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## THE NEW PRESIDENT OF THE LONDON AND MIDDLESEX ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY

WE welcome as our President, in succession to the late Sir Montagu Sharp, the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Strafford, A.M.I.C.E., D.L., J.P., of Wrotham Park, South Mymms, Middlesex, the head of a most distinguished family, with long associations with our county. The Earl of Strafford is the sixth of that title, and was educated at Eton and abroad. He had experience as a civil engineer, and on the London Stock Exchange, of which he was a member for thirty years. For many years he has been active in the public life of Middlesex and Hertfordshire, being a Justice of the Peace for both counties, which is most appropriate, seeing that his seat is almost exactly on the border line that divides them. He has been a County Alderman for both counties, and for several years after the last war he was Chairman of the Finance Committee of the Middlesex C.C. He and his Countess have always been interested in the historical associations of the neighbourhood, and when the Barnet Record Society established a museum in Wood Street, where the excavated pottery from Sulloniacae is now stored, it was the Countess of Strafford who performed the opening ceremony.

The Earl has been one of our members for some time and very kindly invited our Society to visit his seat during the summer of 1943, a privilege which was very much appreciated. Wrotham Park is one of the few large estates left in Middlesex, and it occupies some 250 acres of ground in the fork of two roads, one passing north-westwards towards St. Albans, the other north to Hatfield. The old mansion was built in 1754 from the designs of Isaac Ware, a distinguished architect who studied in Italy, and was near forty years clerk of works in the Government service. It was built for Admiral John Byng whose fate, three years later, provoked one of Voltaire's wittiest epigrams.

The name Wrotham was given by the Admiral to the house for sentimental reasons, after the family property in Kent, which his grandfather had sold. It was "Kentish Sir Byng," as we gather from Robert Browning's cavalier song, who supported Charles I in the Civil War. Wrotham Park mansion bore a strong resemblance to Southill in Bedfordshire, another seat of the Byng family. The principal front, which, as so often

occurs, is at the back, faces westwards, with splendid views, still unspoilt, across the park towards Elstree and Watford. It was a red brick structure, but was covered with stucco in the nineteenth century; slightly enlarged in 1854 and back burnt in 1883.

It was able to be restored as the walls stood firm, and is to-day very much as it was before the disaster. As designed by Isaac Ware it "consisted of a spacious centre, with side colonnades, terminating in octagonal wings; with a deeply-recessed tetra-style portico, and a pediment extending along the second storey; the whole surmounted by a handsome balustrade."

The principal contents and pictures were saved undamaged, and there are a number of interesting Old Masters, in addition to portraits of the many famous members of the Byng family.

There is an old legend that the mansion narrowly escaped destruction by fire at the hands of the mob during the riots which followed the very unfair trial of Admiral Byng. On his death the property passed to his nephew, George Byng, whose eldest son was M.P. for Middlesex for nearly fifty years and died in 1847.

Wrotham Park passed on his death to his brother, Sir John Byng, a very distinguished soldier in the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. He saw service in Flanders and was probably at the siege of Borke, where died the original Thomas Atkins, whose name Wellington chose as the typical English soldier. Byng was in the disastrous expedition in 1809 to Walcheren, an interesting earlier landing on a semi-hostile shore in Europe; he commanded a *brigade in the Peninsula and at Waterloo*; and was Commander-in-Chief in Ireland from 1828 to 1831. He was created Baron Strafford in 1835 and Earl of Strafford in 1847. Five years before his death in 1860 he was made a Field Marshal.

A later member of the family who won very high distinction in the first World War was F.M. Sir Julian Byng, later Viscount Byng of Vimy, who upheld the family traditions during many years' service on the Western Front.

Our Society is very proud to have established so vital a link with one of the most historic families in the county.

## OBITUARY

### SIR MONTAGU SHARP, V.L., K.C.

WE have, as a Society, been fortunate in our Presidents, and ever since we lost Sir Edward Braybrooke we have enjoyed the keen leadership and co-operation of Sir Montagu Sharp. He died recently at the age of 85, after an extremely busy life of public service, devoted in the main to the administration of justice, the protection of bird life and the government and archaeology of Middlesex. When he retired from some of his public offices in 1934, his portrait was painted and hung in the Middlesex Guildhall, Westminster. Lord Rochdale, Lord Lieutenant of the County, and Patron of our Society, referred to him on that occasion as "scholar, lawyer, historian, administrator, soldier, archæologist, ornithologist, dispenser of justice, educationist, sportsman, Englishman and friend."

He was a bencher of Gray's Inn and took a very keen interest in the life and history of the Inn. It was a pleasure to accept his hospitality at two big functions in the summer of 1939, when the Inn was looking at its best, and it never occurred to anyone present that disaster lay ahead.

He was the son of Captain B. Sharpe, R.N., and at one time was a considerable landowner in Newfoundland. He was born at Hanwell Park, now covered with houses; and lived for many years at Brent Lodge, Hanwell, which, after his first wife's death, he gave to Ealing as a public park.

An active Freemason, he was keen on local hospitals, an honorary Colonel in the County Regiment, and rose to be Chairman of the Middlesex County Council.

He was efficient though somewhat severe as an administrator of justice, occupying important posts in Middlesex Quarter Sessions from 1896 to 1933. His Latin scholarship was always keen, and he emphasised, perhaps too assiduously, the influence of Roman customs and traditions on the development of London and Middlesex. But, however much you might disagree with his conclusions, it was impossible not to like this courteous, urbane, hardworking Londoner, who was only too ready to place his time, money and industry at the disposal of any good

cause. He attended our Council meetings and the more public meetings of our Society with commendable regularity, and every year at an annual gathering gave us the benefit of his latest researches into Roman Middlesex or Middlesex in Domesday Book. He was successful in getting a memorial erected in Brentford to commemorate the crossing of the Thames by Julius Cæsar. Lady Sharp has generously given to our Society a valuable selection from Sir Montagu's library, and a number of copies of his volume on *Middlesex in British, Roman and Saxon Times*.

## WALTER GEORGE BELL

SOMEONE once suggested that the safest way to be remembered is to write an authoritative book about London, or to leave behind a collection of drawings of the great metropolis. Well, as long as folk are interested in seventeenth-century London, they will rely on Walter Bell's magnificent researches into the story of the *Great Plague* and of the *Great Fire*. It does not seem an exaggeration to prophesy that his histories of these two epoch-making disasters will never be out-dated. Here is a great triumph; but Walter Bell's researches extended still farther, and his story of *Fleet Street*, where he spent so many years of his literary life in the service of the *Daily Telegraph*, is also a masterpiece.

Other books, less scholarly, perhaps, but equally accurate and informative, were *Unknown London*, and *More about Unknown London*, in which he tells us about forgotten heroes or unvisited shrines. One of his best papers is that on Smithfield, where he commemorates very sympathetically the martyrs who met their fate by burning under the Tudor régime, especially during the reign of Mary, which he calls "the most hideous reign" in English history. *London Discoveries* revealed many historic dramas, of which we needed to be reminded; and some of London's outer ring of suburbs had their historic background depicted in *When London Sleeps*.

Walter Bell was a most generous scholar of London history, and was always ready to place his vast erudition at the disposal of less experienced researchers. You only had to ask and his help was immediately available, without the slightest sense of patronage or superiority. He had all the humility of the real scholar.

He retired from the *Daily Telegraph* a few years before the second World War, when he was 67, and in reply to a letter enquiring how he got on in his retirement, he wrote "I find life quite good. You, too, will, after the first change, like retirement, so long as you have things to occupy you. The miserable people I know are the fairly well-off 'do-nothings'." He certainly lived up to his advice, and was busy up to the last with research. A second version of his *Tower of London* story is about his latest contribution to London's tale, and in it he abandons some position which he had previously maintained.

As Chairman of Council of our Society he was assiduous in attendance when health permitted, and he gave the Society an admirable address on John Stow at one of the annual celebrations a few years before the War.

### MISS E. J. DAVIS

MISS ELIZA JEFFRIES DAVIS, M.A., F.S.A., Fellow of University College, London, and formerly Reader in London History in the University of London, and one of our Vice-Presidents, died at Droitwich on 30th October, 1943, at the age of 68. After holding several teaching posts in London schools and colleges, she joined the history staff of University College, London, under Professor A. F. Pollard in 1914, and seven years later she was appointed the first University Reader in London History.

Her earliest published work was contained in the London volumes of the *Victoria Counties History*, and the results of her later researches are mainly to be found in historical journals and learned transactions. She was from 1922 to 1934 Editor of *History*, the journal of the Historical Association. The library of London History at University College is largely due to her enthusiasm; and she put in a great deal of hard work in the founding and organisation of the Institute of Historical Research. One of her war-time activities was to act as Secretary of the Institute, but in 1940 she found it necessary to retire from all her London occupations, and then devoted the remainder of her life to the prisoners' of war branch of the Red Cross libraries organisation at Oxford.

## JOHN STOW COMMEMORATION SERVICE

THE annual service in commemoration of John Stow was held at the Church of St. Andrew Undershaft, on Wednesday, 2nd June, 1943, at 12 o'clock noon, and was conducted by the Rt. Rev. Henry Montgomery-Campbell, M.C., M.A., Lord Bishop of Kensington (Rector), assisted by the Rev. S. A. Eley and the Rev. Claud Gliddon. The Lesson was read by Major N. G. Brett-James, M.A., B.Litt., F.S.A., Chairman of Council of the Society, and the Address was given by the Rev. S. A. Eley, Secretary of the London Diocesan Fund. The Lord Mayor and Sheriffs attended in State, and were received by the Alderman of the Ward, the Clergy and the Churchwardens. In the course of the service the usual procession was made to Stow's Tomb and the Lord Mayor performed the customary ceremony of placing a new quill pen in the hand of John Stow's effigy.

After the service the Lord Bishop of Kensington, the Rev. S. A. Eley and the Chairman of Council lunched with the Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress at the Mansion House.

### THE ADDRESS

BY THE REV. S. A. ELEY,  
Secretary of London Diocesan Fund  
2nd June, 1943

In the three hundred and fifty years since John Stow's *Survey* was published by the Printer to the Honourable City of London, such changes have taken place as would cause our learned author to rub his eyes in amazement.

This city of ours, for, having been educated at the City's own school I claim with pride a share in it, has had to face two major disasters in that three hundred and fifty years. In 1666 the Great Fire swept away much of what Stow so minutely describes, and but a few of those 100 odd churches still stood intact when the smoke finally died down. Fortunately, however, some precious treasures remained, scarcely any, however, within the ancient walls of the City proper, for only one-sixth of the buildings were spared.

From those ruins another City of London arose, a city which we, two hundred and fifty years later, had grown to love and in which we had a tremendous pride. True, it lacked that coherence and orderliness which Christopher Wren's masterly

plan would have given it, but I daresay most of us found a peculiar charm and a curious fascination in that very lack of order and in the element of the unexpected.

From time to time out-of-date buildings were replaced by large more-modern blocks, but still a large part of Wren's London stood fast.

But on 7th September, 1940, and at the end of December, and again the next May, we stood at our windows on the hills around London or gathered in the nearer streets and watched the sky grow red again. Next day, like Pepys and Evelyn, we made our way through the ruins and once again mourned our lost treasures. Churches and ancient Inns of Court, some of which had survived the Great Fire, picturesque city inns and the stately Halls of the great Companies, few had been spared this time.

But the greatness of our nation, the magnificence of our City have not been built by brooding on disasters but by letting the disaster stimulate us to ever greater effort. Almost before the smell of fire had disappeared, Pepys stands with his fellow gossips at Gresham College and discusses the plans for a speedy rebuilding of the City. To-day a combination of circumstances may make the recovery a slower process, but already we are busy replanning, ready for the day when once more we can turn the genius of man away from destruction to construction. Church and State alike wait eagerly for that day which now seems nearer than we ever dared to hope as we watched those grim fires of 1940 to 1941.

So I think we should be faithful to the spirit of John Stow, that great lover of London, if to-day as we commemorate his genius we gave our minds to reconstruction, pledging ourselves to make of this London a still finer thing than ever.

Now we shall succeed in our task only if we are guided by certain deep spiritual principles.

We shall need, first of all, vision. We shall need to have clearly before us a purpose which shall unify all our plans and inspire our counsels.

A mighty change had taken place in London between the time of John Stow and the *Blitz* of 1940. For him, the City of London was a place where people lived their lives, integrated around their homes within the City walls or what he calls the suburbs just outside. You remember how just outside the Cripplegate stood St. Giles' Church, and still its ruins stand,

but John Stow included this area in suburbia, and very pleasant it sounds too, "Then have ye a fair pool of sweet water near to the Church of St. Giles." To-day I believe there is a static water-tank of not so sweet water.

The citizens of London worked and played, slept and worshipped and lived and died within its walls. They had a genuine interest in all that concerned its ancient traditions and its civic life. It was the home of merchant and apprentice, craftsman and artist.

By 1939 the City had become almost exclusively a workshop—a place where people worked by day and from which they fled at night save only when some banquet detained the more fortunate or some pressing business compelled overtime to be worked. The arts and crafts had largely deserted the City proper and it had become mainly the clearing house for all the financial interests of the world in combination with great warehouses and shipping companies whose interest were closely allied. Save for comparatively few, the thousands who thronged its streets by day had no real stake in it. Of their citizenship as Londoners in the narrowest sense they had no consciousness. For the many the City meant work and work only, except, again, for a minority who used its churches and valued its cultural and artistic amenities.

We must deplore this fate which has befallen London in common with the other great industrial centres of the country, and we must at once admit that any substantial restoration of the old conditions is to-day impossible; but that does not remove the responsibility for seeing that in our plans everything possible is done to restore to those who work within the City some consciousness of their citizenship. I hope that room will be found for many more people to live in the City or very near it, near enough to find it possible to say "the City is my home. I work, I play, I worship there." We have suffered grievously from dividing life into watertight compartments and by insane specialisation; and if a new City arises in which men and women can find a more integrated life, our disasters will not have been in vain.

We shall need great courage. There will have to be a boldness in tackling our many problems if the results are to be in any way successful. There is no place in the world, I think, where tradition is so strong as in the City—a tradition rooted in a great and glorious past and finding expression in countless picturesque

ways. Tradition is a grand thing: it gives depth and stability in a largely shallow and shifting world, and if we carelessly throw tradition to the winds we shall live to rue it. It has dangers, however, and any society which fails to use its traditions as an inspiration to progress will gradually become an interesting but useless relic.

True citizenship is rooted in the tradition of mutual service. The City of London has a noble tradition of service, and it is this tradition which should inspire your plans for a new London. Thus you will be forced to recognise a wide responsibility for those who though they work in the City must live and worship elsewhere. You will not grudge it if some of the resources which have been in the past confined within the narrow limits of the Corporation's boundaries are used to provide for the spiritual life and cultural interests of those who have a claim upon those resources by reason of their common citizenship. You have already used your revenues to provide and maintain open spaces for the workers of London who live in the suburbs.

There remains one quality without which all our planning will be waste of time. You may say to your scientific investigator or planner—make me a plan for a new City of London and he will produce an admirable blue-print. You can ask an architect to build you a church and he will produce a model of technical correctness, or a man to plan a garden for you and he will give you a paragon of neat symmetry and design, but a garden and a church and still more a city is something which lives. It must have a soul. As you read Stow's *Survey* you cannot but be conscious of this. It is a record not of a mass of buildings—bricks and mortar only—but of an organic whole—of something alive. To Pepys it is the same. For him London lives, and we must make London live again. We used to say, and indeed we continue to say, "I love London," and we can say it because London has a personality; it seems to have a kind of spiritual inner life. Now I think we must sadly admit that before the War this had largely disappeared. An ever-growing emphasis on the material and secular interests of life, coupled with a fantastic growth in London, had well-nigh destroyed this sense of a corporate spirit.

The City of London owes its greatness not chiefly to the magnitude of its commercial and industrial operations but to the centuries old association of Church and City in a common life of citizenship. "Except the Lord build the house their

labour is but lost that build it." *Domine dirige nos*—Lord God direct us.

It lies within our power to-day to make it possible for John Stow if he were to revisit his London in thirty years' time to say, "In spite of all the changes, although scarcely any building now stands of all those I catalogued so lovingly, the heart of London is the same."

To make this possible, Church and civic authorities must work hand in hand to make of London, in its wider sense, an organic whole of true citizenship with this ancient City at the very heart of it all, a centre from which shall come the inspiration to mutual service and respect. Somehow we must make London a place where man can live and not merely exist, a place where all the needs and aspirations of body, mind and soul can find rich satisfaction in a City renowned throughout the world, not merely for the cleanness of its streets and the pleasant conditions of the labour and bodily recreations of its inhabitants, nor solely for the comprehensiveness of its educational and cultural amenities, but also for the joyous citizenship on earth of those who realise that their true citizenship is in heaven.

## DR. BURNEY'S CONNECTION WITH THE ROYAL HOSPITAL, CHELSEA

By CAPTAIN C. G. T. DEAN, Captain of Invalids

WHEN the Royal Hospital was founded no provision was made for an organ; such an instrument being then regarded as an expensive luxury. Shortly after the establishment opened, however, Captain Matthew Ingram, the first Major and Lieutenant-Governor, presented an organ made by the celebrated craftsman, Renatus Harris. Indeed its handsome carved case and gilded pipes may still be seen in the gallery of the Chapel, though the remainder of the instrument has been replaced by a modern organ.

This gift led to an organist being appointed, at a salary of £20 per annum, but without apartments, as all the accommodation had already been allocated to other members of the staff. This office was filled on the 1st August, 1693, probably at the instance of Queen Mary, by Peter Dumas, a recently

naturalised Huguenot refugee. His successors were Theophilus Cole (25th April, 1719); Barnaby Gunn (16th April, 1730), who may perhaps be identified with the musician of that name who was organist of Gloucester Cathedral; Thomas Rawlins (17th March, 1753), who was a member of Handel's orchestra; and Thomas Wood (27th July, 1767). The latter is mentioned in Dr. Burney's *History of Music* as having been "leader of the Band of Covent Garden Theatre, and organist of St. Giles's and of Chelsea College," as the Royal Hospital was then often popularly called. His death created a vacancy that was filled, on the 18th December, 1783, by the subject of this article.

Dr. Burney owed his nomination to Edmund Burke, who as Paymaster-General had the patronage of this appointment in his gift. This thoughtful friend did not rest there, for as chairman of the Chelsea Board he persuaded his colleagues to recommend that the Organist's salary be raised from £20 to £50 a year. This was sanctioned by the Treasury, besides the customary fee of £2 per annum "for locking up the organ." In deprecation of these kind services, Burke, who was about to be displaced on a change of government, explained that it was merely "*pour faire la bonne bouche* at parting with office." He also expressed regret at not having been able to do something more worthy of his friend's attainments. This sentiment was echoed by George III five years later, when Dr. Burney was disappointed of his hope of becoming Master of the King's Band of Music, for he asked Fanny Burney: "What has your father got, at last (?) nothing but that poor thing at Chelsea?"

Actually Dr. Burney had had a salary, variously given as £30 or £40 per annum, since 1774,\* as one of the King's Band of Music. As against this, from 1798, if not earlier, he paid £12 a year to an assistant at Chelsea. His later years were eased, however, by an annuity of £248 obtained for him in 1806 by Charles James Fox.

As Organist, Dr. Burney was not entitled to official quarters, and from entries in his daughter's diary it appears that he continued to live at his house in St. Martin's Street until June, 1788, if not later. Yet at the time of his appointment, according to Fanny Burney, he wished "for some retreat from, yet

\* *Ex inf.* Dr. Percy Scholes, who is now writing a "Life of Dr. Burney," and has kindly read the draft of this article.

near London; and he had reason to hope for apartments, ere long, in the capacious Chelsea College." This hope apparently did not materialise until the death of the Rev. William Jennings, the First Chaplain, in the autumn of 1687. This clergyman's successor, the Rev. Thomas Comyn, employed a deputy to perform his duties, and so was able to let his official quarters to Dr. Burney. The furniture in the First Chaplain's apartments, as elsewhere in the Royal Hospital, was then maintained by the Chelsea Board; and that would explain how Dr. Burney was able to keep two establishments going for a time.

The apartments in question lie on the ground floor at the western corner of Light Horse Court. They were described in 1812 as comprising two parlours and a study, three bedrooms with two dark closets for servants, and a kitchen in the basement. Since first being taken into occupation by the Rev. Augustine Frezer, in 1688, the lodgings had undergone much alteration. They had then comprised only a parlour, two bedrooms and some closets, with a kitchen in a detached flat-roofed building across the existing inner courtyard. Though modest in size, they were convenient for the Chaplain since they communicated directly with the vestry, and so with the chapel. About 20 years ago the three larger rooms were subdivided by partitions to make a number of bathrooms for the In-Pensioners, while the closets were converted into a choir vestry. Consequently the older portions of Dr. Burney's apartments, though still existent, are so much altered as to present few features of interest.

These somewhat restricted quarters were enlarged by Dr. Emanuel Langford, a former music lecturer at Christ Church, Oxford, shortly after he had succeeded as First Chaplain in 1698. He did so without first obtaining permission from the architect, Sir Christopher Wren. As the latter was also a Commissioner of the Royal Hospital, it was no doubt at his instance that the Chelsea Board ordered, in April, 1703, that "the Governor and Clark of the Workes do view what has been built or sett up by Doctor Langford to the Newsance of the house, and direct the same to be pulled down." Five months later, however, the Board authorised a passage being made from the First Chaplain's lodgings to his kitchen. These premises are still standing.

The alterations involved the excavation of a basement kitchen, and the construction of a staircase in the new passage.



ADAM PORCH IN INNER COURTYARD.

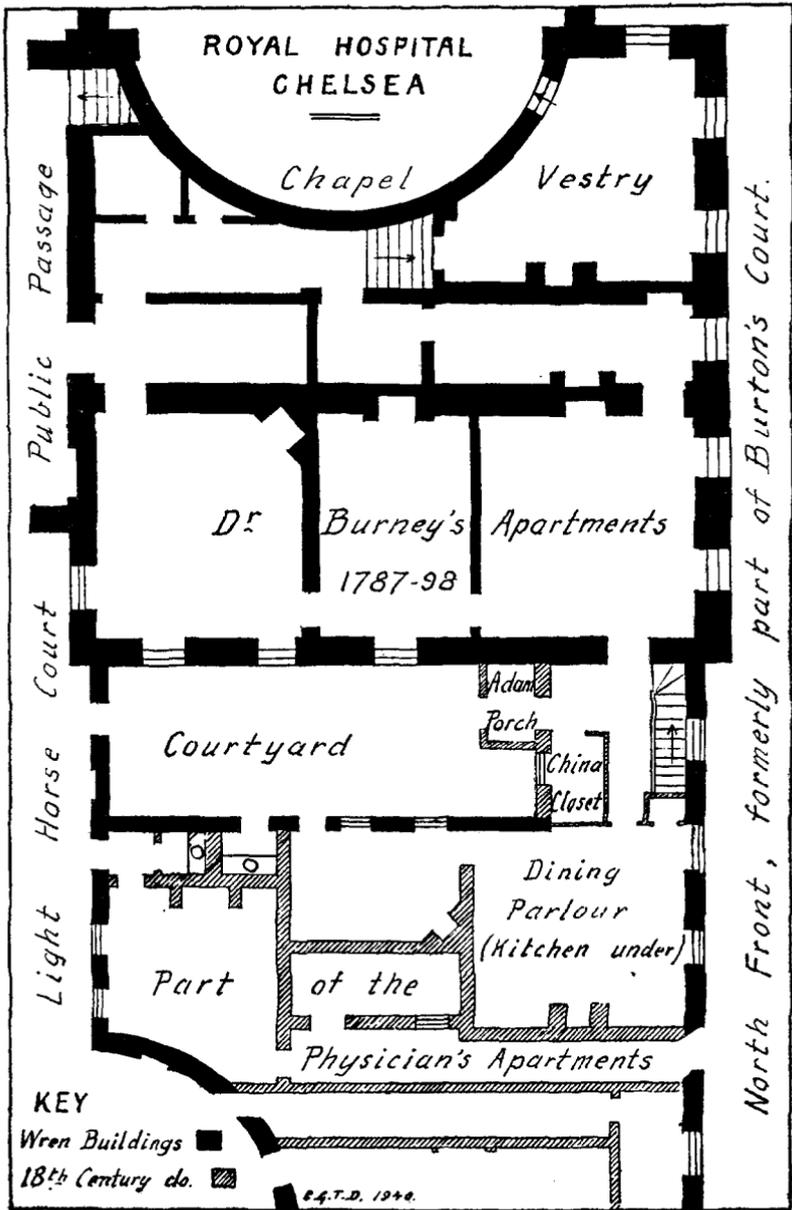
The kitchen has a stone-flagged floor, recesses for a kitchen range and boiling copper, and a brick oven designed for burning charcoal. There is also a large leaden cistern with a simple moulding of the Queen Anne period. Immediately over the kitchen is a room formerly the dining parlour. A door now blocked up gave on to a smaller room which has since been adapted as domestic offices. The panelling in these additions is of deal, and differs in design from that used by Wren in the original buildings.

No further alterations seem to have been made in Dr. Langford's apartments by his immediate successors as First Chaplain. They were Dr. Henry Bland (1724), who was a friend of Robert Walpole and later Provost of Eton College; Rev. William Day (1728); Rev. William Barnard (1737); and Dr. Richard Green (1744). It is interesting to note, however, that Dr. Barnard, Bishop of Limerick, and a friend of Dr. Burney, was the son of the Rev. William Barnard. Thus while attending Westminster School as a boy he must presumably have been living in what afterwards were to become Dr. Burney's apartments.

In 1782, Robert Adam, who was then Clerk of Works to the Royal Hospital, reported to the Chelsea Board that:

"Mr. Jennings, the senr. Chaplain [since 1775] has applied to me about an alteration he wishes to make in his apartments, he complains much of the cold and counts to have a porch with a sash Door to keep out the wind & weather, he likewise wishes to enlarge his China Closet, these alterations he desired I would lay before the Board with the Expence, I thought it would come to as near as I can judge it will amount to, £65."

As a result of this application, a charming porch was built the following year in the inner courtyard, where it may still be seen. At that period the yard was paved with flagstones, and furnished with a small leaden cistern dated 1773, which has since been removed to the Adjutant's garden. Other alterations in the First Chaplain's apartments due to Robert Adam were the substitution of sashes for the old casement windows, and the provision of new window shutters. A simple carved wooden chimney piece in the dining parlour probably dates from 1768-71, when Adam employed John Gilbert, a carver, on similar work in various officers' apartments. The porch, entrance lobby or passage, old dining parlour and basement remain substantially unaltered since Dr. Burney's day. These premises, with some rooms formerly allocated to the



Physician, Comptroller and Steward, are now occupied by one of the Captains of Invalids.

At Chelsea, Dr. Burney found himself associated with men prominent in every walk of life. Of the Governors and Lieutenant-Governors, who were always distinguished General Officers, Sir William Fawcett seems to have paid him particular attention. Robert Adam was succeeded as Clerk of Works by Samuel Wyatt and John Soane, both well-known architects. The Surgeons included Robin Adair of the popular ballad, and Thomas Keate who attended George III during his temporary insanity. At the outset Dr. Burney's immediate neighbour was the eccentric Dr. Monsey, who lived to a legendary old age. Thus although the appointment of organist was of small pecuniary value, it would have been esteemed on account of its associations.

One of Dr. Burney's first visitors must have been the inquisitive James Boswell, who on the 3rd November, 1787, recorded how he "walked to Chelsea College and breakfasted with Dr. Burney, who gave me some letters from Johnson to him." Haydn came in 1791, and Herschel, the astronomer in 1798. When the Hon. Frederick North, a constant friend, paid a visit in 1794 he was temporarily crippled and hobbled into the library on crutches, saying that "he felt quite at home in coming with wooden legs to Chelsea."

Dr. Burney soon became much attached to his apartments, and in refusing an invitation to go away for a visit wrote that "one can be sick and cross nowhere so comfortably as at home." In 1789 he completed his *General History of Music*, publishing the third and fourth volumes that year. Partly in connection with this work he had accumulated an extensive library. In 1791, when his daughter Fanny's health broke down and she was obliged to resign her Court appointment, he wrote to welcome her home: "the great grubbery will be in nice order for you, as well as the little; both have lately had many accessions of new books." Fanny Burney was visited at Chelsea by Madame de Stael in 1793, but later that year left home to get married. Dr. Burney's household was further reduced in 1796, when his second wife died.

Early in 1798 the Organist received the unpleasant news that the Rev. William Haggitt, a former Chaplain to the Commander-in-Chief, who had lately been promoted to First Chaplain on the Rev. Thomas Comyn's death, desired possession of his

official residence. Dr. Burney was much upset, having regard to "his difficulties, his books, health, time of life and other circumstances." When his daughter explained this to a woman friend, the latter was astonished to learn that the Organist had 20,000 volumes. "Twenty thousand volumes," she repeated, "bless me! why, how can he so encumber himself? Why does he not burn half? for how much must be to spare that never can be worth his looking at from such a store! And can he want to keep them all?" Fanny Burney interceded for her father with the Queen, and eventually an arrangement was made which she believed to have been "deeply influenced by some Royal hint." The newly appointed Second Chaplain took over the apartments of the Secretary and Register, who wished to live in Kensington, and Dr. Burney moved upstairs to the Second Chaplain's flat on the second floor.

The rent was £30 per annum, rather much for what were described in 1812 as two parlours, two bedrooms, a small kitchen, and two or three closets. These apartments, which within the past 30 years have been re-allocated appropriately enough to the Organist, have been but little altered. The larger rooms open off a central corridor, and are fitted with oak doors and a panelled dado. The lofty situation was somewhat inconvenient in days when there was no lift; and Fanny D'Arblay relates how an elderly visitor "passed a quarter of an hour in recovering breath, in a room with the servants, before he let me know he had mounted the College stairs." During his declining years Dr. Burney never left these apartments, and there he died on the 12th April, 1814. Eight days later he was buried beside his second wife in the hospital burial ground, where their grave is marked by an inscribed tombstone.

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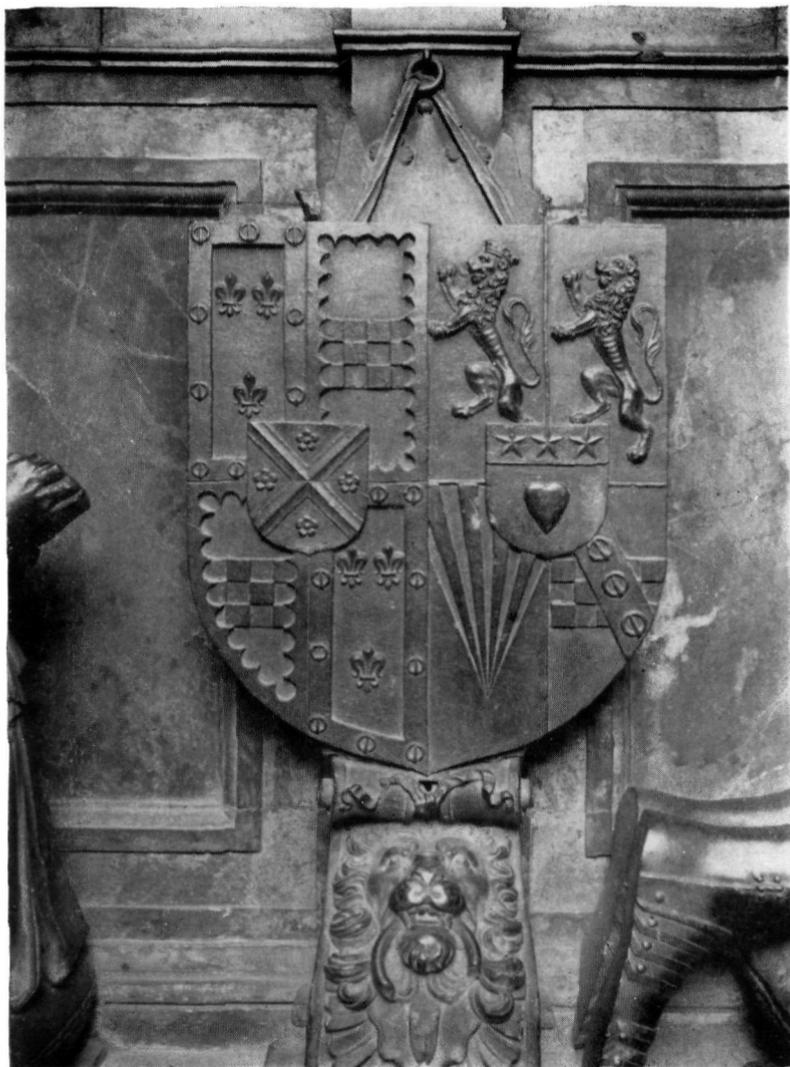
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ARMS OF MATTHEW STEWART, EARL OF LENNOX, AND OF HIS WIFE,  
LADY MARGARET DOUGLAS, ON HER TOMB IN HENRY VII'S CHAPEL,  
WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

## THE HERALDRY OF THE TOMB OF LADY MARGARET LENNOX

BY L. B. ELLIS, M.A.

THE achievements on the magnificent tomb of Lady Margaret Lennox in the south aisle of Henry VII's Chapel in Westminster Abbey supplement with heraldic detail and precision the proud inscriptions which proclaim the exalted kinship of its unfortunate occupant. The information which they contain may well bear assembling and re-telling,<sup>1</sup> especially as the first quartering in the arms of Douglas of Angus is surprising at this period; whilst the quartering for Man in Lord Darnley's coat, so near the Stanley arms<sup>2</sup> with the same charge on Lady Margaret Beaufort's tomb further east, is a reminder of times past when the Isle of Man belonged to Scotland.<sup>3</sup>

### DOUGLAS OF ANGUS.

Lady Margaret Lennox was the daughter and sole heir of Archibald Douglas, 6th Earl of Angus, by Margaret Tudor, elder daughter of King Henry VII and widow of James IV of Scotland. About 1544 she married Matthew Stewart, 4th Earl of Lennox; she was the mother of Henry Lord Darnley and consequently the grandmother of James VI and I,<sup>4</sup> and she died in 1578. Her paternal arms occupy the widow's lozenge at the west end of the tomb; they are parted with her husband's arms on its north and south sides respectively (see illustration), and they form the fourth quarter in the dexter half of the combined shield of Lord Darnley and Mary Queen of Scots which decorates its eastern end.

The ancestor of the Douglasses of Angus was George Douglas, a natural son of William 1st Earl of Douglas and Mar by Margaret Stewart, Countess of Angus in her own right, who resigned to him in 1389 the earldom of Angus and the lordships of Abernethy and Bonkyl.

The seals of Archibald 6th Earl of Angus show a lion rampant in the 1st quarter (for Angus); a lion rampant in the 2nd quarter (for Abernethy); five piles in point in the 3rd quarter (a charge which has occasioned much dispute regarding colour, number, and attribution)<sup>5</sup>; a fess chequy surmounted by a bend charged with three buckles in the 4th quarter (for Stewart

of Bonkyl)<sup>6</sup>; *en surtout* a heart with on a chief three stars (for Douglas).<sup>7</sup> Archibald 8th Earl of Angus, who succeeded to the title in 1557 and died in 1588, substituted a lion rampant crowned—the arms of Galloway—for the lion of Abernethy, but in the grant to the 2nd Marquess of Douglas the crowned lion of Galloway took the place of the uncrowned lion of Angus. The paternal arms of Lady Margaret Lennox on her tomb differ, therefore, from her father's seals in showing a lion crowned in the first quarter. It would seem, then, that the designer of this monument derived the crowned lion from the arms of the 8th Earl of Angus, who held the title at the time of its execution in 1578, but anticipated the 2nd Marquess of Douglas by nearly a hundred years in placing the lion of Galloway in the first quarter.

#### THE STEWARTS OF LENNOX.

The arms of Matthew Stewart, Earl of Lennox, occupy the dexter side of the parted shield on the north and south sides of the tomb. They are: quarterly 1 and 4 three fleurs de lys within a border charged with buckles<sup>8</sup> for Aubigny; 2 and 3 a fess chequy within an engrailed border (for Stewart); *en surtout* a saltire between four cinquefoils (for Lennox).

The *seigneurie* of Aubigny was conferred upon Sir John Stewart of Darnley (slain near Orleans in 1429) by Charles VII of France; his grandson was created Lord Darnley about 1461 and assumed the title of Earl of Lennox about 1473.

