the Kentish men were put to flight and discomfiture. They withdrew to Blackheath, and in a few days the whole body of them was dispersed.”

The King (Edward IV.) was not slow to recognise the important assistance rendered to his cause by the citizens. On the 21st May, soon after the dispersing of the Kentish host, the King, well accompanied and mightily with great lords, and in substance all the noblemen of the land and many able men, well armed for the war, to the number of xxx^m horsemen,* came to the City of London, where he was honorably received by all the people, the Mayor, Aldermen, and many other worshipful men, citizens of the said City. At the meeting the King dubbed knights the Mayor,

* Leland's Collectanea, p. 507, gives 3000 men.

the Recorder, divers Aldermen, with other worshipful of the said City of London which had manfully and honorably acquitted themselves against Falconbridge and his cruel host; honoring and rewarding them with the order of his good love and grace, for their true acquittal, as they had right well and truly deserved that time. Sir Matthew Philip was one of the twelve Aldermen knighted on this occasion.

The register of St. Martin's-le-Grand gives the following account of a *difficulty* with the Dean of St. Martin's:—

“On the 26th day of July, in the 29th year of King Henry VI. (A.D. 1451), Mathew Philip, Alderman of the Warde called Alderichesgate Warde, for a certain imposition for wages of a crew of men-of-war for the ‘saufgarde’ of Caleys (Calais), set by the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London upon the commons of the said City, would have levied a certain sum of money of the inhabitants of St. Martin’s Lane, which is sanctuary and privileged and within the precincts of St. Martin’s, in and not of the said City or Ward. And for the said inhabitants would not pay the said sum so set on them, they have (taken) away certain of their goods by way of ‘stresse,’ of which deed when Master Richard Caudray, then Dean, was certified by his servants, he came to London and complained him unto Wyfold, then Mayor, and to the Aldermen in the Guildhall, of the said wrong so done unto him by the said Alderman. Where after consideration had among them it was answered by the Recorder’s deputy

that the Alderman had done but as he ought, considering that St. Martin's Lane is under his distress and out of the precinct of St. Martin's and no sanctuary, and that they would all approve and stand by, desiring of the Dean to charge the tenants to pay the money, and they should have their distress; and the Dean desired lyvere of the distress; and for he would not displease them he would, for his tenants, lay down the money, though it be against law and reason, and also his charter and privileges. And thus the Dean departed, and wrote to the King at Canterbury and complained, on which his grace quickly considered the matter, and commanded the Chancellor to send his writ unto the said Alderman. This writ the Alderman declined to obey because all the City had made him party to defend the Mayor against the Dean. On this the Dean brought the Alderman a second writ called an 'alias,' followed by another called a 'pluries.' Also he had ready a letter under the 'signet' in case the Alderman had not obeyed the writs, like as he did, which letter, a duke, two earls, and four barons, by contemplation of the right of the Church and the Dean, were ready to have delivered unto him; the which letter afterwards, at a dinner made by the said Alderman purveying thereof unto the Dean for amends, in the presence of the said Mayor, Recorder, and others, the said Dean delivered to him, the tenure of which letter is as follows:—

"By the King. Matthew Philip, forasmuch as it seemeth ye have forgoten how that ye ought of your

natural and true allegiance and obeissance the which ye owe unto us to obey unto us our lawful and reasonable desires and commandment (namely, such as concern God's right and his churches, and also the right of our owne places, privileged by our 'holy ffaders the Popes,' and our noble progenitors, whom God asoile), we remember you of the last charge and commandment we gave unto you by our writ, closed under our Great Seale as for the great injuries ye have done late unto our Clerke the Dean of St. Martin's and the inhabitants within St. Martin's Lane, which is within the precinct of our sanctuary there, the which our commandment ye list not yet to obey, nor consider God's right nor ours in that behalf contented at large in our said writ, whereof we send you a copy inclosed in these our letters. Wherefore we charge you yet strictly as we have done afore, that anon, after the sight of these our letters, ye perform the charge that we gave unto you by our said writ, letting you fully know that we will not suffer the said liberties and immunities of our said chapel to be by you or any other injured or defeated more now in our than they have been in our said progenitors' days before us. And for the 'paine' in our said writ was as ye would eschew God's indignation and ours (the which it seemeth by your disobedient deeds ye set at little or nought) we charge you now to obey the contents in our said writ, upon the faith and allegiance ye owe to us. Given," &c.

HENRY COOTE (or COTES), Goldsmith. Chosen Alder-

man of Aldersgate Ward 3 April, 1490 ; was elected Sheriff the same year ; Prime Warden of the Goldsmiths' Company 9 Henry VII. (1494), and again the following year, 1495. He died in 1509, and was buried at St. Foster's church in Foster Lane.

By his will, dated 14 January, 1509, he left freehold and copyhold lands and tenements, meadows, closes, woods, and pastures in the parish of Chesthurt, in the county of Hertford, to be sold after his decease, and the proceeds, with the addition of 100*l.* reinvested in lands and tenements in the City of London to the value of 20*l.* per annum, to have and to hold to the Goldsmiths' Company to find a chaplain to pray specially for his soul, the souls of Julyan and Emma, his late wives, and of other persons named, and to observe an obit or anniversary of his death. He left various sums to be distributed to poor men and women of the Company who should be present at his obit. If the Goldsmiths' Company fail to provide a chaplain the property was to be transferred to the churchwardens of St. Foster in trust to apply the income to the same purposes.

The residue of his property he left to the disposition of his executors in amending of "noyous" and ruinous highways, in marrying of poor and well-disposed maidens, in giving exhibitions to poor and well-disposed scholars studying in Holy Divinity, and in other deeds of charity, such as his executors should think best to please Almighty God and most profit unto his soul, as they would he did for them in case semblable.

SIR BARTHOLOMEW REDE, Goldsmith, was the son of Robert Rede, of Cromer, Norfolk. His place of business was in the parish of St. John Zachary ; he was chosen Prime Warden of his Company in 1493, elected Sheriff in 1497, and became Alderman of the Ward of Aldersgate 10 July, 1499. In 1501 he was again chosen Prime Warden of the Goldsmiths' Company. In this year he purchased Crosby Place, where he kept his splendid mayoralty in 1502. Lady Rede resided here until 1507.

Stow, describing Goldsmiths' Hall in 1598, says : " On the east side of Foster Lane, at Engoyne Lane, is the Goldsmythes Hall, a proper house, but not large, and therefore to say that Bartholomew Rede, Goldsmith, Mayor in the year 1502, kept such a feast in this hall as some have fabuled * is far incredible and altogether impossible, considering the smallness of the hall and the number of the guests, which as they say were more than an hundredth persons of great estate. For the messes and dishes of meats in them served, the paled parke in the same hall furnished with fruitfull trees, beastes of venery and other circumstances of that pretended feast well weighed, Westminster Hall would hardly have sufficed." †

Sir B. Rede by his will dated the 19 October, 1505, gave to the Goldsmiths' Company a great messuage or mansion place in the parish of St. John Zachary, and divers other lands and tenements in that parish,

* The Goldsmiths' Company have no account of such feast.

† Stow, edition 1598, p. 308. Herbert, vol. ii. p. 227.

St. Ann and St. Mary Steyning in London, and in St. Botolph Billingsgate, St. Mildred Bread Street, and in Knight Rider Street, for establishing a Grammar School at Cromer, Norfolk, &c. He was buried in the cloysters of the Charterhouse in 1505. His wife Dame Elizabeth also gave property for charitable purposes. She was buried at the church of St. John Zachary.

The Company still attend the church of St. John Zachary at the obit of Rede.

ROBERT FENROTHER, Goldsmith. He was chosen Alderman of Aldersgate Ward on the 4th of September, 3rd Henry VIII.* served the office of Sheriff in 1512. He was Warden of the Goldsmiths' Company in 1516-17. The account of the feast given on St. Dunstan's day will be found in Herbert's History of the Livery Companies, vol. ii. pp. 243-5. It would appear from an entry in the records of the Corporation† that on his supplication he was discharged for the term of three years of the office of Mayor and Alderman on payment of 100 marks (23 Sept. 1522), the money to be returned to him if after the expiration of the three years he should be elected to the said office of Mayoralty and occupy the same, provided also that if it fortune him to decease within the three years, or in case he be never Mayor, the said 100 marks shall remain to the use of the said Commonalty for ever.

By his will, enrolled in the Court of Hustings, dated the 17 March, 15 Henry VIII. 1523-4, he left

* Repertory 2, fo. 116^b.

† Repertory 5, fo. 322^b.

all his manors, lands, and tenements in county Middlesex to his wife Julian, viz. The manor of "Nottyng Barnere" in Westbourn, parish of Paddington, and lands and tenements in Chelsea for life; also the manor of "Maundys," near Romford, in parish of Hornchurch, county Essex; Also land, &c. in "Theydon Boys" and Epping, county Essex, to the said Julian for life, with remainder to Margaret, the daughter of the testator. Also lands and tenements in Chesthunt, county Herts, to the same for life, with remainder to his daughter Margaret, Julian, wife of Nicholas Tychebourne, and Awdry, wife of Harry White.

He further disposed of lands and tenements in Kingston, county Surrey, and in Tillyngham and Denge, county Essex.

EDWARD GILBERT, Goldsmith, chosen Alderman of Aldersgate Ward 1st August, 4 Elizabeth, A.D. 1562, and Prime Warden of the Goldsmiths' Company in the same year. He did not attain the office of Sheriff or Lord Mayor.

A letter from the Queen to the Mayor and Aldermen was read at the Court 16th November, 1564 (6 Elizabeth), recommending the discharge of Edward Gilbert from the office of Alderman as well as of Sheriff of Middlesex, whereupon the Court did very lovingly grant and agree not only to give and grant unto him their own good wills, assents, and consents, that he be clearly exempt of and from the office of Shrievalty and of and from all other offices of charge

by the Common Council of the said City, but also friendly to move the same Council thereunto.

The request was granted subject to the payment of 100 marks.

Edward Gilbert was the son of Richard Gilbert of Somerson, in the county of Suffolk. He married Alice, daughter of —— Bond of Warwickshire. He had three children, two daughters and one son : his daughter Dorothy married Sir George Speak of Somersetshire, and his daughter Elizabeth married, first, —— Colby, and afterwards, Sir Michael Mollyns of Wallingford, in county Berkshire.*

SIR JOHN WOLLASTON, Goldsmith, was descended from the Wollastons of Staffordshire, being the second son of Edward Wollaston of Perton. He was a man of great wealth and consideration and resided in a large house (with a garden) on the west side of Foster Lane, in the parish of St. John Zachary, where he carried on his business. He was well known at Court, and in August 1618 the wife of Sir Walter Raleigh was committed to his custody by the command of James the First ; this onerous charge compelled him to reside in Sir Walter's house in Broad Street from 20th of August to the 10th September, 1618, when, on his representing to the Privy Council "the hinderances which it caused to his many great occasions and affairs," her safe keeping was transferred to another merchant. On the 27th of October,

* Visitation of London, 1568.

1624, he was appointed sole Refiner* to the Mint. In 1637-8 he was chosen one of the Wardens of the Goldsmiths' Company, and in 1639-40 he was elected Prime Warden. In 1638 he was chosen Alderman of Farringdon Ward Without, and in the same year he served the office of Sheriff. On the 23rd August, 1642, he removed his Aldermanship to Dowgate Ward, and in the following year he was elected Lord Mayor.