#### HENRY LORD DARNLEY AND THE ARMS OF MAN.

The eldest surviving son of Matthew Stewart, Earl of Lennox, was Henry Lord Darnley, husband of Mary Queen of Scots. Their parted arms occupy the shield at the east end of his mother's tomb. In the first quarter of the husband's side are his father's arms with the label of the eldest son for difference<sup>9</sup>; in the 2nd quarter are the three legs conjoined at the fess point for Man<sup>10</sup>; in the 3rd quarter three lions rampant for Ross, and in the 4th the arms of Douglas of Angus for his mother.

Henry Lord Darnley was created Earl of Ross in May, 1565, and, in July of the same year, Duke of Albany. The quartering for Man in his arms seems to be connected with the second title, as it appears in the arms of an earlier Duke of Albany, who was Lord of Man,<sup>11</sup> though the title was even then an empty one. For the island had long since passed from Scotland to England, and in 1406 Henry IV had granted it to Sir John

Stanley and his heirs.<sup>12</sup> From this date it was ruled—first as Kings and later as Lords of Man—by thirteen members of the Stanley family, including Thomas 1st Earl of Derby, whose arms rightly, therefore, included a quartering of Man, as they do on Lady Margaret Beaufort's tomb in Westminster Abbey.

## NOTES.

1. See G. Harvey Johnston, *The Heraldry of the Douglasses*, and the references given in its preface, e.g., *Scots Peerage*, *Complete Peerage*, and *Burke's Peerage*; also G. Harvey Johnston, *The Heraldry of the Stewarts*.
2. For Thomas 1st Earl of Derby, third husband of Lady Margaret Beaufort, mother of Henry VII.
3. A. W. Moore, "The Connexion between Scotland and Man," in *Scottish Historical Review*, III, No. 12, July, 1906, pp. 393-409, and the article on Man in the *British Encyclopaedia*.
4. In the inscriptions on the tomb he is "King James the 6," as the tomb was set up in 1578.
5. This charge was introduced by the 6th Earl of Angus. It was formerly considered to be the arms of Wishart. On this point see the first authority quoted in note 1.
6. The lordship of Bonkyl was brought to the Stewarts by the marriage of Margaret, daughter and heir of Sir Alexander de Bonkyl, with Sir John Stewart, who was killed at Falkirk in 1298. Alexander, the eldest son of this marriage, was the ancestor of the Stewarts, Earls of Angus; Alan, the 2nd son, was the ancestor of the Stewart Kings of England. Sir Alexander de Bonkyl's arms were three buckles, and several of his descendants carried buckles in their arms.
7. The red heart in the Douglas arms commemorates the committal of the heart of Robert Bruce to Sir James Douglas ("Black Douglas" or "The Good") for burial in the Holy Land. The heart never reached its destination, for Douglas stopped on his way to join the army of Alphonso XI of Castile and was killed in battle in 1330; the heart of Bruce and the body of its bearer were brought home and were buried later in St. Bride's Church at Douglas. On the tomb of Lady Margaret Lennox the heart of Bruce is shown uncrowned as it always was until the 1st Marquess of Douglas added a crown to show that it was the heart of a king.
8. See note 6.
9. Darnley was murdered in 1567 at the age of 21; his father was mortally wounded in 1571. Four grown men are shown in effigy on the south side of the tomb and the birth of four sons is recorded at the east end, but Darnley is correctly called the second son in the inscription under his figure, as the first born, also called Henry, died within a year of his birth.
10. In Sir Robert Forman (Lyon's) Register of 1566 the arms of Man are given in the 3rd quarter and Ross in the 2nd for Henry Duke of Albany Lord Darley, Lennox being 1st and 4th. This detail was kindly supplied by Sir Francis James Grant, Lord Lyon King of Arms, who also offered the explanation given above of the arms of Man in Lord Darnley's arms.
11. Alexander Stewart, second son of James II of Scotland, born c. 1454, was referred to in an Act of Parliament after his death as "Duke of Albany . . . Lord of Annandale and Man," and the arms of Man occupy the 3rd quarter on his seal of 1473.
12. On the service of paying two falcons on paying homage and offering two falcons to all future Kings of England on the day of their coronation.  
On the death in 1736 without living issue of the 10th Earl of Derby, the lordship of Man passed from this family to James Murray, 2nd Duke of Atholl, great-grandson and heir general of James Stanley, 7th Earl of Derby, by consequence of an Act of Parliament of 1610 which had settled the succession. John Murray, 3rd Duke of Atholl, and his wife, only surviving child and heiress of the 2nd Duke, sold their sovereignty of Man to the Crown in 1765, to whom the 4th Duke made a further sale of his remaining property and privileges in the island in 1827.

## THE WESTERN ENTRANCE OF THE TOWER

BY JOHN H. HARVEY

INTEREST has been centred on the old Lion Gate of the Tower of London by the discovery (early in 1936) of two of the draw-bridge pits and a large part of the 13th century causeway and barbican. The Lion Gate was so named from the fact that for many centuries the Royal Menagerie was housed next to it, in the semi-circular Barbican, but when the King's beasts were first sent to the Tower, the Barbican was not in existence, so that the original "house" for the animals must have been elsewhere.

This was in 1252, when on the 14th September, King Henry III sent a letter<sup>1</sup> to the Constable of the Tower ordering him to admit a certain white bear, sent as a present from Norway, and to find a house capable of guarding it, while the Sheriff of London was to find its food and requirements at the rate of 4d. a day. In the next year the Sheriffs were ordered "to provide a muzzle for the said bear, and an iron chain to hold him out of the water, and likewise a long and stout cord to hold him when fishing in the River Thames."<sup>2</sup>

Two years later, Louis IX of France presented Henry III with an elephant, and the Sheriffs were to provide £22 1s. 8d. for building a house for him in the Tower, 40 feet long by 20 feet wide,<sup>3</sup> a sum perhaps worth £700 or £800 nowadays; evidently no risks were taken of his breaking loose. Matthew Paris, the historian, who was granted special facilities by the King for chronicling contemporary events, made three drawings of this elephant, of which the finest, showing its Keeper beside it, is in a manuscript belonging to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; this was reproduced in colour in Sir T. D. Hardy's *Catalogue of Materials for British History*.

At this time much building work was going on at the Tower, but it was not until after the arrival of Edward I in England in August, 1274, that the new western defences were pushed on. The first mention of these outworks in the building accounts seems to be in a roll of 1278-79,<sup>4</sup> which mentions:—

"To great timber bought for the tower (*turrell*) between the outer gate which is guarded by *John le Picard* and the Mill towards the City and for . . . timber bought for the two little turrets and for partitions in the same £32 5s. 4½d.

"To timber bought for the gate of the said tower, with two leaves and one wicket (*guigetta*) £2 2s. 10d.

"To 111 planks bought for flooring (*planchiand*) the said tower and two small turrets in the same £4 11s. 6d.

"To timber bought for two swinging gates (*portas turnicias*) on each side of the Barbican £9 11s. 2d.

"To 36 planks bought for the same £1 16s. od."

The tower with two small turrets must be the Middle Tower, and the "swinging gates" were those for the two pits recently discovered. From this it is clear that the masonry of the tower and pits was already finished by Easter of 1279, when the account closes.

At this time the "Masters and Surveyors" of the works were Master Robert de Beverley and Brother John of Acre, while the Controller was Giles de Audenard, or "de Garderoba." Master Robert was at the Palace of Westminster in 1259 as assistant to John of Gloucester, the King's Master Mason, whom he seems to have succeeded in office in 1261, when Master John was dead. He worked at Windsor Castle, again at the Palace, and at Westminster Abbey, where he was Chief Keeper of Henry III's new works. On November 7th, 1271, he was granted a patent as "viewer" or Surveyor "of all the works of the Tower of London, and of the Castles of Windesore, Rochester and Haddeleye, as also of the Manors of Guildeford, Kenynton and Havering, during pleasure, with power to remove other viewers found to be unfit and substitute others in their place."<sup>5</sup> He is here described as the King's Principal *Carpenter*, not mason; this may have been an error of the scribe, but an entry in the Tower accounts<sup>6</sup> suggests that he may have worked in timber as well as in stone: "To Solomon the joiner for two panels of fir . . . with trestles and other fittings, and with patterns for Master Robert of Beverley for timber" (*Salamoni le longmur pro ij tabulis de sapino ad opus domini Regis cum Trestellis et alio Gernes' xiijs. iiijd. & cum formis magistro Roberto de Beuerlaco pro maeremio*). Though somewhat obscure, this rather suggests materials for a "drawing office"; the "patterns for timber" were probably planed boards, on which Master Robert could draw or cut full-size templates for carpentry work. In a later roll of 1281-84<sup>7</sup> is an entry "to Stephen Ioignour for divers panels (*Tabul'*) for "moulds" for the masons' work, 13s"; these moulds may have been carved models of details in some cases, but the fact that they were made with panels supplied by a joiner is far more suggestive of their use as boards for drawing, probably to full size, and directly on the

wood. After use, the drawing could be scrubbed off, and the board used again.

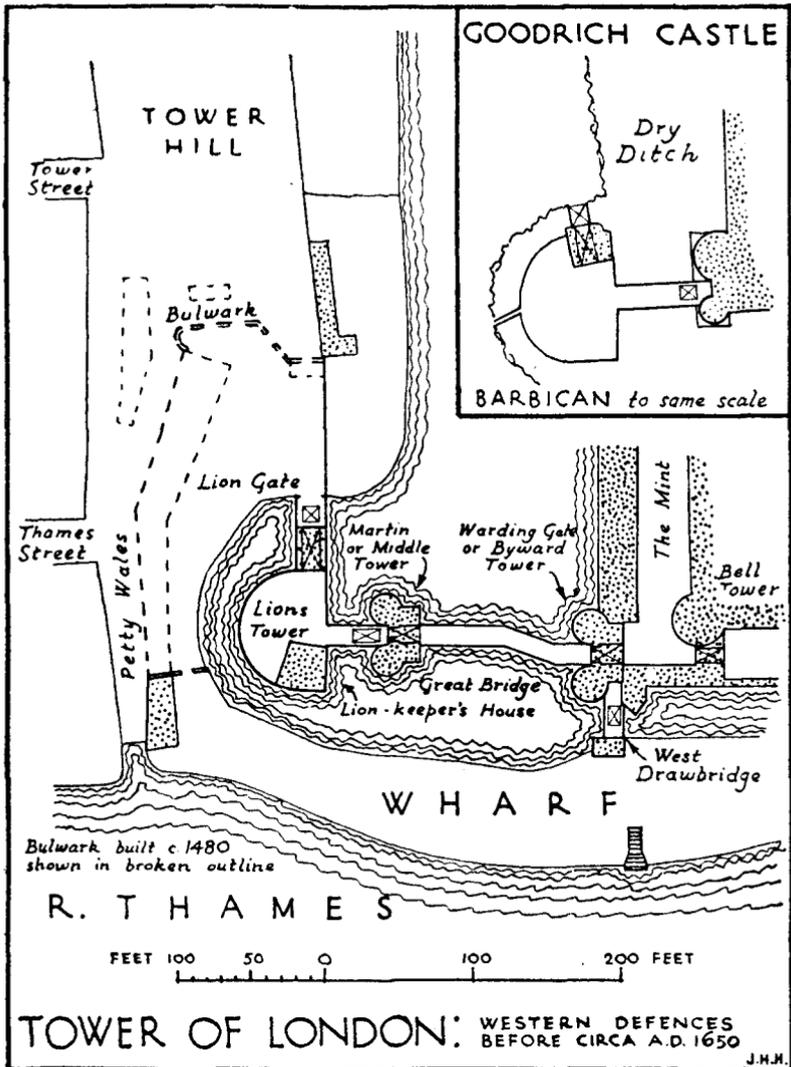
Mr. F. B. Andrews, in *The Mediaeval Builder* (1925), devotes a section to the use of sketches, working drawings and models in the Middle Ages, where he quotes a number of very similar passages from various building accounts. The earliest given is from the Ely Sacrist Rolls of 1322-23, almost fifty years later than the first instance at the Tower,<sup>7a</sup> but there is a case of 1330 where Master Thomas the mason working on St. Stephen's Chapel at Westminster was paid for "working at tracing upon the moulds" (*intrasura super moldas operanti*); this confirms the suggestion that moulds were drawings or templates rather than models. In 1275 our Master Robert was named as "Keeper of the King's works," and was to have 12d. per day when at work in the City of London, and 16d. when journeying without the City.<sup>8</sup> He continued to take his salary of 12d. a day up to 24th June, 1284<sup>9</sup>; after this his name disappears, so he must then have died, or retired from active work.

There can be little doubt that the credit for the design of Edward I's works at the Tower must go to Robert of Beverley, though the plan of the Barbican with its spur-moat may have been suggested by the King himself, who was well acquainted with French military architecture, and had previously had new "bastide" towns built in his Duchy of Aquitaine. It is certainly interesting that at Goodrich Castle, Herefordshire, is a Barbican of similar plan and almost exactly equal size. This is dated by the Royal Commission on Historic Monuments as "c. 1300"; since the Close Rolls record three gifts of timber by Edward I to his uncle, William de Valence, "for the repair of his castle of Godriche" in 1280, 1282 and 1293,<sup>10</sup> it may well be that the Barbican was built before William's death in 1296; in the early part of Edward's reign he had been Seneschal of the Agenais, and built the bastide Valence d'Agen, and the castle of Limousin.

Returning to the works at the Tower, Master Robert's colleague, Brother John of Acre, and the Controller Giles de Audenard or "de Garderoba," were two of the Royal clerics who usually filled such non-technical posts in the mediaeval office of works; a century later, such posts were filled by William of Wykeham and Geoffrey Chaucer, to quote two famous names.

While the outworks were under construction, work was also

proceeding on the main ditch of the Tower; previously this had been tidal, so that when the Thames was low the ditch was empty. Matthew Paris relates<sup>11</sup> that in 1190 Bishop William



of Ely attempted to cause the water of the Thames to flow into the city in his ditch, which was very deep, but found after great expense that he had laboured in vain. It may be this work that is referred to in the Pipe Roll of 1193,<sup>12</sup> where

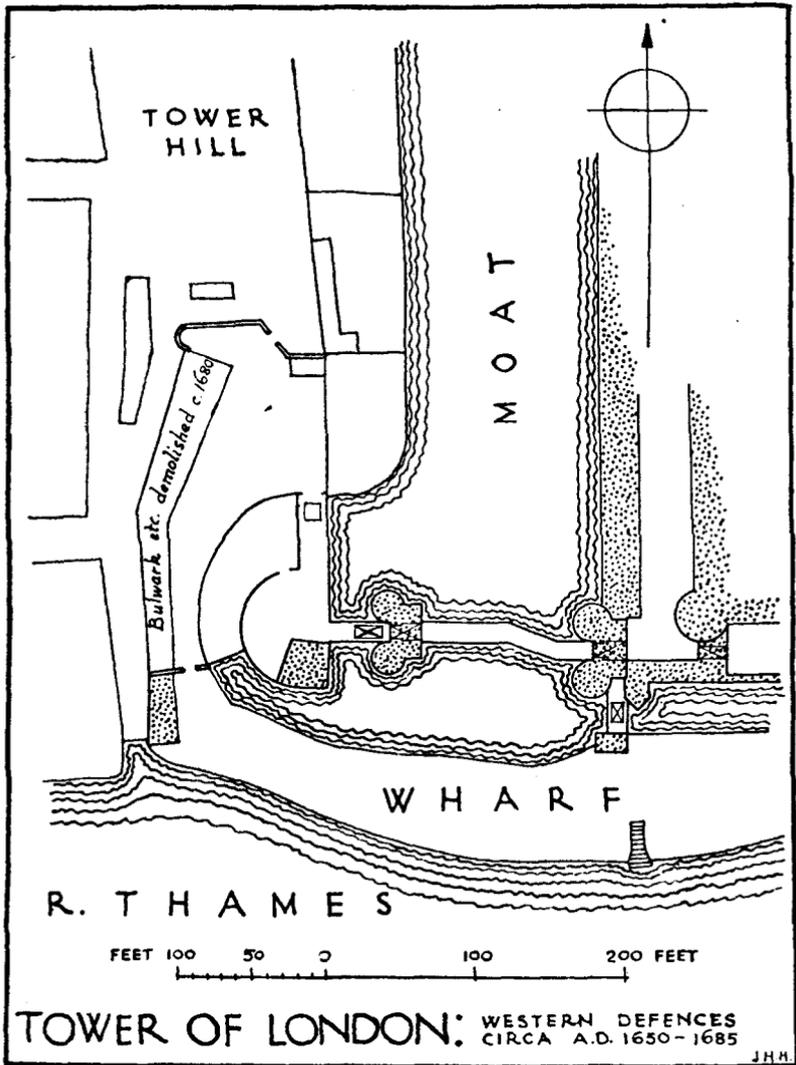
£67 2s. 6d. was allowed "for the works and repairs of the Tower in its palisades and mangonels, and in mending the ditches . . . by view of Peter f. Neuelun' and Alexander f. Sperling."

Edward I, determined to make his new defences successful, brought over a Flemish expert to make the necessary sluices and level an entrance channel. He is referred to in the accounts<sup>13</sup> as "Master Walter le Fleming" or "de Flanders," coming from Flanders at the bidding of the lord King, and was given £9 for the return journey and for his expenses and fees while living in London, a total of nine weeks; the whole sum was probably equal to nearly £300 now. In 1283 the spur ditch around the Barbican seems to have been made, for workmen were paid for "making a ditch near the mill towards the city" and for "making a certain wall of stone under the mill towards the city for keeping the water in the ditch." At the same time 100 dozen nails with square heads were bought from Master Henry de Piscar', smith, "for the gate between the Barbican and the mill towards the city" at a cost of 9s. 4½d.<sup>14</sup>

In 1288 the King sent a lion and an ounce from Gascony to the Tower, and 10d. a day was allowed for their keep from the 16th of May onwards, as well as 3d. a day each to James d'Arragon and his three boys, their keepers.<sup>15</sup> Between Michaelmas, 1285, and Easter, 1287, the "house where the white bear lodges" was mended and refitted at a cost of 9s. 4d., and the bridges of the Tower were repaired.<sup>16</sup> In 1288, 1s. 4½d. was spent on the "house of the elephant and the white bear."<sup>17</sup> In 1291 and 1292 extensive works were carried on in enlarging the Tower ditch,<sup>18</sup> but by this time the main outline of the Tower had taken shape; the period of construction was over, and gave place to more or less continuous maintenance work.

In 1334 the bridges of the Tower seem to have been in a bad state; for the "great" bridge, between the Byward and Middle towers, was repaired, and also the "bridge of the postern of the Tower next the Mint," which was on the site of the West Drawbridge to the Wharf.<sup>19</sup> On Wednesday, 30th August, Richard de Yetyng of "Cornhull" was paid 4s. for four oak boards, each 15 feet long, at 12d. each "for mending the outer bridge towards London against the coming of the lord King" (Edward III). 1½d. was paid for portorage and carriage of the boards from Cornhill to the Tower, 100 great nails were bought from Robert of St. Albans "for fixing the said board and other old board on the said bridge," for 12d., and Adam of London,

carpenter, was paid 5d. for working for the said Wednesday "on fixing the boards of the said bridge and also fixing and mending the boards on the other lower bridge"; these two



bridges can be identified with those over the two pits recently excavated. On the 17th October of the same year, Walter de Bury, the King's smith, was paid 16d. for two locks with keys and nails for two gates (*host'*) in the outer tower (*turrell'*)

towards London, and 10d. for another lock with key and nails, for the door (*porta*) towards the lions and leopards.

Notwithstanding repairs, the bridge by the Middle Tower soon needed complete renewal; a detailed account exists for this work, which went on from the 3rd June to the 15th July, 1336. This work seems to have been carried out as a result of an enquiry into the state of the Tower, made in 1335 and printed in Bayley's *History* of 1821; four bridges were said to require repairs to the amount of £50, and the leadwork of "two turrets at the outer gate" needed £13 6s. 8d. worth of plumber's work. The following extracts from the accounts may be of interest, as they show just what materials and labour went to the making of such a bridge.

"Monday 3rd June: to Thomas le Hayward for three pieces of timber bought for making anew and repairing the swinging bridge (*pontem turniceum*) under the outer tower towards London, each in length 28 feet, in breadth  $1\frac{1}{2}$  feet square, bought for beams (*virg'*) for the said bridge, price each 4s., 12s.; and to the same for a piece of timber bought for the outside (*pro extr'*) at the said bridge, in length 14 feet and in size  $1\frac{1}{2}$  feet square 3s.; in carriage and cartage of the said timber from 'Westsmethfeld' to the Tower with 4 carts, each taking 3d., 12d."

"The same Monday: to Adam of London, carpenter, working on the said outer bridge towards London and taking apart (*disiungent'*) the old bridge and working on the new one for the said days Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday and Saturday, viz.: for 6 days, taking per day 6d.—3s."

"To Richard of Manwode, Peter of Exenyng and Richard Bate, three carpenters working on taking apart the said old bridge and making the new one for the said 6 days, each one taking 5d. per day—7s. 6d."

"To Thomas of Melton and John le Shahier, two sawyers, sawing the said timber for beams (*pro virg'*) for the days Wednesday and Thursday, viz.: 2 days at 5d. each per day—20d."

"Tuesday 11th June: to Hugh le Hatter for 5 pieces of oak timber bought for rails and fillets (*reylis et filett'*) for the making of the aforesaid new bridge, each in length on the average (*una per medium alterius*) 18 feet, price per piece  $14\frac{1}{2}$ d., less  $\frac{1}{2}$ d. altogether—6s."

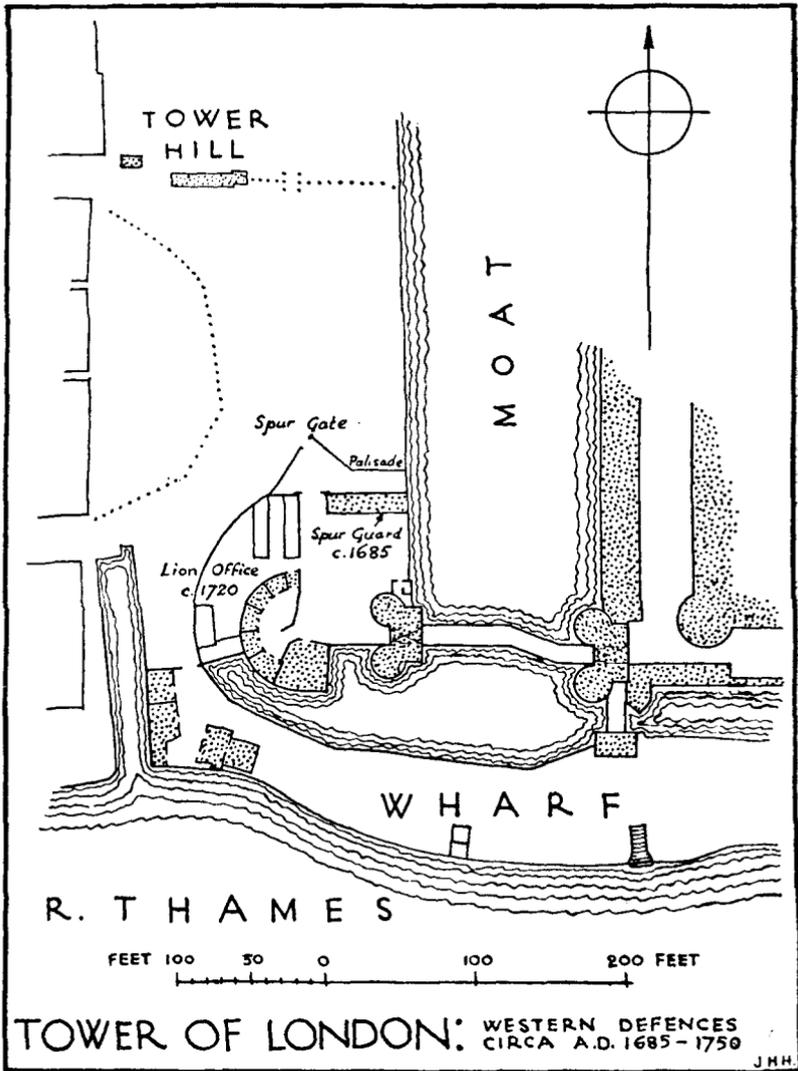
"To cartage and carriage of the said timber from 'Suthwerk' to the Tower—4d."

"The same Tuesday, to Adam of London, carpenter, working on the said bridge under the outer tower towards London for the said Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday and Saturday, viz.: for 5 days taking per day 6d.—2s. 6d. and he received nothing for Monday on the feast of St. Barnabas the Apostle."

"To Richard Bate and Richard atte Brigg, two carpenters, working on the said bridge for the said 5 days, each per day 5d.—4s. 2d."

"To Thomas of Melton, William Hardyng, William Kene, and Salamon le Saghier, four sawyers sawing and working new and old timber for Wednesday and Thursday, viz.: for 2 days at 5d. each per day—3s. 4d."

"To William of Corfe, mason (*Cementar*'), working on Elisford stone (i.e. of Aylesford; Kentish hardstone) for the repairs of the said bridge for Friday and Saturday, viz.: for  $1\frac{1}{2}$  days, taking for a day 5d. and for half a day  $2\frac{1}{2}$ d.— $7\frac{1}{2}$ d."



"Monday 17th June: to Adam of London, carpenter, working on the fore-said bridge for Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday and Saturday, viz.: for 6 working days, because he worked on the days of St. Edward and St. Alban, taking per day 6d.—3s."

"To Richard Bate and Richard atte Brigge, two carpenters working on the said bridge for the said 6 days each at 5d. a day—5s."

"To William of Corfe, mason, working on the stone for carrying the said bridge for the foresaid 6 days, taking 5d. per day—2s. 6d."

"To Thomas of Melton and Henry atte Lofte, two sawyers, sawing timber on Friday for the said bridge, each at 5d. per day—10d."

"Tuesday 25th June: to Hugh le Hatter for 15 boards of oak bought for the swinging bridge under the outer tower towards London, made anew, each in length 15 feet, in breadth about 2 feet, in thickness 3 inches, price per board 14d.—17s. 6d."

"In cartage and carriage of the said boards from 'Suthwerk' to the Tower with 3 carts—6d."

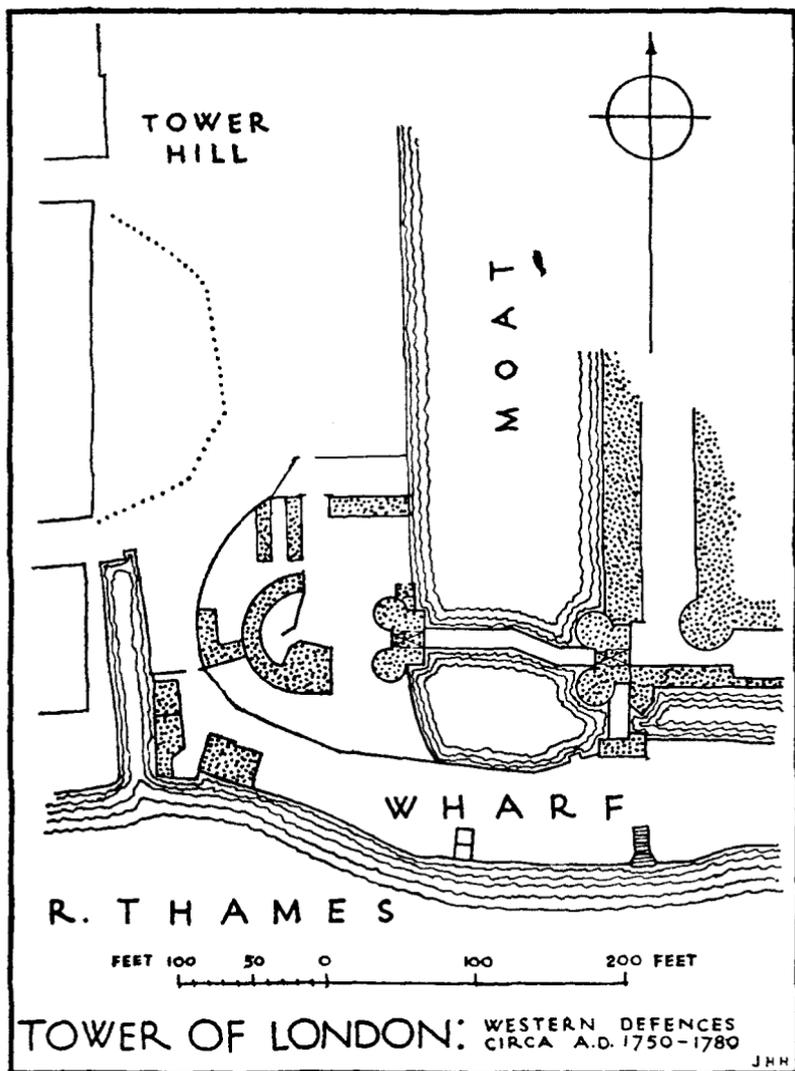
"The same Tuesday: to Adam of London, carpenter, working on the said new bridge for Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday, viz.: for 4 working days, and for Monday on the feast of St. John the Baptist, viz.: 5 days, taking per day 6d.—2s. 6d., and he took nothing for Saturday on the feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul."

No further materials were purchased for the bridge, but it was not completed until the 15th July; for the week beginning Monday, 1st July, Adam of London took 3s. and Richard at Brugge and John Fulk, his assistants, with William of Corfe, mason, 2s. 6d. each; for the next week the three carpenters received the same, but the mason no longer appears; on the 15th July, John Fulk only was at work, and took 5d. The total cost of the bridge was £2 os. 4d. spent on materials and carriage, and £2 15s. 6½d. on labour; the grand total of £4 15s. 10½d. probably equalled £120 to £150 to-day, though a similar bridge built of oak would now cost far more, owing to the disproportionate scarcity of timber.<sup>20</sup>

On December 14th, 1339, the old lead "coming from the Tower above the outer gate towards London," and elsewhere in the Tower, was delivered to Richard de Cant' and Thomas atte Diche, plumbers, of London, to be melted and cast and laid anew on the said tower, etc.<sup>21</sup> The same account shows that a key price 2d. was bought for the Bar (*barr*) outside the Tower towards "pety Wales"; this was the old main entrance to the wharf. Twenty years later, in 1358-59, the "house of the lions" was mended with 65 great nails weighing 22½ lbs. bought at 2d. per pound, a total of 3s. 9d.<sup>22</sup> In 1365-66 Richard Wylton, carpenter, was paid £3 6s. 8d. for making new gates at the entrance of the Tower, and a partition in the lion's house, by task work.<sup>23</sup>

A few additional details concerning the menagerie may be inserted here. We find in the Calendar of Patent Rolls that

on the 16th October, 1341, a patent was issued for the "Appointment of Robert son of John le Bowyere of Doncastre to the custody of the King's lions and leopards at the Tower of



London during pleasure, with such allowance for his wages and the sustenance of the lions and leopards as Berengar Darragon (note James of Aragon above, who may have been Berengar's

father) who lately held the custody, had." This grant was cancelled and re-issued in different terms: "the custody of the King's one lion, one lioness, one leopard, and two whelps of the lioness at the Tower of London, during pleasure"—he was to have 6d. daily for himself, for each lion, lioness or leopard 6d. and each whelp 4d. The office was granted to John Styrop in 1349, after the death of Robert de Doncastre, perhaps of the Black Death; twenty years later Styrop also died, and the office was granted for life to William de la Garderobe, who was already yeoman of the King's armour in the Tower, and who died 1381. Later holders were John of Evesham, 1381; Nicholas de Wenlyng, 1399; John Wolde, 1404; John de Ritz, 14 ?; William Kerby, 1413; Robert Mansfield, 1436; in this last case the special stipulation was made that he should not draw the fees or profits, except the houses for the keeper and lions, unless there were actually lions in the Tower, as had been the case in the past (Calendars of Patent Rolls, *passim*). It would be easy to make a complete list of the keepers by searching the Calendars of Patent Rolls and other State Papers.

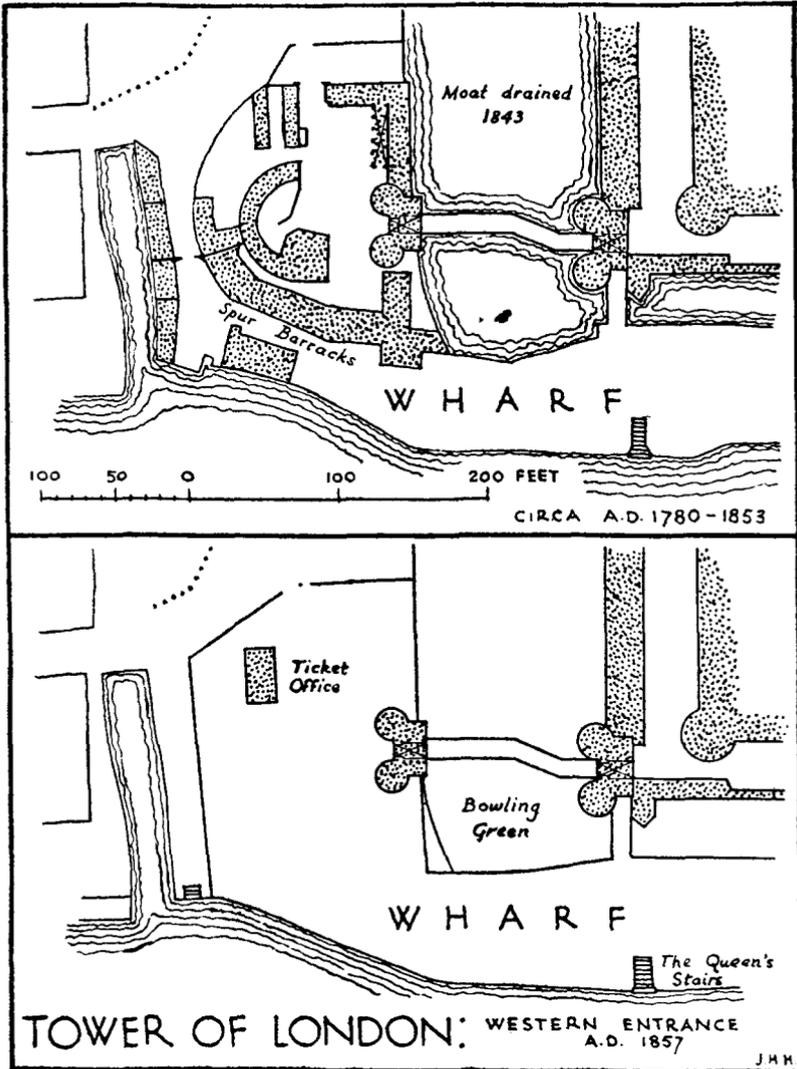
Notes and Queries (Vol. 150, 1926, p. 255) printed some interesting extracts from a German travel diary; in 1710 Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach visited the Tower, and made the following notes on the menagerie:—

"Then they took us into an old building where wild animals are shown. There were only the following, four lions with which a dog was shut up, and the lions are so accustomed to him that they do him no harm; he lies quite quietly with them, which is surprising, but I believe that if they kept the lions long without food they would take him. The lions were only middle sized. There was also a tiger, and two wolves, which as is well known are rare in England. Also two Indian cats, very powerful and vicious, not unlike ours. There are also two eagles, one of which as the custodian told us is 40 years old."

According to the "Foreigners' Guide through London and Westminster" of 1730, the fee to see the beasts was then 3d.; later in the century it was 6d., and from 1750 onwards a number of short guides to the Tower were printed, with descriptions of the individual beasts kept there.

Few detailed building accounts have survived for the 15th century, but there can have been little alteration, except for the addition by Edward IV of the so-called Bulwark wall of brick some distance to the North of the Lion Gate, so that the latter lost its position as the outermost defensive work of the Tower.<sup>24</sup> After the construction of this bulwark, the office of

“Keeper of ‘le bulwark’ ” was created. The first holder seems to have been Thomas Redhede, who was appointed on 9 March, 1484, “porter of the Tower of London and keeper of ‘le bulwark’ ”



without the west gate of the same and 6d. daily for his wages . . . and a mansion within the bulwark aforesaid."<sup>24a</sup> Next year after Bosworth Field, the office was granted “to Robert Jay, for his services beyond seas and at the triumphant battle”

(Bosworth); in this case, "the houses on Tower Wharf and the gardens on Tower Hill" were also within his custody.<sup>24b</sup>

It is probable that the drawbridges were repaired or renewed on several occasions, but it is not until the reign of Henry VII that further direct evidence comes to light. An account-book of Thomas Warley, the Royal Clerk of the Works, for 1500–1502, now in the British Museum,<sup>25</sup> shows that one of the drawbridges was then renewed; unfortunately, details of the expenses are not given, but timber and "bryk," with lime for mortar, were purchased, and wages were paid to setters (*positor*) and carpenters; the chief setter (? bricklayer) was William Kylby, at 7d. a day, and the chief carpenter John Gerves at 8d.; the assistant setters and carpenters all received 6d. The entry under "Bryk" reads "and for strengthening or propping (*submuniendo vel fulcrendo*) a certain bridge newly made in the Outer Ward next the Tower where the lions are kept." The remains of the outer drawbridge-pit recently found contain a repair in soft dark red bricks, about  $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 4'' \times 1\frac{1}{8}''$  in size; three courses rise  $6\frac{3}{4}''$ . It is not improbable that these are a vestige of the work done in 1500–1502.

An estimate of cost for necessary repairs at the Tower was made during the reign of Henry VIII; according to Bayley, who prints it in full as an appendix to his *History of the Tower*, it dates from 1531–32.<sup>26</sup> Every part of the buildings is detailed, and the cost of necessary repairs given under headings of materials and crafts. "St. Marten Tower" (the Middle Tower) was to be mended at the water with "Cane" (Caen) stone; "the wall from St. Marten Tower unto the new bulwark of bryck unto Tower hyll Warde in lengthe 100 foote to be copyd garytted and crestyd and also roughcast. Cane stone, 40 tons—£10. Lyme—10 cwt.—50s.; Sande, 30 loads—15s. To the Masons £26 10d. 0d. To the Roughcasters £8 6s. 8d. Two brydges to be new made comyng unto the Tower under Seynt Marten Tower with Tymber made by the carpenters. Tymber 20 loods—£6 13s. 4d. To the carpenters £6 13s. 4d. The Lyon towre to be roughcast with Lyme—lyme to the same—6 cwt. 30s. Sande to the same, 18 loods—9s. To the Roughcasters—£5."

It is not certain to what extent these works were carried out. Apart from the repairs estimated for, there is a list of "other needful repairs," including "St. Marten & Lyon Towers to have new roofs and floors." Among works which were actually

carried out in 1532-33 was the "makyng of a frame for a bell in the White Tower the whiche callith workemen to worke and fro worke."<sup>26a</sup> In 1533 some work was done at the entrance by Gabriel Calden (or Coldam) Warden of the masons, who took 8d. a day. The work included "The Turnyng of an arche, for the enlarging of the corner of the Brydge by the lyon Towere," and "the hewing and new setting of 70 foott of Crestes and Coynes upon the same, and moreover in the new setting of 46 foote of olde Creste upon the same brydge."<sup>26b</sup> At the end of 1536 the gates of the "Northwest Bulwerke" were repaired "with new heddyng."<sup>26c</sup>

In 1597 William Hayward and J. Gascoyne made a survey of the Tower and its Liberty,<sup>27</sup> which shows the whole drawn out in bird's-eye view; the moat round the Barbican, or "Lyons' Tower," was still full of water, and at the south-east corner of this tower was the house for the keeper of the lions. A number of small houses ran northward along the edge of the ditch, beyond the outermost Bulwark Gate. During the 17th century the defences of the Tower gradually became of less importance, for the moat had lost much of its military value. By about 1660<sup>28</sup> part of the moat around the Lion Tower had been filled in, and was probably used as an exercise ground for the beasts; extra cages and buildings connected with the Menagerie were later built on this site, between 1702 and 1725.<sup>29</sup>

By about 1690 the Bulwark Gate had disappeared, and its place was taken by the Spur Guard, built to the east of the Lion Gate archway, on ground reclaimed from the moat.<sup>30</sup> A warrant for expending £650 os. 6¾d. on the Lions' House was granted on 31st October, 1678,<sup>31</sup> and though the detailed accounts seem to be missing, it is possible that so large a sum included part of these alterations. In 1733, Mr. Martyn, then Keeper of the Lions in the Tower, petitioned the Treasury "to have his house enlarged by some addition to the height thereof"; on 20th April, 1734, a warrant was issued to the Board of Works to execute these repairs, to cost £350.<sup>32</sup> One of Buck's prints of 1737 shows this alteration when compared with earlier views from the Thames.<sup>33</sup> At a date probably between 1777 and 1789 a new Guard house with an open loggia to the west was built, running from the Spur Guard southwards to the Middle Tower, and the remainder of the old spur moat around the Lions' Tower was filled in.<sup>34</sup> Shortly before 1800 the Spur Barracks was built upon this reclaimed land, and a tinted

scale drawing showing the Middle Tower and adjoining buildings at this period is still in existence.<sup>35</sup>

But the history of the Tower as a fortress and as a menagerie was coming to an end; in 1831 the King's beasts were moved to the Zoological Gardens in Regent's Park,<sup>36</sup> and in 1843 the main moat was filled<sup>37</sup>; in the same year a plan of buildings scheduled for removal was prepared, showing that all the old works outside the Middle Tower were to be swept away<sup>38</sup>; in 1845 a scheme for new guard houses to north and south of the Middle Tower was prepared,<sup>39</sup> but apparently they were never built; demolition of the old works went on during 1853, and by 1857 all had disappeared and the Ticket Office was built.<sup>40</sup> For eighty years the old Lions' Tower and Gate remained buried and forgotten so completely that their rediscovery in 1935-36 caused general surprise, especially in view of the wonderful state of preservation of the drawbridge pits and causeway, which appear almost new, though six-and-a-half centuries have gone by since their construction by Edward I.

## NOTES.

1. *Calendar of Close Rolls*, 1252, p. 157.
2. *Liberate Roll*, 37 Henry III, m. 15, quoted in J. Bayley: *History of the Tower*, 1821, Vol. I, p. 269.
3. *Lib. Roll and Close Roll*, 39 Hen. III, quoted as above.
4. *Compotus*, Easter 1278, to Easter 1279; P.R.O. E. 101/467/7 (4).
5. *Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1271, Nov. 7, and for Robert of Beverley see W. R. Lethaby: *Westminster Abbey*, 1906, and *Westminster Abbey Re-examined*, 1925, pp. 58, 95, 197.
6. *Roll of purchases*, 1274; E. 101/467/6 (6).
7. *Particulars of account*, 1281/84; E. 101/467/9.
- 7a. But in 1175 William of Sens "delivered molds (*formas*) for the shaping of the stones to the sculptors assembled" at Canterbury Cathedral (*Chronicle of Gervase*.)
8. *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1275, Nov. 25.
9. *Compotus*, 1281-84; E. 101/467/10.
10. *Cal. Close Rolls*, July 8, 1280; Nov. 12, 1282; June 4, 1293.
11. *Rolls Ed.*, Vol. II, p. 369.
12. *Pipe Roll Soc.*, Michaelmas, 1193, p. 131.
13. *Compotus & Particulars*, 1278-79; E. 101/467/7, (4) and (6).
14. *Compotus*, 1281-84; E. 101/467/10 and *Partics.*, E. 101/467/9.
15. *Account of the Constable*, 1284-1306; E. 101/4/10.
16. *Compotus*, 1285-87; E. 101/467/13.
17. *Compotus*, 1287-88; E. 101/467/15.
18. *Pay-sheets*, 1291-92; E. 101/468/5 and 12.
19. *Partics. of Account*, 1334-35; E. 101/469/18.
20. *Roll*, 1336-38; E. 101/470/1. For a further discussion of this account see J. H. Harvey in *R.I.B.A. Jnl.*, 13 June, 1938, pp. 736-37.
21. *Partics. of Account*, 1339-40; E. 101/470/9.
22. *Account*, 1358-59; E. 101/472/6.
23. *Account*, 1365-66; E. 101/472/17.
24. John Stow, *Survey of London*.
- 24a. *Cal. Patent Rolls*, 9 March, 1484.
- 24b. *Ibid.*, 21 Sep., 1485.
25. *Account Book*, 1500-02; B.M., *Egerton MS.*, 2,358.

26. Estimate; E. 101/474/18, printed in full in J. Bayley: *History of the Tower*, 1821, Vol. I.
- 26a. Account; E. 101/474/13.
- 26b. Bodleian, *Rawlinson MS.*, D. 775; and for Gabriel Coldam see D. Knoop and G. P. Jones, "The Sixteenth Century Mason," from *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, 1937.
- 26c. Bodl., *Rawlinson MS.*, D. 780; the extracts from both these MSS. in the Bodleian were kindly made by A. J. Taylor.
27. "A true and exact Draught of the Tower Liberties, 1597," published by the Society of Antiquaries, 1742.
28. Coloured bird's-eye plan, c. 1660; H.M.O.W. Registry, E. 6. 1606.
29. Plan, 1702, H.M.O.W. Registry, E. 6. 1578; Plan, 1725, British Museum, K. 24, 23a.
30. Plan. c. 1681-89; printed in *Vetusta Monumenta*, Vol. IV; Plan, 1692, H.M.O.W. Registry, 1960.
31. *Calendar of Treasury Books*, Vol. V, Pt. II, pp. 1151-52.
32. *Cal. of Treasury Books and Papers*, 1731-34; pp. 410, 459, 607.
33. Prints in British Museum, King's Library; K. 24, 23.
34. Plan, 1741, H.M.O.W. Registry, E. 5. 1544. Bowles's print, 1753. Plan, 1789, H.M.O.W. Registry, O. 5, 226.
35. Plan, 1800, H.M.O.W., Drg. No. 105/7. Drawing of c. 1810-30, H.M.O.W. Registry, E. 6, 1580.
36. Lord de Ros: *Memorials of the Tower*, 1867, quoted in appendix to the *Diary of Lt.-Gen. Adam Wilkinson, 1722-47*, Royal Historical Soc., 1912.
37. *Notes and Queries*, 7th S., Vol. III, 1887, p. 172.
38. H.M.O.W., Drgs., Nos. 105/9 and 10.
39. Plans and Elevations to accompany letter of 6 Nov., 1845, H.M.O.W. Registry, E. 6, 1581.
40. Plan, 1853, H.M.O.W. Registry, E. 6, 1586; Plan, 1857, H.M.O.W., Drg., No. 105/11.

## PIRATES OFF MARGATE IN 1315

BY N. G. BRETT-JAMES, M.A., B.LITT., F.S.A.

Honorary Editor of the *Transactions*.

THE narrow seas that separate England from the continent of Europe have been during the great World War the scene of very much fighting, and our airmen and naval men and merchant seamen have performed prodigies of valour both in attack and defence. The miracle of Dunkirk was only made possible by the use of dozens or even hundreds of boats of all sizes to bring off again and again boatloads of soldiers to safety. Our freedom from invasion both now and in the previous world war has been largely due to our age-long tradition of the sea; and one can look back to almost every era in our nation's story to see evidence of seamanship, courage and daring which are finding their parallel to-day. Here is the unvarnished tale of a Hendon merchant who lost his ship to pirates off the town of Margate, and of the steps which were taken to give him compensation.

The insular position of our country has always made the control of the narrow seas of vital importance to its inhabitants, and the invasions of Roman, Saxon, Dane and Norman were a warning of the dangers involved in an inadequate fleet. Full justice has never been done to King Alfred the Great as the real founder of the English Navy and the controller of the narrow seas. It was but slowly that any control was exercised by the Crown over the ports, and the coasts for many years were generally unsafe for honest folk even in peace time. Little was done to deal with pirates and freebooters who frequented the shores and creeks, which were uncharted, unlit and unbuoyed. The association of Normandy with England, and the starting of the Crusades made it necessary for some maritime policy to be developed, and Richard I's Articles of War, and the more famous Laws of Oleron helped to organise both the Navy and the Merchant Services.

In John's reign the sovereignty of the seas was claimed by the English government, and, to justify the claim, greater efforts were made to police the narrow seas more effectively. Lawlessness was not diminished by the growth of the power of the Cinque Ports, which in some parts of the reign of Henry III were little better than nests of chartered sea-robbers. The King, in his charter of liberties, undertook to safeguard the rights of foreign merchants trading with this country, and during the French wars trade between the two countries was not seriously bothered; though the French sometimes made spasmodic attacks on English shipping and the English retaliated. The rivalry between the shipmen of different parts of England was, however, in many cases quite as important and disastrous.

The reigns of Henry III and Edward I were also noteworthy for lawlessness at sea, sometimes between the shipmen of different parts of England, sometimes between the English and the Flemings or the French. The traders of Yarmouth and Lowestoft had an agelong feud with those of the Cinque Ports, and this internecine quarrelling had disastrous results on the strength of the English Navy. When English ships were damaged or captured by a foreign enemy then the survivors endeavoured to make amends by reprisals, sometimes securing letters of marque from the King. The Cinque Ports were the nearest to the most probable enemies, and their services secured many charters and privileges from Edward I, who favoured

their famous Admiral Gervase, one of the well-known Winchelsea family of Alard. It is often alleged that it was Edward I who formally claimed the sovereignty of the narrow seas, which had certainly been made informally by his predecessors, and in the reign of his successor this claim was acknowledged. It was not till the time of Edward III that this tentative claim was really established by the victory at Sluys, where the French fleet was almost annihilated, and that of "Les Espagnols sur Mer," when the Spaniards were crushingly defeated.

In Edward II's reign, especially after the defeat at Bannockburn, there was constant piracy in the North Sea and Channel. Ships from Holland, Hainault and Norway committed acts of aggression with impunity, and the fleet of the Cinque Ports preyed upon shipping with complete impartiality. Trade was handicapped, but the scarcity of food in 1315 and 1316 caused the King to offer special privileges to foreign merchants to induce them to import food to make up the deficit. There was always danger from pirates, as there was no central power in England or elsewhere strong enough to control these salt water brigands.

The Close and Patent Rolls are full of allusions to wrecks and piracy and not infrequently one led to the other, especially off the coast of Cornwall, where in the Middle Ages as in later years wrecking was practised to the gain of the savage inhabitants. An indignant writer complains that "it chaunceth that sometyme in many places there are inhuman felars, more cruel than dogs or wolves enraged, the whiche murder and slay the poor sufferers, to obtayn theyr money or clothes or other goodes." Dwellers on the coast cared little whether the victims of storm were foreigners or their own countrymen, and it is not surprising that there were frequent reprisals. In Edward I's reign the seamen of the Cinque Ports used impudent language to the King and threatened the King's Council "that if wrong or grievance be done to them in any way against justice, they will forthwith forsake their wives and children and all that they possess, and go to make their profit upon the sea, where-soever they think they will be able to acquire it."

In the first 6 years of the reign of Edward II there are in the *Calendar of Close Rolls* nearly 120 references to attack upon merchants, most of them involving piracy. In 1315 the Santa Maria of Fontarabia was wrecked off Dungeness, and goods to the value of over two thousand pounds, destined for Gascony,

were stolen by the seamen of the Cinque Ports, and the Warden of the Cinque Ports was prevented by force of arms from holding an enquiry into the matter. It is not surprising that foreigners tried to effect reprisals and to get something of their own back. Attempts to recover property by process of law were slow and uncertain, and even when claims were acknowledged it was often impossible to recover the goods.

In 1309, Fleming merchants seized at Portsmouth 91 casks of wine belonging to merchants of Weymouth and Avelcante, and in spite of a decision of the Flemish courts in favour of the English the wine was not returned. (*Foedera* ii, 75.)

The ships of the period were considerably improved in several directions, notably in the number of masts, in the construction of high stern-stages, known as *bellatoria*, and in the practice of sail-furling. If we can, to any extent, rely on the illustrations of the period, it would seem that naval warfare consisted in making your ship ram its rival, or in hurling Greek fire, stones and other big missiles from one ship to another. A later development was the building of a *bellatorium* in the forepart of the ship, the origin of the modern forecastle; and a better shaped rudder was an important improvement. Still further changes were a better organisation of the naval resources of the Crown incorporated in the rules of the *Black Book* of the Admiralty, and the gradual introduction of additional armament—"springalds, haubeyeans, bacinets, bows, arrows, jacks, doublets, targets, pavises, lances and firing barrels." Considerable interest is aroused by the list of ports and the number of ships provided by each of them in various expeditions. Contrary to what one might have expected, London does not figure at the head of the list either in the number of ships or of personnel. It is sixth in the first and fourth in the latter, while Margate, which is also to figure in our story, is more than halfway down the list.

It is of interest to note that a London merchant belonging to a Hendon-Finchley family figures in the records of loss of merchandise due to piracy in the North Sea.

William Bidyk, of the family of Sir Henry de Bidyk, who figures in the Black Survey of Hendon, was, like his relatives, interested in the wool trade. Adam le Bidyk (possibly William's father) was the King's tailor, and he married Joan de Hadestoke, and was thus related to the important London families of Basing, Hadestoke and Le Waleys (all of whom had property

in Edgware, Hendon or Finchley). All the others of the name of Bidyk are descended from Adam de Bidyk, and his grandson Thomas was Lord of the Manor of Finchley.

William, mentioned above, combined with a dozen other London wool merchants in 1315 to charter a ship to go to Antwerp. Simon of Abingdon supplied 4 serplers of wool worth £40. Thomas of Abingdon supplied 3 and William Bidyk 5, and the total value was £600. There were other merchants with names showing their place of origin to be Thame, Berkhamstead and Warwick (*Close Rolls*, Ed. II, 1318-27, pp. 9 and 13). Their ship was called "La Petite Bayard," and was hired from John le Priair. It sailed down the Thames without mishap, but off Margate it got into trouble with pirates who at that time infested the narrow seas. It will be remembered that Chaucer's merchant hoped that the sea would be kept free from pirates from Middleburg to Orwell, while his shipman from Dartmouth had indulged in piracy himself. The ship, in whose cargo Bidyk held shares, was attacked in peacetime by the Admiral of Calais with 22 armed ships. "La Petite Bayard" was lying upon land near Margate owing to the ebb of the tide, probably on the Nayland Rock between Margate and Westgate. The London seamen were taken unawares, thinking that their assailants were friends, and some were wounded and some slain. Those who could escaped into Margate taking with them the sail and the rudder, but the Admiral pursued them, seized the equipment, the ship and tackle, valued at £40, or, including the cargo, 2000 marks, and carried off the whole booty to Calais. This occurred in the late summer of 1315, and on 2nd November Edward II sent complaints to the King of France demanding satisfaction and compensation. Other ships were from time to time seized by pirates from Flanders and in the months and years immediately after this incident "Le Bon An," with wine from Bordeaux, then in English hands, and "La Swallewe," with a mixed cargo of wine and wool, were both attacked off Margate and seized, the latter with almost complete loss of the crew.

Further complaints had no effect, and so after nearly three years of patience the King, in August, 1318, sent to the Mayor and Sheriffs of London, and after rehearsing the whole story, ordered that goods to the value of 2000 marks were to be seized from French merchants in London. As the King of France

had promised to do justice and give compensation for this flagrant piracy, the seizure was to be delayed until All Saints' Day; and any goods already seized were to be restored. Similar instructions were sent to the bailiffs of Southampton, Great Yarmouth and Ipswich, who had suffered in the same way, ships from the two latter ports having evidently been seized between Middlebury and Orwell. By the 10th September, 1318, no steps had been taken by the French, so the English King demanded satisfaction from W. de Castillian, Constable of France, who called the parties concerned before him and ordered the ship to be returned, without any success.

As further complaints brought no compensation King Edward instructed the Sheriffs of London to seize goods from Amiens to the requisite amount. This was quite in accord with the usual practice of allowing reprisals to be made and of issuing letters of marque, in order to establish the principle of joint responsibility. Either goods to the value of the loss sustained were ordered to be seized, or the injured party was allowed to recoup himself by an act of piracy. For instance, in 1306, a Norwich merchant asked for reprisals on ships at Yarmouth and Lynn to compensate for a loss of £80 brought about by Norwegian piracy; and in 1311 merchants of La Rochelle made similar demands against the English. (*Rot. Parl.* i. 200 and *Foedera*, ii, 146).

An earlier example in 1304 records a loss of £260 by a Yarmouth merchant due to murder and robbery on the part of a Zeelander. As no redress was offered, ships and goods to the requisite amount were seized among Zeeland property in Yarmouth, Lynn, Boston, Kingston-on-Hull and London (*Cal. Close Rolls*).

There were several other ways in which compensation could be arranged, either by lending money on the security of a ship or by the practice of insurance, which is said to have been first tried by the Count of Flanders at Bruges in 1310. An early effort to protect our overseas trade was made in the time of Edward I, when a species of coastguard lugger was first tried. Edward II was therefore well within his rights in insisting on reprisals, and he had been very moderate in his demands.

In the *Calendar of Chancery Warrants*, Volume I, 1244-1326, there is a note (p. 434) to the effect that "Simon de Swanlond has prayed the King that as he sent 12 sarples of wool to Brabant to make profit, and some evil doers of the town of

Calais took the wool by force in the Thames before Margate and carried it to Calais, and still detain it, the King will aid him to recover it; and the King wishes to aid the merchants of his realm as he should in reason." A mandate is to be issued praying the Constable of France, the captain of the town of Calais, and the good people of the town to help Simon. (This in French.)

He had yielded to the French King's demand for delay, but, as nothing had happened within three years, he now asks that immediate satisfaction shall be made to William de Bidyk or two other of his friends, who were acting as attorneys for all the partners. A further delay of 4 months occurred and then Edward ordered the sheriff to arrest French goods to the value of £402 11s. 10d., goods from Rouen and Amiens worth £197 8s. 2d. having already been collected. Patience suggested still more procrastination, but at last on 28th August, 1320, almost exactly five years after the first complaint had been sent to the French King, and a few months before the compilation of Hendon's Black Survey, a final order came through from the King to the Sheriffs and adequate goods were seized to compensate Bidyk and his friends. (*Cal. of Close Rolls*, 1318-27, pp. 52 and 259.)

William de Bidyk was evidently a man of position in London, as on 6th June, 1325, he was witness to a deed to which the other witnesses were the Mayor and Sheriffs of London and a certain Richard le Chaucer. (*Cal. of Close Rolls*, 1323-27, p. 376.) Possibly much more can still be discovered as to his doings, but even if not this brief glimpse of a Hendonian engaged in overseas trade and having his financial prospects imperilled by high seas piracy gives us a rather different idea of manorial life from that usually emphasised by the text-books. It has given the writer particular pleasure to link up in the early fourteenth century Margate, the place of his birth, with Hendon, the place of his adoption, and for forty years his home.

## POST-WAR LONDON

By NORMAN G. BRETT-JAMES, M.A., B.LITT., F.S.A.

Chairman of Council and Honorary Editor.

(a) Previous Planning. (b) Greater London. (c) A Variety of Schemes. (d) London's Defects. (e) Past Successes. (f) Crooked Streets. (g) Past Town-planning. (h) Smaller Units. (i) Local Authorities. (j) Air Transport for London. (k) A Plan for Westminster. (l) Bloomsbury. (m) Railways in London. (n) The River Front. (o) Roads. (p) Open Spaces. (q) A Nobler City. (r) Conclusion.

## (a) PREVIOUS PLANNING.

It is not easy to determine the limitations of the interests of an Archaeological Association; but at a recent conference a speaker stated, without contradiction, that "it covered everything from pre-history to railway stations." If this can be accepted as authoritative there can be no possible objection to a discussion in the *Transactions* of the various plans for the rebuilding and reconstruction of London, which have been suggested and partly made possible by the great blitz of 1940-41.

Sir Christopher Wren was probably not the first who wanted to re-design London, and he certainly was not the last; though in the two centuries and more since his death little enough has been done to make a reasonable design on which the gradual development of what William Cobbett rightly called the "Great Wen" might depend.

It is not always realised that a great chance for planning London occurred more than a century before the Great Fire, at the Dissolution of the Monasteries. London soon spread unplanned over the circumambient area thus set free, and, before the Armada, problems of overcrowding were beginning to arise.

The various rules and regulations did not solve the problems that were causing so much anxiety, mainly because they were never rigidly enforced. When a century later the city suffered nearly total destruction in the Great Fire it was perhaps natural that those who wished to present their plans for reconstruction to King Charles II should have concerned themselves chiefly with the "Square Mile." It is perhaps fatally easy to be wise after the event, but it seems clear to-day that far more important was the government and planning of the ever-growing suburbs. The incorporation of the suburbs achieved by Charles I in 1636 might well have solved the first

problem, while the second was partially tackled by Cromwell in his rigid rules as to suburban buildings.

The four main plans for rebuilding London in 1666 had one very serious fault in common. They almost completely ignored the London of the immediate past, and proposed to construct an entirely new city, admirable no doubt, but almost entirely destructive of existing streets. That is why many people to-day do not regret the decision not to accept any of the plans put forward, but realise what a thousand pities it was that Wren did not devote his genius to a far-reaching scheme for developing the suburbs, and that the schemes put forward by John Evelyn and Sir William Petty for what was really a 17th century Green Belt fell on deaf ears.

All those who to-day and to-morrow are putting forward schemes for a new London have as their object not to wipe the London that we know off the map, and to construct something which might look well on paper, but would not be London, but to "endeavour to retain the old structure, where discernible, and make it workable under modern conditions." They believe that, as time goes on, modifications will certainly have to be introduced in the details of their scheme, but that if the outline is drawn rightly there will be nothing fundamental to undo.

#### (b) GREATER LONDON.

Petty's green belt would have been no more than two miles from the centre of London; the proposal made by Dame H. O. Barnett in 1910 envisaged a green girdle five miles out; but the incomplete series of open spaces that almost surround Greater London to-day are nowhere less than ten or eleven miles from Charing Cross. The area inside this girdle comprises 850 miles, whereas the Lord Mayor's London is one square mile only, and this amorphous semi-regulated expanse contains a population of eight and a half millions.

Whatever plans are put forward for one part or another, for the City, the County, the Metropolitan Police Area, the London *Regional Transport District*, there must be a close co-operation between the various authorities, so as to secure a master plan for the Greatest London, so as to profit by the many mistakes and few successes of the past, to take advantage of the wonderful chances given us in the present, and to make such comprehensive and far-reaching schemes as to anticipate some at least of to-morrow's problems.

A recent letter in *The Times* emphasises the need for dealing "with the whole area of Greater London, an area some five times as large as the County of London, in a most comprehensive manner. . . . Proper planning cannot take notice of arbitrary boundaries. . . . Great London is the unit, not the L.C.C. area or that of the City, detailed plans of which should be governed by a master plan prepared on a regional basis."

(c) A VARIETY OF SCHEMES.

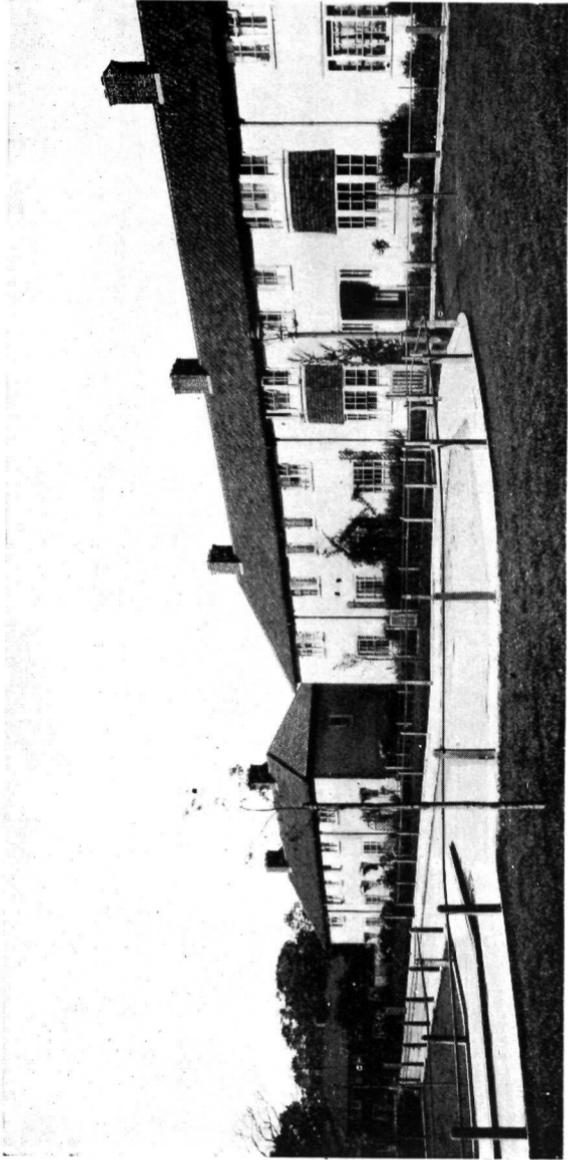
Our Prime Minister has given us a slogan for the task of making a better London for our children, as he has in so many other exacting duties, when he says "we have one large immediate task in the replanning and rebuilding of our cities and towns."

Of all the schemes and suggestions and visions for London's future, three stand out most prominently:—*London Replanned*, The Royal Academy Planning Committee's Interim Report, issued by *County Life* in October, 1942 (2s. 6d.); *Greater London*, towards a master plan. Second Report of the London Regional Reconstruction Committee of the R.I.B.A. issued in May, 1943; and *The County of London Plan*, prepared for the L.C.C. and published in July, 1943, by Macmillan & Co. (12s. 6d.) Other items which may be studied with considerable profit are current issues of *Town and County Planning*, issued quarterly (2s. 6d.); *Sixty Years of Planning*, The Bournville Experiment (1s.); *Living in Cities*, by Ralph Tubbs, Penguin Books (1s.); *Your Inheritance*, an uncomic strip, Architectural Press (1s.); *Town Planning*, by Thomas Sharp, Penguin Books (9d.); and, of course, The Barlow, Scott, Uthwatt and Beveridge Report, where they apply.

Several striking pronouncements and warnings have been given with a view to helping progress and hindering attempts to "sabotage" the reformers' effort. We need "a faith which rises above the petty criticism by those who persist in finding difficulties, and thereby nullifying progress." We must "endeavour to assist in seeing that apathy and selfishness may not be allowed to strangle achievement." Cities "cannot afford to be further strangled or disfigured for lack of freedom of action"; citizens must refuse to "listen to the pessimists who scoff at our dreams as Utopian, in order to conceal their unwillingness to help," but must make "certain that they get the most efficient and most imaginative planners." We must and can



ROEHAMPTON COTTAGE ESTATE, WANDSWORTH, SURREY. STARTED 1921.



WATLING COTTAGE ESTATE, HENDON, MIDDLESEX. STARTED 1925.

have "the London that we want; the London that people will come from the far corners of the world to see; if only we determine that we will have it; and that no weakness or indifference shall prevent it."

And finally a word of warning: "The fate of London in the post-war years will be one of the signs by which posterity will judge us, and by which it is right that they should judge us . . . if we do not set our feet on the right road, we shall have missed one of the great moments of history, and we shall have shown ourselves unworthy of our victory. Therefore let us begin now."

#### (d) LONDON'S DEFECTS.

The chief defects of modern London, apart from its monstrous unplanned hugeness, are (a) depressed housing, or more succinctly, slums; (b) traffic congestion, partly caused by the lack of circular and orbital roads; (c) inadequacy and maldistribution of open spaces, by which those with large gardens of their own frequently have magnificent parks and commons at their doors, while the slum-dwellers, with altogether inadequate back-yards, have none; (d) indeterminate zoning, or a careless jumbling of residential quarters and industrial areas. To these may be added a fifth, which is partly the cause and partly the effect of London's haphazard growth; and that is (e) the all too frequent swamping of local identity and patriotism, when a once self-contained town, village or hamlet is absorbed in the ever growing outward sprawl.

In various ways the main schemes for replanning seek to remedy these five very obvious defects, coupled with a very definite determination to utilise far more fully London's greatest open space, the river Thames. Not only are its banks largely spoiled by ugly factories and sordid slums, but few Londoners ever have the chance that their parents and grandparents had of travelling up and down its waters in steam boats. It is often forgotten that in Stuart and Hanoverian times the quickest and most convenient method of getting from one end of London to another was by wherry.

#### (e) PAST SUCCESSES.

In spite of the lack of large-scale planning in the past, London and the big or biggish towns have splendid examples of good artistic commonsense schemes. Princes Street, Edinburgh, and Wood's crescents in Bath come to mind in towns outside

London; while, in the Metropolis, the planning of Bloomsbury with its squares; Inigo Jones's schemes for Covent Garden where "open spaces and ordered terraces replaced crooked streets and alleys"; even the original Seven Dials; St. James' Square and the adjacent streets; the Holborn property of Bedford School; the North side of Clapham Common attributed to Wren; Piccadilly; Mayfair; Nash's Regent's Park and Regent Street; the development of the Harley estates to the north of Tyburn Road; Cubitt's building in the south westerly farm which Mary Davies brought to the first of the Grosvenors; the Clissold Park area of Stoke Newington; all these are pleasing oasis in wastes of sordid unplanned slums. The unrestricted building of recent centuries has resulted in a degradation of our cities, which are no longer "the concentrated expression of men's culture." As a result of the deterioration of city life "the disillusioned citizens try to escape to suburbia. But it is no escape. Here they hope to get the advantage of both town and country, but in vain. The community life of the town, the friendliness of the market, and the comfort of surrounding buildings are all missing; time, money and energy are wasted in wearisome travelling; and each new suburban house pushes the country further away. Let us put a stop to the suffocating expansion, and reconstruct the centre of our cities, so that we can again live in them and play in them. Let us give the countryside new vitality by putting it to work again. Let us regain the thrill of passing from town to country. Town or Country, not universal suburbia." This is a very good summary by Ralph Tubbs of some at least of the aims of our schemes of reconstruction.

#### (f) CROOKED STREETS.

In the replanning of London it will be worth while to re-read what Hilaire Belloc has to say about Crooked Streets. He would be content with broad straight arteries for your main streets, and allow the small crooked alleys, so "packed with human experience and reflecting in a lively manner all the chances and misfortunes and expectations and domesticity and wonderment of men" to remain untouched. Most of us would be sorry if the authorities were to straighten out Marylebone Lane, which winds so picturesquely down towards Oxford Street, or Walbrook, which follows the winding course of the old stream, so graphically described by John Stow, as Crooked Lane, whose name indicates its character. Belloc

claims that any town that has not been mummified is bound to have crooked streets, individual, and with a soul and character all their own. He feels that "there is no power on earth that can make men build straight streets for long. . . . The crooked streets will certainly return."

And specifically about the City of London he says that as if "by a special Providence the curse of the straight street has never fallen, so that it is to this day a labyrinth of little lanes." It was intended after the Great Fire to set it all out in order, with "piazzas" and boulevards and the rest—but the English temper was too strong for any such nonsense, and the streets and courts took to the natural lines which suit us best." And he gives as his final word "There is no ancient city but glories, or has gloried, in a whole foison and multitude of crooked streets. There is none, however wasted and swept by power, which, if you leave it alone to natural things, will not breed crooked streets in less than a hundred years and keep them for a thousand more." So let us reflect awhile before we straighten out all the winding lanes of the City, or destroy quite all the alleys and courtyards impinging on Fleet Street and the Strand.

#### (g) PAST TOWN PLANNING.

English towns were not always the drab unplanned semi-slum areas which pass for towns to-day or did so yesterday. When Alpha of the Plough found himself in Tewkesbury he thought it almost too good and beautiful to be true; and no one can visit Ludlow, Ledbury, Leominster or Weobley, to mention only four beauty spots of the Welsh Marches, without realising that our mediaeval ancestors had grasped some of the essential principles of town-planning. But ever since the Industrial Revolution, our towns have been mainly repulsive and inefficient. D. H. Lawrence, writing a dozen years ago about *Nottingham and the Mining Countryside*, characterised English towns as "A great scrabble of ugly pettiness over the face of the land," and he went on to complain that, although we are essentially town-folk these days, we do not "know how to build a city, how to think of one, or how to live in one."

When one begins to discuss an appropriate size, one instinctively compares London's size to-day with the area that alarmed the Tudors and the Stuarts, perhaps an eighth and a quarter of a million respectively; and then recalls the gloomy fact that a spectator on the edge of the Green Belt

to-day is gazing at a hotch-potch of eight and a half million inhabitants.