On the 26th of August he migrated and became Alderman of Aldersgate Ward, and on the 23rd of October, 1657, he removed his Aldermanship to Bridge Ward Without.†

He was knighted by King Charles the First at Hampton Court on the 3rd of December, 1641, but when the Civil War broke out he took an active part on the side of the Parliament; and at the review of the City trainbands on the 26th of September, 1643, Sir John was Colonel of the Third or Yellow Regiment, of which John Venn, M.P., was the Lieutenant-Colonel. Sir John held afterwards several official employments under the Commonwealth, one being that of Treasurer at War. He was also one of the Commissioners for the sale of the lands which belonged to the Crown and the Bishops. He became the purchaser of the estates of the See of London at Hornsey and Finchley, which were valued in 1647 at 224*l.* 16*s.* 3*d.* per annum, with improvements in reversion estimated at 884*l.* 11*s.* 4*d.* per annum, and

* State Papers, Domestic, 1624, p. 363.

† Genealogical Memoirs of the Chesters of Chicheley, by Edmond Chester Waters, p. 553.

timber worth 1010*l.* The manors of Hornsey and Finchley were conveyed to him on the 24th September 1647, for the sum of 4391*l.* 5*s.* 4*½d.* Haringay Park, with the little park at Hornsey, he purchased on 18th September, 1648, for 1030*l.* 5*s.* 10*d.* The Gate House at Highgate cost him 261*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, and was conveyed to him on the 26th of September, 1649, together with the Bishop's woods at Hornsey, for which he paid 1022*l.* 18*s.* 0*d.* His last purchase was the tolls at Highgate, for which he gave 449*l.*, 27th February, 1649-50. At the Restoration all these estates were restored to the Bishopric of London, and the purchase-money was lost to Wollaston's heirs and legatees.

Sir John had his country-house at Highgate for thirty years.

He was elected President of Christ's Hospital in 1649, to which he subscribed 12*l.* per annum during the remainder of his life. He desired that this subscription should be continued until the death of his wife, when he directed an annuity of 100*l.* per annum to be given for ever. This was, however, lost to the hospital. He founded six almshouses at Highgate.

He married in 1616 Rebecca, youngest daughter of Edward Greene, goldsmith, of London ; died without issue 26th April, 1658, and was buried in Highgate chapel.

By his will dated 16th April, 1658, he left two messuages in St. John Zachary to the Goldsmiths' Company in trust. These premises were sold under Act of Parliament for erecting the new General Post

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Office, and realised the sum of 278*l.* His wife, Dame Rebecca, survived him two years, and was buried at Highgate 1st June, 1660.

FRANCIS MAYNELL, Goldsmith, chosen Alderman of Aldersgate Ward 7th February, 1659; translated to Cordwainer Ward 17th December, 1663; elected Sheriff in 1661.

On the 31st October, 1660, he appeared before the Court of the Goldsmiths' Company in obedience to their summons, and was informed, that, as he had attained such a degree of eminence in the government of the City, so he might if he pleased be seated in such a degree of place in this government as might forthwith put him into such capacity as to be eligible to the eminent place in this Corporation. And in order thereunto it was told him, that, although he were Alderman, yet the custom and usage had ever been that before any member thereof could be admitted to act as a member of this Court, he was in the first place to accept of the degree of one of the clothing of this Company, by which he was eligible afterwards to be Renter, and after, Warden of this Company. And therefore, if he pleased to do as other members of this Company had formerly done, in passing of the several degrees before mentioned, he might be assured of the Company's civil and fair respects to him; unto which he made some answer, and by discourse it was conceived that he apprehended some former neglect towards him. And then it was replied that this Court was well assured that there was no

neglect by the former Wardens or Assistants. But if any particular person did give any distaste unto him it was hoped he would not charge it upon the Company. After some discussion he expressed himself willing to pass by any affront he might have received by (*sic*) some particular person, and also to pass by the personal service of such degrees of place in this government as should make him capable to be admitted a member of the Court.

It was proposed to impose some fine, including his admission unto the clothing and passing by the personal service of the several places before-mentioned, or leave it to himself as was suggested by him.

It was decided to leave it to himself, with the condition that he put on a livery gown and hood (*whood, sic*) according to the ancient usage and custom of this Company upon the admission of any member thereof into the clothing, being a formal ceremony and not to be omitted. He declared his consent and did put on a livery gown, and then the Clerk was desired by Mr. Warden to put a livery hood on Mr. Alderman's shoulders, which he did, and afterwards Mr. Alderman gave the Clerk the hood again. "Whereupon it is ordered by this Court that he is admitted one of the Assistants, and he is now admitted accordingly, and to be summoned to all the Courts of Assistants and other meeting as other of the Assistants are used to be." After which he was desired to sit down and take his place in this Court as an Alderman of this city on the right hand of the Upper Warden's place, which was done accordingly.

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He was chosen Prime Warden the following year.

On being elected Sheriff in 1661 the Goldsmiths' Company voted him 50*l.* "towards trimming up his house and his other expenses." The sum was afterwards increased to 100*l.*, with a reservation that the grant was not to be drawn into a precedent. The Court also lent him for the election feast of the Sheriffs a large quantity of their gold and silver plate, which was sent to his house in Clement's Lane, a bond being given for its safe return to the Company.

In Pepys's Diary, Sept. 18, 1662, is the following passage :

"At noon Sir G. Carteret, Mr. Coventry, and I, by invitation to dinner to Sheriff Maynell's, the great money man, he, Alderman Backewell, and much noble and brave company, with the privilege of their rare discourse, which is great content to me above all other things in the world. And after a great dinner and much discourse we took leave." *

Again, on the 19th January, 1662-3, Pepys writes :

"Singled out Mr. Coventry into the matted gallery, and there I told him the complaints I meet every day about our Treasurer's or his people's paying no money but at the Goldsmiths' shops, where they are forced to pay fifteen or twenty sometimes per cent. for their money, which is a most horrid shame and that which must not be suffered. Nor is it likely that the Treasurer (at least his people) will suffer

* Fourth edition, vol. i. p. 166.

Maynell the Goldsmith to go away with 10,000*l.* per annum, as he do now get, by making people pay after this manner for their money.” *

The last entry relating to him is on the 8th October, 1666 :

“ Alderman Maynell, I hear, is dead.”

SIR PETER FLOYER, Goldsmith.

Refiner and Goldsmith in Foster, alias St. Vedast's Lane. Chosen Alderman of Aldersgate Ward 14 November 1700 : sworn Prime Warden of Goldsmiths' Company, 5 June, 1701 : Knighted at Hampton Court 29 June, 1701 : elected Sheriff 1701 : died in his year of office 1st February, 1701-2: James Bate-man, Loriner, elected in his stead.

SIR THOMAS HALLIFAX, Goldsmith. A Banker in Birch Lane, chosen Alderman of Aldersgate Ward 26th of November, 1766 ; elected Sheriff 1768; Prime Warden May, 1768; Lord Mayor, 1776.

On the 11th November, 1776,† the Lord Mayor gave orders to the City Marshals to search the public houses in City and liberties, and to take into custody all suspected persons, that such as can give no good account of themselves may be sent to serve his Majesty. This method has been judged more effectual than the ordinary method of pressing.

He died 7 February, 1789.

Sir Thomas Halifax, Knight, buried February 17, 1789. He was an Alderman of the City of London

* Vol. i. p. 194.

† Gentleman's Magazine, 1776, p. 520.

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and Lord Mayor in 1776. He resided in a house on the Chase side, which had formerly belonged to the family of Pettiward, and was sold by Roger Pettiward, D.D. to William Cosmo, Duke of Gordon. It is said the celebrated Lord George Gordon was born in this house.*

ROBERT ALBION Cox, Goldsmith. Elected Sheriff 1801 ; Alderman of Aldersgate Ward, 31st May, 1813 ; Assistant of Goldsmiths' Company 1814, and Prime Warden 1818. He was not called to the office of Lord Mayor.

His remains lie buried in St. Anne's church, where a monument was erected to his memory.

These sketches are necessarily imperfect. The sources of information are limited, and the statements found are often extremely vague. In many instances we know simply the fact that the Alderman was elected to office ; in others he is only mentioned in connection with some municipal acts or in reference to the affairs of the Company to which he belonged. When he is found taking part in public or political affairs for the benefit of the Citizens, the action of the individual is generally merged in that of the community.

* From the Parish Registers, Robinson's History of Enfield, vol. ii. p. 101.

Slight, however, as these recorded incidents may be to afford glimpses of the state of society in bygone ages, they contribute something to our knowledge of the habits and usages of our forefathers long passed away—of men who made London the most important, the most wealthy, and most influential community in England. Let us hope that their great example will not be lost upon the present generation of Citizens of London.



THE DRAPERS' COMPANY.

BY WILLIAM PHILLIPS SAWYER, ESQ.

(*Read at a Meeting of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, in Drapers' Hall, on Thursday, 24th April, 1884.*)

THE following paper was prepared to give the Members of the Society, and their friends, a sketch of the history of the Company, and does not profess to be more than a sketch.

The Drapers' Company, like most of the ancient livery companies of the City of London, had its origin in the association of persons, carrying on the same trade and living in close proximity, for objects partly commercial and partly social and religious.

The exact date of the foundation of the Company cannot be ascertained, but it certainly existed as a brotherhood at a very early period. Madox (Hist. Exch. p. 391) mentions the Gilda Panariorum, whereof

John Maur was Alderman, among the Adulterine Guilds amerced in the 26 Henry II. (1180). The Company possess a certificate by William Camden, Clarencieux King-of-Arms, certifying the arms borne by Henry Fitz Alwin, Mayor 1189-1212, and that he was a Member of the Drapers' Company.

The word "Draper" originally meant a *maker* of, and not, as at present, a *dealer* in, cloth, the name being derived from the French *drapperie*, which signified clothwork, as "to drape" did the manufacturing of cloth.

In Rastall's Collection of Statutes, 1574, the whole of the Acts relative to the making of cloth are accordingly arranged under the head "Drapery." The ancient Latin name *Pannarii* given to this trade had the same meaning. In English they were indiscriminately called drapers and clothiers; the former term seeming to have been applied to those who made and sold cloth in and near London, and the latter, to those who brought it for sale from the country. Stow appears to make this distinction in speaking of Cloth Fair, by Smithfield, where he says "the *clothiers* of England, and *drapers* of London, kept their booths and standings."