When someone tells us that New York threatens to outrival London in population, we feel inclined to say "Let it." I believe it is only the spread of New York outside its own State that prevents it from having officially the largest town population in the world. To the sane observer there is nothing for pride in these huge monstrosities. London in the main grows outwards, New York chiefly upwards; and the recent experience of the 27,000 tenants of the Rockefeller Building, when for the second time in a few months the lift operators struck work, makes one wonder whether expansion is not better than upward growth. Almost anything that can be done to diminish the population of London will be welcome, and the proposal to extricate 600,000 from the central area is sound. But we must beware of making more and more suburban areas. Satellites not suburbs must be our watchword.

#### (h) SMALLER UNITS.

Another very real improvement is the recognition that it is possible to separate a number of communities in the area immediately round central London, and perhaps to restore to them their local patriotism and civic consciousness. In an excellent map in the *County of London Plan*, entitled *Social and Functional Analysis*, an attempt is made to leave the city as a main commercial and financial centre, the West End for Law, Government, Shopping, Clubland, Museums, University, Art Galleries, and the like; while, immediately outside, there are to be integrated areas with souls of their own, such as St. John's Wood, Paddington, South Kensington, Belgravia, Chelsea, Pimlico, Lambeth, Walworth, Bermondsey, Stepney, Shore-ditch, Finsbury, W. Islington and Camden Town. Some of these communities are well defined, others have become merged in the continuous built-up area, but still have their independent spirit.

Railways, canals and industrial concentrations have sometimes cut across the very centres of these one-time separate villages, but most of them have community centres with churches, schools, houses of refreshment and entertainment, shops; though the High Street with its main shopping centre is often a through traffic road of considerable importance, producing acute congestion and the risk of frequent accidents.

It should be possible to limit the amount of through traffic by constructing by-pass roads, and in no case should the needs of a suburban area be sacrificed to the claims of people who have no other interest in a district than to get through it as quickly as possible. It should never have been possible for the Croydon authorities to consider seriously the question of destroying the Whitgift Hospital, built in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, in order to allow motor cars to dash through Croydon at an increased speed.

The problem of restoring identity to the near-in suburbs will not be easy, especially on the south side of the river. To separate Lambeth from Southwark and Brixton, Peckham from Camberwell and Bermondsey, New Cross from Lewisham and Deptford, all this may need drastic treatment at once, and infinite patience over half a century. But the existence of Blackheath and Greenwich Park makes the integration of Greenwich, Lewisham, Blackheath and Charlton far easier.

Development on the west of Watling Street or Edgware Road has been far quicker and less planned than on the East. Compare, for instance, the different problems suggested by recent developments in Kilburn, North Paddington, Kensal Green, Harlesden, Willesden and Brondesbury, where building is almost continuous, and open spaces comparatively rare, with the corresponding areas on the other side of the Edgware Road and the L.M.S. main line from St. Pancras to Elstree. There you have St. John's Wood, Swiss Cottage, Hampstead, Golder's Green, Hendon and Finchley; and it is not difficult to know when you have passed from one to the other.

Take Hendon, one of the most recently developed areas near London, the largest non-county borough in the Kingdom. There is little difficulty in tracing its boundaries, and it has taken good care to emphasise them. In the main, its western boundary is Watling Street, its eastern is the Dollis Brook, its southern edge is marked by Hampstead Heath, and its northern limit is fixed by the Green Belt emphasised by Grim's Dyke and Scratch Wood. It has model forms of development in the so-called Hampstead Garden suburb, mostly in Hendon, but partly in Finchley, and in the L.C.C. Watling estate, both of which show within limits how an area should be developed. Hendon still consists of half-a-dozen old manorial villages, Elstree, Edgware, Mill Hill, Hendon, Child's Hill, and Golder's Green, and very marked local patriotism is still maintained in

these more or less self-contained communities. We must try to preserve or restore some such pride all over the London area.

In an important contribution to *The Times*, Lewis Silkin, M.P., L.C.C., agrees that London must not be considered in future as "one immense urban agglomeration," but must be split up into separate communities, each about the size of one of the smaller London boroughs, self-contained but not parochial. The authors of this L.C.C. scheme warn us that "the segregation of the community should not be taken far enough to endanger the sense of interdependence on the adjoining communities on our London as a whole." As always, reformers have to try and hit on the happy medium between *laissez-faire* and rigid planning, and to combine local patriotism with civic pride in London as a whole. It will not be easy to make the best of both worlds. The words of the authors of the L.C.C. plan may well be quoted to show the aim they have in view with regard to their communities so obviously descended from ancient villages.

"It should be one of the first objectives of the planners to disengage these communities, to mark more clearly their identities, to preserve them from disturbing intrusions such as streams of through traffic, and generally to reconstruct them where reconstruction is necessary owing to war damage or decay. . . . To ignore or scrap these communities in favour of a new and theoretical sub-division of areas would be both academic and too drastic; the plan might look well on paper, but it would not be London."

A very obvious way in which our Society and the dozen others with whom we have combined in the *English Town Exhibition* can help is to foster a keen interest in the history of the various communities already referred to, and to try and provide, where nothing of the kind exist, an adequate history of the ancient village and modern township.

In several of the units which still retain their local patriotism there are adequate collections of village antiquities, of books, maps, pictures and prints relating to the locality, and in some cases a satisfactory local history. One might mention, as example, the collections in Westminster, St. Pancras and Camberwell, to take three districts well inside the L.C.C. area; while Hendon and Hampstead have made or received fine collections and have good histories available, Hendon on a small scale, Hampstead in three magnificent volumes.

#### (i) LOCAL AUTHORITIES.

Special regard must be paid to the work of the London

Regional Reconstruction Committee of the R.I.B.A. in their efforts to produce a scheme towards a master plan for Greater London.

One of the snags that lie in the path of all reconstruction of the metropolis is the number of local authorities that are concerned. Besides the County of London, there are parts of Essex, Herts, Surrey and Kent, and the whole of Middlesex included in Greater London; while there are ninety-five smaller areas—two cities, 26 metropolitan boroughs, 1 royal borough, 3 county boroughs, 36 boroughs, 26 urban districts and one rural district, that of Elstree.

But, as has already been suggested, this difficulty has also its advantages, and most if not all of those who are trying to plan a new London insist that "reconstruction of domestic communities and industrial areas, and re-identification of locality is of the utmost importance." G. D. H. Cole, in one of his recent books, reminds us that the shrinking of the world through speed of communication and transport makes us members of what must soon be a world state. Global war must give place to global peace, and global reconstructions. But the average men and women need a unit of government and a place to live in far smaller and more within their comprehension, and this they can find in London in the re-identification of locality, which has been lost by the errors and apathy of the past. "The identity of the community is as essential as that of the family in our way of life. The wearing of ermine and chains of office by a hundred and one figure-heads of our administrative bodies within the region cannot alone stimulate a proper interest in a man who does not know where his borough begins and where it ends." The proposals of the London Regional Reconstruction Committee here coincide with those of the London County Council, and promise, if and when achieved, to give vital life to good citizenship and to promote intimate and sympathetic administration.

Here is one of the main principles of the L.R.R.C. clearly set out.

"Re-cultivated urban areas must be self-contained communities, each with its own local civic sense and pride, each provided with its own amenities, including schools, clinics, hospitals, recreations, shopping and administrative areas, and with provision for local light and domestic trades and industries and local distribution facilities.

"Definite limitation of size, area and population of these entities must be regarded as a planning factor; it is of the greatest importance for our future life, thus to provide and to protect amenity and re-create social consciousness."

If all this argument is true, and there seems a wealth of agreement on the subject, it is all the more odd that the White Paper on Education should plan to take education of all kinds out of the hands of the Borough Education Committees and pass it over to the County. This is an especially retrograde step in a county like Middlesex where the population is so enormous. It is most certainly not in the best interests of the community that local patriotism should be thus stifled, and the *almost unanimous voice with which the various local authorities* have condemned the scheme should secure its prompt and permanent rejection.

(j) AIR TRANSPORT FOR LONDON.

A very obvious result of the war will be the growth of civil aviation, and some schemes must be devised for dealing with this problem as it concerns London. After the last war, Hendon and Croydon loomed large on the horizon as airports, but each had certain disadvantages. One of the chief difficulties was the problem of getting reasonably quickly from these aerodromes to the centre of London and the main railway stations.

The authors of the L.C.C. plan suggest that, "if . . . Croydon continues after the war to be a major aerodrome serving London, a greatly improved connection with the Central and Victoria districts would be ensured by carrying out the prepared main radial road via Purley Way, King's Avenue, Tooting Bec and Clapham Road." Many of these problems will be solved if the principal roads and rail proposals in the Plan materialise. There is, of course, an alternative solution, that is the use of planes of the gyroscope type, which could land on interior open spaces or even on roofs of buildings in the central area.

Their suggestions are not yet definite, but Regent's Park, Hyde Park, Camberwell, Kidbrooke, Wimbledon Common and Crystal Palace have all been considered, and in addition "the main-line railway companies have been approached as to the possibility of utilising the roofs of railway stations and the considerable areas of sidings adjoining." They do not like the idea of an aerodrome of 200 acres in the heart of London, but consider that seaplane bases might well be constructed on certain lengths of the Thames, utilising if feasible the river loop at the Isle of Dogs or the longer stretches adjoining Plumstead Marshes.

This is where another scheme comes into play, forming part of the Master Plan prepared by the London Regional Reconstruction Committee of the R.I.B.A. The plan for air transport was prepared by R. F. Lloyd Jones and Graham Dawbarn, both experts in architectural requirements and the demands of aviation, and envisages "an inner airport in the Poplar district of the East End immediately to the north of the Isle of Dogs, which is planned as a new dock basin for the Port of London. The airport would be connected by main traffic roads to the central area of London and by both the tube and long-distance railways. It is about two miles from the Bank of England, and the surrounding area would be kept free from obstruction."

The aerodrome, which is for passenger and freight traffic operating over non-stop stages of not more than 800 to 1,000 miles, would have two double runways, giving fair directional landing, varying in length from 5,500 to 6,000 feet, with subsidiary single runways 5,700 feet long. An important feature of the scheme is the fact that much of the area concerned has been heavily blitzed, and is therefore in the nature of a temporary open space.

One airport would, of course, not be sufficient for the growing demands of Londoners. Not more than 3,000 passengers a day could arrive and leave, and so it would be necessary to have such additional aerodromes as Fairlop to the east and Heston to the west, as well, perhaps as the northern and southern locations of Hendon and Croydon. "The great airport would be not merely a pattern of runways with a terminal building; an airport was both a hive of industry and a lung, and it might be more, an attached lung. The town planner, the architect and the engineer must make airports not only an essential but an attractive part of reconstructed England."

Another scheme for a Thames Airport is put forward by F. G. Miles, Chairman of Phillips & Powis, Ltd., the builders of such admirable training aircraft as the Magister and Master, and Guy Morgan, the well-known architect and engineer. They have based their plans on the theory that what seemed lavish yesterday becomes inadequate to-morrow. Other considerations led them to conclude that runways nearly 3 miles long will be required, and that it will be necessary to provide not only an aerodrome for land-planes but also a large artificial lagoon for flying boats.

This scheme goes much farther down the Thames than the

Isle of Dogs, and to make their plans more definite they suggest that part of the Kentish Coast between Cliffe and All-hallows, and opposite Canvey Island. No official notice has as yet been taken of the scheme and no authorities have been consulted nor estimates made as to the cost of the land. Road and rail services to London are quite easy; cement works near at hand would ease construction; the development could be done, if necessary, in stages, and the lagoon could be modified or postponed. The transport services are provided in the main buildings, which are between the airfield and the lagoon, and are on three levels one above the other. Hangers for sea and land-planes are conveniently near, and the lateral movement of passengers and freight is thus reduced to one hundred yards. The site is conveniently flat and the main runway lies in the direction of the prevailing winds, moving from south-west to north-west.

An estimate has been made for the whole scheme and works out at about £30 million, not a very big sum compared with the war costs which we incur to-day. The airport could handle eight million passengers each year and a very substantial amount of freight. This plan for a big down-stream aerodrome adapted for the needs of the next 20 or 30 years demands our very close study.

#### (k) A PLAN FOR WESTMINSTER.

A notion on which all the planners seem to be agreed is to give special consideration to focal points, where there may be heavy concentration of traffic which may need competent layout or possible reorganisation. It should not be impossible to combine successful handling of traffic with good architecture. The L.C.C. Plan and that put forward by the Royal Academy both tackle these problems with great skill.

Consider first what may be called the Westminster Precinct Area. Five important roads with heavy volumes of traffic converge on Parliament Square, while at the same time it is a centre for countless visitors to the noble group of historical buildings around the nation's ancient shrine, which "calls for a more tranquil setting without the distractions associated with great volumes of quick-moving and heavy traffic," but with a dignified and reasonably spacious environment for ceremonial occasions. The Royal Academy Plan proposed a new processional way from Victoria Station to Buckingham

Palace, so as to give visitors from the Continent a magnificent first impression.

From the new *Place* formed by this Avenue, opposite the south side of the Palace in Buckingham Gate a diagonal road is aligned on Westminster Cathedral, thus revealing an impressive view of Bentley's masterpiece. The road, incidentally, is continued along the north side of the Cathedral as part of the route planned by Sir Charles Bressey connecting South Kensington with Lambeth Bridge.

The L.C.C. plan is more directly concerned with the immediate Abbey precincts, and suggests that Victoria Street, instead of passing right down to the Abbey, is to divide into two at Christ Church. One branch is planned to go by Broadway, Birdgate Walk and Great George Street to Westminster Bridge and the Embankment. The other would lead by Strutton Street and Horseferry Road to Lambeth Bridge. Only local traffic would be allowed in the area, and the precinct, which is a pivot of our national life, both religious and secular, would be left as a region with a really permanent atmosphere of dignity and calm. From Lambeth Bridge there would be a link with the main road running westwards to Cromwell Road; or one passing by Regency Street to Vauxhall Bridge Road, and the Embankment. Another important addition would be the proposed terminal from Charing Cross to a point west of Victoria Station.

#### (l) BLOOMSBURY.

Another example of the suggested precincts is a proposed University area to include the British Museum, University College, and the University of London. This area is already one of the best laid out in the whole of London, as it contains much of Bloomsbury, a real masterpiece of design by successive Dukes of Bedford. It is not proposed to interfere with the South Kensington region, which houses certain branches of University life, and contains such a wealth of museums of various kinds. There will have to be at least two educational centres in London, but the central one will perhaps always be the more important. The Bloomsbury area is rapidly becoming a parent centre for professional bodies and seats of learning, and students' hostels should be organised as occasion permits until the whole area and other areas immediately adjacent share the same characteristics. Gordon, Tavistock, Russell, Woburn, Bedford and Bloomsbury Squares are naturally

left intact; and the actual precinct extends from Great Russell Street on the south roughly to Euston Road on the north, with Southampton Row, Woburn Place and Tottenham Court Road as its lateral limits. There should be no through traffic in this area, but the enclosing roads will be widened and developed with sub-arterial tracks. There are also north-south and east-west tunnels which will take off any traffic which needs to get from one side of the precinct to the other without causing noise or accident.

Here again the Royal Academy Plan has a detailed scheme for Bloomsbury. The old mean streets in front of the Museum are cleared away, and a broad vista, or forecourt, to the facade is opened from Holborn, where there is a traffic circus. The forecourt is flanked with hostels for university students and includes St. George's Church without any obscuring building round it. It forms a fine contrast to the Museum beyond. In the Royal Academy plan a new road from the Holborn traffic circus connects Bloomsbury with Covent Garden.

#### (m) RAILWAYS IN LONDON

London's first railway came in 1836, and the century of subsequent growth has not been marked by any very clear plan of action. Even the recent amalgamations have not done much to bring order into the somewhat chaotic duplicated system. The existing arrangements give to the metropolis "a highly complex, and in many respects unco-ordinated, railway system, with a multiplicity of sidings, goods yards and station buildings to meet the various demands." It perhaps needs specific statement to remind Londoners that there are four distinct types of railway level in the metropolis. (a) Some railway routes, especially on the south side, are at viaduct level; and this implies elevated stations with cross-over railway bridges giving access to ground level stations on the north side of the Thames. These viaducts are usually ugly in appearance, and they split up the housing areas on the south side without any relation to the historic communities into which they cut. (b) Most of the northern and north-western termini and approaches are on ground level, which take up a great deal of room, but do not obstruct road and water transport and surface development to the same extent as viaducts. (c) Next came sub-way level lines which call for little comment save to say that these include most of the original underground

railways, such as the Metropolitan and District railways. (d) The fourth and most recent kind is definitely some way below the surface, not coming up to ground level until the lines reach the outer suburbs. A good example is the Northern Line which comes out from under Hampstead Heath at Golder's Green, and emerges from under Highgate Hill near East Finchley.

The L.R.R.C. plan for reorganisation of London Railways is drastic, and recommends that most of the terminal stations be given up and the number reduced to four. These would comprise the following:—

- (a) A western terminus (Paddington) serving western and south-western England, part of the Midlands, Wales and some services to Ireland.
- (b) A northern terminus, a combination of Euston, St. Pancras, and King's Cross, with a double-level station, serving the Midlands, N.W. and N.E. England, Scotland and the Irish services.
- (c) An eastern terminus (Liverpool Street) serving eastern England, and the east coast ports.
- (d) A southern terminus (a combination of Victoria, Charing Cross, Cannon Street, London Bridge and Waterloo), serving S.E. southern and S.W. England and the Channel Ports.

This scheme deals of course mainly with main-line and outer suburban traffic, though there will be considerable use for people living close to the centre. Whatever replanning is adopted, it is essential that problems of marketing, of cross-London traffic, peak-loadings due to the flow of workers, subsidiary peak-loadings caused by shopping and recreational activities should be carefully considered.

Electrification, quick service, non-stop sections on the lines will help to solve some of the problems; but it is imperative that the average worker in future wastes less time than in the past in getting to and from his job. These four main terminal stations will be connected as now with an inner ring of railway, and there will be also an outer circle, connecting, among other places, Willesden Junction, Clapham Junction and Bow Road.

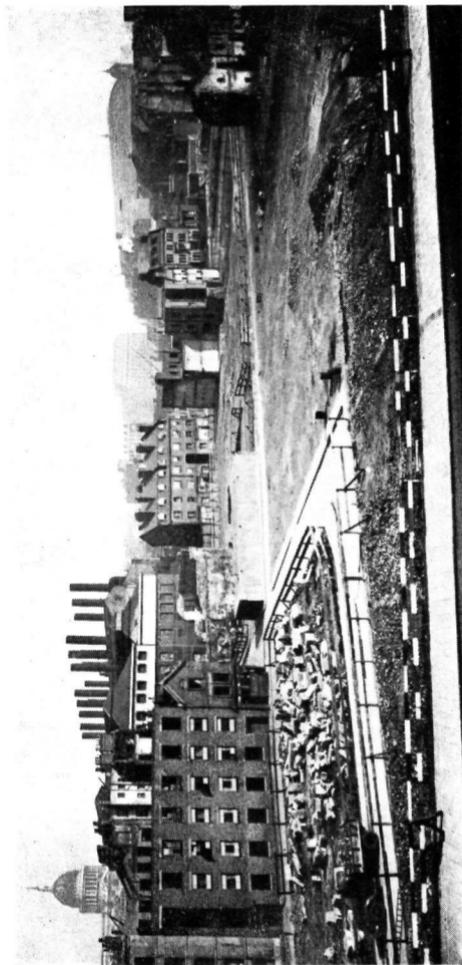
A very important suggestion made by the L.R.R.C. discusses the detrimental effect of main communication on living, and this is to be avoided by eliminating gradually all dwelling houses from close proximity to our main railways, trunk road and canals. The space thus obtained on both sides of these

through ways will be regarded as parkland, and their purpose will be extensive. They will protect living areas from the baneful influence of through traffic, will "bring greater efficiency to the roads, given open and continuous lines of ventilation from the perimeter of the region to the centre, and enable land not fit for living to be used for better purposes. These open areas could be used for recreation, including walking, from the centre to the perimeter, sites for special buildings, such as hospitals, market gardens and allotments. Most important of all, they define the boundaries of properly identifiable areas of living space."

A very important booklet was compiled some years ago by Clough Ellis-Williams, and it emphasised the beauty of Oxford's centre and the sordid slum-like approaches to it from too many points of the compass. The same applies to London, and there is only one really worthy approach to the centre and that is from the north-west. To approach the greatest city in the world by the Barnet by-pass, to run downhill between Scratch Wood and Moat Mount with their adjacent fields and golf course, to drive through reasonably well laid out areas in Mill Hill, Hendon and Finchley Road, to proceed along Avenue Road through Regent's Park, and to enter London either by Baker Street or better still down Portland Place and Regent's Street is to be given rather a magnificent idea of what London at its best can be. It is not too much of an exaggeration to say that there is no other approach to London with a title of the beauty or grandeur that this well-designed entrance gives. All distinguished visitors to our great capital should be landed by plane at Hatfield, whatever part of the world they come from, and proceed to the West End by the route just indicated.

#### (n) THE RIVER FRONT.

In considering problems of the Thames and its banks, one is instinctively thrown back to the plans proposed after the Great Fire of 1666. As Sydney Perks, F.R.I.B.A., F.S.A., the City Surveyor, remarked in 1924, the idea of a quay along the north side of the Thames was not a monopoly of Wren's. Hooke and Evelyn both incorporated this idea in their plans, and there seems to have been a general consensus of opinion on the subject. But the researches of the City Surveyor make it quite clear that the quay or embankment defined in the letters patent issued in the years after the Fire was never built, and



A VIEW FROM SOUTHWARK STREET, LOOKING TOWARDS THE GLOBE THEATRE, TAKEN IN 1943, AFTER BOMB DAMAGE CLEARANCE.

The dome of St. Paul's on the north bank can be seen beyond the power station.

that the clear space of 40 feet from the water line was never kept. So that Victoria and Albert Embankments from Blackfriars to Westminster are an important contribution made only in recent years towards the improvement of the centre of London.

Someone has well called the Thames London's largest open space, and it is certainly surprising that more use is not made of it. The L.C.C. Plan has very clear intentions with regard to the River Front.

"In order to improve the bank of the river for the benefit of the community as a whole, and to bring this magnificent feature more into the life of the metropolis, the Plan proposes an increase in the length and number of stretches available to the public. At present only 9 per cent. of the total river front within the county is used for public open spaces. It is proposed to increase this to 30 per cent., at the same time utilising other stretches of it as a setting for residential and important public buildings with new embankment roads. The aim would be to provide every riverside community with a riverside open space, equipped with facilities for rest and recreation in the form of cafés, bathing pools, garden and riverside walks."—

It is interesting to note that fifteen local authorities in the L.C.C. area have frontages on to the Thames; the Cities of London and Westminster, and the Boroughs of Hammersmith, Fulham, Chelsea, Stepney, Poplar, Woolwich, Greenwich, Deptford, Bermondsey, Southwark, Lambeth, Battersea and Wandsworth. Of these, six have no riverside amenity or open space, while, of the total length of river frontage, just short of 40 miles, practically three quarters is given up to Industry, Wharves and Warehouses and Railways. To effect drastic improvements along the Thames, it is proposed to remove most of the industry and wharves along the Woolwich river front and construct an open space there; and radical changes are also planned for the river front at Greenwich. This is only a beginning, and there is a long-term plan for remodelling the river front of Stepney from the Tower to King Edward VII Park, providing recreational facilities for the community and an appropriate setting for the Tower of London. Such a scheme is made possible because it has been discovered that neglect and decay have brought some industrial properties along the Thames into a dilapidated condition. Enemy action has destroyed and seriously damaged others, and a number of industries do not make adequate use of the river front, and some have no direct connection with the river at all. On the opposite side of the river, the Surrey side, it is proposed to

extend Southwark Park to the river, and this open space will stretch as far as the Surrey Docks on one side and to Cherry Garden Stairs on the other.

A very fine air view of Thames side in the Central Area shows the two river banks in striking contrast. From Westminster eastwards, or even along the whole north side from Vauxhall Bridge to Blackfriars, there are magnificent buildings, fine parks, animated streets and a spacious and attractive embankment. On the Surrey side again, with the exception of St. Thomas's Hospital and the County Hall, there is hardly anything to attract. There is no dignity or design, only a dull monotony presenting a depressing semi-derelict appearance, now much intensified by war damage. A diagrammatic comparison with Paris and Moscow shows how essential and how comparatively simple real improvements would be. Possibly one reason why the Surrey side is so depressing is that public access to it is so difficult, and there is not therefore the same demand for its alteration. A very cogent point of view is put forward when it is suggested that the best way of reducing the barrier effect of a river is to provide enough bridges to echo the same frequency of access as is found in the normal street pattern. To give interval of access across the Thames comparable with that enjoyed in Paris, it is proposed to build two new bridges at Charing Cross and the Temple. It is difficult to see why Londoners ever allowed Hungerford Bridge to be removed from Charing Cross and taken away to help form the Clifton Suspension Bridge. Few things are so exasperating as to drive down Northumberland Avenue for the first time and to find that you cannot drive across the Thames, but must turn to right or left and make use of Westminster or Waterloo Bridge. It is not easy to be patient with the authorities who allowed the deplorable railway viaducts on the south side of the Thames in Southwark. A photograph from the air shows the ancient bridge-head and gate of London disgraced by a sprawling network of lines linking up Cannon Street station, London Bridge and Waterloo Junction. If proof were needed of the incapacity of the Victorians to town plan in London, the L.C.C. book provides it by printing opposite to this deplorable monster of railway abortion Wenceslaus Hollar's delightful picture of Bankside, with the Globe Theatre and Paris Garden—a veritable pleasure and leisure city. Underneath are two recent photographs of portions of Bankside in 1943, showing the splendid site laid

bare by bomb damage and judicious clearance, and suggesting that the first step has been taken towards a comprehensive scheme and sane re-development.

Here is a good example of the method of treatment proposed by the L.C.C. Four maps are published in such a way as to be seen all together, and show the existing situation and three successive reconstruction stages. When the scheme is complete there will be a riverside promenade on the Surrey side from Westminster Bridge to London Bridge, giving more than one mile and a half of riverside amenity. At the London Bridge end there is planned an open space around Southwark Cathedral, with a new roundabout at the junction of Southwark Street and Borough High Street. When the scheme is complete, all the cross-river railways will have been eliminated, and the worst features of Victorian mismanagement will have gone.

#### (o) ROADS.

Another very vital problem which the various authorities have had to face is that of road transport. The tremendous growth of pre-war traffic led to frequent blockages, much delay, and needless risks. It is only necessary to point to the number of accidents on the roads to show that drastic changes are needed to make that aspect of London life a little safer for democracy.

The L.R.R.C. devised some axioms with regard to these problems which may here be emphasised (a) Arterial roads must be regarded as a part of the national system, and linked up with it, for long distance use by efficient modern vehicles at reasonable not restricted speeds. (b) They should be regarded as limiting factors for areas of local planning, but they also tend to be destructive of amenities and a danger to life and limb. (c) Access to arterial roads must be restricted to a minimum number of planned convenient points by means of fly-over roundabouts and other types of junctions eliminating interruptions of fast traffic. (d) The modern motor vehicle is more advanced in efficiency than the roads it has to use; especially in regard to its speed which is so hampered by blind-corners, cross-roads, speed-limits, unbanked curves and inadequate provision for the pedal-cyclist and the pedestrian.

The L.R.R.C. envisage four circular roads round London, the two inner ones being for "Internal Distribution." When the North and South orbital roads are complete they should

serve as a first "Coarse sieve" for sorting traffic, while the north and south circular roads provide a second "Fine sieve" for the same purpose. Wherever possible, trunk roads should be planned to pass through continuous open spaces and along parkways. This planning would reduce accidents, protect amenities, and emphasise the essential barrier nature of trunk roads, especially if they are associated with existing canals and trunk railways.

The aim of the L.C.C. planners is in many ways the same, though the exact details may be different. Everyone seems to agree with the aim of segregating fast long-distance traffic from traffic of a purely local nature. As Sir Charles Bressey points out in a review of the L.C.C. Plan in *The Spectator*, the object of the Survey of 1937, over which he presided, was to secure fluidity of traffic; the aim to-day is canalisation of traffic.

The L.C.C. have planned three circular roads, the first running round from just east of the Tower to Kensington Gardens, across the river by a bridge at the S.W. and by a tunnel at the N.E. "B," called an arterial ring road, is roughly the same as the second ring road suggested by the L.R.R.C. Its aim is to "facilitate the circulation of dock traffic round central London and between the docks, marshalling yards and industrial centres, notably those on the western approaches of London." It starts from the N.W. corner of Regent's Park, along the north side to St. John's Wood, between Maida Vale and Paddington, north-west of Bayswater, between Kensington and Shepherd's Bush, then following the line of the railway between Fulham and Chelsea; across the river by a new Battersea Bridge to Clapham Common, Loughborough Junction, New Cross and Deptford, passing by a tunnel under the river to the Isle of Dogs and then northwards on the west side of Poplar between the communities of Poplar and Stepney.

This circular road would be joined at intervals by ten radial arterial roads, connected with the great trunk roads of the country, and crossing some miles further at the "C" ring road. These then are, roughly speaking, Radial Road No. 1, the Great West Road, to Bath and Salisbury; No. 2, Western Avenue, to Oxford and Gloucester; No. 5, Hendon Way, to the Watford and Barnet by-pass and the North, Holyhead, Birmingham and Edinburgh; No. 8, Green Lanes to Cambridge; No. 11, N.E. outlet, to Norwich and Ipswich; No. 13, Barking

## THE PROPOSED ROAD SYSTEM

The system of arterial roads consists of one main ring-road ("B") by-passing the whole of the central area, and two cross routes, incorporating tunnels, to relieve the traffic congestion at the centre. The main ring-road for fast traffic provides access to the radial roads which link up with the national trunk roads.

The sub-arterial road system consists of an inner ring-road ("A") encircling the central area; an outer ("C") ring-road providing "cross country" communication between the outer suburbs; and a series of radial roads.

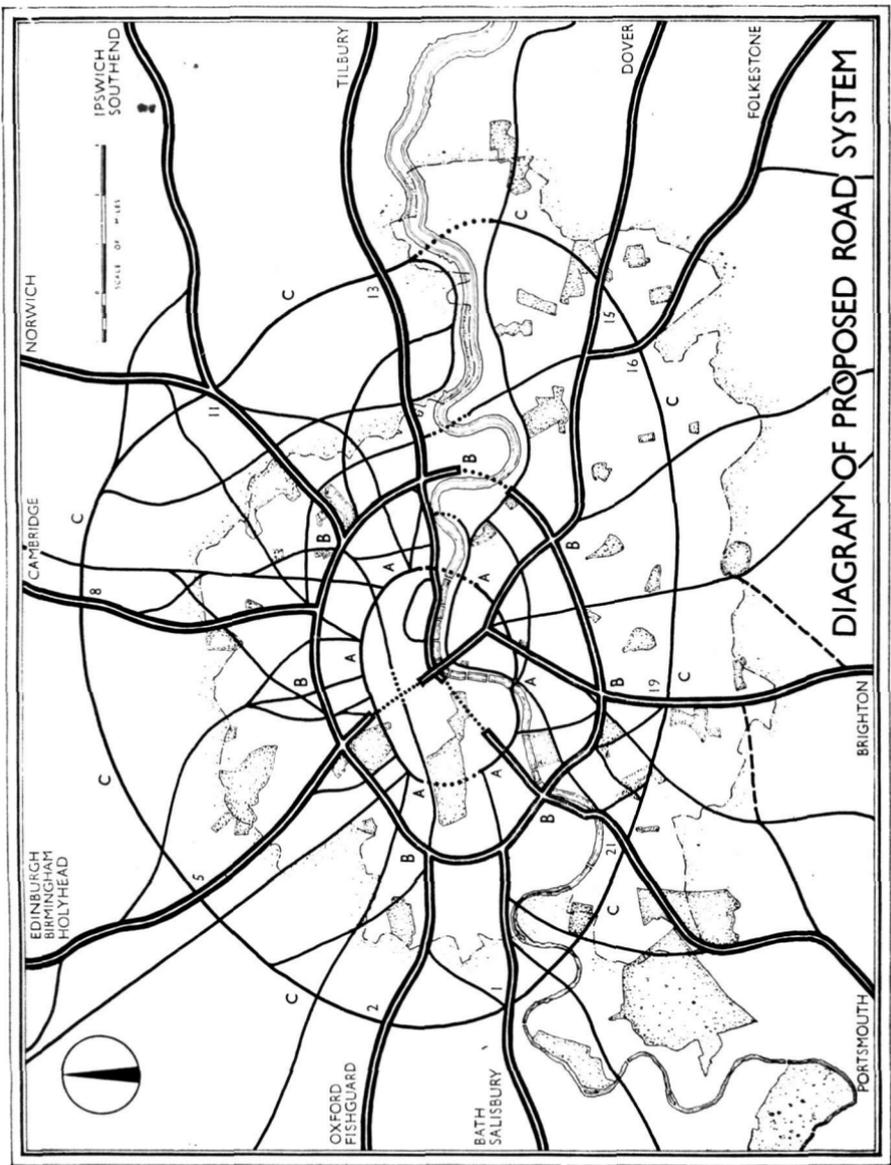
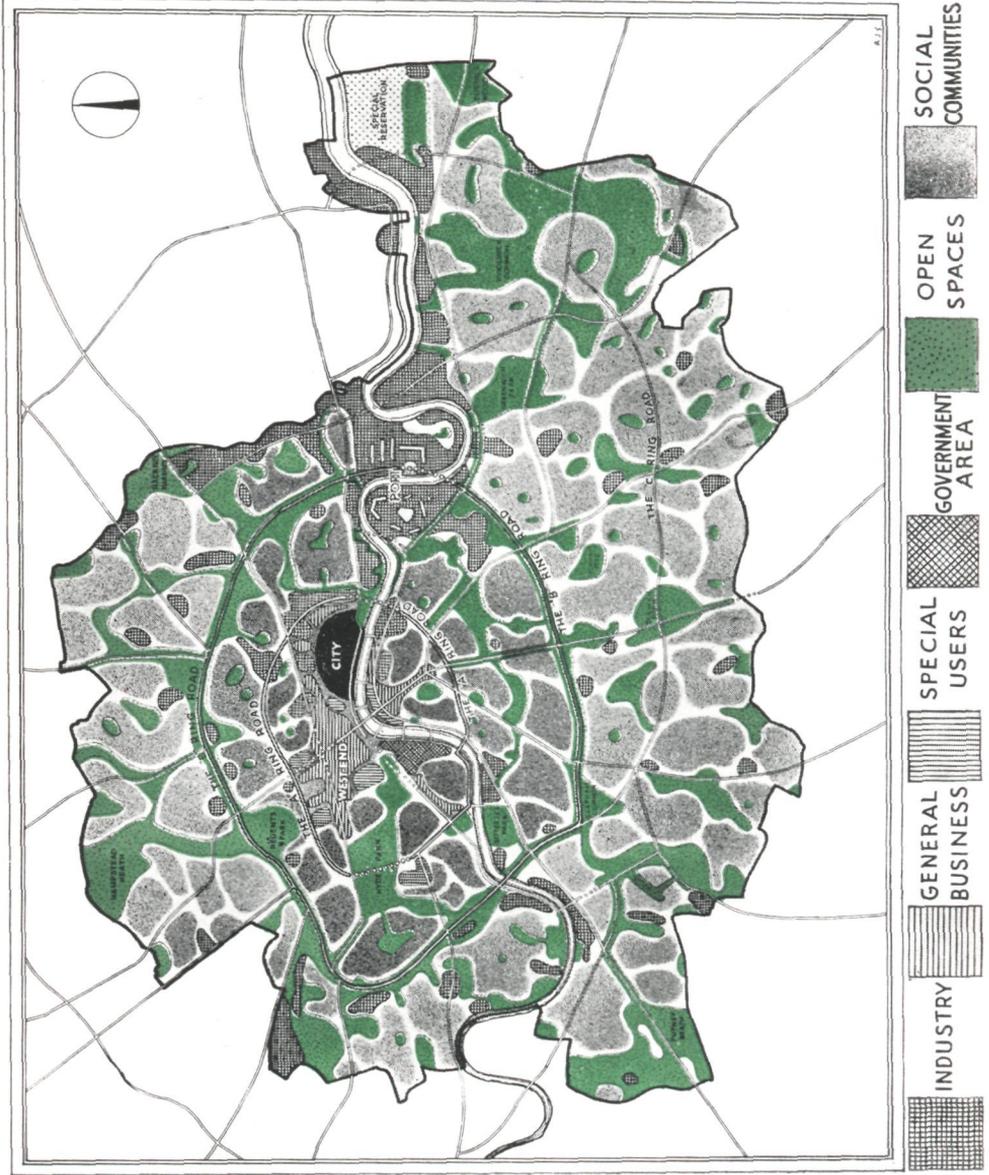


DIAGRAM OF PROPOSED ROAD SYSTEM

**THE PLAN.**—This shows the main open spaces, roads, commercial and industrial areas and residential communities in the Plan. The objective is the establishment of self-contained communities with their own shops, schools and industrial area, free of dangerous through traffic. New open spaces are provided between neighbouring communities to increase their independence. The main ring and radial roads are planned to pass between communities so that residential areas are not cut up by traffic barriers and children can walk to school in safety.



By-pass to the Docks and Tilbury; No. 15, Rochester Way to Canterbury and Dover; No. 16, Sidcup By-pass to Folkestone; No. 19, Streatham By-pass to Brighton; and No. 21, the Portsmouth Road.

There is no doubt that much good will have come from the various exhibitions that have been held in connection with the replanning of London. Many people have studied maps of London for almost the first time, and have realised the obvious, but often unnoticed, fact that the Thames at Westminster and the road at Whitehall run south-north and not east-west. Amateur planners have often talked of more bridges over the river without considering the implications involved. Merely to throw two more bridges over the Thames between Westminster and the Tower may serve only to increase the traffic-jams at the Elephant and Castle and St. George's Circus. Now that all possible problems at present visible have been tackled, and room for essential changes on the way provided, we must press on with vigour and foresight.

What is wanted is a united front together with combined operations and an absence of parochial jealousies. In the Scott and Uthwatt reports, together with the various schemes of planning, we can find room for common action on fundamental principles. "The public is entitled to an assurance that indispensable and long-deferred improvements shall not be thwarted by needless obstacles, extravagant claims, and vexatiously protracted procedure."

#### (p) OPEN SPACES.

"Adequate open space for both recreation and rest is a vital factor in maintaining and improving the health of the people." This is the opinion of the L.C.C., and their plan insists that in high developed areas there should be 4 acres of open space per 1,000 people. In Woolwich the standard is 6, in Shoreditch 0.1 acres. Many competent authorities demand 7, but it is hoped that the extra 3 acres per 1,000 will be provided either in the Green Belt or in the wedges of open spaces leading from the Girdle to the county boundary. Very strict control of building will be needed to avoid complete filling up of the remaining open spaces within 10 miles of the centre. It is estimated that 25,000 acres of new open spaces are required for recreational needs, and less than 4,000 acres of undeveloped land within the ten-mile radius are suitable for games.

In planning the wedges from the centre to the circumference there are thirteen large areas that call for co-ordination, running out in all directions and so serving a wide variety of population. Here are some of them :

- (a) The Western Parks from Trafalgar Square to Greenford.
- (b) Northwards from Regent's Park, Hampstead Heath to Mill Hill, where there are large public open spaces, and very choice private parks belonging to Mill Hill School and to Roman Catholic institutions.
- (c) Clissold Park northwards.
- (d) Victoria Park, the Hackney open spaces and the Lea valley north-eastwards.
- (e) Wanstead and Epping.
- (f) The marsh land between Becontree and the Thames.

Here are six possible park wedges on the north side of the river, and they are closely related to the road plan and the community structure, sometimes making a barrier between the old villages which have become so absorbed by continuous urban development.

On the south side there are two park wedges which start from Greenwich, of which (g) extends to Plumstead Marshes, and (h) to Chislehurst and Foots Cray. The others are (i) Peckham-Beckenham-Hayes; (j) Dulwich-Crystal Palace-West Wickham; (k) Clapham-Wandsworth-Croydon; (l) Morden-Nonsuch-Chessington; (m) the Thames-side recreational area, including Barnes, Wimbledon, Richmond, Hampton and Bushey. It is obvious that a start must be made with the crowded areas, for instance—the East End, Islington, Finsbury and the South Bank Boroughs. Here again the damage done by bombing will give a chance for securing immediate open spaces which should not be lost. But in considering the larger schemes it will be necessary "in order to safeguard the realisation of the Plan as a whole, to take such measures meanwhile as will prevent major re-development on sites intended for eventual new open spaces."

A very useful series of tables in an appendix show the existing open spaces compared with the amount required at 4 acres per 1,000. Battersea, Greenwich, Hackney, Hampstead, Lewisham, St. Marylebone, St. Pancras, Wandsworth, Woolwich, and Westminster, are among the local authorities that pass muster. Bermondsey has 76 acres where there should be 244, Camberwell 237 for 724, Deptford 63 for 276, Finsbury 19 for



PLAN OF EXISTING OPEN SPACES.



PLAN OF PROPOSED PARK SYSTEM.

144; Fulham (once a network of market-gardens) 80 where there should be 496 acres. Islington is in a bad way, 60 instead of 908, Lambeth 282 for 880, Paddington 125 for 520, Poplar 107 for 328, Shoreditch 9 for 136, Stepney 9 for 136. The population of all the areas concerned comes to 4 million, so that there is considerable urgency in this open space problem.

The only areas which at present possess the right amount of open space or fall short by only a very small margin are Battersea, Greenwich (able to spare more than half), Hackney, Hampstead, St Marylebone, St Pancras, Wandsworth, Woolwich and Westminster. If eligible private spaces can be made available, the total area suitable for public use is 9,159 acres in the L.C.C. area, whereas the amount required is 13,316, leaving a total of 4,137 acres to be provided.

In Elizabethan and early Stuart times it was possible for any Londoner to get into open country within ten minutes' walk. Those who are privileged to live within sight of green fields know what an enormous boon their juxtaposition can mean. All the planners for post-war London are agreed on the need for open spaces near at hand for every one. The Royal Academy Planners write "One of London's great attractions is its large number of squares and open spaces." This remark, unfortunately, applies principally to the west side, and the Committees most strongly urge that not only squares of ordinary size, but large open spaces with playgrounds for children and adults, be laid out and suitably planned to serve all districts. In general, public parks and gardens should be so arranged that all sections of the people of London should be within ten minutes' walk or half-a-mile of such places of rest and recreation. . . . In the new London, with a better provision of open spaces and well-sited and designed buildings, there should be many opportunities for sculptors to show their skill in collaboration with architects."

#### (g) A NOBLE CITY.

The war has brought an awakening of social consciousness and a new interest in the "efficiency and worthiness of the centres in which people work." It is clear that a great many people who are interested in town planning are no longer content for our cities to be "oppressive congestions of business"; and are determined to banish for ever "disgrace of deformity and squalor."

There is much in London to praise ; perhaps a great deal more of which we must feel ashamed. It is not often that the Sibyl gives us a completely second chance, but the Luftwaffe's bombs have done something which we could never have anticipated. We must retain the many outward signs of past Londoners' "love of order, proportion and seemliness"; and by good planning, purity and propriety in our architectural design, by segregation of industry and dwelling houses, by the controlling of traffic of all kinds—road, rail and air—by a wide increase of open spaces, and by restoring to the people articulate regions of which they can be personally proud, give to the future generations of Londoners the greatest, most efficient and most beautiful metropolis in the world.

(r) CONCLUSION.

The volume produced by Messrs. Macmillan for the London County Council is a remarkable piece of work. Text, maps and illustrations combine to give an authoritative book on this all-important problem of the re-planning and re-building of London. There may be details or even principles on which controversy will be aroused, but no one should venture to offer any criticism until he has read with the utmost care this outstanding volume. It reflects the greatest possible credit on all those who have put their utmost efforts into the publication of an epoch-making contribution towards the solution of a highly complicated network of problems.

## THE BOMBED BUILDINGS OF LONDON

A SPIRITED American account of the Battle of Britain and the bombing of London was entitled *They'll Never Quit*, by Harvey Klemmer, who was over here in 1940-41; and in it he pays a very fine tribute to the average man and woman who faced up to the challenge of those thrilling months. He writes: "No saga of old can eclipse in majesty or importance the saga which is being unfolded in Britain to-day. The people of Britain are heroes to everyone except themselves." And he goes on to discuss this total war, about which the Germans have been talking for years. Göring's mouthpiece, *The National Zeitung*, declared in July, 1940, that the awakening of England would be even more frightful than "the fates which England has already

brought upon other peoples in this war." It reminded us of the annihilation of Warsaw in two days, and the destruction of Rotterdam in twenty minutes, and warned us that "defending London street by street would hardly hold up the German advance." Joyce, the Irish ex-fascist, announced a few months later that, when the Luftwaffe had finished its work, there would not be "one house left standing in Britain." These threats were rubbed in by the German bullying film "Baptism of Fire," designed to scare neutrals; and Harvey Klemmer rightly remarks that "Any protestation that the Germans may make will be thrust in the wastepaper basket by anyone who has seen this film." Well, the Luftwaffe did its worst between August, 1940, and May, 1941, and our daily and illustrated papers were full of the story and of pictures of the damage.

No doubt, for years to come, various writers will attempt to give the complete story of the "Blitz" as it affected the whole country or some particular corner of it; but speed is of the essence of an attempt to get down on paper a description of the damage done and of the artistic treasures lost, and no one has been so successful as J. M. Richards and John Summerson in their fully illustrated volume *The Bombed Buildings of Britain*, which they style "A Record of Architectural Casualties, 1940-41" (The Architectural Press, 15s.). They quite justly claim that their pictorial records together "with our memories of that peculiar air-raid smell of wet charred wood, of the blundering gait with which we picked our way over puddled streets criss-crossed with hoses on dark winter mornings, and of the familiar houses we saw splintered with impressive thoroughness into a spillikins heap of dusty timbers, may together form a background of smells, sight and sounds sufficient to evoke for us the whole strange aftermath of bombing." Some of us can look back to the same grim story, viewed from a different angle, when we recall a small sand-bagged circle on one of the northern heights of London, and two or three observers, inadequately protected against weather and bombs, plotting hostile aircraft overhead or reporting ever spreading fires in different quarters of the sorely tried metropolis. But through it all the most striking features of the whole business were the skill and courage of our airmen, the resourcefulness of gunners and firemen, the coolness of all branches of civil defence, and the stolid patient endurance of the victims.

This splendid volume discusses bombed buildings all over the

country, and attempts to give at least two pictures of each, one before and one after the "blitz." It gives about 150 pictures to illustrate provincial damage, and nearly 200 for London; not enough to register every lost building, perhaps, but sufficient to show the extent of the damage done. It is as well that this fairly full survey was made when it was, for in the months that have elapsed since the bombing much clearance has been carried out in London, especially near St. Paul's Cathedral and London Wall. Here is a starting point from which to survey the condition of bombed London, the extent of the damage done, the opportunities it gives for replanning and the need for preserving what it left and perhaps of restoring what is only damaged. By studying its pages one is instinctively carried back to the days of the previous Great Fire of London, when Pepys and Evelyn, Petty and Wren recorded the damage they had witnessed and made plans for a better London amid the ruins of the old.

#### THE CITY CHURCHES.

When Sir Christopher Wren looked round after 1700 on the City of London to whose restoration he had made such an outstanding contribution he can hardly have imagined that such a need for rebuilding the metropolis and its churches would ever occur again. And yet the raids on London in the winter and spring of the years 1940 and 1941 have given to Londoners to-day a somewhat similar task to that which Wren and their ancestors faced in 1666.

In the Middle Ages there was a constant tendency to break up the large ancient parishes of the City into much smaller ones. From St. Mary Aldermary were taken eleven other parishes, each with its own church. But there was also a contrary policy sometimes adopted, by which several parishes were joined together. When the Great Fire of 1666 destroyed, either totally or in part, eighty-six parish churches as well as the mediaeval cathedral of St. Paul's, it was clearly impossible to find money enough to rebuild them all. More than fifty were rebuilt or restored, and Wren designed his new churches in accordance with his own ideal that "*Building certainly ought to have the attribute of Eternal.*"

And now a second disaster has befallen our City, and many of the Wren churches, which had escaped the destructive hands of successive generations of those who should have preserved them, have gone. Four churches have been very seriously damaged out of the nine mediaeval churches which had lasted to our day; and, of the 34 of Wren's churches which had survived, exactly half have suffered a similar fate, and St. Mary Abchurch has been hit but not much harmed. It is obvious that efforts will be made to restore most if not all of these treasured shrines of the City, but there may also be an effort to sell the valuable sites and thus allow more and more sacred associations to disappear. We need to see that full appreciation of the character and value of these historic buildings is preserved, because of their religious and spiritual values, their historical and architectural importance, and their civil and imperial character.

Here are a few comments on the 29 City churches which have suffered damage; and they will serve to show what a wealth of historic interest would be lost if a single one of them should be irretrievably destroyed.

#### PRE-WREN CHURCHES.

Only nine churches built before the Great Fire survived to 1940-1, and these were St. Andrew Undershaft, where we still commemorate John Stow each year, St. Bartholomew the Great, West Smithfield, St. Ethelburga and St. Helen's in Bishopsgate and St. Katherine Cree, which still survive intact; and All Hallows, Barking, Austin Friars, St. Giles', Cripplegate and St. Olave, Hart Street, which have suffered disastrous damage.

ALL HALLOWS, BARKING, or by-the-Tower, has been much in the public eye since the last war because of its association with "Toc" H., the Society which was founded by Padre "Tubby" Clayton, and the late Bishop Talbot in conjunction with a host of ex-service men, who valued the lessons which the upper room at Poperinghe had taught. The mediaeval church had been renovated and partly rebuilt in 1634, while in 1649 an explosion of gunpowder in a nearby shop damaged the tower, which was rebuilt ten years later.

At the end of 1940 two attacks, one with high explosives and one with incendiaries, did tremendous damage to the east end, destroying the well-carved altar piece, the screens and the oak pews. Hardly anything in the interior is left, and the damaged piers have, perhaps unnecessarily, been pulled down.

Some years ago pieces of Roman and Saxon masonry were found and photographed during some excavations under the floor of the nave. As a result of the recent "blitz" a Saxon doorway has been discovered at the west end of the church, with the arch constructed of Roman bricks; and the arch has been bricked up for preservation. Mr. Edward Yates compares this arch with somewhat similar arches at Brixworth and Swanscombe; and the Rev. P. B. Clayton concludes that the Saxon remains at All Hallows may be pre-Danish and possibly the work of St. Erconwald, founder of Barking Abbey in A.D. 670. Portions of a Saxon cross have also been brought to light.

All Hallows, Barking, was often used for the permanent or temporary burial of victims of the scaffold on Tower Hill. Amongst those so buried were John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester; Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey; Lord Thomas Grey; Archbishop Laud; Sir John Hotham.

It is a great disaster that so many fine monumental brasses have been destroyed in All Hallows, among them those of William Thynne, first editor of Chaucer; George Snyth, auditor to Archbishop Laud; Kettlewell, the non-Juror; William Armer, Governor of the Pages of Honour under four Tudor Sovereigns. An interesting vicar of All Hallows was George Hickee, of Lincoln College, Oxford, who resigned the deanery of Worcester in 1690 and four years later was recommended to James II by the non-jurying Archbishop Bancroft as one of the bishops through whose creation the non-jurors aimed at perpetuating the episcopal succession in their own body. Lord Mayor Brass Crosby was a churchwarden here, and joined with John Wilkes and Richard Oliver in forcing from the House of Commons the right to report their debates.

It will interest our allies in U.S.A. to be reminded that William Penn, one of the founders of Pennsylvania, was baptised at All Hallows, Barking,

on 23rd October, 1644. This certainly demands tercentenary celebrations during this year.

AUSTIN FRIARS. This house of the Augustinian Friars was founded in 1243 by Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, and was dissolved almost exactly three centuries later by Henry VIII and given to William Paulet, first Marquis of Winchester. The church was not granted by the King, but was given by Edward VI to be the preaching place of the Dutch nation in London. The young King records the fact in his diary: "29 June, 1550. It was appointed that the Germans [*sic*] should have the Austin Friars for their Church to have their service in, for avoiding of all sorts of Anabaptists and such like." For over three hundred years this Church was used by the Dutch who thus possessed a fine mediaeval building with some very good decorated windows. Strype, in 1720, tells us that there was a good library at the west-end above the screen with this inscription: "Ecclesiae Londino-Belgicae Bibliotheca, extracta sumptibus Mariae Dubois, 1659." In the library there were "divers valuable MSS., and letters of Calvin, Peter Martyr and others, foreign reformers." In 1870 there was a serious fire, which did a great deal of damage, and the London papers complained very bitterly that a valuable mediaeval historic monument had been destroyed. However, the Church was very carefully restored and lasted for another seventy years. It witnessed a very interesting wedding a few years before the first world war, when R. C. Hawkin, Secretary of the '80 Club, was married to the sister of General Botha, and the register was signed by H. H. Asquith, D. Lloyd George, the Lord Chancellor and Dr. Clifford.

The Dutch authorities are understood to have sufficient funds derived from adjacent land to restore the Church without help, but a very beautiful mediaeval church has been completely destroyed. "The vandalism which has led to the destruction of so much of historic value in sacred edifices will not be forgotten by this generation or by those of the future—now denied these treasures."

ST. GILES', CRIPPLEGATE, was twice hit, and badly damaged by explosives and incendiaries. It was restored several times in its long history, notably in the 14th century and after a disastrous fire in 1545. "Since that time," wrote a later historian, "it has fortunately escaped any serious disaster." But this alas is no longer true, though it has not suffered the complete destruction that has come upon other historic buildings. The walls and pillars and clerestory seem to be repairable, and some of the monuments are intact, but the roof was completely destroyed, and the organ, built by Renatus Harris in 1705, will not be used again. Lancelot Andrewes was appointed Vicar in Armada Year, in the tercentenary of which a memorial was erected to Sir Martin Frobisher. John Foxe, "original author of the History of the Christian Martyrs," was buried here in 1587; John Speed, topographer and historian, and a contemporary of John Stow, had his monument in the Church. John Milton, the scrivener, was buried in the Chancel in 1646, and in 1674 his son and namesake, the poet, was buried in the same grave. Several members of the Egerton family are buried in St. Giles', and it was to the head of the clan, the Earl of Bridgwater, that Milton presented "Comus" at Ludlow Castle in 1634. It is interesting to note that in 1620 Oliver Cromwell, then only a few months over age, was married in St. Giles' to Elizabeth, daughter of Sir James Burchier. How many of these memorials and records still

remain it is not easy to say, but few churches were so full of historic associations as St. Giles'. A recent picture of St. Giles' shows a stained-glass window still intact, and side by side with it the bust of John Milton with the surrounding monument completely in order.

ST. OLAVE, HART STREET, is dedicated to the Norwegian Saint-King, also commemorated in Southwark. It was a handsome church in the Perpendicular style, repaired in the reign of Charles I, and again in 1870, and introduced into the building were carvings from All Hallows, Staining, and a Grinling Gibbons oak pulpit from St. Bene't, Gracechurch. There are or were many interesting monuments, to the Baynings, to Sir Andrew Riccard, Chairman of the East India Company under Charles II, and above all to Samuel Pepys, and to his Huguenot wife. The white marble memorial, and exquisite bust, which commemorate Elizabeth Pepys, were placed in the Church by the Diarist in 1669. His brother Tom is buried hardby, and when Samuel died in 1703 the funeral service was conducted by Dr. George Hickes, the non-juror. It was not until 1884 that any monument to Pepys himself was erected, and it was unveiled by James Russell Lowell, American Ambassador in London. Elizabeth Pepys's bust had been taken to a place of safety before the Church was bombed.

#### WREN CHURCHES.

Of Wren's churches there are still seventeen intact, but an equal number sadly mutilated:—St. Alban, Wood Street; St. Andrew-by-the-Wardrobe; St. Andrew, Holborn; St. Anne and St. Agnes, Aldersgate; St. Augustine, Watling Street; St. Bride, Fleet Street; Christ Church, Newgate Street; St. Dunstan-in-the-East; St. Laurence Jewry; St. Mary, Aldermanbury; St. Mary-le-Bow; St. Mildred, Bread Street; St. Nicholas, Cole Abbey; St. Stephen, Coleman Street; St. Stephen, Walbrook; St. Swithin-by-London Wall; St. Vedast, Foster Lane.

ST. ALBAN, WOOD STREET, has had many vicissitudes in its long life since the original Church was a private chapel for Offa, King of the Mercians. It was in the gift of the Abbot of St. Albans, the Abbot of Westminster, the Master of St. James's, Leper Hospital, and since 1477 in the gift of Eton College. Pulled down in 1632, it was rebuilt two years later by Inigo Jones, only to perish in the Great Fire. Wren rebuilt it by 1685 in the Tudor style of Gothic as Inigo Jones had done, but it was very tiresomely altered and modernised in 1856. Its tower still stands, but the Church itself has been completely gutted.

ST. ANDREW-BY-THE-WARDROBE, in St. Andrew's Hill (formerly Puddle Dock Hill) and Queen Victoria Street, was rebuilt after the Fire by Wren in 1692. It was of a simple straightforward design, with a square four-storeyed tower, and stood well above the present level of the road. The Church has been burnt out, but tower and walls remain.

ST. ANDREW, HOLBORN, was formerly halfway up Holborn Hill, but the construction of Holborn Viaduct had exactly the opposite effect on it that the driving of Queen Victoria Street did upon St. Andrew-by-the-Wardrobe. It was built by Wren, but not as a result of the Fire, and he was able to use the mediaeval tower, which he refaced with portland stone. Amongst the possessors of its advowson have been the Earl of Southampton, friend of Essex and of Shakespeare, and the Duke of Buccleugh. Among its rectors

were Edward Stillingfleet and the notorious Dr. Sacheverell. Associated with the Church have been John Webster, the dramatist, Thomas Chatterton, "the marvellous boy," Colonel John Hutchinson, Richard Savage Addington, once prime minister, and a later premier, Benjamin Disraeli, who was baptised here in 1817 at the age of twelve. Charles Lamb was best man in St. Andrew's to William Hazlitt, and was very afraid that he would laugh. Here again, the Church has been gutted, but the tower seems to be sound.

ST. ANNE AND ST. AGNES, ALDERSGATE, was severely burned and restored in 1548, and completely destroyed in 1661. Since the Great Fire the church has also done duty for the parish of St. John Zachary. It is a square building, built in the shape of a Greek cross, and was singularly destitute of memorials. It has been badly damaged but should be capable of restoration.

ST. AUGUSTINE, WATLING STREET, dedicated to St. Augustine of Canterbury, who converted the English after A.D. 597, had been restored at great expense in 1631, only to perish in the Great Fire. It was joined to the parish of St. Faith, which had its Church before the fire in the crypt at the east end of the Cathedral. In the crypt the booksellers and stationers from Paternoster Row and neighbouring streets had stored many of their books, and, then as now, the trade suffered grievous loss. Pepys notes in his diary: "There is above £150,000 of books burned; all the great booksellers almost undone; not only these, but their warehouses under their Hall and under Christchurch and elsewhere being all burned." Among the rectors of St. Augustine and St. Faith was the Rev. R. H. Barham, author of *The Ingoldsby Legends*.

ST. BRIDE, FLEET STREET, after restoration under Charles I, was destroyed in the Great Fire. Its steeple, as designed by Wren in 1701, was damaged by lightning, and was slightly reduced in height; but it is still slightly higher than the tower of St. Mary-le-Bow. The Church was one of the best of Wren's designing and its interior "with its panelled walls, its pews, and its galleries overhead, has a peaceful, old-world aspect, which is delightfully soothing when one passes from the turmoil of Fleet Street into the quietude of the sacred building. It is pervaded by an unquestionable charm—but a charm which is rather to be felt than to be described." Among those connected with the Church are Colonel Richard Lovelace and Sir John Denham, poets, Samuel Richardson, novelist, and John Nichols, antiquary, whose skill as a researcher has been handed down to his great-grandson.

In the churchyard John Milton lived for some months in a house whose site is probably covered by the offices of *Punch*. The Church has been completely gutted, but the bare walls and the tower survive.

CHRIST CHURCH, NEWGATE STREET, was built on part of the site of the first Franciscan Church and monastery in London. In the original Church were buried Isabella, wife of Edward II, "the she-wolf of France," and her paramour, Roger Mortimer, Lord of Wigmore and Earl of March. After the Dissolution, on the suggestion of Bishop Ridley, and the Lord Mayor, the site of the Grey Friars habitation was taken for a hospital for four hundred poor fatherless children, Christ's Hospital, the Blue-Coat School. The Greyfriars' Church was destroyed in the Fire and was rebuilt to half its original size by Wren. Among those interred in the Church may be noted, Richard Baxter, the famous Nonconformist Divine, his wife and her mother; and James Boyer, the famous Headmaster of Christ's Hospital in the time of Coleridge

and Lamb. In spite of the moving of the School to Horsham there are still old associations maintained. The Church has been gutted, but, as usual, the tower remains, though badly burnt. One authority states that "it can hardly be reckoned one of Wren's finest productions though possessed of considerable beauty"; another calls it "the most mature and irreproachable of all Wren's steeples."

ST. DUNSTAN-IN-THE-EAST had early associations with Sir John Oldcastle, the heroic leader of the Lollards, and was one of those churches almost rebuilt in 1633, but destroyed in the Great Fire. A great figure in the earlier story of St. Dunstan's was John Morton, a distinguished statesman in early Tudor times, the inventor of his famous "Fork." Wren used a good deal of the old material in reconstruction, but the Church had to be pulled down in 1810 and rebuilt. The steeple of St. Dunstan's is one of Wren's masterpieces, and the four arched ribs support a graceful spire. In spite of its somewhat fragile appearance, it was constructed on scientific lines. When, in 1703, a dreadful hurricane damaged many of the spires and steeples in London, and Wren was told the news, he was convinced that the steeple of St. Dunstan-in-the-East had escaped. It did then, and it has done again now, though the floors of the tower have been consumed, and the bells have fallen.

ST. LAURENCE JEWRY, in Gresham Street, is the Lord Mayor's Church, and in pre-Great Fire days it was associated with Sir Geoffrey Bullen, great-great-grandfather of Queen Elizabeth, the Greshams and the Rich family. After the Fire it was rebuilt by Wren and had been enriched from time to time with some of Grinling Gibbons' finest carving, interesting memorials, fine stained glass windows and a painting by Sir James Thornhill. Two parsons connected with the Church, and allied by marriage with the family of Oliver Cromwell, were Dr. John Wilkins, the real founder of the Royal Society, and Dr. Tillotson, Archbishop under William of Orange. The Church has suffered very severe damage, though the walls are still sound. A certain amount of repair has already been effected so as to make the Church partly available for civic purposes.

ST. MARY ABCHURCH was rebuilt by Wren in 1686 for less than £5,000, and it is surmounted by a huge cupola decorated with paintings by Sir James Thornhill, part of which has been damaged by the recent bombing. The alter-piece is enclosed by four Corinthian columns, surmounted by a pediment, with festoons of carved fruit and flowers, justly regarded as among the finest of Grinling Gibbons' works.

ST. MARY ALDERMANBURY, which suffered when the street in which it stands was so severely bombed, is famous for its important links with Shakespeare. In the old Church, destroyed in 1666, were buried John Heminge and Henry Coudell, fellow-actor of Shakespeare and the editors of the first folio edition of his plays. Other well-known names associated with the Church are those of the three Calamy's, Edmund the elder, Churchman and Non-conformist, who died from the shock of the Great Fire; Benjamin, his son, a keen High Churchman, like his father minister of the parish; and Edmund, the younger, historian of the ejected ministers of 1662. The infamous Judge Jeffreys, after a first burial in the Tower in 1689, was interred under the Communion table in 1693. Externally, the Church was finer than its unattractive interior, and it possessed a fine tower with a square open turret and vane above. The shell of the Church remains, and the main part of the tower; but the turret, with its tapering roof and vane, has been destroyed.

**ST. MARY-LE-BOW.** Bow church is perhaps the best-known of all the City churches, and its bells have a far older history than the world-famous "Big Ben." They are said to have been heard by Whittington on Highgate Hill, and all cockneys must have been born within sound of their chimes. Stow tells us of many accidents and disasters connected with the Church, which also suffered complete destruction in the Fire. At its rebuilding, Wren paid very great care on the steeple, which is the second highest in the City and cost half the total sum spent on the Church. It had a projecting clock and a balcony reminiscent of Edward III, who built a stone gallery for himself and Queen Philippa "to behold the joustings and other shows at their pleasure." Bow Church serves the nearby parishes of St. Pancras, Soper Lane; All Hallows, Honey Lane; All Hallows, Bread Street; and St. John the Evangelist. All Hallows in Bread Street was associated with Laurence Saunders, one of the Marian Martyrs, and John Milton, who was christened in the Church. There is, or was, a bust of Milton, and a memorial tablet with Dryden's well-known panegyric.

**ST. MILDRED, BREAD STREET,** was for many years in the presentation of the Crispe family, the most distinguished of whom, Sir Nicholas Crispe, financed Charles I, raised a regiment to help him, went into exile with his son, and was made a Baronet at the Restoration. He erected a fine east window, commemorating the Armada, Queen Elizabeth, Gunpowder Plot, the Plague of 1625, and his own family. The Fire consumed St. Mildred's, and St. Margaret Moses, which was not rebuilt. Wren's design gave a church with a domed cupola, deep arches and very sound proportions. It had been very little restored in Victorian times, and retained a spacious altar-piece and a fine pulpit surmounted by a magnificently carved sounding-board. All the woodwork was attributed, with some good reason, to Grinling Gibbons. This was "one of the most eloquent and charming of all the City Churches." Its destruction has been almost complete.

**ST. NICHOLAS, COLE ABBEY,** is between Knight-riding Street and the new Queen Victoria Street, and serves the parishes of St. Nicholas Olave, St. Mary Somerset, St. Mary Mounthaw, St. Benet, Paul's Wharf, and St. Peter's, Paul's Wharf. Repaired in the reign of Charles I, it was completely destroyed in the Great Fire, and has been entirely burnt out during the recent bombing. Some walls are left and the lower part of the tower is fairly intact, but the octagonal spire, with square pedestal, moulded finial and gilded ball and vane "with the tiny balcony slipped on its apex, like a ring" has been completely destroyed.

**ST. STEPHEN, COLEMAN STREET,** was made parochial in 1456 after nearly 300 years of previous life; and was not, as John Stow tells us, a former synagogue of the Jews. In the Great Fire the tomb of Anthony Munday, dramatist and antiquary, who was associated with Humphrey Dyson, and died in 1633, was destroyed. The Church was rebuilt by Wren, and had a small adjacent churchyard, a well-designed tower with a gilt vane in the shape of a cock, a finely carved communion table and pulpit, but few interesting external features. As usual, the Church has been gutted, but the tower remains.

**ST. STEPHEN, WALBROOK,** is almost as well known to Londoners as Bow Church, partly because it was an experiment by Wren in designing and building a dome, before his successful effort in St. Paul's Cathedral, and partly from its commanding position, alongside the Mansion House and at

the head of the winding street that marks the course of the now buried stream. John Summerson voices the views of all Londoners when he pleads that, whatever else is left, this Church, "the pride of English architecture, and one of the few City churches in which the genius of Wren shines in full splendour, . . . can be, and must be, perfectly restored." He sums up its beauty in memorable words:—"The Baroque idea has floated into the still waters of Restoration England. There is as little emotion here as in Locke's *Essay*, and no drama, except the fortuitous drama of changing light and shade. The columns, arches and spandrels and dome follow each other with the logic of an Euclidean theorem." Canova, when in London, was greatly impressed with its beauty, and wished to revisit England to see once again St. Paul's, Somerset House, and St. Stephen's, Walbrook.

ST. SWITHIN BY LONDON WALL. In the previous Church on this site Dryden was married to Lady Elizabeth Howard. The new church was of simple design, and had been very much modernised. The most interesting memorial inside the Church was to the memory of Michael Godfrey, nephew to Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, whose mysterious death caused so much excitement during the days of Titus Oates's alleged "Popish Plot." Outside the Church is London stone, moved in 1798 across Cannon Street through the efforts of Thomas Marden, a London printer. Jack Cade struck this stone when he seized the City in the course of his rebellion, and John Stow describes its appearance about A.D. 1600. The famous antiquary, William Camden, considers it to be the central Roman milestone from which all distances along the main roads were measured.

ST. VEDAST, FOSTER LANE, has an unusual dedication commemorating, as it does, a bishop of Arras in the sixth century. It was repaired, rather than rebuilt, after the Great Fire; and its ancient steeple was allowed to stand until 1694. It was then taken down and this "brilliant and magnificent baroque tower" was then constructed. The two towers of Christchurch and St. Vedast make a very harmonious grouping, and both churches should be restored and the towers repaired. The oak altar piece is said to be by Gibbons, and a very interesting association with the old Church was the christening there in 1594 of Robert Herrick, some of whose poems give so delightful a picture of rustic life near London.

#### LONDON'S GUILDHALL.

THE GUILDHALL was built between 1411 and 1435, damaged in the Fire and restored by Wren. A new front was built in 1789 by George Dance, the City Architect; and about 1870 the whole structure was recast by Sir Horace Jones, who also designed Marshall & Snelgrove's in Oxford Street. It is interesting to note that for the second time the mediaeval fragments have survived their ordeal by fire, but the roof (probably Wren's, altered in 1870) has been completely destroyed.

In the Guildhall there is still, in reasonably good condition, the memorial to William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, the inspirer of the great victories of 1759 in the Seven Years' War, when, as Horace Walpole wrote, it was necessary to ask each day what victories had been won for fear of missing one. The monument was designed by Bacon the elder, and the inscription was written by Edmund Burke.

## COMPANIES' HALLS.

The CITY COMPANIES have suffered like the rest of London's citizens, and nine of the finest or most historical have suffered very serious if not complete damage.

BAKERS' HALL, in Harp Lane, Great Tower Street, was destroyed in the Great Fire, and a second time in 1714. It was again repaired about 1825 by James Elmes, biographer of Sir Christopher Wren, and is now almost a complete wreck. The original mediaeval house was the property of the famous Chichele family.

BARBER-SURGEONS' HALL, in Monkwell Street, was designed by Inigo Jones, but very considerably altered at different stages in its history. Among the choicest possessions is a picture by Holbein of Henry VIII giving a charter to the Company. Pepys paid two visits to the Hall and noted the condition of the picture before and after the Great Fire. He proposed to buy it for £200, but he writes "it is so spoiled that I have no mind to it." The end of the Hall rested on a tower of London Wall. Very little now remains of the building but a few carved stones.

BREWERS' HALL, in Addle Lane, Wood Street, was destroyed in the Fire of 1666 and was rebuilt by Captain Caine in 1670-1673. It was to be found in a small tucked-away courtyard and has been very badly damaged. A staircase rebuilt by Cubitts in 1860 was not entirely destroyed.

FISHMONGERS' HALL is perhaps the best known of all the homes of the City Fathers because of its very prominent position at the north-west corner of London Bridge. The original Hall was destroyed in the Great Fire and it was again rebuilt in 1831. Several interesting associations must be mentioned with regard to its architects. Henry Roberts, a pupil of Robert Smirke, designed the building, and the working-drawings were made by Gilbert Scott. Heavy damage has been done, but this attractive Ionic building should be satisfactorily restored.

GIRDLETS' HALL, in Basinghall Street, was destroyed in the Great Fire, and was rebuilt in 1680-82 by Workman and Lowe. It has been repaired and extended in successive centuries, but has now suffered serious damage in the loss of the screen and gallery in the Hall.

HABERDASHERS' HALL, Staining Lane, was built first in 1478, rebuilt after the Fire of 1666, possibly by Sir Christopher Wren, but more probably by Edward Jarman. It suffered again from fire in 1838, but several rooms were preserved. The damage this time has been far more complete.

MERCHANT TAYLORS' HALL, in Threadneedle Street, was the largest of all the Companies' Halls and was rebuilt after the Fire by Edward Jarman. It had mediaeval, Caroline and Georgian features, restored in Victorian times, and consisted of Court Room, Parlour, Hall, Staircase and Gallery. Very serious damage had been done to all of them, but the Hall is capable of repair. Some of the Gothic windows and the roof were modern restorations, but the Screen was erected in 1672 and has been completely destroyed.