The earliest charter of which the Company have any record is that of 38 Edward III., which recites that it had been shown to the King in council that great numbers of persons belonging to diverse mysteries who had never been apprentices, nor had sufficiently learned the trade of drapery according to the good ancient custom of London, meddled therewith

so that there was hardly a shop in the city of any trade in which drapery was not, more or less, exposed to sale, and those persons not having sufficient knowledge of the trade, by their ignorance and the great embracery which they made of all kinds of cloth, the price of drapery was greatly enhanced, and many deceits practised in the making and sale thereof, and that dyers, weavers and fullers, who used to follow their own crafts, had become makers of cloth, and refused to work on the cloth of others except at excessive prices, and committed other frauds, and forestalled cloth and sold it to drapers, so that it was twice sold before coming to common sale, whereby the price of cloth was higher than that which was only once sold, which among other things were the chief causes of the dearness of cloth and of great deceptions and of other evils. The charter, therefore, in execution of the above recited ordinance, and by the assent of the lords and others of the Council, ordains and grants that none shall use the mystery of drapery in the City of London or the suburbs thereof unless he has been apprenticed thereto, or in other due manner admitted by common consent of the said mystery. And that each of the said mysteries of the dyers, weavers, and fullers, shall keep to their proper craft and not meddle with the making, purchase, or sale of drapery upon pain of imprisonment and forfeiture of the cloth or its value. And that none shall sell cloth within the city or suburbs except drapers free of the said mystery, except in gross to lords and others who buy for their own use and not to retail, under the

same penalty. And that the drapers free of the mystery of drapery within the city may every year elect four persons of their mystery who shall be annually sworn before the mayor of the city, to oversee that no default or deceit be used in the said mystery by the aid and help of the mayor and sheriffs when needful. Power is given to the four persons who shall be elected and sworn to take oath of all those who shall be received into the said mystery in the said city, to use and do whatever shall appertain to the said mystery without fraud or evil design against the points and ordinances aforesaid. Saving the rights of the Prior of Smithfield and others having fairs in the suburbs, and of the merchant venturers of England and Gascony.

On the 30th November, 1438, Henry VI. granted the Charter of Incorporation which grants to the men of the mystery of Drapers of the City of London that they may unite, found, and establish within the said City, a guild or fraternity in honour of the B. V. Mary, and enjoy the same to them and their successors for ever, and increase and augment the same as often as it shall seem necessary and fit; and that the men of the same guild or fraternity may annually elect of themselves and others one master and four wardens, who at the time of their election are Drapers and Freemen of the City, to bear the burdens of the business of the said fraternity, and to oversee, rule, and govern the said guild and fraternity. And that the Master, and Wardens, and brethren, and sisters, of the said guild or fraternity, shall and may

be in matter and name one body and one perpetual community, with perpetual succession and a common seal, and have power to purchase in fee lands, tenements, rents, and other possessions whatsoever, of any person, and the Master and Wardens and their successors may sue and be sued by the name of the Master and Wardens of the guild or fraternity of the B. V. Mary of the Drapers, London.

Other charters were granted to the Company as follows, viz :—

Charter of 16 February, 17 Henry VI. A.D. 1439.

26 July, 6 Edward IV. A.D. 1466.

9 April, 19 Edward IV. A.D. 1479.

21 May, 1 Richard III. A.D. 1484.

18 June, 4 & 5 Philip & Mary, A.D. 1558.

12 April, 2 Elizabeth, A.D. 1560.

19 January, 4 James I. A.D. 1607.

20 July, 17 James I. A.D. 1619.

The internal government of the Company was and is regulated by bye-laws and ordinances. The earliest ordinances of which the Company possess any record purport to be a revision of an earlier set made in 1322. The revised ordinances were made in 1418, and the matters regulated by them are : the finding of two priests to sing for the whole fraternity, maintenance of an altar light, giving of livery, annual meetings at divine service, election of Wardens, contributions for the annual feast, payment of quarterage, choosing new livery, relief of poor members, funeral services, and the remembrance of the souls of deceased brethren and sisters by the Company's

priests, attendance at meetings of the fellowship, correction of members, and the settlement of bargains between them, meetings for processions, time of attendance at Westminster, Bartholomew, and Southwark fairs, keeping secret the counsel of the fellowship, dealing with foreigners (*i.e.* persons not free of the City), employment of apprentices and journeymen, emolument of apprentices, yearly rendering of accounts by the Wardens, salary of the Beadle, reading of the ordinances, and also regulations as to the persons who shall attend at feasts and the order of sitting in the hall.

At the beginning of the book containing the ordinances is entered a translation of an order made in 1405 by the Common Council that the keeper of Blackwell Hall should be appointed by the Drapers' Company and presented to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen for confirmation. Blackwell Hall was established in 1397 (21 Richard II.) as a market for the sale of woollen cloth, and by several Acts of Common Council it was decided that no one should buy or sell woollen cloths unless the same had been first brought to Blackwell Hall and there sold.

One of the Company's minute-books contains an account of the election to the keepership of Blackwell Hall on the 25th September, 1526. It does not appear when this officer ceased to be elected by the Company.

The earliest accounts in the possession of the Company are those of the Wardens of the year 1415.

In that year it appears from the accounts that the

number of members exceeded a hundred, and that quarterage was received from eighty-three members and due from thirteen more. Amongst the members were included persons not of the craft, the Parson of St. Martin Orgar being entered as owing quarterage. The income for the year is $37l. 15s. 6d.$ derived from the rent of houses, assessments for processions, fees on apprenticeship and freedoms, and for fines and quarterage. The expenditure for the same year is $23l. 12s. 6d.$, and includes payments to chaplains for divine services, repairs of houses, salary of the Beadle, expenses to Bartholomew and Westminster fairs on the Company making their trade search, payments to minstrels, and for hoods or garlands and meat and drink for them, hire of horses for persons to ride with the Mayor and Sheriffs, and to meet the King and Queen Dowager on the King's return to London after the battle of Agincourt, payments for table-cloths and garlands and for the Lord Mayor's mess—the Lord Mayor for that year (Sir Nicholas Wotton) being of the Company.

In 1476 the apprentices admitted amount to twenty-three, the fee charged being $3s. 4d.$ each. The quarterage received from seventy-one members is $39l. 11s.$, and $16s.$ is collected from fifty-one of the fraternity towards the minstrels. The rest of the receipts consist of small sums for fines, redemptions, admissions to the livery, and on other accounts. The whole year's expenses (consisting of twenty-one items) amount but to $34l. 1s. 1d.$ The cash in hand, or what is said to "reste to the crafte," is (according

to a custom observed every year) stated to have been put "into the great box the day of bringing in the same account, being the 12th of March, 17 of King Edward IV." Five years afterwards (1481) the apprentice fees rise from 3*s.* 4*d.* to 13*s.* 4*d.* each; the amount from twenty-four of them being 16*l.*, and the admission-fee on the livery (before 2*s.*) in some instances as high as 4*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

In 1498 the apprentices are thirty-five, one of whom pays 20*s.* In succeeding years there is a like progressive advancement.

The first entry of a strictly historical nature is in 1476, when it is said—"the crafte was cessid for xl persons to ride to meet with the king at his comyng fro' beyond the see." This ceremony took place on the return of Edward IV. from France, and cost the Company 20*l.*

The most interesting of the other entries of a similar kind, so far as time will permit me to allude to them, shall be given chronologically.

1483 (August 5).—The Livery attended a civic procession to welcome Edward V. on his being brought to town by the dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham. On this occasion the Company sent six persons, who are debited in different sums, from 12*d.* to 6*s.* 8*d.*, under the name of "Riding money for Prince Edward."

In the following November (1483) twenty-two persons of the livery receive "riding money" for attending the coronation procession of Richard III. On this occasion the King was met by four hundred

and six members of the Livery Companies, “riding in murrey-coloured coats,” including the above deputation from this Company.

The Company's records contain notices of three other public transactions in which they were employed jointly with the other Companies during this reign, all of them happening in 1484 and 1485.

The first was a grand military muster of the Citizens on the rising of the “Kentish men,” after the coronation of Richard and his queen Ann Nevil, and towards which the Mercers’, Tailors’, and Drapers’ Companies furnished two hundred men each.

The second was on the occasion of the “coming of the Northern men into the City” a few months afterwards, when another grand muster was made, which met in Finsbury fields.

The last is a meagre notice of 9*s.* having been paid “for bote hire to Westmynstre to the burying of Quene Anne,” on the 16th of March, 1485.

1485 (1 Henry VII.).—Entry of 2*l.* “for bote hire to Westmynstre in the Parliament tyme, and to put up o^r Bill for a reformacion of cloth making.”

Pippins are first mentioned in this entry as an article of refreshment, and are introduced amongst the items of most of the feasts afterwards.

1487 (November).—On Henry’s triumphal entry into London after his victory over “the Northern rebels,” and on the coronation of his queen Elizabeth, the 15th of the same month, the Companies were summoned, as usual, to add to the splendour. The

Drapers' books have entries on both these occasions. The first is in the following quaint terms :

" Remembraunce, that the craft was cessed for xxx persones to ride to sette in the Kinge ; whiche cessing draweth to the somme of xv^{li} vj^s ij^d whereof we receyved but the somme of xij ix ij."

The second is respecting the Queen's coming by water from Greenwich to her coronation at Westminster.

1491.—“The aldermen of the taylo's were treated with brede and wine at Drapers Halle.” The occasion is not mentioned ; but it appears, from after entries, to have related to the settlement of differences between them in managing the cloth trade, and which, both having an equal interest in, was frequently, it will be seen, a subject of dispute.

1493.—This year was a general numbering of the Company. It was found to amount in the whole to 289, viz. “Of the craft of Drapers in the clothing or livery,” 114, including the Master and four Wardens ; “of the Broderhode oute of the clothing,” or free-men, 115 ; and “of the Bachelors Company,” 60. The list of livery of the “craft in the clothing” comprises several names afterwards eminent in civic history. The Master and Wardens were all aldermen, and amongst the livery were Alderman Fabian ; Roger Achilly, Mayor, 1511 ; Sir William Capall, Sir George Melborne, Alderman Mannoux, Richard Shore, Sheriff, &c. The “Bachelors Company” had four Wardens, who are named ; but no names are given of the other members.

The same year, one of those riots which have been stated to have so often occurred anciently, from the hatred of the London mob to foreigners, took place at the Steel Yard in Thames Street, then the great mart (amongst other imports) for Flemish cloth. The Drapers, who dealt largely with Flanders for this article, were foremost in contributing to restore peace ; and they afterwards, as we are informed by a subsequent entry, sent a force to guard the dépôt from fresh attacks ; it states 11*s.* 9*d.* to have been expended “for cresset-staffs and banners and bread, ale, and candell in keeping xvij days’ watch after the riot at the Steel Yard.”

The next three entries appear to refer entirely to matters connected with drapery :—

“ 1495. P^d ij^s for the makying of a bill to the King for cloth makying.

“ 1496. For a potacion for the heads of the Mr. Taylo^{rs} when they met to grayn cloth. For a barge two times to the Shene (Richmond) to speak with the King for reformacon of our Act to be made for woollen cloth, which cost us and the Taylors in vytels, supplicacon and learned counsell 3, xiiiij^s iiiij^d. ” (Same year) : “ For brede and ale when the felysship mustered at Drapers Hall for Black heth felde.”

This last meeting was preparatory to the King’s battle with the Cornish insurgents under Joseph the farrier and Flammock the lawyer, on Blackheath, over whom he obtained a complete victory.

Same year the Company expended 4*l.* for “ riding to the King to Woodstock, at which place all the

Companies were also obliged to attend by my Lord the Mayr's commandment."

The Drapers were accompanied by "Mr. Recorder Mr. Fabian," and other eminent persons.

1498.—A payment of 8*s.* is entered for going to Westminster "to speke with my lord Cardynall (Morton) for brokage and scavage att the Myr's commandment."

On the marriage of Prince Arthur with Katherine of Spain in 1499, and the death of that prince a few months afterwards, the Company have entries of the following payments :

"For a xx and dj (thirty) men ayens the comyng of the King's daughter of Spayn for this place, iiiij.

"To Crosby, carpenter, for the fraym in Chepe where we stood at the comyng in of the princes Dame Kateryn oute of Spayn in our livery, xxx."

1500.—"For our standing in Powlys in our Ladye Chapell at the masse of requiem of Prince Arthur, iiijd."

1502.—The like sum paid for the same standing "at the dirige and mass for quene Elizabeth" (of York).

1509.—On the death of Henry VII. the Wardens in their accounts claim credit for 114*s.*, for xij torches for the beryall of King Henry the VIIth, weying cxxi^{lb} and 1 quart^t, whereof was wasted xxxij^{lb} at iiijd le lb., and xij^d for making of every torche."

1521.—The Drapers took the lead in settling the terms and amount of a contribution which the Government required from the great Companies towards the furnishing of ships of discovery, to be placed

under the command of the celebrated Sebastian Cabot.

The Wardens of “divrs of the auncyant felishippes” assembled on this occasion “at Frers Austyn,” or Austin Friars, and adopted the substance of the Drapers’ Company’s answer as their own.

In it the Drapers tell the King’s Council that they have no authority to bind their whole Company to any such charge, and acquaint them as to the state of their trade; that their Company consisted but “of fewe adventurers, saving only into Flanders, whereunto required noe grete shipps.” Yet, if it pleased the King “to cause to be manned, rigged, apparelled and victualled” such a ship as their Company should think convenient, they the Wardens “would apply themselves and labour their said Company to freight and lade the same to the best of their power, having such a reasonable price of the freight as other shippes had in usage and lading.”

From what is further said it appears that the intended voyage was to Newfoundland, which had been first discovered in 1491, by John Cabot (Sebastian’s father), with five ships furnished, in like manner as these were proposed to be, by King Henry VII. and the London Merchants.

This second voyage to the same place under the auspices of Henry VIII. is not mentioned by Cabot’s biographers, and the omission gives to the entry here considerable interest. The manner and language in which the fact is told are also amusing.

Their doubts of the success of the enterprise are

strongly expressed :—“If,” they observe, “their sovereign lord the King’s highness, the Cardinall’s grace, and the King’s most honorable Counsel, were duly and substantially informed with such perfect knowledge as might be had by credible report of masters and marines naturally born within this realm of England, having experience in and about the aforesaid land, as well as knowledge of the land, the due courses of the seey thitherward and homeward, of the havens, roads, ports, creeks, dangers, and shoals there were on the coast, then there would be less jeopardy in the adventure ; notwithstanding that the place is further off than most English marines can tell.” As it was they considered it “a sore adventure to jeopard ye shippes with men and goods unto the said island upon the singular trust of one man called,” as they understood, “Sebastyan, who,” as they had heard say, “was never in that land himself, and made report of many things only as he had heard his father and other men speke in times past.”

They use many other ingenious arguments, and are only awed into submission at last (as are the other Companies) by a message “fro’ my Lord Cardynall” that the King “would have the premises performed and would have no nay therein.”

Same year (June 30) is an account of Sir John Brugge, a member of the Drapers, and at this time Lord Mayor, attending by invitation the Serjeants’ feast at Ely House, Holborn. He was accompanied by the Aldermen, some in scarlet and some in silk gowns, and by the Masters of eight of the crafts in

their best livery gowns and hoods, viz. the Drapers, Mercers, Grocers, Fishmongers, Goldsmiths, Skinners, Merchant Taylors, and Haberdashers. “The Mayor bare the estate in the hall at the high boord,” the Master of the Rolls began the second boord, the Warden of Drapers the third, and the rest of the crafts sat in the hall.

“To shew what the fare was,” the writer of the entry says, “is but losse of tym. I suppose that the worshipful citizens were never wors served.”

Two other entries of this year may be noticed. In the first a sum of 22. 15. is stated to have been paid for 32 yards of crimson satten for my lord Cardinall, and in the latter 20 marks is given him “as a pleasure,” so it is termed, “for his services with the king.” Both presents, it appears, were made to him on account of his procuring at this time additional privileges for the Company in their management of Blackwell Hall trade.

1527.—The Company's attention appears to have been considerably occupied in disputes with the Crutched Friars. Sir John Milborn, several times Master of the Drapers and Mayor of London in 1521, had purchased ground of this body next their church, and had built thirteen almshouses on it for decayed Drapers, of which he left the Company trustees. There was to be an anniversary obit kept for him in the said church, and the thirteen “bedemen,” as they are called in Sir John's will, were also daily to say prayers at his tomb there. The disputes seem to have been about the boundaries of the ground purchased,

and the due performance of the religious services. There are two or three entries on the subject, from which, combined with the account of this convent in Stow, we learn that the friars had near this time granted the city an additional piece of ground to enlarge their church, and which, abutting on Milborn's charity, caused this contention. The friars, in the first instance, had got the Lord Mayor to write to the Companies to assist them in their building; but whether the taste for monasteries was declining, or that the Drapers were out of temper about their ground, their feeling on the occasion, as intimated by the following entry, seems to have been very cold:—

1521 (October).—"A moyon was made to styr meenys devocions for the Crossed Friars, according to the tenor of the present Commission [the Lord Mayor's letter] what yt avayled (since) God knoweth q' tunc nichill."

The other entries, which are of transactions seeming to have originated in consequence, respect a survey of the Company's Almshouses, and some investigation made by them, as trustees, concerning the keeping by the friars of the religious observances for Sir John Milborn.

Both these occurrences took place at the first date (1519). The last entry respects an encroachment made by "Mr. Wyett," and took place after the suppression of the friary.

In the entry of 1529 it is stated that a "reporte of Mr. Ward" was made of the viewing of the houses granted to the Crossed Friars of London," when the

Company agreed, “that if the prior and convent of the said freres at any time hereafter be negligent, and do not obsyrve and kepe the Will of Sir John Milborn, knight, Alderman and Draper of London, that this house do take upon them to obsyrve and kepe the said Wyll.” The latter entry recording a resolution of the Company to proceed against “Mr. Wyett for breaking the wall at the Crossed Friars in case he make not a good answer,” is only worthy of notice from the celebrity of the person complained of. It was Sir Thomas Wyatt the elder, an early refiner of our English poetry in connection with the Earl of Surry, and whom the Athenae Oxoniensis styles “the delight of the muses and of mankind.” This gentleman was the grantee from Henry VIII. of the Crutched Friars, and had built a mansion on part of the site afterwards Lumley House, and subsequently rebuilt as the Navy Office. The break in the wall mentioned, and a new brick wall built in consequence, appear in Virtue’s plan of the Tower Liberties, after a drawing of the reign of Elizabeth.

1538.—The suppression of monasteries is first hinted at in an entry of this year, which states it to have been agreed “as touching the purchasing of suppressed lands that this house shall not be hasty for doubts that may be thought to depend upon the same, for holding of the Kyng, as by knight’s service or such other like, until it be discussed by learned counsell.” And the next year it is further agreed “that all the obytts which were kept at Frere Austyns shall be kept at Swithins.”

An entry of a few days later notices an application of the King's Commissioners for a Return of the Company's chantries at the same friary as follows :—

1539.—“The Chanselor of the Augmentacon hath sent dyvrs and sundry times to Master Wardens for suche money as they were charged with all for obytts kept at Frere Augustynes as it were quyt rents. Mr. Broke hathe promysed that he wol be ready at al tymes to go with the Masters Wardens to make answer to the said Chanselor.” The Company celebrated service for four of their deceased members here, whose names will be found in their list of obits.

1545.—The Company completed the purchase from King Henry VIII. of their present Hall (or rather site), which had come to the Crown by the attainer of Cromwell, Earl of Essex, and had been his residence for some years. They were required to give in a general account of their chantries, and held a special meeting for that purpose, as per the following entry :—

“ M^d the vij of May after Mr. Calley's obit here assembled the Right Worshipful Sir William Rose, Knight, our Master, Mr. Lowen, Mr. Chevale, and Mr. Petyt, Wardens; and of the Counsell Mr. Brothers, Mr. Warner, Mr. Clerk, and Mr. Blower, before whom the Master and Master Wardens caused the Commissⁿ to be read which was sent by the King's Commissioners to the said Master and Wardens to make answer to them by a certain day concerning how many Chantryes and Stipendary priests do belong to our Company, and what lands and possessions they have

with divers other articles as appeareth in the said commission. And after the said articles and answer were openly read before the said Assistants wherewith and withall other things done in and about the same, the said Assistants were well content and gave their consents to the same."

The Commissioners, wishing afterwards to have a fuller answer from the Company, the Court had another meeting, and heard read and approved of new answers being sent.

Heads of an agreement with the king's counsel for the purchase of the Company's rents was subsequently prepared, as also an account of the obits and chantries they were left to maintain. The Company also consented to the sale of part of their plate.

1551 (14 March).—Mr. Chester declared how the Master and Wardens had been "before Sir Walter Mildmay, knight, and others of the king's ma^{ties} commissioners; and the said commissioners agreed with them, and allowed them out of the total sum towards the clerk, beadle, and the poor, vij^l by the year before entered in their book and also paid: and further agreed with them for y^e obitts which should be kept but for certain years, viz.: for Henry Eburton and John Toll^r, which amounted both yerely to xvij^s ij^d. Also that they should pay for them but after eight years purchase, which amounted to xvij. ix. iiij^d. And the residue in perpetuity, which amounteth to iiij. v. xii^d. by the year to pay thereof after xxj years purchase, which amounteth the purchase thereof to the sum of 1065l. 16s. 8d.; so the sum total for the

whole purchase, to be paid by this house (with that before paid to the King's Majesty for the chantries and obitts), amounteth to the sum of 1402*l.* 6*s.*, besides the abatement for the officers and poor."

The Company having agreed to the above terms, completed their purchase, in common with the rest of the Companies, through the agency of the City trustees, Alderman Turke, Mr. Blackwell, &c., in the course of the year. The entry of the purchase is as follows :

1552. "Or boke of purchase of our obytts and chauntry lands bought. This day our book of purchase made out by Mr. Blackwell, town clerk, drawerd out of the King's Majesties patent made to Mr. Turke, Alderman, and the said Mr. Wm. Blackwell, of and for the behoof of all such Companies of this city of London, as purchased of the King's Majesty, their obits and chantry lands was brought in by Mr. Alderman Leigh. We paid for the writing and engrossing thereof unto the said Mr. Blackwell the sum of 30*s.*, but in the which book is left out the obit of Henry Eburton, which this house also purchased; unto the which obit was claim made by a patent which was answered as appeareth Fo."

1552.—Notice is taken of a remarkable order of Government respecting the coinage in the following terms :

"A Proclamation made that the shilling shall go for vj^d., the grote for ij^d., the half-grote for j^d., the penny for an half-penny, and the half-penny for a farthing."

The death of Edward VI. and temporary elevation of Lady Jane Grey to the crown are thus shortly noticed under the year :

1553.—“Rex Edwardus Sextus moriebat and Quene Jane was proclaimed thorow the cittie.”

Enough has now been said to show the ancient importance and dignity of the Company, and I will, at this point, conclude my references to the historic entries in the Company's records, and proceed to give a short account of its local habitation and home.