PARISH CLERKS' HALL, Wood Street, was the Hall of an interesting Company, first licensed in 1233. It has twice moved, first from Broad Street then from Broad Lane, and although one of the smallest Halls and Companies the tasks allotted to it were most interesting. The Company was responsible for the compiling and publishing of the famous *Bills of Mortality*, from which

we derive most of our surmises about the population of Stuart London. The Hall has been completely destroyed.

STATIONERS' HALL, in its own court off Ludgate Hill, was destroyed in the Fire, when the Company lost property to the value of £200,000. It is an interesting but tragic coincidence that it is the printing and publishing firms that have suffered most heavily in the recent "blitz," many millions of books having been destroyed in Paternoster Row. The Company got into serious trouble with Archbishop Laud in 1632 when they printed a new edition of the *Authorised Version*, owing to the omission of the word "not" from the seventh commandment. The Star Chamber intervened and gave a severe reproof and levied a heavy fine. In spite of serious damage to the Court-room, store house and hall, it seems probable that reconstruction will follow.

### WESTMINSTER

From the very outset of the war special efforts were made to protect as far as possible the Abbey and its adjacent buildings and their contents. 60,000 sandbags were used to protect the Royal Tombs, and any others of particular historic or artistic interest. All mediaeval stained glass was removed to a place of safety, emergency water tanks have been sunk in Dean's Yard to hold 120,000 gallons of water; fire-watching and fire-fighting parties have been organised, and pipes have been laid to bring water to the Abbey from the Thames. Two very serious aerial attacks did extremely serious damage to the Abbey. On 29th December, 1940, a high explosive bomb fell in Palace Yard, bending the sword of Richard Cœur de Lion's statue, while the blast damaged tracery and glass in the Abbey, two pendants in the roof vaulting of Henry VII's Chapel and the exterior of some of the walls. The second attack was on 10th May, 1941, when the Deanery, probably the most complete mediaeval house in London, was destroyed; five houses in Little Cloister was almost entirely demolished; the Abbey itself was badly damaged and the Great Hall of Westminster School was burnt out and left roofless. All the honour boards, which was so interesting a feature of the place, have gone. In an illustrated paper published soon after the second fire there was a picture of the Dean, the Right Reverend P. F. D. de Labilliere, D.D., in cassock, greatcoat and "tin-hat" examining the debris near the main cloisters, which were themselves unharmed. As so often, incendiaries caused a lot of damage in roofs too high to be easily accessible. One of them set fire to the roof of the crossing, constructed in 1803 by Wyatt out of wood and plaster, and brought down many beams in flames, destroying the black and white paving beneath. If any damage had to be suffered, perhaps this was the best spot for it to happen. Meantime a temporary roof of steel and concrete has been erected to preserve the interior and, after the war is over, the interior vaulting will be restored. Pictures taken at the time showed a gaping roof over the Lantern by the low square tower at the centre of the Abbey, and masses of debris in front of the High Altar strewn just where the Coronation Chair was placed for the royal ceremony on so many historic occasions.

The Palace of Westminster suffered very serious damage. It was possible to see the glare of the fire on 10th May, 1941, from many of the adjacent pieces of high ground in and near London where fire-watchers and members of the Royal Observer Corps were on duty. A photograph taken in the

moonlight while the raid was still on showed the roof of Westminster Hall burning. This was the roof whose interior had been so badly attacked some years before by the death-watch beetle. The clock-tower was hit, but the chimes were not stopped, a sign of good augury for those millions all over the world who like to listen to the voice of "Big Ben." As a newspaper remarked at the time: "it still turns a bomb-scarred fire-blackened face to the world that loves its voice."

The Debating Chamber of the House of Commons was almost completely gutted, and many historic memories have been disturbed. It was not the Chamber in which Chatham and Burke and Sheridan and Charles James Fox, and Pitt the younger and Canning made their speeches; but the building which took its place after the disastrous fire of more than a century ago. Its walls had echoed the voices of Russell and Palmerston, Gladstone and Disraeli, Balfour and Asquith, Lloyd George and Churchill. The Members' Division Lobby was made a heap of ruins, but the Prime Minister's room and the private rooms of other Cabinet Ministers escaped damage. One wall of the Debating Chamber of the Commons remains, and the tracery of the surviving windows was badly scarred. When the Houses of Parliament or the New Palace of Westminster, as it was styled, was rebuilt, an expert offered for a small sum to "vet" the building stone to be used in its reconstruction. He asked a few hundred pounds for his skill, but the authorities decided to save the money, and employed "a magnesian limestone from Anston in Yorkshire, selected with great care from the building stones of England by a Commissioner appointed for that purpose." It would probably have saved the nation many thousands of pounds had the expert's advice been taken.

In an account of the Parliament Houses published in 1850 the sanguine author writes: "There is very little wood about the building; all the main beams and joists are of iron, and the Houses of Parliament, it is said, can never be burnt down again." Well, much of the stone has perished, and part of the "largest Gothic edifice in the world, covering an area of nearly eight acres" has been destroyed by fire.

But it will rise again, and many more speeches will be made within its walls to guide the destinies of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and to help to the establishment of what Tennyson called

"The Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World."

THE INNS OF COURT have shared the fate of the City Churches, and all four have suffered irreparable damage. After one of the worst bombings it was a pathetic sight to see Oliver Goldsmith's reclining statue still surveying the disaster with complete nonchalance. In the severe damage inflicted on the TEMPLE CHURCH "restorations" in the 19th century as well as original memorials to Crusaders have alike perished. "The fire of 1941 over-reached the damage already effected by architects, annihilated the 17th and 18th century monuments, and reduced most of the Templars to dust."

Crown Office Row, Middle Temple Lane, and Pump Court have been badly damaged.

MIDDLE TEMPLE HALL, in which *Twelfth Night* was first produced, has lost part of the east wall and roof and portions of the magnificent screen.

GRAY'S INN has suffered very severe damage to Hall, Library and Chapel. In the Hall, dating from Queen Mary's reign, Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors*

was produced in 1590; and the whole of the woodwork of panels and screen has been destroyed. A considerable portion of the chambers in one of the squares have been destroyed, and practically all the books in the Library have been consumed. Gray's Inn escaped the first bombing but suffered very heavily in the second.

The complete list of damaged churches in Greater London runs into hundreds, and many other buildings of recognised beauty and historic interest have to be recorded as devastated or completely destroyed. One of the greatest mistakes made by the Luftwaffe was the needless damage to BUCKINGHAM PALACE, which made the King and Queen fellow-sufferers with the humblest of their subjects. To the courageous outburst, "We can take it, your Majesties," our Sovereigns might well have replied "So can we." KENSINGTON PALACE, LAMBETH PALACE, BRIDGWATER HOUSE and HOLLAND HOUSE have suffered, and, to come to a different category, so have the TOWER of LONDON, TRINITY HOUSE and other buildings on TOWER HILL, and parts of ST. KATHERINE DOCKS.

Several buildings in the neighbourhood of Regent's Park have been damaged—PARK CRESCENT, PARK VILLAGE and ALBANY STREET; two well-known squares—FINSBURY SQUARE and MECKLENBURG SQUARE, with Guildford Street close by; and a regular hotch-potch of oddments—THE ADELPHI, BURLINGTON AVENUE, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE, FEATHERSTONE BUILDINGS, PAGANI'S RESTAURANT, QUEEN'S HALL, the RING, THE TIMES OFFICES in Printing House Square, and UNIVERSITY COLLEGE in Gower Street.

ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL has been damaged but comparatively little considering its proximity to the destroyed areas of Watling Street and Paternoster Row. That gem of architecture, CHELSEA OLD CHURCH, with all its memories of Sir Thomas More, is wrecked, and CHELSEA HOSPITAL, the subject of Captain Dean's article in these *Transactions*, was badly bombed.

In addition to the fascinating churches of the City of London (the Lord Mayor's Square Mile) which have suffered in the blitz, there are many others of almost equal interest in the immediate suburbs whose loss we mourn. Here are some of the most important of them:—St. Albans, Holborn; St. Alphege, Greenwich; St. Anne's, Soho; St. Barnabas, King Square, Finsbury; St. Clement Dane's; St. Clement's, City Road; St. George-in-the-East; St. James's, Piccadilly; St. James's, West Hackney; St. John's, Horsleydown; St. John the Evangelist,

Smith Square; St. John's, Waterloo Road; St. John's, Red Lion Square; St. John the Divine, Kennington; St. Mary's, Haggerston; St. Mary's, Islington; St. Martin-in-the-Fields; St. Mark's, Kennington; St. Nicholas, Deptford; All Souls', Langham Place; The Church of the Ascension, Bayswater; Holy Trinity, Minories; St. George's (R.C.) Cathedral in Southwark; Our Lady of Victories (R.C.), Kennington; The Metropolitan Tabernacle and the City Temple. The last two were famous for the ministries of the famous Baptist minister, Charles Haddon Spurgeon and the rather later Congregational minister, Joseph Parker.

In this long list there are two splendid examples of Nicholas Hawksmoor, architect of St. Mary Woonoth, near the Mansion House, and these are St. Alphege, Greenwich, and St. George's-in-the-East. All Soul's, Langham Place, is one of a very large number of churches erected in the first half of the 19th century by the Commissioners for Building New Churches, and was actually designed by John Nash, who was responsible for the laying out of Regent's Park and Regent Street.

Some years ago a note on some of the buildings erected by Dr. Nicholas Barbon in the later 17th century was published in these *Transactions*. It is interesting to note how many of his buildings which had survived until 1939 have now disappeared or have been badly damaged. ESSEX STREET ARCH at the end of Essex Street, Strand, was damaged but has since been repaired; some of his houses in Bedford Row, in Red Lion Square and in the Middle Temple have also suffered severely.

It is a tragic story, very inadequately recorded here; but any effort to set down some of the historic associations which we have lost in the grim days and weeks of 1940 and 1941 is perhaps worth while. One may hope that the bulk of the havoc which London may expect has already occurred, but no one can be dogmatic as to the future; and a final effort to damage our metropolis, in revenge for our destruction of so much of German war effort, may well be anticipated.

## LONDON SAGA

ARTHUR BRYANT'S *English Saga* is a brilliant survey of the last century of English life from 1840 to 1940; and, as is natural, it emphasises the importance of the metropolis as it grows and

sprawls without let or hindrance. In 1840 London had two million inhabitants and it stretched from Shadwell and Wapping to Chelsea and Battersea; and it was not long since the development of Regent's Park, Portland Place and Regent Street had set a standard for one part of London at least. Further to the south-west Pimlico had been transmogrified into Belgravia, and almost everywhere instead of Wren's red brick was "white and potentially grimy stucco."

"Augustus at Rome was for Building renowned  
And of marble he left what of brick he had found;  
And is not our Nash, too, a very great master,  
He finds us all brick and leaves us all plaster."

London was governed by its Lord Mayor and Corporation, that is London of the sacred square mile. But the incorporation of the suburbs, the 17th century L.C.C., started by Charles I and again supported by his son, had died two centuries before; and 300 Parish Vestries, elected under 250 Acts of Parliament, exercised some show of authority outside the city boundaries, but mainly "interpreted democracy in their own jovial way by almost ceaseless entertainment at the public expense." There was little town planning, especially in the poorer area; just "monotonous agglomerations of mean streets." In these gloomy surroundings lived the human material from which Dickens and Cruikshank derived their inspirations.

With the spread of London quicker means of transport became necessary. Four hundred vehicles with the nickname "Omnibus," and 1200 cabriolets, soon shortened to cabs, helped to get people from home to office; and the *Illustrated London News* had occasion to complain of the "ruffianly conduct of omnibus conductors."

But then, as now, Shank's pony was an admirable alternative for those who lived fairly near their jobs. Then, as now, good meals were available for business men, but there was as yet none of the town catering on a gigantic scale which is so characteristic a feature to-day. Filth could be seen almost everywhere; if not in the main street, then just round the corner, and there were squalid, verminous Rookeries next to the Temple, to Westminster and to Mayfair. But, in spite of all, life proved stronger than filth, cholera and typhus, and the population increased.

The streets were often disorderly, and at night often dangerous, when a revolution in roads and safety was provided

by gas lamps and Sir Robert Peel's policemen. Here are two striking contrasts. Smithfield Market, just north of the City, was "a nasty filthy dangerous country bastille in the heart of London"; while you could still occasionally shoot snipe in Pimlico. The rich seemed to be growing more luxurious every day, and the contrasts of wealth and poverty seemed to be getting more flagrant. "Greasy, verminous, grimy, lawless London squallor" would find a grim satisfaction in watching a public execution amid "ribaldrey, coarse jokes, reckless drinking and unashamed debauchery."

Were we heading for a Republic? It certainly might well have seemed so, and Lord John Russell, speaking to Queen Victoria, voiced the popular opinion when, in reply to her query, "May a subject disobey his Sovereign?" said, "Speaking to a House of Hanover Sovereign, I suppose so." Greville, in his revealing Diaries, notes that "the people seemed inclined to hurrah no more," and William Dyott warned his contemporaries of "unpropitious times to come." It was perhaps fortunate that there were the Metropolitan Police and the Household Cavalry to keep order. For the conditions of the slums made a rising of some kind inevitable.

There were many cellar habitations in London, as elsewhere, with their "walls wet with fetid fluid," and in many streets could be found blackish-green slime pools. It is not surprising that typhus, cholera and putrid fever abounded, when we remember that in one London area there were 30 hovels housing 380 people without one privy. In an adjacent area there were 2400 sleeping in 852 beds, with anything from 3 to 8 in a single bed. It must be admitted that lack of sanitation was not confined to the slum area, for we read that constant sore throats among the footmen of Windsor Castle led to the discovery that there were 50 unemptied cesspits underneath the servants' quarters.

In spite of the Municipal Reform Act of 1835 many towns and undefined areas were without any efficient local government, and with no sanitation or common amenities. Two thousand new houses were being built in the London area each year, and the subsoil on which they were built included 17 million cubic feet of decaying residuum. Belgravia rested on the foulest sewers, which produced purulent throats, typhoid, febrile influenza, typhus and cholera; Buckingham Palace was ventilated

through the common sewer, in the Westminster Cloisters were found cesspools which needed 500 cartloads to empty them; while nearly all the streets of London were ankle-deep in muck.

“Is it a street or kennel—foul sludge and fetid stream,  
That from a chain of mantling pools sends up a choky steam;  
Walls black with soot, and bright with grease, low doorways, entries dim,  
And out of every window, pale faces gaunt and grim.”

London outside the City was governed like a village, and the conditions of the populace showed little improvement. “King Death,” wrote *Punch*, “gazed at the spectres of Carbonic Acid gas, Miasma, Cholera and Malaria, who took their toll of gaunt, ragged humans amid arched sewers and slime.”

The Thames was like a filthy old man dragging up dead rats from a liquid, gaseous mass of black mud and dying fish, and its shores were rotten “with guano, stable dung, decaying sprats, and top dressings from market gardens.” It is not surprising that all who were suffering from the inefficiency of government should show sympathy with some of the reform movements that were on foot. “Laissez-faire had been run to death”; the “triple-guarded heritage of the English man to do what he likes with property, labour and time had shown one of its weakest spots, when a foreigner could write, “Let every man get his bucket and squirt and put the fire out himself. That is self-government.” There were some signs of progress, somewhat small but indicative of movement in the right direction. Still there were many long stretches to go before London could be a tolerable place for the poor. The same visitor made this comment on the passers-by whom he met: “Faces do not laugh, lips are dumb; not a cry, not a voice is heard in the crowd; every individual seems alone; the workman does not sing; passengers travelling to and from gaze about them without curiosity, without uttering a word.” It is surprising that there was not more outward disorder, when there was so much to reform. Instead, the sordid round of drink, debauchery, violence, punishment, incompetence and hideous destitution never ceased. We may sometimes wonder whether William Morris does not paint too attractive a picture of the Thames as it must have been from 1340 onwards when Chaucer was living in London. “Small and white and clear” may be too complimentary for the City of those days. But there can be

no doubt as to the condition of the Thames five hundred years later when *Punch* could write:

“Filthy river, filthy river,  
Foul from London to the Nore,  
What art thou but one vast gutter,  
One tremendous common shore.

And beside thy sludgy waters  
And beside thy reeking ooze  
Christian folk inhale mephitic  
Which thy bubbly bosom brews.

And from thee is brewed our porter,  
Thee, thou gulley, puddle, sink,  
Thou, vile cesspool, art the liquor  
Whence is made the beer we drink.”

Arthur Bryant has written a *Saga of London* as well as of England; and he shows that, in spite of many failures, the London of 1940 which the Luftwaffe has sporadically damaged, is a cleaner, healthier, happier, though a far larger place than the London of a century ago.

## NOTES AND QUERIES

1. Future of London Squares. 2. Nineteen Centuries of London Life. 3. The Genesis of L.C.C. Plan. 4. The Shape of Things to Come. 5. John Gwynne. 6. A Chamber of Horrors. 7. The English Town Exhibition. 8. Wren Society. 9. Replanning Britain. 10. The Ministry of Planning. 11. The Georgian Group. 12. The Square Mile. 13. Holidays at Home. 14. Which London? 15. The Abbey Monuments. 16. Finds on Bombed Sites. 17. Westminster and U.S.A. 18. England's Capital. 19. Clearing the Clink. 20. Stepney and Bethnal Green. 21. Past and Present. 22. Bedford Square. 23. Lenin's London Home. 24. The Sprawl of London. 25. John Burns's Books.

I. FUTURE OF LONDON SQUARES.—Henry Shaw, M.P., Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Town and Country Planning, speaking at a meeting of the Chelsea Society, pleaded for a revival for the respect of our great English tradition in town planning. The Chelsea Society endeavours to preserve as much of old Chelsea as is possible, and to keep alive the civic spirit in a village made memorable by the career of Sir Thomas More. London Squares the speaker regarded as great contributions to its architecture, and he hoped and believed that

no central planning authority would allow another square to be treated as St. James's Square has been in recent years. Berkeley Square might be added to the list of those squares whose amenities have been sadly curtailed. He insisted that such areas as Bedford Square and Queen Anne's Gate must be preserved intact in any future plans for rebuilding. The Temple should be rebuilt much on its original lines, but St. Paul's must be left clear of encroachments. Town Planning could not be successful as long as our children were slaughtered on the roads; and one of the biggest needs of good planning was the segregation of through traffic from places where people lived and shopped and played.

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2. NINETEEN CENTURIES OF LONDON LIFE.—The presence in London of so many of our own and overseas Empire troops, those of the U.S.A. and of the other Allied nations, has brought about a revised and renewed interest in the City's history. Destruction of buildings all over Central London has revealed hidden things of interest, and there is always the expectation that rebuilding may lead to still further discoveries after the war.

In this connection the London Museum arranged an exhibition to mark the nineteenth centenary of the foundation of London by the Romans. This exhibition was planned to last from July to November, is partly sponsored by the Army Bureau of Current Affairs, and two duplicates of it are being circulated to men of the Forces near London.

It is chiefly concerned with the inter-relation of Architecture, Commerce and Social Life; and it shows besides the appearance of London at six stages of its development.

Special reference is made to the London squares, so delightful a feature of past centuries, now sadly spoiled by the intrusion of commercial offices and blocks of flats.

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3. THE GENESIS OF THE L.C.C. PLAN.—At a Press Conference at the County Hall in July, the Right Hon. Lord Latham explained the circumstances in which the Plan was drawn up. When Lord Reith was Minister of Works he asked the L.C.C. to prepare a bold plan for post-war London. The Plan now published is the answer to that request. "It deals . . . in a bold and far-reaching way . . . with roads, open spaces,

residential communities, business groupings, rail transport and density of development. The authors of the Plan have assumed that the broad principles enunciated in the Barlow, Scott and Uthwatt Reports will be translated into laws before the time comes for carrying out the L.C.C. Plan. It is not proposed to ask the L.C.C. to approve the Plan as published, but to use it as a basis for "analysis, admiration, energetic attack and constructive criticism."

We must remember that planned reconstruction, though it may look expensive on paper, is in the long run far cheaper and infinitely more satisfactory than haphazard reconstruction. It is our desire as well as our duty to avoid "leakages of time, money, and energy that spring from inconvenient housing, badly arranged industry, inadequate roads and obsolete communications." Let us plan a labour-saving city as well as labour saving houses. Lord Latham's final words are memorable and pertinent:—"This bold inspiring Plan is probably the greatest study of how to plan a vast city that has ever been attempted. If it helps to make us planning-minded it will have achieved a great public service."

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4. THE SHAPE OF THINGS TO COME.—We are warned that patience will be required in rebuilding London, but we must not let this demand become an excuse for doing little or nothing.

The slogan used after the last war about "Homes fit for heroes to live in" did not last long enough to produce the requisite number of houses at a reasonable price. Profiteers, private enterprise, real estate and industrial speculators made a complete fiasco of our good intentions then. The task before us is an immense one, and we shall have to catch up the lag of the war years, to rebuild blitzed houses, to clear slums, to re-adapt factories, to erect new schools and many other vital problems to face.

A writer in the *Builder* for March, 1943, suggests that "it is extremely unlikely that the City of London will again be rebuilt in our lifetime on its old foundations, not merely for aesthetic reasons or reasons of convenience, but because it is unlikely that there will be the labour and material to do it." He warns us that small businesses, small-scale architects and the old craftsmanship may tend to disappear.

Two wars and the economic stringencies of peace will tend to

accentuate these changes, and bureaucracy may secure further triumphs. He concludes with a very significant parable which we do well to examine very carefully. "We are not marching forward into a land flowing with milk and honey, but to hard work and bare living. To complete the simile, we have left the flesh-pots of Egypt, which admittedly by softness and self-indulgence were bringing us to ruin, and are painfully battling our way through the Wilderness of Sinai, to a better land, it is true, but one which very easily not we, nor even our children, but only our children's children may see."

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5. JOHN GWYNNE.—W. R. Davidge, F.R.I.B.A., in an address given at the recent English Town Exhibition, paid a well deserved tribute to John Gwynne, a would-be London town planner towards the middle of the 18th century. He lived at the time when once again the need for constructing fresh arterial roads, designing new squares and generally dealing with London's problems was becoming obvious. The north circular road, which we call City Road, Euston Road and Marylebone Road, was in process of construction; and Gwynne re-published Wren's plan for rebuilding London after the Great Fire, which, incidentally, was turned down by the Privy Council at the end of three days. He also had some far-reaching schemes of his own, and suggested that some limits might be placed to London—Park Lane on the west, and Euston Road on the north. In the plan he then put forward were included "almost every improvement that has since taken place. There was a Thames Embankment, a bridge where Waterloo Bridge was afterwards built, a square in a rather better position than Trafalgar Square, an ornamental entrance to St. James's Park, where the Admiralty Arch now stands. Among improvements which he suggested, but which are not even yet carried out, was an embankment on the south side and the moving of Covent Garden."

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6. A CHAMBER OF HORRORS.—Sir William Beveridge opened the "Rebuilding Britain" Exhibition at the National Gallery in February, 1943, and emphasised the need to attack and destroy five giant evils of Want, Disease, Ignorance, Idleness and Squalor.

He reminded his listeners that on coming down from Oxford he went to live and work, as some others of us did, at Toynbee Hall in Whitechapel. As he walked about the East End streets he used to try to imagine how many miles he and the people living there were separated from real country sights and sounds, not a smoke-smutched open space. He used to imagine himself a multi-millionaire, and plan to buy up all the unbuilt land for five miles around London, and make London start again on the other side of the belt, if it wanted to expand. A glance at two large maps of London, with thirty or forty years in between, showed how many dismal miles have been added in every direction to the distances from Whitechapel to the Green! How much more of a millionaire a man would have to be to do to-day what had been imagined forty years before.

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7. THE ENGLISH TOWN EXHIBITION.—This Exhibition, designed to show something of the continuity of the English Town, and to suggest some ideas for the future, was held in St. Martin's School of Art, Charing Cross Road, from Thursday, 22nd April, to Saturday, 8th May, 1943. Thirteen societies, among them our own, joined in the work, which was both historical and prophetic. Among the towns illustrated were Salisbury, Oxford, Guildford, Stamford, Lincoln, Kendal, Winchelsea, Welwyn Garden City and Letchworth. In all these towns the market was the centre of activity, and the high road often became the chief shopping centre. Mediaeval towns were full of charm, and of useful amenities, while the Georgian town was one of the most successful of period pieces, combining beauty and utility.

It was realised that the Industrial Revolution had a lot to answer for in throwing up hideous, unhealthy, joyless, sordid slums, for whose makers no words can be too strong. Drawings by such masters as Frank L. Emanuel, Dennis Flanders and Hanslip Fletcher helped to interpret the possibilities of intelligent planning. Leisure towns, pleasure towns, garden suburbs and cities, satellite towns, and housing estates, all presented problems which the Exhibition did its best to solve. There was a very interesting scale model for a new Charing Cross Bridge Scheme, with a plan for rebuilding the terminal station and providing a double purpose river bridge with railway below at the existing level and a roadway and footbridge above.

The peaceful setting of our English cathedrals in their garden closes was also well illustrated, and a contrast clearly made with most foreign cathedrals, which are cheek by jowl with shops, dwelling houses and market.

The Exhibition was well patronised, as it deserved to be, for it was of real educational value. Each society made itself responsible for an afternoon, and provided a lecturer to deal with some specific topic associated with the various ideas of the development of the English Town. A book has been produced giving details of the whole exhibition, and publishing all the lectures given during the fortnight and more that the Exhibition was open. The gratitude of all who are interested in the unbroken development of our English towns, and in the handing down of our best traditions are due to J. Dudley Daymond, the Honorary Secretary of the Exhibition.

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8. WREN SOCIETY.—The nineteenth volume of the Wren Society is the last of the famous illustrated publications, and the twentieth volume is reserved for a complete index. From 1924 to the present year, Arthur T. Bolton and H. Duncan Hendry have worked to identify and portray all buildings designed by perhaps 'the greatest of all English architects. In this volume there are, amongst others, pictures and descriptions of Chelsea Hospital, Greenwich Observatory and Temple Bar, parts of old Chelsea, and Morden College at Blackheath. One plate with sad association is that of St. Dionis Back Church, destroyed by the blitz on London. A review of this volume last year referred to the reviewer's "humility before Wren's versatility and courageous acceptance of disappointments, and Mr. Bolton's energy and care." May we add our tribute of admiration for the magnificent work of our fellow member.

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9. REPLANNING BRITAIN.—It was very appropriate that Alfred C. Bossom, M.P., F.R.I.B.A., should have spoken on this topic at the English Town Exhibition seeing that he is the leading authority in this country on the rebuilding of Williamsburg, Virginia, about which he lectured recently at the Society of Arts. In a full address he discussed the problem of house or flat, stressing the fact that in London, as elsewhere, 90 per cent. wanted house and garden.

Terraces, squares, circuses were advisable, but sound-proof

walls, running water, commonsense appliances, labour-saving devices were all essential. In order to tackle the 4 million new houses required during the ten years of the immediate post-war period, money, materials and method were needed. Probably traditional local building materials were most suitable, and Lord Portal's promised booklet on the subject would be a very real help. A tribute was paid to the eleven Societies which had planned the Exhibition; and it was emphasised that their influence was badly needed to prevent many undesirable developments.

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10. THE MINISTRY OF PLANNING.—W. S. Morrison, M.P., Minister of Town and Country Planning, opened the Exhibition of the L.C.C. Plan for the County of London at the County Hall in July, 1943.

He congratulated J. H. Forshaw, the L.C.C. architect, and Professor Patrick Abercrombie, the two heads of the team of architects, surveyors who have produced the plan, and felt that everyone in the team was deserving of praise. No 50-year programme for the reconstruction of London would ever be carried out in exactly the same shape as it left the draughtsman's hand. It must not be regarded just as a blue-print to be followed unchanged by the needs which half a century may disclose. But the production of the report and the Exhibition at County Hall "demonstrate the amount of research demanded by the framing of a plan for the reconstruction of a great city. They set a notable example of the lucid and attractive exposition of ideas. Above all, they pass a signal to the world that the County of London, for all its recent trial by fire and explosive, still has the vitality and the courage to plan for a future even greater than its past."

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11. THE GEORGIAN GROUP.—The last meeting of the English Town Exhibition at Saint Martin's School of Art was marked by a lecture on the work of the Georgian Group by Professor A. E. Richardson, A.R.A., F.R.I.B.A. He emphasised the need for returning to first principles in art, for protecting works of merit and for the broadening of public taste. Architects must return to geometry and scale, and let the sun into the conspiracy of light and shade. Proportion was axiomatic; and height and width and the right use of materials would bring about the desired results. Seemliness and order must be

cultivated, and vulgarity and ostentation avoided. Uncouth Towers of Babel, so fashionable in recent years, were not beautiful, and the ordinary man in the street often knew better what a good building should be than the highbrow.

"In the distant future London preserved, remodelled and in part re-organised, would rise resplendent, with, perhaps, open spaces marking present wounds; but nevertheless the greatest of cities, because when this war was over, the English-speaking peoples would lead the world as never before."

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12. THE SQUARE MILE.—In a recent discussion on replanning and rebuilding the City, almost the first since 1666, it was pointed out that to reveal the proposed plans now might prejudice the position of the City as a whole, and jeopardise discussions with the appropriate Ministries and other interested public bodies.

Now that the Government has signified its intention of accepting the Uthwatt Report in the main, and of restricting prices for land to what they were in March, 1939, there need be no great delay in revealing the plan. While Greater London is concerned with nearly a hundred authorities, and the L.C.C. plans with more than a score, the City Scheme, though complicated and intricate, is concerned only with one. It is a plan for more immediate realisation, and it aims at bringing back evacuated firms to the City, and at trying to appreciate the difficulties of those whose premises and goodwill have been destroyed. Perhaps firms' that have been evacuated to Sevenoaks and Sandhurst, to Reigate and Guildford, to Elstree and Harpenden will prefer to keep their main businesses in their new surroundings and have a consultative office in the City. The wonderful views of St. Paul's Cathedral and other public buildings which the blitz has revealed may persuade the City to leave many compulsory open spaces alone. Perhaps in the City, where there is little residence and much business, flats will be preferred to houses, and shops, offices, and even small factories will be accommodated in this way.

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13. HOLIDAYS AT HOME.—St. Pancras has always been conscious of its past, and its collection of local prints and books, helped by Ambrose Hill, is well known. In a laudable desire to interest people who have to spend their holidays in London the Borough Librarian compiled a guide for its citizens,

giving them some idea of "What to do," "What to see" and "What was." The *Observer*, in a sympathetic notice, writes "Gay with Ghosts. No child of that borough should be ignorant of its mighty past, from Boadicea, who fought the Battle of King's Cross (perhaps) against the Romans, to Bernard Shaw, who fought his battle against all and sundry in the Borough Council, 1897-1903. The whole area is a typical piece of London history in stone and brick; the *Wells* and pleasure-gardens of *Totnam Court*, then London's end, surrendered to the great new railways, and the dingy chaos of the monster dust-heaps described in *Our Mutual Friend*, and of Agar's Town, which Dickens helped to clean up. Dickens becomes even livelier and more aromatic reading (scents assorted) when you know your London history; and any seemingly dull street in St. Pancras (and most other boroughs) can be gay with ghosts, when a shrewd historian bids them rise. Other towns please copy." Here is sound advice, not only for war-time, but as a "general lesson in town usage when we arrange our peace-time life again." More boroughs must try to tell their folk what they are missing, try to recapture local patriotism by showing them the "sights and views that travellers know about, and locals fail to see, and all the queer bits of history and romance which are the forgotten patchwork of every town in the country."

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14. WHICH LONDON?—A leader-writer in the *Evening Standard* asks this pertinent question once again in relation to re-planning. "Is it the square mile of the City Corporation, from Temple Bar to Aldgate, and Aldersgate to the Thames, with a night population of 10,000 (exclusive of fire-guards) and a day population rising to the million.

"The Lord Mayor, pointing to this fount of literature and law and enterprise and finance, surveying the glittering piles above which St. Paul's still proudly rides, might be tempted to say 'yes.'

"Or is London the area of the L.C.C.? This area covers Poplar and Putney, Finsbury Park and Crystal Palace; it embraces five million people. Within its borders are the City; the 28 Metropolitan Boroughs and numerous other authorities, including the Masters of the Benches and the Innes and Temple. Emphatically, says Mr. Herbert Morrison [and Lord Latham] this is London.

“But what about *Water London*, 573 square miles of it, over which the Metropolitan Water Board presides? And that still larger London to which the Metropolitan Police give protection? And Lord Ashfield’s kingdom of ten million travellers? And extra London, which Essex, Herts, Kent, Middlesex and Surrey are proud to possess? Does the capital really comprise the 100 or more directly elected local authorities within the greater London area? Clearly, a plan which will permit the Plan to survive examination and, perhaps, amendment by all these powerful groups, is among our capital needs.

“Happily, we know who these Cockneys are. They are the Cockney and the Sudeten Welsh and the oppressing minority of Scots, and the migrants from Manchester and Montreal and Melbourne. They are the great company who emerged from the furnace made hot by Hitler, to glorify their neighbours and to discover in London the spot ‘beloved over all.’ London’s pride must be in its people—well housed in a gay and graceful city, flocking to meetings and ballot-box in millions instead of thousands, exercising vigorously the democratic freedom they have exerted themselves so grimly to win.”

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15. THE ABBEY MONUMENTS.—In one of those famous fourth leaders which delight all readers of *The Times*, especially perhaps in war-time, two suggestions with regard to these time-honoured memorials are discussed. One of them is the labelling of monuments so as to give to visitors the assurance that they are not missing trivial monuments of great men by reason of their finding more pleasure in seeing distinguished memorials of less famous folk. Of course it is not always clear which of the two is the better thing to do. Some of us prefer memorials to persons otherwise unknown—to Glaucus and Medon and Thersilochus—(*vide Spectator* for March, 1711), men whose life was but as the path of an arrow. We feel, with Viscount Wavell, that perhaps the great leader in a battle is not the general but the platoon commander who blazes the path. These labels, if done at all, must be placed with discretion, because “To overdo the ticketing would be to call up the spirit of the bargain basement rather than that of the crypt.”

The second suggestion is that statues should be coloured. It certainly would brighten up the white marble figures of the Statesmen’s Transept, opposite to Poet’s Corner, though it might be too reminiscent of Madam Tussaud’s.

It is suggested in *The Times* that the famous surveyor of the Abbey, one whose books on its building and treasures are almost without rival, William Richard Lethaby, would approve. Those who built and adorned the Abbey would be horrified at its chaste severe beauty, the "gloominess of the place," and the idea of accepting an Abbey all ablaze with colour has been encouraged by the work of Professor Tristram and Dr. Jocelyn Perkins, who applaud the practice of colouring our carved and statuary stone works.

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16. FINDS ON BOMBED SITES.—A conference was held at the Institute of Archaeologists, Regent's Park, during August to discuss "Archaeology and Replanning." Sir John Myres pointed out the great possibilities of discoveries in N. Africa, Sicily and Southern Italy, and Sir Cyril Fox emphasised the need for keeping a full record of all recent archaeological discoveries. There was a good deal of divergence of opinion as to whether the State should finance such work, and become the depository or custodian of all kinds of antiquity. Most people seemed to want the work to be done by amateurs; but a representative of the Ordnance Survey Office pointed out that Civil Service Archaeologists were people of the highest reputation. It was also realised that foreign countries gained a good deal in respect and consideration because their excavations were Government-financed.

It was decided to ask the Council of British Archaeology to take appropriate action at home and to suggest similar policy for forming an association to deal with overseas problems.

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17. WESTMINSTER ABBEY AND U.S.A.—Mr. John C. Winant, the American Ambassador, gave one of the holiday-at-home lectures in the Abbey, and thanked the authorities for the use of the sacred buildings made so easy for the Armed Forces of America. The Abbey, he emphasised, was full of the traditions of England and of the U.S.A., and it would not be difficult to prove the great influence of the Abbey on his country. Not only so, but the reverse was true, and American ideas had penetrated into Great Britain during the last 300 years. There was only one American buried in the Abbey, Sir James Wright, who was born in 1716 and died in 1785, and was Governor of Georgia during a period of difficulty and unhappiness. During the Revolution Americans sent sons to Westminster School,

now evacuated from its home owing to serious damage to its historic fabric. This custom still prevailed, and to-day 18 Americans who had been educated at Westminster were fighting side by side with the British for ideals in which they both believed.