It has been said, but upon what authority I do not know, that the Drapers had a Hall in Cornhill. The first Hall of which any mention is made in the Company's records is that in St. Swithin's Lane, which is mentioned in 1405 as “John Hend's Hall.” In 1479 Edward IV. after inviting the Mayor, Aldermen, and chief citizens to a grand hunt in Waltham Forest, and entertaining them in an arbour erected for the occasion, said, “In order not to forget the city ladies, and to preserve our good understanding with them also, we have sent them a present of two harts, six bucks, and a tun of wine.” It appears that with this royal gift the Lady Mayoress, the wife of Sir Bartholomew James, Draper, entertained the Aldermen's ladies and others at Drapers' Hall.

This Hall comprised a great chamber or livery room, parlours, one of them of superior dimensions, a kitchen, a store-house, and a scalding yard. The Hall had an elevated platform or “haut pas” at its extremity for the high table. A great parlour, ladies'

chamber, chequer chamber, a buttery, pantry, and other places. The parlours, hall, and chamber are stated to have been surrounded with hangings on festive occasions. The elevated part of the Hall for superior guests was hung with blue buckram, and had nine forms round the high table, besides a cupboard or buffet.

The Chequer Chamber was laid with mats, a luxury which the Hall had not at this date, being only strewed with rushes.

The Kitchen must have been large for it had three fireplaces.

The dimensions of the Hall are not recorded, but it also was of considerable size, for the court and livery at this time amounted to one hundred and fourteen, and the bachelors to sixty, and all seem to have dined together at the Hall with sixty or seventy guests in addition, so that it held between two and three hundred persons.

The Ladies' Chamber was a splendid room dedicated to the use of the sisters of the fraternity, and in it they seem to have had occasionally separate dinners. They sat at the upper or side tables according to their rank, and the length of these tables shows that they must have been capable of accommodating a considerable number of guests, "towels" (table cloths) for the side tables in the ladies' chamber being mentioned "8 yards long."

Minute regulations are laid down as to the order of sitting at table, of which the following appear to be sufficiently curious to quote, viz :—

"That from this day forward at every general feast or dinner of the aforesaid fraternity, all those that have been Masters and Wardens shall sit at meat at the + table next the cupboard in the Drapers' Hall, and none others, unless by the advice or assignment of the Master and Wardens for the time being, shall sit at the high table upon pain of 2*s.* No brother of the fraternity shall presume to sit at any table in the Hall till the Mayor and the States have washed, and be set at the high table on pain of 3*s.* That at the table next the parlour door shall be set two or three mess, with such as have been master and wardens, for strangers at the discretion of the Wardens for the time being."

The cost of the Midsummer Feast in 1514 was 64*l.* 8*s.* 2*d.* It included a sturgeon, 40*s.*; three boars, 34*s.*; twenty-four dozen quails, 4*l.* 10*s.*; forty-five pike, 3*l.*; two sacks of meal, 8*l.* 10*s.*; one hogs-head of red wine, claret, white wine, and porterage, 10*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.*; twenty-one gallons of muscatel for Hippocras, 21*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*

Lady Capell and others sent fine bucks; 3*d.* was paid for a bottle of sweet wine for the singers, and 30*d.* for the priests and clerk of St. Michael's for mass on the preceding Sunday; and to John Sly and his company for two plays, 4*s.*

A very minute description is also given of the Election Feast in 1515, together with a plan of the tables and a list of the guests, of whom seventy-eight were strangers—forty-four men and thirty-four women.

The site of the Drapers' Hall in which we have

met this evening was purchased by the Company, after a lengthened negotiation in 1541, of Henry VIII. to whom it had become forfeited by the attainder of Cromwell, Earl of Essex, who had previously resided there. It is thus described at the time of the purchase :

"The Lord Cromwell's House contayneth the rowmes followyng :

"Imprimis : A fayre grete gate; a fayre yard, paved ; a fayre low gallery, on the north side of the yard; a grete wyndyng steyr, with bay glass windows leading into the Hall. It^m, over that steyr fayre leads. It^m, a fayre hall, wth ij bay wyndowes and clere stories, wth a butterye, a pantrye, and a seller for wyne, ale and bere to the same. It^m, a dark chamber, wth lattes wyndowes over the said butterye and pantrye to look down into the hall. It^m, a fayre grete p^rlo^r [parlour], with bay glass windowes, and a fayre chimney. It^m, a buttery with a clere story belonging to the same, and a jewell hous wthin the said butterye. It^m, a fayre kitchyn wth ij grete chymnies, dressing boards, a grete cestern of led, wth conduit water coming ther unto, and ij clere stories. It^m, a pastry-hous, wth iij fayre ovens, mouldyng boards and shelves, and a clere story. It^m, a scullery house, wth a chymney and a clere story. It^m, ij larder houses, wth clere stories. It^m, a cole hous. It^m, a wyndeing sters, from the kytchyn into the hall, and over the same fayre leads. It^m, on the est syde of the greate gate, ij low chambers, the one wth a chymney and an office to wayte in, and iij clere stories, the

other wth a clere storye under the pantrye. It^{'m}, in the ijnd story, a fayre cha^mber for the ladies, seeled and matted, wth a chymney. It^{'m}, in the iijrd story, iij lytle chambers, wth bay wyndowes, and one chymney. It^{'m}, a garret over them. It^{'m}, under the grete stayr, a lytle dark roome. It^{'m}, under the greate p^rlo^r [parlour], a fayre cellar, paved for wyne or ayle. It^{'m}, the great garden and an entrye thereto."

From the above description we may form a tolerable idea of the interior of Cromwell's house at its purchase by the Company, who took possession of their new hall 19th July, 1541, and kept their first court 7th August, as per the following entries :

19th July, 1541 (34 Henry VIII.), "M^r Roche, M^r Blower, and M^r Chest took possession of our great place, by the late dissolved monastery of Frere Augustynes, in the presence of Sir Edward North, then treasurer of the king's honourable court of augmentations, for and in the name of the m^r wardens and brethern and sustern of the gild or fraternytie of o^r blessed lady of drapers of London."

"The first assembly at our new hall."

7th August (same year), "After even song, the livery, by the consent of the m^r wardens and counsell, assembled at the late earl of Essex's place, and from thence went to M^r Rochard's obit and mass, and kept their potacion at the said place; and on the 10th day of the same month the said wardens began to keep their first court day at the said place."

The gardens attached to this Hall were of con-

siderable extent, and there are several entries relating to them.

In April, 1551, an order was made "That henceforth no manner of person shall dry nor bleach their napery in the said garden to whomsoever they belong, except such napery as appertains to the fellows."

Early in the September following the Privy Council request permission "for a key to our great garden door" to be allowed "to my lord Ambassador from France," who then occupied "my Lady Roche's house in Austyn Friars," which the Company agreed to on condition of his steward being at the expense of having such a key made. Other persons near the same time offer to pay a rent for the like privilege. John Cease, clothworker, is charged 3*l.* a year "to be admitted to our garden."

A few of the additional orders will give a sufficient idea of the ancient state of the Drapers' garden. The following occur 25th November, 1552 :—

1. That no man dry any linen or woollen, save only as hath been wardens.
2. The gardener to have a bill of all such persons as hath been master wardens for him to know one from another.
3. The gardener to suffer no strangers to bowl, in case there be any of the Company disposed to bowl in the place, neither to take erbys nor fruit.
4. The gardener to give attention on holy days for such as come of the Company to the garden.
5. That no keys be suffered to the garden door but such as shall be admitted by the master and wardens and assistants, but the aldermen to have keys.

6. The master and wardens to have the fruit, flowers, and herbs for their year.

The fire of London stopped at Drapers' Hall to the northwards, but was nearly as disastrous in its effects as in the heart of the city. On the court assembling 10th September, 1666, they find "that the hall, parlor, and other buildings belonging thereto, wherein was the clerk's habitation, was all consumed to ashes by the late lamentable and dismal fire." They appear to have faced this great misfortune, for such it was, manfully, and to have lost not a moment in making the arrangements necessary for carrying on the Company's business and securing its property, one of the orders being that the Company's plate, which had been put into a mouth or well of the common sewer in the garden for its preservation should be forthwith taken up and secured. At the next meeting the court ordered all the charities of the Company to be paid notwithstanding the fire.

The model for a new hall was submitted to the court on the 1st Nov. 1667, by Mr. Jarman. It embraced a dining hall to be erected "above stairs," and where our late hall "stood, with enlargement in length and breadth, with a parlour adjoining, and other convenient rooms and accommodations," and the model being approved, the workmen were asked to set to work, and not long afterwards the building was completed. It stood until 1774, when a considerable part of the Hall was again destroyed by fire, and had to be rebuilt.

The present Hall occupies the same site, and is

built on the same plan as that designed by Mr. Jarman, but it stands on more ground, the reception rooms on the west side being considerably wider, and the dining-hall both wider and longer than the room which it replaced; and on the site formerly occupied by the clerk's house now stands the grand staircase, which has been transferred from the eastern to the western side of the building. The present Hall was erected in 1870, the architect being Mr. Herbert Williams. You will have an opportunity of inspecting both the building and its contents this evening, and it is, therefore, unnecessary for me to give any description of them.

Even an outline of the history of the Drapers' Company should include an account of the numerous charities which it administers, but time will not permit me to touch upon this branch of the subject.

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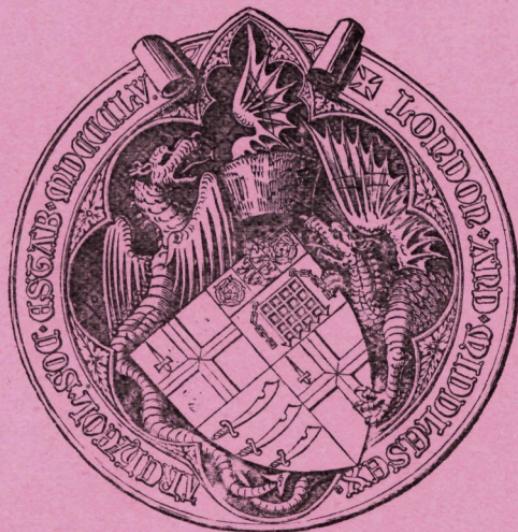
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APP. 5813 Vol. 6

TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
LONDON AND MIDDLESEX
Archæological Society.

PART XXI.—APPENDIX TO VOLUME VI.

(Concluding Part of the First Series of the Transactions of the Society.)



L O N D O N :

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*Papers read at a Meeting of the London
and Middlesex Archaeological Society, on
Wednesday, the 27th June, 1883.*

THE ANNUAL MEETING of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society was held, by the kind permission of the Prime Warden and Court of the Goldsmiths' Company, in their hall, Foster Lane, on Wednesday afternoon. There was a good muster of members and friends of the society, amongst those present being Mr. Alderman Staples, F.S.A., who occupied the chair, Major G. Lambert, F.S.A., Mr. A. White, F.S.A., Mr. T. Milbourn (Honorary Secretary Surrey Archaeological Society), Mr. J. E. Price, F.S.A., Mr. Deputy Fowler, Mr. Pitman, C.C., Mr. Rome, C.C., Major Joseph, Mr. Mayhew, Mr. Sergeant, Mr. Rowsell, Mr. Walter Prideaux, &c.

ST. VEDAST, FOSTER LANE.