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18. ENGLAND'S CAPITAL.—Other lectures on the Abbey were by Mr. Arthur Gardner on "Westminster as a home of British Sculpture," which gave rise to the interesting leader in *The Times* already referred to, and one by the Revd. Dr. Jocelyn Perkins on "The Abbey, as the Birthplace of Westminster's Civic Life." When the question is sometimes asked, "Since when has London been the capital of England?" the correct answer is that Westminster has always been technically our capital, as the home of the Sovereign, and of the three branches of government, Legislative, Executive and Judiciary. When one considers how convenient it is for the Government offices to be in Whitehall and the Judges in the Strand, while Parliament is sitting in Westminster, all of them metaphorically within a stone's throw of one another, one can realise the inconvenience for the Union of South Africa, where the Parliament sits in Cape Town, the Cabinet meets in Pretoria and the Judges exercise their function in Bloemfontein. If the Abbey is, in same senses, the religious capital of the British Commonwealth and Empire, in very close proximity is situated its civic capital.

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19. CLEARING THE CLINK.—The ancient borough of Southwark, the twenty-sixth ward of the City of London, has suffered severely in the various raids on London. In Southwark street demolition and clearance have produced one vast open space, and this has removed a good deal of crowded property, much of it squalid. It will now be possible to build a new Southwark far more worthy of its great past. How far back the story of Southwark goes is not easy to say, but some have argued that "before the Romans came to Rye, or out of Sussex strode," the Britons had embanked the south side of the Thames near Southwark. In early Norman days the Bishop of Winchester built himself a town house to the west of London Bridge on the Surrey side, and this developed into a palace with ten courtyards and seventy acres of parkland. This estate was a "Liberty" like several others not far away, and it was exempt

from any jurisdiction but his own. "In that liberty," writes *The Times*, "lay the seeds of all that is most distinctive, most exalted and most disreputable in the history of a place whose fame must never be allowed to fade."

In this episcopal manor were the chief Inns, including Chaucer's Tabard, the most important City playgrounds for watching bull and bear baiting, and the stews "which before the Reformation were conducted under licence from the Bishop and after the Reformation with the other sort of licence which came of want of supervision." There is a notice near the river to say, "The house formerly on this site was frequented by Sir Christopher Wren. Thence he watched the building of St. Paul's Cathedral." Southwark's Embankment of Bankside certainly gives a fine view, and the sunset makes it still finer. Along the Bankside, in Elizabethan days, stood the four famous playhouses, the Rose, Swan, Hope and the Globe, where so many of Shakespeare's plays were first produced.

Another site in the neighbourhood is that of the Clink, in which the Bishop of Winchester imprisoned heretics. In later years it had the reputation of being a "very dismal hole," where drunkards and debtors were confined; and it has given its name as a slang synonym for prison. The site recently cleared is at the junction of Clink Street, still a narrow cobbled way, and Stoney Street, which is an old Roman Road. A recent demolition removed one of the few relics of Winchester House, used by the Bishops until 1626. The chief trace of the age-long connection is to be found in the names of Winchester Walk, Winchester Square and Winchester Wharves.

The Borough Market is still busy; the Gothic Cathedral, where Gower and Shakespeare's brother are buried, is untouched, but no planning can recapture the fame of old Southwark. "One of the hardest tasks of our planners," writes *The Times*, "will be to realise that archaism is always futile, and that the safest way to preserve the ancient spirit is to be boldly faithful to the modern"

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20. STEPNEY AND BETHNAL GREEN.—One of the outstanding features of the London Plan of the L.C.C. is the way that such areas as these East-end groups are tackled. But there are two sides to every question, and the folk who live in Stepney and Bethnal Green also have their opinion as to future planning. Stepney Reconstruction Group, under the chairmanship of

Dr. J. J. Mallon, Warden of Toynbee Hall, arranged an imaginative exhibition at Whitechapel Art Gallery from 14-31 October, which was opened by Mr. Lewis Silkin, M.P., Chairman of the L.C.C. Town Planning Committee.

One of the proposals in the L.C.C. Plan was the reduction of population in the whole county area by well over half a million, and this involves a drop in population in Stepney from 200,000 to 94,000. Stepney makes it quite clear that it does not want its population thus reduced, nor does it want flats instead of houses. Recent train journeys through the bombed East End have shown with what devotion the folk there make the very most of small back gardens to produce vegetables and flowers, and this problem of retaining garden room for every inhabitant needs facing. The Exhibition starts from 1777, when Stepney was still a village, and there was little or no dock development, and it shows that high cost of land, poor planning and worse building have been the chief causes of to-day's crowding, congestion and chaos. After showing the Stepney of yesterday and to-day the Exhibition makes some hints for to-morrow. It asks that this important dockland and workshop shall be controlled so as to be improved, and insists that public interests in the matter of housing, planning, open spaces and communal amenities shall be put first. Bethnal Green, in co-operation with the Town and Country Planning Association, is also discussing its reactions to the L.C.C. London Plan.

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21. PAST AND PRESENT.—1943 sees the centenary of Carlyle's unexpected comparison of the England of his day with the England of the Middle Ages. "How horrified the men of the Middle Ages would have been if they had known that their plain customs and kingships would degenerate into the dirt and slavery of Manchester, and the tomfooleries of Chancery and St. Stephen's." And Carlyle's effort to improve the lot of the poor was being emphasised at a time when the people were feeling outraged by the New Poor Law of 1835, and were publishing their demands for the Charter, and were some of them threatening physical force if their demands were not satisfied.

*The Times* for 17th October, 1943, quotes a passage exactly a century old, when the paper cost 5d. a copy, and traces Carlyle's influence in a long and fervent appeal to the social conscience, which gave rise to a large correspondence. "One

of the evils of the vastness of London, and one which is productive of a large number of most seriously ill consequences, is the sad dissociation of the rich from the poor. . . . From Tottenham Court Road to Bayswater, from Regent Street to Kensington, from Whitehall to Maida Hill; miles and miles of streets may be traversed without more than a passing glance at anything like poverty. . . . But take the district between Shoreditch and Dog-row, Bethnal Green and Whitechapel, and there destitution is the rule. . . . It is for you, the rich and at leisure, to set your own hands to the work which your parochial institutions leave unattempted; it is for you, Protestants, to make up to the poor their loss through the Reformation of the old monastic doles; it is for you now to prove yourselves Christians in act as well as in profession."

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22. BEDFORD SQUARE.—C. E. Vulliamy had a delightful gossip about this comely square in Jonathan Cape's *Now and Then*; contrasting it with Tottenham Court Road, a very near neighbour. "London," he wrote, "upon the whole, is an immense congregation of ugly houses. Traces of earlier beauty or design are being swept away by ingenious methods of destruction and erection; they are being quickly replaced by a new liberal expanse of sooty muddle. Perhaps the world is unable to produce an avenue of horrors more depressing than our Tottenham Court Road." And then he tells us that a wren may fly from this region of unregulated ugliness into the dignity and order of Bedford Square in four seconds. But even the harmony and uniformity of this Square, with its air of comfortable distinction have been disturbed by A.R.P., by "trenches and timbering and banks of dirt which defile the green oval in the centre." The Square was built "in a noble age of town architecture, an age when the Georgian designer still appreciated the value of his Palladian inheritance. Without undue haste, between 1775 and 1780, the houses of Bedford Square grew up on the pastoral edge of London, near a space of green grazing where cows ruminated and horses nibbled their grass. . . . To some extent its elegance is due to the work and influence of the Adam Brothers, but the Square as a whole seems rather to be a collaboration than the work of a single architect." It is good news to see that Bedford Square has so far avoided the blitz, and to hear that there is a Committee appointed to

consider the replanning of Tottenham Court Road, with L. W. Spriggs as its chairman.

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23. LENIN'S LONDON HOME.—Attention has twice been drawn in recent months to the fact that Lenin lived and worked in exile in two small rooms at 30, Holford Square, Finsbury. In March, 1942, after the enemy air raids over London, little was left of Lenin's lodging save the bare wall at the front of the house. But in Finsbury's "Aid-for-Russia" Week a plaque to commemorate Lenin's life there and his part in the building of modern Russia was unveiled by Mme. Maisky, wife of the U.S.S.R. Ambassador. M. Maisky, then Ambassador to this country, made a speech in honour of Lenin, whom he characterised as one of the greatest men of all time, a man destined to play an exceptional rôle in the history of Russia and of all humanity. Only a year later the plaque was damaged by miscreants; and another important gathering was held to commemorate the repair of the memorial to Lenin.

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24. THE SPRAWL OF LONDON.—The problem of cottage in a garden or flat without one affects most Londoners, and both ideas have their defenders. If 50,000 migrate each year, as they did before the war, it may suburbanise what should be green belt. Perhaps new towns can be planned 20 to 40 miles out, and "Factories on rental, houses for all tastes, garden space, public services and the physical apparatus of a fine town life and culture could be economically provided." So says F. J. Osborn; and we are inclined to agree until we read Lewis Silkin, M.P., L.C.C., who tells us that to permit 80 per cent. of London dwellings to be houses we shall have to move two million Londoners and provide 200 Welwyn Garden Cities for them to inhabit. He suggests that the choice between a flat in London and a house forty miles away in a dull new town admits of only one answer from the average man. The "Gallup Poll" is not necessarily convincing, because the ideal cottage, envisaged by so many, might be too far from amenities to be convenient. To plan L.C.C. suburbs at Oxley and Chigwell is one side of the story, while the purchase of Wall Hall Estate, Aldenham, as an open space is altogether a different affair.

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25. JOHN BURNS'S BOOKS.—It was John Burns who spoke of the Thames as "liquid history," and his library of London

books was the type of collection that such an enthusiast would make. It is good news that his famous library is not to be dispersed but will be available for London students through the foresight and generosity of Lord Southwood. The news has now been made public that the L.C.C. Library will house this magnificent collection, and it will be an ideal spot for researchers. "Burns would have liked to think that his books were making good Londoners, among all classes, folk sharing his own curiosity about the unfamiliar past of familiar places, and his relish for a new phrase which plays like sunlight on old walls."

## REPORTS ON THE SOCIETY'S VISITS 1943

1. THE BOMBED HISTORIC BUILDINGS OF THE CITY OF LONDON.—Owing to enemy action on London the majority of the meetings arranged at the end of 1940 and up to the end of February, 1941, were not proceeded with, and in fact the activities of the Society were left in abeyance until after an Annual General Meeting held on the 24th April, 1943, it was decided to resume with a limited programme. Thus it was that the current programme from Saturday, 19th June, 1943, to Saturday, 11th March, 1944, was issued to members.

On the 19th June, 1943, under the able guidance of Edward Yates, F.S.A., the bombed historic buildings of the City of London were visited and a good number of members formed the party.

At the Church of All Hallows, Barking, which is opposite Mark Lane Station, the Rev. Leslie S. R. Beckley received the party and kindly explained the discoveries of Roman paving. The Church, which became after the First Great War the centre of the well-known work of Toc H, had its east end destroyed by high explosives in December, 1940, and three weeks later its roof and interior were devastated by incendiary bombs, with the result that its four walls and nave arcading alone remained. The nave arcading was so badly damaged that its demolition was advised and carried out. It was unfortunate that some methods were not considered to strengthen the western bays, as if their preservation had been possible interesting examples of 13th century work would have been retained, linking up with the 15th century work.

It is worthy of note that at this time a Saxon arch was discovered which can be dated at 670 A.D. and comparable with the Saxon Church of Brixworth, Northamptonshire. It has been protected by being bricked up but photographs were obtained before this work was done.

On leaving All Hallows Church, Barking, the party went to see the bombed Church of St. Olaves, Hart Street, and on passing Trinity House were informed of the earthen pots for the arch carrying ceiling and floor above, the method being now used in patented steel construction. Some of the Parish Boundary marks were pointed out. At St. Olave's Church, noted for its association with Samuel Pepys, the damage caused was the destruction of its roofs, but the walls and nave arcades, though damaged, still remain. The bust of Mrs. Pepys and monuments were saved. It seems that much could be restored in this Church. St. Dunstan in the East was visited, at which the body of the Church, rebuilt by David Laing in 1817-21, was devastated, the roofs destroyed and the walls remaining in an exposed condition. The spire, rebuilt by Wren in 1698 and finished in 1699, one of his best works in Gothic, is fortunately preserved. The party walked along Eastcheap through Cannon Street, paying a brief visit to St. Swithun Church, which has been devastated, along Budge Row, obtained a good view of St. Stephen's, Walbrook, considered one of Wren's best works, which had been damaged with incendiary bombs affecting a part of the beautiful dome and setting fire to the pews. The pulpit, reredos and font had been removed to safety. The magnificent organ case is little damaged. The Church of St. Mary-le-Bow was seen, the interior of which has suffered badly by high explosive and incendiary bombs, but Wren's well proportioned steeple, finished in 1780, is fortunately preserved. Then the party proceeded to the Church of St. Lawrence Jewry, which was destroyed by fire, the piers and walls together with the stonework of the tower remaining.

The Church of St. Mary, Aldermanbury, and that of St. Alban, Wood Street, close by, were then seen, both of which have had their roofs and interiors burnt out.

St. Giles, Cripplegate, which escaped the Great Fire in 1666, was attacked on two occasions, on the first the statue of Milton was thrown down by blast but not damaged, on the second attack by incendiary bombs the roofs were destroyed as well as the pews and fittings. It is hoped that the monuments may

not have had any serious damage. On returning from St. Giles, Cripplegate, the Church of St. Anne and St. Agnes, in Gresham Street, built by Wren in 1681, was visited. It has been much damaged, but not destroyed. St. Vedast, Foster Lane, rebuilt by Wren in 1697, was then visited. This Church has had its roofs destroyed and the interior wrecked. The spire is apparently not badly affected. A good view of it can now be seen from Cheapside. The last church visited was Christ Church in Newgate Street, built by Wren in 1687. All that now remains are the steeple and four walls. This was the Church for many years of Christ's Hospital, the school of the Blue Coat Boys.

2. ST. KATHERINE CREE CHURCH.—This Church was visited on Saturday, the 3rd July, 1943, and F. Herbert Mansford, F.R.I.B.A., who has made a special study of the City Churches, conducted the party. A most interesting account of the Church was given, which is one of those which escaped the great Fire of 1666.

The body of the Church is an example of transition from Gothic to the Classic principles of the Renaissance. It was built in 1628–30 on the site of an earlier church. Reference was made to the fact that Sir Thomas Audley, to whom the Priory had been granted, some 80 years before, offered the parishioners the Church of the Priory of Holy Trinity or Christchurch, Aldgate, in exchange for their own, but the offer was refused and so the Priory Church was demolished. The parishioners had until the 14th century worshipped at their own altar in the Priory Church. They had been expelled therefrom in a quarrel with the monks, but in 1414 an agreement was arrived at whereby the parishioners were to attend the Priory Church on the Festival of the Trinity and that the bells of St. Katherine's should not be rung during the singing in the Priory Church. The parishioners were allowed to have a font but all services were to be by a Canon of the Monastery.

The parishioners of the adjacent parish of St. James worshipped in the Priory Church until its dissolution, when they came to St. Katherine's, but in 1622 they built their own church near by in Duke's Place, and when this was demolished in 1874 their parish was united with St. Katherine's and some of their monuments were re-erected in this Church.

The former church on the site of St. Katherine's consisted of

nave and two aisles of somewhat lesser total width than the present Church.

The tower is still remaining, the lowest part of which was built in 1504. There is a fragment of a respond of the nave piers against it, the capital of which is about 3 feet above the present ground level. The floor of the previous Church was 7 steps below the level of the street as recorded by Stow, and the ground outside has risen much since then.

On the north side of the old Church was a narrow cloister 7 feet wide. It was probably connected with the performance of mystery and morality plays. Among the parish records is an entry for a licence to perform. These performances were suppressed by Bonner, Bishop of London, in 1542.

There is a mural monument from the previous church to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, Chief Butler of England and Ambassador to Scotland and France. He died in 1570 and Throgmorton Street takes its name from him.

The present Church has an east window in the form of a rose within a square. The other windows each have three cusped lights with the centre one the highest. All are flat headed.

The ceiling is in plaster with the design similar to Gothic vaulting but flatter. The eastern two bays have more ribs than the others and are about two-fifths the length of the Church.

The columns and arches are of Renaissance character, the arches of the Western Bay are narrower than the others, thus to be of the same height are in consequence stilted.

This Church is sometimes ascribed to Inigo Jones, but there is apparently nothing to confirm this. The Church was consecrated with great ceremony by Laud. The service books used on this occasion and an engraved portrait are preserved in the Church.

The organ by Father Bernard Smith originally dates from 1686 and has been entirely rebuilt. The vestry was built in 1793.

Restorations were carried out during the 19th century, the pulpit being moved to where it now stands and the pews cut down in height.

A sermon is preached every year on the 16th October called "The Lion Sermon," in commemoration of the escape from a lion by Sir John Gayer in the Syrian desert. Sir John became Lord Mayor in 1646 and left a legacy in order that this sermon

should be preached. There is a recent brass to his memory on the floor of the chancel.

3. THE GEFFRYE MUSEUM.—On Saturday, the 21st August, 1943, a visit was paid to the Geffrye Museum at 2.30 p.m. The members were received by Mrs. M. Harrison, the Acting Curator.

It may be mentioned that the Geffrye Museum is so called because Sir Robert Geffrye, Lord Mayor of London, 1685–6, and Master of the Ironmongers' Company, 1667 and 1685, died on the 26th February, 1704, left by his will the residue of his real and personal estate to the Ironmongers' Company to purchase a piece of land for the erection of almshouses. Thus was acquired on the 25th March, 1712, the plot in Kingsland Road, Shoreditch, on which was built about 1715 the Geffrye Almshouses, which at that time were in the country. In 1908 building in the locality had increased to such an extent that it was decided to remove the almshouses to a country district in Kent. The almshouses were sold to the Peabody Trust, who proposed to pull them down, but the opposition to the demolition of this 18th century building was effective, with the result that eventually the London County Council secured possession and converted the almshouses into a museum associated with the furniture and cabinet making industry of the locality.

Mrs. Harrison, who very kindly conducted the party, explained the exhibits arranged in period rooms illustrating the social life of the people from the end of the 16th century to our own time.

In the earlier periods the requirements of the home in woodwork, plaster work, metal work and the work in other materials were designed and carried out with a simplicity and beauty, and in like manner the furniture as well, so that a pleasing decorative effect was produced.

Each period depends upon the introduction of new materials, improved methods in manufacture, better working conditions, mechanical and scientific progress and the fashion of the time.

The present age possesses advantages of various services such as gas and electricity unknown before, but the surroundings in the home have not the charm of earlier periods, since the artistic work of the craftsman is being replaced by mechanical methods.

In each of the Period Rooms figures are depicted in the costume of the time. The room shown to start with was that fitted up illustrative of the period at the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign, about 1600, with panelling of the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries, a Tudor mantelpiece and furniture in oak comprising chests, table and chairs. Articles in household use were pewter plates, leather drinking vessels, wooden bowls, pottery jugs and rushlight holders. As candles were used for artificial lighting a wrought iron candelabra is in this room. Oak being used for shipbuilding gradually became much less in use for furniture.

During the 17th century the caning of chairs and of upholstery had their beginning. The employment of Italian workmen influenced the transition from Gothic and Renaissance which extended to furniture design.

A Period Room indicates the design of Sir Christopher Wren's for the Master's Parlour in the *Pewterer's Hall of date* about 1688. In this room a small mirror is at this time a new requisite in the ordinary house. There is a model of the Dean of St. Paul's House which forms an example of Wren's domestic work.

A Period Room of the time of Queen Anne early in the 18th century has oak panelling with seats in the window recesses. There is a corner fireplace and a corner cupboard opposite. The use of mirrors forms also part of the decorative scheme. A barometer of 1710 date hangs on the wall. The spinning wheel is evidence of the daily household activities. Then there is a firegrate of fire-dogs with bars between welded thereto, being the first of this type. Another example depicting an early 18th century panelled room of a cottage of about 1710, the panelling being plain with moulded cornice, chair rail and skirting. The fireplace has fire-dogs for the use of logs and there are cooking appliances of the time and a pair of bellows. Hanging from the wall is a copper warming pan and a rushlight holder is at hand when wanted. On the floor is a mouse trap.

Other fitted up rooms show pine panelling of early and mid-18th century periods with Chippendale and Sheraton furniture.

There are also rooms showing 19th century methods as well as the modern tendency in which the furniture is of the mechanical utility type.

After seeing the Period Rooms the party inspected other parts of the Museum with examples of fireplaces, chimney pieces, doorways and other objects essential in the home. The

carved deal staircase from 56, Great Queen Street, of 1637, is an interesting example.

4. WROTHAM PARK HOUSE AND GROUNDS.—On Saturday, 11th September, 1943, Wrotham Park House and Grounds at South Mimms, Middlesex, was visited. It has the confusing anomaly of being in the Postal District of Barnet, Hertfordshire.

The Right Honourable The Earl of Strafford and the Countess very cordially received the party of 30 or more, and a most interesting afternoon was thoroughly enjoyed by all who attended. Major Brett-James, our chairman of Council, offered the Presidency of the Society to the noble Earl, and the acceptance by him was much appreciated. The Council at its meeting after the visit were enthusiastic in its confirmation.

The name of Wrotham arises from the association with Wrotham in Kent, where the Byng family had a seat there as early as the 15th century. Wrotham Park House was built by Isaac Ware, architect for Admiral The Hon. John Byng, in January, 1749-50, and completed in 1754. It is of the classical type of design prevalent during the middle of the 18th century. It has a central feature on the east and garden fronts with a portico of four Ionic columns and a wing built on either side. The pediment of each portico is at the second storey level and has sculptures in the tympanum, in one case that of Neptune with sea nymphs in attendance, and in the other case the Byng arms. A balustrade forms the parapet. It is a spacious and dignified structure. It was mainly built of red bricks, but early in the 19th century was covered with stucco.

During the building of the house Admiral The Hon. John Byng is stated to have occupied Knightland where, according to tradition, there is some oak panelling from the flagship of his father, Admiral Sir George Byng, 1st Viscount Torrington.

Admiral The Hon. John Byng as Admiral of "The Blue" in 1756, had eleven ships for the relief of Minorca, but being faced with a superior fleet he withdrew from the Mediterranean after an engagement which was inconclusive. For this exercise of his discretionary power he was subjected to a court martial under part of the 12th article of the severe War Act of Parliament of the 22nd year of George II, which prescribed death without any alternative left to the Court, but in adjudging death by shooting as the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty should direct, "the Court did not believe that his misconduct arose

either from cowardice or disaffection, and did therefore unanimously think it their duty most earnestly to recommend him as a proper object of mercy." This recommendation was disregarded, and four Lords of the Admiralty signed the death warrant, but the Hon. John Forbes absolutely refused, and gave his reasons for dissenting. The Admiral was shot on the 14th March, 1757, on board the "Monarque" in Portsmouth Harbour.

Dying a bachelor, he was succeeded by his nephew George Byng, who married Anne Conolly, granddaughter of Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, and their son, John Byng, was one of the distinguished military commanders in the Peninsula War, created Baron Strafford in 1835, and Viscount Enfield and Earl Strafford in 1847.

The Countess Strafford pointed out to our members a relic of the last Great War, a bone which in 1915 a Zeppelin, being over Wrotham Park for some time and possibly mistaking it for the Alexandra Palace, then used as a German internment camp, dropped it as a reminder of starved-out Germany.

The interior of the house was damaged by fire in 1883, but was refitted as formerly. On the occasion when Wrotham Park lake was cleaned out, about 1870, relics of the Battle of Barnet were found.

During the visit our Chairman, Major Brett-James, with the list of the valuable collection of pictures in the house, gave an interesting talk with regard to them. Many of the portraits were of the Byng family, the three now mentioned having associations with the house from the time it was built, viz.:

Hon. John Byng (1704-1757), Admiral of "The Blue," by Hudson.

George Byng (1735-1789), who succeeded his uncle at the age of 22, became M.P. for Middlesex. This portrait after J. Downman.

John Byng (1772-1860), First Earl of Strafford of the 3rd Creation, Field Marshal, by Sir Francis Grant, 1854.

Among the pictures were portraits of famous personages and of historical events. There were also much of great interest as the party passed through the rooms of this interesting house.

5. CHISWICK HOUSE.—Chiswick House was visited on Saturday afternoon the 9th October, 1943, conducted by Mr. Francis R. Taylor, and much of interest was seen. The description given was as follows:—

An important house at Chiswick; built during the first 14 years of the reign of James I, is referred to in *The Antiquities*

of *Middlesex*, by John Bowack, published in 1705-6, describing it as "a noble ancient Seat built by Sir Edward Warden after the ancient manner, very regular and strong." Since there is nothing known of Sir Edward Warden it seems that Sir Edward Wardour, knighted at Whitehall on the 20th July, 1618, must have been meant. The association of the Wardour family with Chiswick is proved by the monument to Sir Edward's father, mother, sister and son in Old Chiswick Church.

The Jacobean house at Chiswick containing, as Bowack further describes, "many very spacious rooms in it and large gardens behind," was apparently the chief residence of Sir Edward Wardour until disposed of in 1624 to Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset, who with his Countess lived there, and as Wilson states in his *History of King James I*, "strangers to one another." The Countess of Somerset died of cancer at the house on the 23rd August, 1632, and was buried in the Earl of Suffolk's vault in the Church of Saffron Walden, Essex.

Lady Anne Carr, daughter of the Earl and Countess of Somerset, was in her 17th year when her mother died, and soon after became betrothed to Lord William Russell, son of the Earl of Bedford, who had a residence at Corney House, Chiswick. The Earl of Bedford strongly opposed the union, but the great physician, Dr. Mayerne, whose daughter Elizabeth was one of Lady Anne Carr's intimate friends, prevailed upon King Charles I to intercede on behalf of the young Chiswick lovers. The Earl of Bedford then consented on condition of a dowry of £12,000 being provided for. Then we have a News Letter of the 23rd of March, 1636, from Mr. Garrard to the Earl of Strafford, stating that the marriage will now be shortly solemnised. The Earl of Somerset, choosing rather to undo himself than to make his daughter unhappy, to effect which "he hath sold all that he can make money of, even the house he lives in at Chiswick with all his plate, jewels and household stuff." The marriage took place on the 13th July, 1637.

The house at Chiswick where the Earl of Somerset lived is depicted in Knyff's drawing engraved by Kip. Both Knyff and Kip were Dutch artists. The engraving of the Jacobean house is a record at the end of the 17th century, and is possibly the same as it was when the Earl of Somerset settled there in 1624. In the Parish books the name of the Earl of Somerset occurs in 1636 and 1637, but in 1638 that of the Right Hon. Phillip Earl of Pembroke, and in 1639 that of the Right Hon.

Lord Pawlett or Poulett. After Lord Poulett came Mr. John Ashburnham. Lord Poulett and John Ashburnham were both loyal Royalists, and King Charles II arranged for John Ashburnham to purchase, at a cost of £7,000, the House at Chiswick, in order to grant the same and all that was in it to the Duke of Monmouth. This took place in March, 1664. There is a Warrant of the 25th of August, 1668, requiring William, Lord Crofts, as trustee to the Duke of Monmouth, to convey the house at Chiswick and certain other lands to Charles, Lord Gerard of Brandon, who has purchased the same for £4,000. Lord Gerrard took possession on the 15th of August of that year, and retained the ownership for seven years or more. A tenant of Lord Gerrard's for the three years of 1672, 1673 and 1674 was the Lord Marquis of Worcester, son of the famous scientific Marquis, in residence at the house during this period.

Lord Gerrard disposed of the house to Richard Earl Ranelagh. It is interesting to note that Lord Ranelagh's mother was a daughter of Richard Boyle, 1st Earl of Cork. The Jacobean House before the 20th of December, 1681, was acquired by Sir Edward Seymour of Maiden Bradley, who had been Speaker of the House of Commons, and in 1682 he sold it to Richard Boyle, 2nd Earl of Cork and 1st Earl of Burlington, who was an uncle of Lord Ranelagh. The Jacobean house then became known as "The Earl of Burlington's."

At the time of the purchase the Earl of Burlington was over 70 years of age and he died at the house on the 15th January, 1697-1698. His son, Charles, Lord Clifford of Lanesborough, who married in 1635 Lady Jane Seymour, daughter of William Duke of Somerset, pre-deceased his father, so his son Charles succeeded his grandfather as 2nd Earl of Burlington. He died on the 9th January, 1703-4. His son, Richard, a boy of 8 years, became 3rd Earl of Burlington and inherited the property of his father. The next few years were devoted to his education. He made prolonged travels in Italy, returning therefrom in 1716, but it was some years after that he devoted his energies to the patronage of the Arts. The Art Collections of the Earl of Burlington were very extensive, and they needed a suitable building in which to store them. Consequently the Earl erected in 1729-1736, near the Jacobean House, but set back some distance from it, a building which has since been known as the "Chiswick Villa." This is shown in Rocque's plan of the house and grounds in 1750.

The Earl of Burlington adopted the design by Palladio of the Villa near Vicenza, built for the Marquis Capra as the type to be followed by William Kent his architect. The villa was to be seen on all sides, but as the Jacobean House was still to be the residence, a suitable means of communication between them had to be provided. This was effected by a narrow passage at the north-east corner, an entrance hall, ante-room and dining room or, as called in later times, "The Summer Parlour."

The difference between the Palladian type and the Chiswick Villa are chiefly the following:— The Capra Villa had as its chief feature on every one of the four elevations a portico of six Ionic columns in front and one flight of steps, whereas at the Chiswick Villa only one portico occurs, and that on the main Burlington Lane entrance elevation. It has six Corinthian columns in front with a flight of steps on both sides. On each side there is a statue on a pedestal; on the east side that of Inigo Jones, and on the west side that of Palladio.

The central hall of the Capra Villa is circular in plan, roofed over with a dome and surmounted with a lantern, whilst that of the Chiswick Villa is octagonal in plan covered with an octagonal dome. It has a semicircular headed window in each of the four sides to the lower vertical part of the dome.

Chiswick Villa being a store house for Art treasures, in two of the rooms portraits were arranged in rounds in the scheme of decoration. In the south-west room there were those of Inigo Jones by Dobson, and the First Earl of Sandwich by Sir Peter Lely. In the south-east room there were those of the Earl of Cumberland, of Pope by Kent, of Lady Burlington by Aikman, and Lady Thanet the sister of Lady Burlington.

The collection of drawings collected by the Earl of Burlington during his travels in Italy were all housed at the Chiswick Villa, but are now preserved by the Royal Institute of British Architects, having been placed in this Society's care by the Duke of Devonshire.

The kitchen offices and stables east of the Jacobean House and attached thereto constitute outbuildings which may possibly have been erected near the end of the 17th century. The elevation is shown on Kip's engraving of Knyff's drawing. This block of buildings was pulled down in 1933.

Kent, in his design of the double staircase on the north and south fronts of the Chiswick Villa was original and effective. He produces excellent results in the laying out of the extensive

gardens by adopting Italian and English methods with long avenues of trees, terraces, with decorative features of small temples, pavilions, obelisks, vases, pedestals and statues. There are three statues arranged in a semicircle representing Caesar, Pompey and Cicero. They were brought from Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli.

The Inigo Jones gateway at the east end of the gravel walk along the garden front of Chiswick House was originally at Beaufort House, Chelsea, and was given to the Earl of Burlington by Sir Hans Sloane in 1737.

The serpentine lake on the west side of the estate was excavated under Lord Burlington's instructions.

The Third Earl of Burlington died in 1753 when Chiswick House passed to the Fourth Duke of Devonshire, who when he was Marquis of Hartington had married Lady Charlotte the youngest and sole surviving daughter of the Earl of Burlington. No additions seems to have been made by the Fourth Duke of Devonshire, but the Fifth Duke, who wished to convert Chiswick Villa into a residence for his famous Duchess and their family, had the necessary works carried out under his architect James Wyatt, R.A., in 1788, consisting of the addition of two wings, one on the east side and the other on the west. The Jacobean House was pulled down at this time. Inside between the Villa and each wing a staircase was added. The external double flight of steps on the north side were removed. Other alterations and additions were carried out and the entire scheme was adapted to conform with Kent's design of the Villa.

The Sixth Duke bought the site on which Sir Stephen Fox's house had stood, it being pulled down in 1812 together with its garden, and added the same to the grounds of Chiswick House. In these gardens the Duke had a magnificent conservatory constructed. Sir Stephen Fox's House, it may be mentioned, has a small part shown on the extreme right of Kip's engraving.

The wrought iron gates formerly at Heathfield House were bought by the Duke of Devonshire in 1837, who placed them at the Duke's avenue entrance. They were removed in 1897 and placed in front of Devonshire House, Piccadilly. They were acquired by the Government and placed in their present position in the Piccadilly front of the Green Park in connection with the Queen Victoria Memorial.

Early in the 19th century the Sixth Duke of Devonshire held many important fêtes at Chiswick House to entertain many

Royal personages, and it may be mentioned that between 1866 and 1879 Chiswick House became a Royal Residence as the Prince of Wales, afterwards King Edward VII, with his young Royal family were in occupation. In 1879 to 1892 it was occupied by the then Marquis of Bute, at which time it was adorned by the splendid collection of pictures and statues. These have since been removed to the Duke of Devonshire's seat at Chatsworth and elsewhere. After that it was occupied by the *Drs. Tuke* as a private mental home. Eventually it was purchased for public use under municipal control in 1929 as a permanent park.

In conclusion it may be mentioned that two eminent statesmen died in Chiswick House: Charles James Fox, grandson of Sir Stephen Fox, in the south-east room, 13th September, 1806; and on 8th August, 1827, George Canning, in a room above.

FRANCIS R. TAYLOR.

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# HISTORY OF THE PARISH OF ST. MARY-THE-VIRGIN, ALDERMANBURY

By CHARLES W. F. GOSS, F.S.A.

## ORIGIN OF ALDERMANBURY.

ALDRESMANESBERI and Aldermannesberin in 1120-30; Aldremanesburi in 1130-50; Aldermanesbury in 1189-99; Aldermannebury and Aldermannesbury in 1202-3; Aldermanburi in 1213; Aldermanbiri in 1278; Aldermygbure in 1353.

Stow, writing in 1598, says "how Aldermanbury streete took that name, many fables have been bruited, all of which I overpass as not worthy the counting" but he proceeds to say that "it took the name of Alderman's burie (that is to say a court)."

The Street obtained its denomination from having situated on its east side, the "berin," "beri," "buri," or "bury," ancient terms for a fortified enclosure, court hall, or capital mansion. The meaning is obvious—the Ealdorman's mansion or enclosed place, and betokens the place where the Ealdorman or Aldorman, a man advanced in years, held his "bury" or court, to exercise judicial as well as consultative duties, long before Aldermen, as we understand the office to-day, were first elected to represent the citizens of the district, and where the court persisted for nearly three centuries while the form of civic government was in the making. "Bury" may be taken in the sense of a house or mansion, such as Gorham Bury, the mansion of Robert de Gorham; Bucklersbury, the residence of the Buckerels; Canonbury, the Canon's house.

The twelfth century form, Aldresmanesberi, is of Saxon origin and points conclusively to the genitive singular, as the "bury" of an individual Ealdorman.

The same word appears in the Swedish language, *viz.*:—Alder-man, the chief or oldest man of a craft gild, and it rather implies that in the time of Edward the Confessor and William the Norman, the manor or territorial district was a sort of island of jurisdiction and rights.

In theory, the Ealdorman, appointed by the King, transmitted the office to his descendants, and so, in the absence of other evidence, it may be that the Ealdorman referred to as possessing

the "bury" or mansion, was the chief of the gild and also a member of one of the most interesting of early London families: a Norman immigrant, from whom was descended our earliest traceable holder of the liberty of jurisdiction, namely, Berengar, who, as we find, held it *circa* 1120-30, as its noble or baron. He was succeeded by his son, Reiner Fitz-Berengar, who died about 1175.