Previous to the meeting at Goldsmiths' Hall, the members visited the Church of St. Vedast *alias* Foster, Foster Lane, where every facility was given for an inspection of the church and plate by Mr. Churchwarden Sergeant. The communion-table was simple and unadorned, and there was nothing to remind one of the contentions over ritualistic symbols which, as far as St. Vedast is concerned, are now happily at rest. The church is one of Sir Christopher Wren's and, (as Mr. Milbourn observed,) it is not perhaps one, of his most successful efforts. The matting was taken up, that the visitors might be able to see the inscriptions on the stone slabs, after which a paper was read by Mr. MILBOURN, the Honorary Secretary of the Surrey Archæological Society, as follows :—

ST. VEDAST *alias* FOSTER.

Stow mentions this church merely as St. Fauster's, and states that the lane, in which it stands received its designation therefrom, but it does not appear that there was at any time a saint in the Roman calendar who bore the name of Foster. Newcourt, in his *Repertorium*, states the church to have been dedicated to St. Vedast, who was Bishop of Arras, in Artois, concerning whom it is stated that Clodovens or Clovis, the first Christian king of France, about the year A.D. 484, going to visit St. Remigius, Bishop of Rheims, took along with him this Vedast, a very holy and devout man, who, whilst on their journey, restored the sight of a blind man. The king being come to St. Remigius, was baptized by him, and, returning home, left Vedast with St. Remigius, with whom he remained and grew famous for his great virtue and piety, and at last, was so well esteemed by the Bishop, that he ordained him Bishop of Arras. St. Vedast is said to have died in the reign of Clotarius, King of France, A.D. 566. The date of the foundation of the church is unknown.

The living is a rectory, and appears first to have been vested in the prior and convent of Christ Church, Canterbury, but afterwards transferred to the Archbishop of that See. After the great fire in A.D. 1666, the parish church of St. Michael-le-Querne having been destroyed, that parish was annexed to the parish of St. Vedast, and this was appointed the church of both parishes, and at a recent date, the parishes of St. Matthew, Friday Street, and St. Peter-le-Cheap have also been annexed, under the Bishop of London's Union of Benefices Act.

The first recorded rector was Walter de London, who was presented to the rectory July 16th, A.D. 1328, by the Prior and Convent of Christ Church, Canterbury, they being the patrons.

In A.D. 1396, 20th, Richard II., dissension occurred between the masters of the trade of saddlers and the workmen of the same trade, because the workmen were accustomed to array themselves in a new like suit and meet once a year at Stratford, on the feast of the Assumption

(August 15th), and from thence came to this church of St. Vedast to hear mass on the same day in honour of the Virgin.

On July 12th, the same year, the masters attended before the Mayor and Aldermen, when it was ruled that the said workmen should in future be under the ruling of the masters, and also that in future they should have no fraternity meetings or other unlawful thing, under a penalty.

William Tryster gave to the parson and churchwardens for the maintenance of a chaplain to sing for his soul for ever, as much land as, with 8*l.* 10*s.* paid for the rent of divers tenements by Simon Atwell, to the increase or augmentation of the present living, would amount to, 18*l.* 5*s.* 2*d.* per annum. Sr. Albert Copeman was the chantry priest, and is described as being 39 years of age, and a man of mean quality and learning—his salary being 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

Geffery Gates gave to maintain a priest to sing for his soul and the soul of his wife for ever, as much land as would produce 8*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* per annum, but one Christopher Tury considering that this was not sufficient to support the charge of the chantry, gave in augmentation divers tenements of the annual value of 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* John Merkhame was the chantry priest at the time of the dissolution of colleges and chantries, *temp.* Edward VI.

John Russell gave to the finding of a yearly anniversary or obit for the soul of Andrew Secheford for ever, and a lamp to burn in the body of the church, one tenement of the yearly value of 60*s.*

Dame Elizabeth Thurston gave 100*l.* in money for the maintenance of Jesus and Our Lady's mass, and certain psalms—this produced 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* per annum.

Mr. Cote, in the time of King Henry VIII., gave 160*l.* to purchase therewith lands to find a priest to sing for him and others for ever, but the certificate of Edward VI. states that no lands had been bought, but that one, Mr. Hartop, found a priest with the interest of the money. This certificate further states that there were 460 houseling people in the parish, and that Sir Richard Ridge was parson, his

stipend amounting to $33l. 5s. 10d.$, and that he served the cure with his curate and the assistance of the chantry priests.

From Cardinal Pole's Pension Book, being a record of the pensions granted at the time of the Dissolution to the chantry priests, we find that John Markeham received a pension of $100s.$, Albert Chapman, $100s.$, and William Doughty, $100s.$ Henry Cote, citizen and goldsmith, Sheriff of London A.D. 1490, and who died A.D. 1509, erected a chapel here, dedicated to St. Dunstan, patron saint of the Guild of Goldsmiths. This Henry Cote stands first on the list of citizens who were elected to wait upon the Chief Butler of England at the coronation of King Richard III. at Westminster. John Thurston, Sheriff of London A.D. 1516, appears to have given $100l.$ towards the building of this chapel by his testament. In the time of Edward VI. the church possessed five bells in the steeple and a "sance" bell. Malcolm states that the celebrated antiquary John Leland was buried here.

To Stow, and his continuator Strype, we are indebted for some particulars of the early Church, and the only record extant, of the principal monuments which existed in the church, destroyed by the great fire in 1666. Thus it is recorded, that in A.D. 1614, the early church was repaired, the gravestones new squared and laid, the pews new made, a window in the north aisle enlarged, the rest of the windows new glazed, and the whole throughout trimmed and beautified. It is further stated that a plot of land, in breadth about twenty yards and above, and twenty feet in length, was added to the church at the chancel end, to lengthen the church, which ground was given to the parish, out of a fair court, then belonging unto the Saddlers' Company. In addition to Henry Cote and John Thurston before mentioned, the following persons are recorded to have been here buried, viz.: William Trist, cellarer to the King, A.D. 1425; Alderman John Browne Sergeant Painter, deceased A.D. 1532, who is described as having been a great benefactor; Richard Galder, A.D. 1544; John Standelfe and John Standelfe, citizens and goldsmiths, were also buried here. John Standelfe, sen., gave by his will a tenement in Fleet Street after the death of

John, his son, to the rector of, as it is called, St. John Vedast, and to the keepers or wardens of the Goldsmiths for ever, to find a perpetual lamp in the chancel of the church of St. Vedast, to hold an anniversary for his soul, and of Matilda his wife, and to distribute 21*s.* 8*d.* to thirteen poor of the Goldsmiths' trade, to pray for his soul. Machyn, in his diary, records the burial here on April 9th, A.D. 1552, of M. Morgayne, goldsmith; also on September 19th, A.D. 1559, of Oswold See, Goldsmith, "With a dozen of skochyons of armes, and prestes and clarkes syngyng." He further records, that on March 1st, 1560-1, was buried one Master Bumsted, gentleman, "vj skochyons of armes." Machyn in these entries styles the church, St. Foster's.

In the early church were the following monuments: a fair stone in the chancel to the memory Master Thomas Baby, chaplain to the Goldsmiths, who died November 3rd, 1452; a fair stone by the communion table to John Lonyson, esquire, master of the Mint of England, and citizen and goldsmith of London, who died May 21st, A.D. 1583, in the 59th year of his age; a monument in the wall south of the choir to the memory of Christopher Wase, citizen and goldsmith, who died September 22nd, A.D. 1605, aged 66 years; a small monument in the wall with a gilt plate to Robert Marsh, citizen and grocer, of London, and Florence his first wife; he died October 7th, 1602, aged 65 years and three days; a fair plated stone under the communion table to Mistress Martha Prescot, the wife of Alderman Alexander Prescot, who died November 26th, A.D. 1616; here also on a fair plated gravestone in the middle aisle was an inscription in verse to the memory of Agnes, the wife of William Milborne, Chamberlain of the City of London, who died July 12th, A.D. 1505.

There were also monuments to the memory of Laurence Hawes, citizen and fishmonger, and Ursula, his wife. He died April 10th, A.D. 1588; she died November 24th, A.D. 1614. Of William Fuller, D.D., some time vicar of St. Giles, Cripplegate, and Dean of Durham, who deceased A.D. 1659. And of Robert South, and Elizabeth, his wife, who was afterwards the wife of Richard Gurney, Sheriff A.D.

1633, afterwards knighted and created a baronet, and was Lord Mayor of London A.D. 1641. The said Robert South died A.D. 1624; Elizabeth died in A.D. 1633. Lewis, son of Robert South, was also buried here in 1659, and Anne, his daughter, in A.D. 1649. These last two monuments are the only memorials which escaped destruction in the great fire of A.D. 1666, and will be found in the present edifice.

The Church suffered greatly in the Great Fire, but not so much as to prevent it being repaired; it was, therefore, restored, and the steeple or tower stood until A.D. 1694, but in that year, being found very much weakened by the late fire, it was taken down and entirely rebuilt as you see it at present, under the direction of Sir Christopher Wren, the church being finished in A.D. 1697, and the pewing and ornaments finished A.D. 1698.

Thomas Rotherham, chaplain to King Edward IV., Bishop of Rochester, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, Lord Chancellor, afterwards translated to the Archbishopric of York, was at one time rector of this parish, having been presented to the rectory September 26th, 1465, which he resigned in 1467. This venerable prelate died of plague at Cawood, May 29th, A.D. 1500, aged 76 years.

Godwin mentions the discovery of a curious stone coffin in 1836 opposite the house, No. 17, Cheapside; this coffin he describes as consisting of a block of freestone, about 7 ft. long and 15 in. thick, hollowed out to received the body, with a deeper sinking for the head and shoulders; it tapered gradually from the bottom to the top and both ends were square. When found it contained a skeleton, and was covered with a flat stone, which was destroyed during the excavation, and the coffin itself much broken. This coffin was placed in a vault in the small burial-ground on the north side of the church. In the churchyard there is a school-house, which was built and endowed by Mr. J. Johnson, citizen and goldsmith of London, an inhabitant of the parish, A.D. 1694, but this is now dis-used.

Mr. LAMBERT gave a brief description of the plate, which was quite plain, and which dated back in one case to the year 1608.

On the motion of Mr. MILBOURN, a cordial vote of thanks was passed to the rector, the Rev. Sparrow Simpson, D.D., who was away in Scotland, and to Mr. Churchwarden Sergeant, and his brother churchwardens for their kindness and courtesy in permitting this visit of the society.

ST. ANNE AND ST. AGNES,

WITHIN ALDERSGATE.

The party then proceeded to the Church of St. Anne and St. Agnes, where the following paper was read by Mr. T. Milbourn :—

ST. ANNE AND ST. AGNES WITHIN ALDERSGATE.

This church was formerly called St. Anne in the Willows, but there is no evidence as to the source from whence it derived this name. Stow states that some people say it was so named from willows growing thereabouts, but that in his time there was no void space for willows to grow other than the churchyard, in which were some high ash trees and certain other fair trees. Newcourt in his *Repertorium*, mentions a tradition in the parish that the church was built by two sisters named Anne and Agnes, but there does not appear any foundation for this story.

The living is a rectory subject to the archdeacon. Newcourt states that the advowson of this church was of old in the gift of the Dean of the Collegiate Church of St. Martin-le-Grand, and was probably given or at least confirmed to him and his successors by William the Conqueror, as was that of St. Alphage, and, like that, continued in the gift of the said Dean and his successors till King Henry VII. annexed their collegiate church with all its appurtenances to the Abbey of Westminster, by virtue whereof, the abbot and convent of that Abbey, and after them the Abbot of Westminster, continued patrons of the church, until Queen Mary, by her letters patent, dated March 3rd, in the first year of her reign, gave the advowson (among others) to the then Bishop of London and his successors for ever, and

in whom it hath continued ever since. After the Great Fire in A.D. 1666, the church of the parish of St. John Zachary having been destroyed, that parish was annexed to the parish of St. Anne and St. Agnes, and this church was appointed the parish church of both parishes. The rectory of St. John Zachary being in the gift of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, the presentation is made alternately.

At some time in the reign of King Edward III. a perpetual chantry was founded here, for the souls of Thomas Juvenall and Alice his wife. To this chantry a chaplain was instituted in the thirty-third year of the same king's reign, and the chantry was then stated to have been lately founded.

Sir William Gregory, citizen and skinner, Sheriff A.D. 1436, and Mayor of London, A.D. 1451, founded an obit in this church, to support which he gave all his lands and tenements in the parish, of the annual value of 19*l.* 17*s.* 4*d.*, and was here buried. John Werke gave for the founding an obit, and divers other charges, all his lands and tenements, of the yearly value of 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

Edward Redknapp gave unto Lewis Sutton and Agnes his wife, to keep an obit for his soul for ever, all those his lands lying in Greenwich Lane, of the yearly value of 20*s.*

When the certificate of colleges and chantries was made in the 1 Edward VI., Mr. John Hopton, Doctor of Divinity, was parson of the parish, the yearly value of his living being 8*l.*, and he found one priest to serve the cure. The certificate also states that there were 300 houseling people in the parish.

In 1 Edward VI., the church possessed five great bells and one small bell, in the steeple. To Stow we are indebted for particulars relating to this church prior to the Great Fire in A.D. 1666. From his valuable record we glean that the church was greatly damaged, if not entirely destroyed, by fire in the year A.D. 1548, but was shortly after reinstated. In the year 1624 it was again repaired, and "richly and very worthily beautified." In the years 1629 and 1630 the steeple, which appears to have become decayed and defective, was repaired "with great care, and much cost"; a new

turret was erected for the "sance" bell; the walls of the two churchyards (the greater and the less) were raised, two fair-arched doors made in the middle of them, with a very fair-arched entrance to the church on the south side of it; and the alley or passage from St. Anne's Lane into Noble Street raised, levelled, and, with freestone, very handsomely paved.

In this edifice were monuments to the memory of Thomas Bekhemton, Clerk of the Pipe, who was buried in A.D. 1429. Ralph Caldwell, gentleman, of Gray's Inn, buried in 1527. John, Lord Sheffeld and John Herenden, esquire, citizen and mercer, buried in 1572. A handsome small monument existed in the north wall of the choir to the memory of Edward Herenden, esquire, citizen and mercer of London, and Millescent, his wife, A.D. 1572, a smaller monument than the other to the memory of Edmund Herenden, gentleman, son and heir of the before mentioned Edward Herenden, esquire, who died April 10th, 1590. A fair-plated stone under the communion-table, to the memory of Stephen Brakynbury, gentleman usher to King Henry VIII., King Edward VI., Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth, and Joan, his wife, which Stephen died February 2nd, A.D. 1563. On another stone by the communion-table, a Latin inscription to Master John Pemberton, who died September 12th, A.D. 1499. And in the chancel an inscription to Francis Spenser, eldest son of Richard Spenser, esquire, who died June 20th, A.D. 1629.

In the year 1666 the whole building was destroyed in the Great Fire, and in 1680 the present church erected on the site under the direction of Sir Christopher Wren. The south entrance, which was originally executed in red brick (as indeed was the remainder of the church), was afterwards restored in stone, and the walls of the church have since been covered with cement. The original cost of the church was 2,448*l.* 0*s.* 10*d.*

The first rector on record is John Chimerby, who was presented July 5th, A.D. 1322. Alanus Percy, who was presented to the rectory May 6th, A.D. 1515, was the third son of Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland. He was

admitted to the church of St. Mary-at-Hill, October 25th, A.D. 1521, which he enjoyed almost forty years. Richard Edwards was rector of this church during the Great Fire in 1666, having been presented to the rectory September 5th 1662.

GOLDSMITHS' HALL.

PAPER BY MAJOR GEORGE LAMBERT, F.S.A.

The members afterwards assembled in Goldsmiths' Hall, Mr. Alderman STAPLES, in the absence of the Prime Warden, presiding.

Warden Major G. LAMBERT read the following paper on the



HISTORY OF THE GOLDSMITHS' COMPANY.

From the very earliest of time we read of gold. The sacred historian, so early as in Genesis ii. mentions the fact that the river which watered the garden of Eden had four heads, and the first was called Pison, that is it, that compasseth the whole land of Havilah, where there is much gold (Genesis ii. 11.) And the gold of that land is good. Now as no date can possibly be given for the time of Adam, gold must have been known to the ancients long before any

chronology, for this mention of the precious metal is before the birth of Cain and Abel. Later on, we find it stated that Abimelech gave to Abraham 5,000 pieces of silver (Genesis xx. 16). And again, later on, at chap. xxiii. 13, 15, 16, when, after the death of Sarah, Abraham was desirous of burying his wife's remains, he says, "I will give thee money for the field." Ephron answers, "The land is worth 400 shekels of silver." And Abraham weighed to Ephron 400 shekels of silver (current money with the merchants). Here then we have a distinct history of where gold is found, and the use and property of silver, and the way it was disposed of—by weight—"Librii, solidii, et denarii," or the more current appellation of "£ s. d." I have introduced these remarks because the art of goldsmithery and coining have ever gone hand and glove together. From the earliest times of civilization places of meeting were fixed where citizens met to transact business. In ancient Roman times the places of meeting were large open spaces, and in later times these got to be known by the name *forum*, and corresponded with the Greek *ayopæ*. In this country the Anglo-Saxons had a *halla*, a place where wares were exposed for sale, and from these meeting-places sprang our fairs, markets, our guild halls, and exchanges. The Romans had these guild halls; for example, the "balentorien" spoken of by Pliny at Cyzicus built of wood, (no iron,) so made that one part could be repaired without damage to the other. Then the porticos of the great buildings of the City, where the jewellers, goldsmiths, and such as dealt in the most precious wares, took up their standing, to expose their goods for sale.

The people of this country are derived from many sources. Thus we have the Briton, who in his early day had had intercourse with the opposite coast, Gaul; for it must not for one moment be supposed that the first foreigner who touched our shore was Julius Cæsar. No; he was the first foreigner who had held his ground here, but only held it. Then we have the result of the Roman, who introduced his rule, laws; and left such a stamp upon Britain, that English law—government, money, liberty—is from the Roman. He succumbed before the Saxon, a

bibulous heathen, who did naught for posterity, other than leaving his bad manners and worse habits, a legacy to England. Then comes the Dane, then the Anglo-Saxon; thus I think I have shown that we spring from all races, when distinction of race became lost in the fusion of blood, and the rise of the English language—for Norman, French, Anglo-Saxon (Danish-Saxon), and Latin, had been in common parlance, in this country—various circumstances arose, which created and perpetuated distinction among classes, and as commercial property became more secure, against the exactions of arbitrary power, so did personal wealth and trading resources become more developed, and the masters of various crafts founded themselves into guilds or societies, either for religious or secular purposes, connected with their several trades. With the secular guild, we have now to deal—the *gilda aurifabricatorum*. In course of time every guild or company had a house of its own, where its alderman, a master or prime warden, sat with his committee or court, for the despatch of public business; and this house, in Edward III.'s time, was first styled a hall. It consisted of several rooms or chambers, together with one immense room, lighted by windows of painted glass, with the armorial bearings of the benefactors, masters, and members; a louvre or lantern, to carry off the smoke from the fire; at the upper end was the *haut-pas*, or dais, and at the other the reredos or screen, which hid the way to the kitchen, wine and ale cellars, bake and brew house." Herbert, in his *History of the Twelve Great Livery Companies in London*, says (vol. i., page 88): "Thus also the change of the name, from guild to company, and doing away with the religious part of the guild, and altering the same to a trading company. Under the guilds their chief or head was called an alderman, then it was changed to master or prime warden, the title of alderman being used only by the elected head of the wards into which the City of London was divided. Guild, gild, gelt, means literally money; it also means a payment, tax, or tribute. It would be impossible in a short paper, as this is intended to be, to give particulars of the foundation and rise of this great livery guild, the history of which contains a

mass of matter respecting the trade in gold and silver. The history of the Goldsmiths' Company is the history of England. The ancient charters of Edward III. and Richard II., (considered to be dull and unentertaining,) exhibit curious facts illustrating the simplicity of early times, the rise of commerce and various regulations concerning the same. The Great Fire of London, 1666, did not touch Goldsmiths' Hall, therefore the company is enabled to lay these upon the table before you this day. This company was a fraternity as early as 1180, being then amerced for being "adulterine," that is for setting itself up without the King's licence; they obtained their patent from King Edward III., and were incorporated for the sum of ten marks. Richard II. confirmed the same in consideration of the sum of twenty marks. Their business was to buy and sell plate, to purchase foreign coin, to melt it, and coin English money at the Mint. Banking was simply accidental, foreign to their institution. Banking by private people resulted from the calamity of 1643 (the Civil War), when a seditious spirit was incited by the arts of the Parliamentary leaders. Merchants and traders, who before this time had trusted their cash to their servants and apprentices, found that this practice was not safe; neither did they dare leave it in the Mint or the Tower by reason of the distresses of the King himself; and it was in the year 1645 that they began to place it in the hands of the Goldsmiths, who then for the first time began openly and publicly to exercise the two trades—goldsmith and banker. The first regular banker was Francis Child (Praed's House, where Cromwell kept cash). He began business about the Restoration. He was the originator, of trading with other people's capital, the father of banking, a person of large fortune, and gentleman of the highest respectability. Granville speaks of guilds in the reign of Henry II. as being common institutions, and in the *History of the Exchequer* there is a list of eighteen guilds fined (amerced) as "adulterine"; that is, acting without the King's permission; and the Goldsmiths', who were presided over by Ralph Flael, an alderman, was amongst the eighteen. (Glan., 5 lib., cap. 5, 1154-1188.) In the charter of Edward III. this company is

called a mystery, from an old French word, *mestiere*, a craft, art, or employment. In a Venetian statute, dated 1519, the crafts or trades of that city are called *misteri*, and Edward applied the name in all, or nearly all of his charters. It was with this King's reign that commerce began to make strides in England, commerce begat wealth, and that created a taste for the fine arts, and the King re-constituted the trading companies. The fraternity of the guild assumed a distinctive style of dress, and as the fact of being a brother, or one of the company, gave the members the freedom of the City—an honour in those days of the highest importance—the members were called Livery, or Freemen, and that name has now become the common parlance when speaking of any set dress. Richard II. by patent confirmed the charter of Edward I. and Edward III., by "inspeximus" (whether he looked into them or not, cannot now be affirmed,) ratifying "good customs, omitted, or not, expressed, in the former patents," allowing the company "to have, hold and exercise their guild or fraternity of themselves, and of such other persons as they may be willing to admit into their said fraternity, permitting the men of the guild so incorporated to be a perpetual community or society of themselves (*deseipsis quociens eis placurit*), a certain number of wardens "for the better keeping and regulation (*vel opus furit p' gubr nacone custod' et regimine*), of the said craft and community, and every member thereof" (1 Edward III. The charters granted by King Edward I. (Statute 28) to the Goldsmiths are almost the oldest and the earliest enrolled, except the Weavers' craft, which is a much older grant. His first grant was to the Goldsmiths in the first year of his reign, but they had held guild licences, before his time; these he confirmed by letters patent, and added thereto new privileges. This company was incorporated and confirmed in the 16th year of King Richard II. The armorial bearings of the company are very ancient, the supporters and crest added and granted, by Robert Cooke Clarencieux (A.D. 1571). The charters of the City companies were regularly confirmed every new reign (until that of Elizabeth) by "inspeximi," or new charters. This "inspeximus" recites the original grant, which is given at length, and takes notice of the

additional privileges conferred by each succeeding monarch, ratifying and confirming (if unobjectionable) the whole of them. Almost all the companies' charters were so confirmed by Elizabeth, who was the last sovereign to whom the original grants were presented. Nine of the twelve great companies presented their charters to James I., who granted them new ones. Grocers, Drapers, Skinners, Haberdashers, Salters, Ironmongers, Vintners, and Clothmakers. The Goldsmiths and the Mercers preferred their ancient incorporations, so also the Merchant Taylors, who had been reincorporated by Henry VII. The government of the company was by bye-laws, ordinances framed by common consent amongst themselves called "pointz"—such as qualification of members, keeping trade secrets, regulation of apprentices, regulation of the company's concerns, domestic management of the fraternity, management of its funds, uniting together in brotherly love, regulation of religious and other ceremonies. Goldsmiths' hall ranks with the earliest in point of age, as the fraternity had an assay office in the reign of Edward I. In this old hall one Bartholomew Read, goldsmith and Lord Mayor A.D. 1502, gave a feast of such magnitude that Stow treats Grafton's account of it as fabulous. He says : On the east side of Foster Lane, at Engine Lane end, is Goldsmiths' Hall, a proper house, but not large ; therefore to say that Bartholomew Read kept such a feast as some have fabled is incredible, and altogether impossible, considering the smallness of the hall and the number of the guests, which, as they say were more than one hundred persons of distinction. For the messes and dishes of meats to them served, the paled park in the same hall, furnished with fruitful trees, beasts of venery, and other circumstances of that pretended feast, well considered, Westminster Hall could hardly have sufficed." He was buried at the Charterhouse, but his wife, Dame Read, was buried at St. John Zachary. In Cheapside, which, according to Stowe, was called Crown Field, from an inn with the sign of a crown, stood Goldsmiths' Row, which, says the same writer, "consisted of the most beautiful frame of faire houses and shops that be within the walls of London, or elsewhere in England, built by Thomas Wood, goldsmith,

and Sheriff of London, in 1491. It contained ten faire dwelling-houses and fourteen shops, all in one frame uniformly builded, foure storeys high, beautified towards the street with the Goldsmiths' arms, and likenesses of woodmen, in memorie of his name, riding on monstrous beasts, all richly painted and gilt." In 1226, a great quarrel arose between the Goldsmiths and the Tailors, sometimes styled linen armourers; each party had its friends, and on an appointed night, 500 men, completely armed, met to decide the difference by blows. Many were killed, and more were wounded on each side, nor could they be parted until the Sheriffs with the City "posse comitatis" came on the scene of slaughter and apprehended the ringleaders, thirteen of whom were condemned and executed. (Northouck, 56.) There is mention of spoons as early as the time Edward IV., seventh year, thus: "16th April, 1468, five silver spoons." There is also this entry: Sir John Havand writes, "I deliver to my wife a pot of silver, to put in green ginger, that the King gave me." (MSS. G. E. Frere, Esq., Rep. 7, p. 537.) In the Supplementary Calendar of the House of Lords is a petition to the House of Commons setting forth the grievances of John Brode, of the parish of St. Giles Without, Cripplegate, London, goldsmith, "For redress against the patentees or company for commixing copper and the Callamyn stone to maken latten metals. The company having employed strangers in the work and entirely failed, Brode took a lease of the patent and with eight years' practice brought the work to good effect, employing Englishmen therein. After which the company informed the Council that Brode had forfeited his lease, and obtained an order for taking up all his stock-in-trade. Large quantities of Callamyn stone and other properties were taken, for which Brode cannot obtain payment, either at common law or in equity. Brode was the first man that here in England commixed copper and Callamyn and brought it to perfection, namely to abide the hammer and beaten into plates and raised into kettles and pans by hammers driven by water. He desires that the company may recompense him for the wrongs and damage done by them and their assigns, and that the said work may

be revived and set at liberty to the common good." "A note of the plate delivered to Mr. John Williams, goldsmythe, this 19th September, 1615, to pawne for money to make the great plate for the christening. An inventory of the plate brought into the Tower by the Earl and Countess of Salisbury (1616), silver plate for the Earl's use: Twelve dishes, one round trencher salt, six slip spoons, one porringer and cover, one barrel pot, two saucers, a deep bason and ewer, two wire candlesticks, a warming pan and handle, and a cofer boxe, weighing altogether $598\frac{3}{4}$ ounces, valued at clvii.Ls. iiis., at viiid. per ounce. Plate for the Countess' use: Six dishes, six trencher plates, two bell candlesticks, one pair of snuffers, two boates, one saucer, ten spoons, two triangle salts, weighing $308\frac{1}{4}$ ounces, valued at lxxxLs. xviiis., total value of plate dcliiiLs." (See 7 Report, p. 473, W. M. Molyneux's MSS.) January 10th, 1616: An indenture was entered into by the King, of the one part, and Richard Dike, Matthias Fowle, and Francis Dorrington, of the other part, granting to them, their deputies, and assigns, the monopoly of making gold and silver thread for twenty-one years, upon payment of £10 per annum, and indemnification of loss to the Customs caused by the ceasing of the importation of said thread. About April 5th, 1616, a patent was granted to the "Gold and Silver Wire Drawers." This interfered with the rights of the Goldsmiths' Company, and they produced one Parket Nightingale and others, who showed that they spun gold and silver thread for Thomas Williams and others for many years before granting this patent, and in the year 1617, April 2nd, the wardens and assistants of the Mystery of Goldsmiths of London entered a certificate to the effect that "the trade of gold and silver wiredrawing and spinning upon silk is no new invention, but used for sixty years back, and that Thomas Ledsam, now a prisoner in the Marshalsea, has served ten years' apprenticeship." (*House of Lords, Hist. MSS.*, 3 Rep., p. 15.) That the Goldsmiths were very important people can be shown by the fact that on September 2nd, 1626, the officers of the Mint delivered a proposition to the Lords in Council for the enhancing the gold and silver

coinage, and questions were to be proposed to the merchants, mint masters, and goldsmiths concerning the alteration of silver moneys. (*Townley MSS.*, 4 Rep., p. 410.) In 1636, February 5th, Nicholas Herman writes to the Earl of Middlesex, in a letter dated from Chelsey, Delaware, that five goldsmiths were fined in the Star Chamber £4,000 a-piece for transporting gold out of this country. That they were people of authority is shewn by the following (4 Ref. p. 279): In 1641-2, January 17th, the merchants and goldsmiths' traders to His Majesty's Mint with foreign bullion and coin praying for the removal of Sir John Byron from the lieutenancy of the Tower. A committee were constantly sitting at Goldsmiths' Hall to arrange compound pay or receive moneys connected with the State. Thus in the calendars of the House of Lords, under date 1648, March 27th: Petition of John Lord Poulett, and on the 22nd, petition of Lady Ellen Drake, in which she prays that she is a Parliamentarian, shown by her contributing £100 towards buying provision to furnish the inhabitants with victuals during the siege of Lyme; that the King's army had burned her clothes, taken £6,000 from her, together with the very clothes off her back and the backs of her children; and she prays the committee at Goldsmiths' Hall to make reparation for her losses out of Lord Poulett's estate, the soldiery being at that time under his command. 1650, January 15th: Receipt by Richard Waring and Michael Herring, treasurers of the moneys to be paid into Goldsmiths' Hall to Sir Richard Leverson, for £1,923 in full of his £6,000 (over and above £3,846) allowed for rectories by him settled, towards maintenance of the ministers, and for interest due on the latter society. £136 13s. 6d., imposed on him by the Parliament of England as a fine for his delinquency, to the Parliament. Goldsmiths' Hall was lent for State purposes. Thus we find this entry under date 26th August, 1652: "Order by Parliament for payment of money disbursed by Sir William Parsons in answer to his petition, thus: 'Captain William Parsons, his humble desires.' The Commissioners for compounding are to examine and pay out of the Treasury at Goldsmiths' Hall the amount due to Captain Parsons at

the rate of £10 a-week." In 1694-5, January 18th, three goldsmiths of note, one of Lombard Street, were in Newgate upon the account of clipping coin. Again, under date 1696, May 16th : "The goldsmiths faulter much in bringing forth their best money, and would still put the people off with clipt. Several of them have been arrested, though men reported very wealthy." (MSS. Rep. 5, 385). The effigy of Richard de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, K.G., Regent of France, who died 1493, and who lies buried in the chapel of St. Mary, adjoining the parish church of Warwick, was contracted for and made by one William Austin, of London, for xli., and Bartholomew Lambrespring, a Dutchman, a goldsmith of London, agreed to gild, burnish, and polish the same for a sum not exactly defined, but considerably above the sum paid for the founding; it is to be regretted that the entire cost of the great image of latten has not been kept. Who the sculptor was who designed it and finished the effigy, and what he was paid, is now lost in oblivion." (*Gent's. Mag.*, vol. x., p. 62. New series, 1838.) "July 16th, 1379, the Lord King in his chamber for two 'eipps' and two pitchers of silver gilt, bought of Nicholas Twyford, goldsmith, London, and delivered for the nuptials of Philip de Courtenay, Knight, and Anne de Wake, his wife, £22 17s. 4d." (Issue Roll. pasch., 2 Richard II.) "In the thirtieth year of King Henry VIII. (1539) the manner of casting leaden pipes for conveying water underground without solder was discovered: it was invented by the Rev. Robert Brooke, one of the King's chaplains, and one Robert Cooper, a goldsmith, was the first that made the instruments which put this invention in practice." (*Baker's Chronicle*, p. 298.) 1599 : Sir Thomas Boleyn, or Bullen, appointed warden of the Exchange at Calais, with a salary of £30 6s. 8d. per annum. There is, amongst the MSS. of the late Colonel Townley, a small folio volume, being "a treatise on the standard of gold and silver by Richard Bentley, of London, goldsmith, dated 1588. (4 Rep. p. 411.) The goldsmiths changed their names: thus in the reign of Edward VI. we find by a deed, the property of Baliol College, Oxford, that the Mayor of that City, signing that

deed as a witness, wrote : Nicholas Orfeure, Goldsmith, Aurifex, Orfevre.

Major Lambert afterwards described the magnificent plate of the Company. One of the most interesting pieces was that presented to Queen Elizabeth on her coronation day. The Queen handed it to Sir Martin Bowes, who was Master of the Mint, and who, at his death, bequeathed it to the Goldsmiths' Company.

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