When the time arrived to elect new Ealdormen to represent the citizens of the district for the purpose of settling disputes, and administering justice, the ancient "bury" was probably found to be too small, and otherwise unsuitable to the requirements of the newly-elected body. There is no evidence where the first "bury" or court was situated. The lord of the manor may possibly, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, have provided the Ealdormen with accommodation in his manor house. Be that as it may, a new hall or court became necessary, and so we have it recorded that Reiner's son, Richard Fitz-Reiner, the rich cloth merchant and joint-sheriff in 1188-89, for the purpose of erecting a more pretentious "bury" or hall, gave from his estates, a portion of the land which he and his father before him held "by hereditary right." This new "bury" was erected on a spot close to the west end of the site upon which the Guildhall now stands, and it became the meeting place of the then civic fathers. It passed through sundry transitions, whether by alterations or enlargements, from time to time, but it persisted in the privileged area for over two centuries (the term "bury" being displaced by "Gialla," "Gyhall" and "Gyhald" in 1292), until a new or enlarged Guildhall was erected on the site occupied by the present structure, with a portion extending westward towards Aldermanbury, which, according to the 15th-century chronicler, Alderman Robert Fabyan, was begun in 1411 and finished about 1431.

Referring to the year 1411, Fabyan writes, "in which yere was ye Guylde Halle of London begon to be newe edyfyed and of an olde and lytell cotage made into a fayre and goodly house as it now apperyth." This, undoubtedly, points to part of the ancient "bury" being incorporated with the new building.

In any event, part of Fabyan's "lytell cotage" was certainly abandoned early in the 15th century, for John Stow, writing in 1598, states that the "hall of old time stood on the east side of Aldermanbury, not far from the west end of Guildhall now used." The supposed ruins of the old "bury" or "Gyhall"

were said to be visible in the 16th century, in justification of which statement, Stow again comes to our aid. He says, "I myselfe haue seene the ruines of the old court hall in Aldermanbery Streete which of late hath beene employed as a carpenter's yard."

In Ogilby and Morgan's 1677 plan, Carpenter's Yard is shown as a very narrow lane, giving entrance to gardens in the precincts of the 1411-31 Guildhall, and some 70 or 80 feet distant from the north-west corner of the Common Hall. The narrowness of the yard was such as hardly to provide space for a structure such as the Ealdormen would have required, for the volume of business must have been considerable, even in those days, so that we are led to assume that Stow's "ruines" may have consisted of masonry and other building material, which had been removed from the old court hall, and stored in Carpenter's yard. The "ancient bury," referred to by Stow, was that built on the land given by Fitz-Reiner in the late 12th or early 13th century, and replaced by the enlarged structure, completed in 1431, with an extension towards the west, the old entrance to which is known to have been from Aldermanbury. In one of the City Letter-books there appears an entry which also associates the western end of Guildhall with an entrance on the west, open to the roadway. Ogilby's plan, too, shows that a lane or alley formerly existed immediately opposite the centre of the west end of Guildhall.

It is therefore contended that the site of the "ancient bury" is that represented by the houses in Dyer's Court, contiguous to the west end of the Guildhall, the entrance to which being some 80 or 90 feet further south of Carpenter's Yard, and between the existing Nos. 11 and 12, Aldermanbury.

#### THE SOKE OR MANOR.

The life of the inhabitants of this corner of the City, up to the 11th century, is enveloped in obscurity, and one of the many difficulties confronting the student is, that of tracing records which afford any reliable information about its topography before the end of the 6th century. If this interesting quarter of London was to any extent inhabited by the Romans, all evidence has completely disappeared, save that afforded by the venerable fragment of Wall which is known to exist beneath the mediaeval structure on the north side of the street, London Wall, and also a few Roman rubbish pits, containing

fragments of pottery and shells, discovered in the present century, at the extreme south-east corner of the parish. Moreover, if any Roman buildings ever existed here, the stones of which they were constructed were removed and employed by the Saxons in the making of their roads, when, in the 6th century, St. Ethelbert, King of Kent, not only subjugated Essex and Sussex, and made himself overlord of all the lands round London; but obtained a nominal suzerainty over the other kingdoms, with the exception of Northumbria, and no Saxon work in the soke has withstood the wastage of the centuries.

Ethelbert took possession of a vast expanse of open land for his demesne, probably all that north of Cheapside, and west of Walbrook, and having firmly established himself in the extreme north-western part of it, he proceeded to erect his royal residence.

Tradition has assigned this island site of the Saxon Palace between the Church of St. Albans and that of St. Mary the Virgin, bounded by what to-day is Wood street, Addle street, Love lane and Aldermanbury. Mathew Paris, who died about 1258, in a reference to the Church of St. Albans, writes:—  
 “there to be the Chapel of Offa of Mercia whose royal Palace was contiguous to it, but through the carelessness and sloth of his successors, was by unjust seizing or encroaching thereon by neighbouring citizens, reduced (though still retaining its ancient liberty) to a small house,”

from which statement we are led to assume that the King of Mercia (755–794) built the Palace.

There is, however, a refutation of this in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, in the form of a document of sixteen folios, containing a minute account of the “expens and chargis in the clensyng of certeyn olde ruinouse houses and grounde lying in Aldermanbury, sumtyme the Place [Palace] of Saincte Aethelbert Kyng . . . and in the erection, settingg uppe and makyng of fyve new Tenementes . . . which began in London Tuysday the xxix day of Auguste the xxiiij yere of the reigne of Kyng Henry Grace the viijth.”

Although the ruins referred to at that date may not have been wholly those of the royal residence, built in the 6th century, yet it is not altogether improbable that some of the old foundations were then still existing, with the ruins of later erections on a portion of the site of the palace which had been the royal dwelling in London. The sites of the “fyve new

Tenementes," mentioned in the document, were undoubtedly marked by those standing on the north-east corner of the church, as shown on Ogilby and Morgan's 1677 plan.

It was probably in this Palace that Ethelbert drew up his code of laws, and where, in conjunction with Mellitus, Bishop of London, he designed and gave to London its first Cathedral Church of St. Paul and the See of London, in 604. That St. Paul's was built by Ethelbert was proved nearly five centuries later, by the charters of William the Conqueror.

From various sources we gather that the Palace, built by St. Ethelbert, remained the royal residence of the Saxon kings for over four centuries, until Edward the Confessor abandoned it in favour of his palace at Westminster, which he caused to be built adjoining the monastery there in 1061.

If evidence is needed that the palace in Addle street existed as late as the close of the 7th century at least, we find mention is made of the King's Hall in London, by St. Ethelbert's two great-grandsons (Hlothære and Eadric), in their "enactments and dooms" up to Eadric's death, in 685, three-quarters of a century before Offa was born, in 755; while Mathew of Paris states that Offa used St. Albans as a chapel, which was contiguous to the Royal Palace.

Newcourt, in his "Repertorium," goes further, and asserts that the royal house was east of the church of St. Albans, with an entrance from Addle street, which it is said derived its name from Atheling (Athelstan); but, as to this, we shall have something to say later.

As this part of the royal demesne was the place of the King's residence, it would have been under the special protection of the King's Reeve, who would have had jurisdiction over a wide area, and, in order to develop the open spaces which existed during the Saxon times, surrounding the royal residence. King Alfred, during his reign (871-901), would probably have granted areas of land to influential Ealdormen, that they should encourage the formation of a gild or an association for the increase and protection of trade, for mutual protection and defence, and the exercise of good fellowship, and also that they should exercise jurisdiction for the maintenance of law and order, and, no doubt, such a policy was followed by Athelstan and Edward the Confessor.

The early history of the soke is very obscure, and it does not appear that the soke or manor of Aldermanbury had yet

been created. We have no evidence by whom or when it was created; but it was probably about 1060, which date synchronised with the abandonment of the royal residence by the Confessor, whereby a development took place with the prosperity of London as a trading centre and increasing land values. This released area was, no doubt, split up for the creation of sokes. One of these privileged areas was that of Aldermanbury, and, perhaps, the most important, since it included the site of the Royal residence, and, owing to the encroachment upon it, the ancient liberties were transferred to the Ealdorman who already had, or later built, his "bury," opposite the church of St. Mary the Virgin.

The two earliest references to the soke of Aldermanbury so far discovered, are those appearing in the original MS. in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, *circa* 1120-1130, giving the measurements of the lands owned by St. Paul's within the city:—

"The land of Goldwin the clerk is 30 feet broad and a hundred fourscore and four feet long at the end of the same on the eastern part [there is] a shrubbery . . . and pays . . . to the soke of Aldresmaneburi, three halfpence. . . ." "In Aldresmaneburi, the land of Wlured pays 3/- in fee and 1½ to the soke. It is 133 feet in length, and 41 feet in breadth."

These references prove conclusively that the soke or manor was in existence in the first quarter of the 12th century; but they do not preclude the supposition of an earlier existence.

*The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* records that King Alfred restored London and committed the burgh to "the keeping of the Aldorman Æthelred," and, this being so, it may have been the starting-point for the appointment of Ealdormen for various areas in the City.

If the grant in the first instance was made to the Ealdorman which gave the soke its name, the evidence would point to a chief, or simply the Elder man of the "frith" or "peace" gild of the City, an institution which existed as far back as the time of Athelstan, whose ordinances were more particularly directed to the improvement of the system of mutual assurance and association which held so great a place in Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence, and his "*Judicia Civitatis Lundoniæ*" were highly valuable in connection with the gilds and civic associations.

The gild made its own laws for the punishment of evil-doers, and was a sort of friendly society, formed with the

object of maintaining order and bringing felons to justice, and generally for the benefit of the inhabitants, but it also had a social side. The formation of *gilds* in Athelstan's time, to which members subscribed *gild* payment, was intended to provide the Saxons with a hall or "bury," in which its members might meet at stated times for social gatherings and for refreshing themselves with ale-drinking. Giraldus Cambrensis (Gerald de Barry), writing in the reign of Henry II, states that the Guildhall of London was so named from the fellowship drinkings held there.

The *soke* of Aldermanbury certainly did not derive its name from an Alderman of the City as we understand the office to-day, for the reason that the creation of the *soke* pre-dates the earliest election of Aldermen by more than half a century.

It is reasonable, therefore, to assume that the *gilds* had a "bury" or court house, at this early date, in which the members met for "mutual pledging," as well as for religious purposes. Here, they deliberated upon matters affecting the well-being of the inhabitants, for the *soke* was exempt from jurisdiction of any other part of the City, and it possessed the privilege of holding a court, as well as the territory in which such privilege was exercised by the Ealdorman of the *gild*.

We make some advance when we find that one, Berengar, or Berengarius, probably one of William the Norman's retinue, held the *soke*, *circa* 1120-1130, and that, about the year 1156, Henry II confirmed to his son, Reiner de Aldermanbury, otherwise Reiner Fitz-Berengar, all the liberties and customs of the *soke*. This confirmation is not only clear evidence that Berengar was the baron of the *soke*, or manor, but also that such fact offers some justification in assuming that Berengar's father may have enjoyed the liberties before him. This, then, is the beginning of the manor of Aldermanbury.

For two consecutive years (1158-59), Reiner Fitz-Berengar was one of the five Sheriffs of London, and, with William Fitz-Isabel, he held the office jointly for seven years, 1163-70. That he was a wealthy and influential man is shown by the fact that he possessed his own seal, bearing the equestrian effigy in armour, with the legend, "Sigillum Reineri filii Berengarii." He had four sons (Richard, William, Henry and Simon), and, at his death, in 1175, the *soke* passed to his eldest son, the wealthy Alderman Richard Fitz-Reiner (Sheriff in 1188-9).

Richard died in 1191, without issue, leaving his brothers, William and Henry, his heirs. The King's brother (John) presided at a court of arbitration for the division of the property between the brothers, who came to an agreement, under which William became possessed of lands, including those at Edmonton and in the Vintry, while Henry received the lands in Aldermanbury and elsewhere. Owing to his adherence to the barons, the lands of William Fitz-Reiner were seized by King John, notwithstanding the financial help he had received from the Reiner family before he ascended the throne, and, at the death of Henry Fitz-Reiner, the soke passed to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, for it is recorded that the Dean and Chapter "granted to Baldwin Crispus (Crisp) and his heirs the land which Henry the son of Berengarius formerly held." Simon de Aldermanbury (Sheriff in 1200), who had previously married Crisp's daughter, Margaret, now inherited the soke. He shortly afterwards transferred it by sale to Alan de Aldermanbury and his brother, Gervase de Aldermanbury (Chamberlain of London, 1196-99), after having first provided that if his wife should outlive him, she should hold the property for the term of her life upon payment of two silver marks yearly. Simon died without issue in the early years of the 13th century. The brothers, Alan and Gervase, then obtained from Richard the First, a confirmation of all the liberties and customs of the soke or manor, conceded by Henry II, to Reiner de Aldermanbury, in 1156. Upon the death of Alan, the soke passed to his nephew, also named Gervase, who, on the 16th February, 1247, made a grant to Alderman Adam de Basynges or Basing, citizen of London of the gift of Gervase:—

"All the messuage in Aldermanbury, sometime of Gervase the father of the donor . . . also to the said Adam, his heirs and assigns of all the liberties and free customs, which King Henry II granted to Reiner de Aldermanbury, sometime the holder of the said messuage, and which King Richard afterwards granted to Gervase and Alan, so that the said Adam shall hold all his lands within and without the City of London with soc and sac . . . together with the advowson of the Churches of St. Mary Aldermanbury, St. Mary Magdalene, Melk strete and of S. Michael Bassishagh, which were appurtenant to the manor."

Adam de Basing was a very wealthy cloth merchant, the King's tailor and chief financier, and the holder of the Manors of Bloomsbury, Holborn, St. Pancras and Finchley. After having served his year of office as Mayor of London, the King granted him relief from further administrative service in the

City. Several years earlier, he had installed himself quite a favourite of Henry III, who granted him a special charter:—

“Henry by the grace of God . . . to his Archbishops, Bishops. . . . Know ye that we have granted and confirmed to our well beloved Adam de Basing . . . all the gifts,” etc.

Alderman Adam de Basing (Mayor in 1251), died in 1262, leaving two daughters by his first wife and a son (Thomas) by his second wife, Thomas then being eight years of age. Thomas de Basing, now the lord of the manor, had, during his early years, engaged in riotous living, which led to the sale of considerable property, and within a few weeks after reaching his majority, he died in 1275, bequeathing Aldermanbury manor to his wife, Margery, for her lifetime, with remainder to his half-brother, Richard Aswy, comprising lands and houses he had not already disposed of to meet his debts. Upon Margery's death, in 1298, the manor descended to Adam de Basing's only surviving granddaughter, Joan de Hadestoke, who had previously married Adam de Bedyk. After Adam's death, in 1303, Joan, his widow, married Sir Roger Sauvage, and they, in 1306, granted to Sir John de Drokenisford their capital messuage of Aldermanbury, with six shops adjoining, together with the advowson of the church of St. Mary. Sir John reconveyed the grant. Upon the death of Joan, the manor descended to Henry, her son by her former husband, Adam de Bedyk. In his will, dated 1335, Henry left the capital messuage to Joan, his wife, with remainder to his sons, Thomas (afterwards Sir Thomas) and John, in tail. Joan, in 1347, granted the manor house to Master Henry de Chaddesdene, Archdeacon of Leicester, and, three years later, Sir Thomas sold the reversion of the manor to him. In 1354, he left to his three executors, “his tenement manor or hostel at Aldermanbury,” and they, in 1357, disposed of the “Inn of Aldermanbury . . .” to Sir John Beauchamp and John de Bovenden. Sir John died in 1360, and by his will, the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's became possessed of the manor. The Dean and Chapter, in 1374, granted it to Alexander de Bedyk, at whose death, in 1417, the whole of the family descended from King Henry's “Well Beloved” Adam de Basing, became extinct, and the residue of the manor reverted to the Crown; but some remnant of de Basing's vast estate, which had been so cut up and squandered by his spendthrift son Thomas, and, later, by Sir Thomas Bedyk, eventually came into the hands of the parish

trustees, consisting of the sites of several houses on the east side of Aldermanbury and in Love lane.

Whether the manor house, formerly owned by Reiner Fitz-Berengar, Gervase de Aldermanbury, and later by the de Basing family, was wholly demolished after it reverted to the Crown, and a new building erected on the site to suit the requirements of an inn, or that the purchaser allowed the original edifice to serve that purpose is not beyond conjecture.

With the death, in 1417, of Alexander de Bedyk, comes the end of the story of the Manor House as the residence of the lords of the manor; but, later on, we take up the story again from 1424, of the mansion existing as a brewhouse and inn, with the sign of "ye Ax yn Aldermannebury."

As already stated, the soke of Aldermanbury was, perhaps, the most important of those created in the city. It certainly covered a large area, originally extending, roughly speaking, towards Cheapside on the south, and to the soke of St. Martins-le-Grand on the north, which latter extended from London Wall to what is now Aldermanbury Avenue. On the east, it included land beyond Basinghall Street, and on the west it extended to a line midway between Philip Lane and Wood Street. To show the antiquity and extent of the soke or manor of Aldermanbury, it might be advanced that about the year 1121, when Henry I created Robert, his natural son, Earl of Gloucester, he also endowed him with a soke bearing his name, which, from its situation, clearly shows that it originally formed part of the soke of Aldermanbury.

#### THE PARISH.

The assumption that Roman London thoroughfares would necessarily be symmetrically planned, with streets crossing at right angles, is decidedly not supported by the irregular planning of the streets in the parish of St. Mary the Virgin, if, by the widest stretch of imagination, it can be said that the Romans did actually construct them, nor was the Saxon lay-out any better in the matter of alignment, if we are to accept the belief that they were planned in the late Saxon times, and if we have little to remind us of Roman occupation, we have no remains at all to perpetuate the Saxon period, although Alfred the Great may have witnessed the construction of streets and the erection of buildings upon the sites where Roman buildings may have previously existed.

However, we have ample proof that the Saxons were domiciled

here, and, if nothing has been identified as of characteristically Saxon origin, we certainly have names of streets which proclaim Saxon occupation. For instance, in an early 16th-century document we have Athbryght, later Adbryght Lane, which were evidently derived from Ethelbert, whose palace stood on the site abutting on the Æthel Lane or Addle Street. Could we but glimpse back to the days of Henry the First, and behold the open spaces between the few dwelling-houses which then stood on the highway, afterwards called Aldermanbury, with the ruinous Saxon palace towards the west rearing its broken towers behind the squat church of St. Mary the Virgin, and four or five low cottages, built of wood or unhewn stone, roofed with straw, reed or thatch, dotted about the narrow and tortuous highway almost impassable from pot-holes; could we observe the massive city wall to the north and beyond it behold the sterility all around, save the plots of ground under cultivation surrounding the tiny villages of Haggerston and Islington; could we recognise in this scene the flourishing parish as we saw it before December, 1940? Yet such would have been the appearance of the parish in the 11th and 12th centuries, when the bondsman was beginning to cast off the yoke of Norman servitude in favour of citizenship, with the right of bequeathing his own property, as well as that of being judged by his own tribunals at the "bury."

In the early years of the reign of Henry the First, with the ringing of a merry peal of bells of the church of St. Giles, the citizen or freedman would, for a few moments, leave his seld, brewhouse, warehouse or other business calling, to witness the progress of the pious and charitable Matilda, the idol of the people, who bestowed upon her the affectionate title of "Good Queen Maud." She, with her retinue, would be on her way to Edward the Confessor's built palace at Westminster, coming round by the church of St. Alban, in Wood Street, and passing on her right, the ruinous Saxon palace in the narrow lane, afterwards called King Adel street, thence into the main thoroughfare, where, on the east side, immediately opposite the lane, the Ealdorman's "bury" or manor house lifted its rude structure. This is the sight that would have confronted one just prior to the date at which we find the earliest reference to anyone possessing land or premises in the parish, that of the first years of the 12th century, when two properties are mentioned as belonging to Goldwin and Wlured.

At this period it was a parish of open spaces, almost entirely free from buildings. The paucity of dwelling-houses at this time is referred to by the chronicler Fabyan, and such few as there were, some of them doubtless standing on the ruinous foundations of earlier structures.

The only correct idea that can be formed of the life of the people in the parish in the following two or three centuries, must be gathered from historical documents, ancient deeds, etc. From these we may gather a general idea of the character of the residents and comparative unimportance of the street.

Although, in the 13th century, commerce began to spread with the entrance into London of the wealthy Corsini family of Lombards, the Buckerels and merchants from other lands, who resorted to the City for purposes of trade, the business life of the parish can only be conjectured.

In the 14th century, the main street, which for two centuries past had become Aldermanbury, with its northern adjunct, then called "Gaysporelane" or "Gayspur lane," was a narrow, irregular and winding thoroughfare (between 15 and 20 feet wide, broadening out near the church to between 40 and 50 feet) of gabled timber-built houses, with over-sailing upper storeys which, in the narrowest part, nearly touched the houses that might perchance be facing them on the opposite side, thus contracting the air space between them and shutting out the broad expanse of blue sky and sunlight, while keeping the streets damp and muddy. The streets were of the roughest description, consisting of large stones interspersed with smaller ones and a slight depression in the centre for drainage; no foot-paths; dogs the principal scavengers and rain the only cleanser, for the "rakyers" (scavengers) had great difficulty in compelling householders to clear away filth deposited at their doors by neighbours. Plagues in those early centuries were very prevalent, no less than eight occurring between the years 1348-1499, causing extensive mortality, and small wonder, when one considers the filthy condition of the streets in those times. Notwithstanding that several persons of easy competence came to reside in Aldermanbury with progressive ideas, the parish did not entirely escape the visitations. From the overhanging upper storeys, jutting out into the narrow roadway some poles about 7 feet long, may have been seen carrying signs to indicate ownership or the trade of the occupant, for houses were not numbered until some three centuries later.

The houses were rarely more than three storeys high, sometimes with access to the upper rooms by means of outside staircases or ladders leading from the roadway.

At night, the streets were dimly-lighted; but, by the first quarter of the 15th century, an organised system was introduced by which lanterns holding candles of a prescribed size and character ("12 to the pound weight"), every citizen was compelled to hang at his window or door at the hour of "vij of the bell at night." In later years, there were a few stately houses with fair patches of garden ground at the rear. There were still many open spaces reaching up to the mediaeval wall.

When we look back on the habits and diversions of our forefathers we feel sometimes inclined to wonder how they employed their spare time, for there were no books and no news-sheets. Happily, however, for our worthy citizens, news on a small scale filtered through. Yet in well-authenticated experiences and in goodly yarns, as well as passing scandals, our 14th-century citizens probably found sufficient to amuse if not to edify them. For their games and amusements, they would have horseracing, shooting, cockfighting, wrestling, leap-frog, and even the forbidden football.

Aldermanbury exhibited an interesting and picturesque scene two centuries later, with the line of more artistically designed houses, with their projecting upper storeys supported by dolphins or angels; their plaster fronts; their low, arched doorways, with large pillars, displaying examples of carving; their diamond-paned casements and their high, pointed gables.

Some distance beyond the wall, admission to which was by Aldermanbury postern, opposite Gaspore lane, were patches, verdant with clumps of trees, farmed lands and dairies, playing-fields and sylvan hedgerows, by the side of which the inhabitants took their walks; but they would have to return to their homes before sunset, when the gates were closed, while the postern wicket would shut out everybody with the last stroke of the curfew.

If we divest our minds of the knowledge of Aldermanbury as we knew it in 1940, and call to mind some country-town where the old houses stood flush with the cobbled sidewalk, we would then be in a position to visualise the parish as it was in the 16th century. At a later period, some of the larger houses were forsaken and divided into tenements, while a few others which had been the mansions of the more wealthy and

influential parishioners, whose descendants had migrated westward, were converted to suit the requirements of merchants.

Gardens were a necessity to the social life of the time, when the citizens had to live at their places of business; but the garden plots were at the rear of the shop or dwelling-house. At the end of the day, when work was finished, the citizen would enjoy the pleasure of the garden, or he would take a walk through the quiet street, whether for recreation or on business bent. Were he to pass Elsing churchyard, which, at that time, had become a garden with a gallery over the cloisters, and proceed through the postern wicket, a few minutes' walk would take him to the rising country, and the yet wide belt of uncleared forest beyond, portions of which still remain at Hampstead and Epping, and towards the west was the extensive ward of Farringdon. He would pass several farm homesteads which still supplied agricultural produce for the City.

In the following century came the plague, and its cleanser, the Great Fire. During the plague, Aldermanbury suffered to the extent of 109 deaths, the month of September alone accounting for 53. In the following year, the Great Fire destroyed almost every house in the parish. The quantity of water drawn from the spring supply, to fight the flames in the neighbouring district, was so great, that Estfeld's conduit in Aldermanbury and that at the south end, in what was then called Lad lane, were completely dry and useless. Those who had lost so much in the terrible conflagration speedily set to work to rebuild, and, by way of encouragement, Charles II remitted the 2s. hearth tax for a period of seven years on newly-built houses.

That the houses existing in the parish in the 17th century, and destroyed in the Great Fire, were fairly spacious, is clearly shown in Oliver and Mills' *Surveys*, giving the frontages of four, measuring between 65 and 71 feet; nine between 30 and 40 feet; ten between 20 and 30 feet, and about eight measuring less than 20 feet; while, in depth, the measurements ranged between 30 and 80 feet.

The post-Fire buildings conformed to the old tortuous line of the street, faithfully preserving the outlines of those that had perished in the flames. Many of the new erections were substantial houses, some of them standing until the end of the 18th century: but the narrowness of Aldermanbury now offered

still greater difficulties to pedestrians, by reason of the ever-increasing use made of it by carriages and carts. In 1718, several inhabitants complained that one Pickering, or his servants, in loading and unloading goods in the street, proved a great annoyance to others handling goods, and, by blocking up the highway they prevented coaches and wagons entering the thoroughfare, and also delaying customers coming to their shops. At this period there were 135 houses in the parish, some of them still occupied as private residences, while others were tenanted by merchants and tradesmen, in which to transact business during the day, and yet still living with their respective families over the shops or warehouses; but serious changes were now beginning to take place in the gradual disappearance of the old half-timbered houses and cottages, and the substitution of more business premises. By the end of the 18th century there was a more extensive transition from the comparatively quiet residential quarter, to one of trade, particularly on the east side, accommodating glovers, haberdashers, and those engaged in the sale of other soft goods, completely changing the character of the parish. This feature was much more marked in the early 19th century, when houses were being demolished for the erection of warehouses, while a few on the west side of the street still continued as private residences, shortly to be elbowed out to provide accommodation for traders.

A considerable amount of rebuilding was carried out between the years 1860-70, and in the eighties, the west side of the street was widened at its northern end.

By this time, there were few private residents; towering warehouses having displaced them completely.

The parish comprises both sides of Aldermanbury, parts of Addle Street, Philip Lane, Love Lane, and two houses in London Wall. Except the Church, the newly-erected Chartered Insurance Institute, and about ten business houses—some of them gutted or seriously damaged—the entire parish was laid waste by enemy action on the night of the 29th December, 1940.

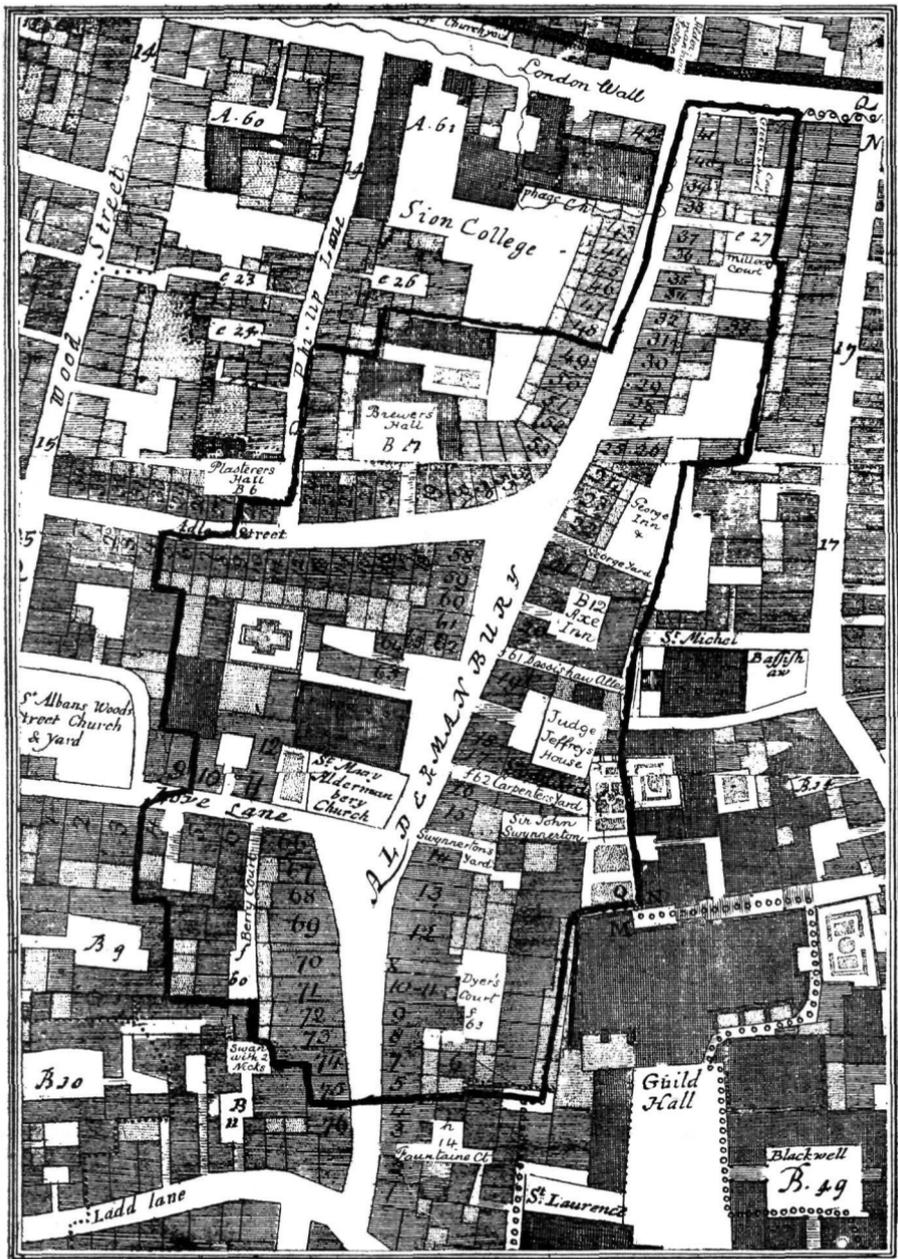
Aldermanbury is pierced by several courts, alleys and side streets, all very narrow, the widest of them affording only room for one vehicle to enter. In the main, these old-world courts, where one might have expected to find a scrap or two of their ancient history, only exhibited a few grim-looking buildings, terminating in a cul-de-sac.

From an early date, up to the first quarter of the 19th century, there were premises at the extreme south end of the parish on the east side, known as the "Baptist's Head" coffee-house and hotel, a house of accommodation, in later times, for commercial travellers. It was of considerable standing in its time. The name, doubtless, had its origin in the days of the Commonwealth, when the example of the Protector was imitated by all ranks to the extent of christianising persons and things. It was at one time called Aldermanbury Coffee House, next to it is situated Fountain Court, which was built about 1670, out of a mansion house, formerly the residence of Sir Erasmus de la Fontaine. The importance of the mansion will be realised when it is stated that more than a century later, in 1771, it was rated at £90, an assessment which was considerably increased during the succeeding half-century. In the early days it had an entrance into Church Alley, which led to Cateaton Street—now Gresham Street.

Dyer's Court, with an entrance at No. 11, Aldermanbury, may be said to have been erected on historic ground, for on the east, part of it would appear to occupy the site upon which formerly stood the "bury" or court house of the Ealdorman from the 12th to the beginning of the 15th century, when it was abandoned by the mayor and aldermen for their enlarged or newly-erected Guildhall, begun in 1411. At this time, Alderman Sir William Estfeld (Mayor in 1429 and again in 1437), is known to have been in possession of a mansion contiguous to the site of the "bury," if it did not actually form a part of the court-house itself. It was situate at the rear of the houses in Aldermanbury, which afterwards became Nos. 15 and 16, and north of the parish land adjoining Dyer's Court, near the west end of Guildhall.

In the middle of the 15th century, Aldermanbury was one of the few districts possessing a conduit, for the supply of water to the inhabitants. For this, the parish was indebted to the munificence of Sir William. He was a public-spirited man, and a great benefactor of the church and parish alike. The "fayre conduit by Alderman berie church" was connected with the pipes conveying sweet water from Tyburn brook, and stood in the centre of the street at its widest part, the junction of Aldermanbury and Love lane, almost opposite the entrance to Estfeld's mansion.

The work of erecting the conduit was begun by Estfeld in



OGILBY AND MORGAN'S PLAN, 1677.

1444, and, by a codicil in his will, dated 15th March, 1445, he directed that the work began by him should be completed by his executors, at the expense of his estate. It was completed in 1471. In 1485, there was an ordinance by the Mayor and Aldermen that a warden be assigned for the "Conduit of Aldermannebury." It fell into decay, and was almost newly-built by the parish in 1633, destroyed in the Great Fire, again rebuilt in 1677, and taken down in the 18th century. Several years later, some of the old wooden pipes connected with it were dug up, and, in 1890, a drinking fountain was erected against the church railings, the gift of Deputy Alderman Sir Robert H. Rogers. In his will, dated March, 1445, Sir William Estfeld made bequests to the poor of the parish; to various hospitals and prisons; lepers in and near London, and to various orders of friars and nuns. Among other bequests, he left £100 for the repair of highways, precious stones and pearls to the shrines of two churches, and £100 towards the repairs of the church of St. Mary the Virgin, Aldermanbury.

Sir William, as it would appear, had been anxious to erect for the use of his household, a chapel at the rear of his dwelling-house, and he applied to the mayor and aldermen for permission to make such an extension. In a document dated 6th August, 1428, the Mayor and Aldermen granted permission to Sir William to construct a "haultpace," upon which to erect the chapel at the back of his house, towards the east, up to the end of Common Hall, called "la Guyhall," containing in length, between east and west, 28 feet, and, in breadth, between south and north, 12 feet 10 inches, "rendering yearly a red rose fashioned upon a rod, to be carried according to ancient custom, before the Mayor, when he goes to St. Paul's Cathedral."

This document clearly defines the position of Estfeld's house and its nearness to the conduit he caused to be erected for the parish.

After Estfeld's death, in 1448, the "capital messuage . . . together with four tenements in the parish of the Blessed Mary of Aldermanbury" subsequently passed to William Buck, at whose death, in 1502, his fourth son, Thomas, acquired the property, for we find that the "capital messuage, with gardens, cellars, solars, conduits and other houses and easements to the same belonging, in the parish of the Blessed Mary in Aldermanbury, and four other tenements adjoining the said capital messuage and of a parcel of land with a chapel thereupon built

in the said parish, to the use of the said Thomas Buck, Merchant Taylor." The capital messuage and the four tenements were held of the Prior of Holy Trinity, Aldgate, by fealty and the yearly rent of 13s. 4d.; while the parcel of land upon which the Estfeld chapel was built, was held of the Chamber of London by 1 lb. of wax, to be paid yearly to the church of St. Paul, at the rent of a rod and a rose for the Mayor at Penticost.

At the time of Thomas Buck's death on 20th November, 1523, Richard, his son and heir, was aged  $2\frac{1}{2}$  years, and by will, Thomas Buck appointed George Rolle and three others, his executors, to apply the rents, etc., to the use of his wife, Alice, and also to that of his brother, Matthew, for their lives, by way of repaying a debt, the remainder to his son, Richard, and his heirs.

The property eventually came into the possession of Sir John Swynnerton (Lord Mayor in 1612-13). He was farmer of the impost on wines, an office from which he acquired considerable profits. He was one of the founders of the East India Company. During his Mayoralty a pageant was performed at the opening of the New river; or, as it was called, "The running streame from Amwell Head into the cisterne neere Islington." The pageant was arranged under the joint management of John Heminge and Thomas Dekker, the poet. At Sir John's death, in December, 1616, he was succeeded by his third son, Thomas, then 16 years of age. The property he inherited consisted of several houses in Aldermanbury, including the house his father had occupied. He married Joanna Symonds, and, in 1650, their daughter and heiress, Thomasine Swynnerton, married William Dyer (Sheriff of Essex, 1677-8), bringing him a fortune of £30,000, as well as the Aldermanbury mansion and other houses.

The mansion, measuring 70 feet east to west, and 55 feet north to south, was destroyed in the Great Fire, and rebuilt. Upon the sites of the houses adjoining it on the south, and the parcel of land upon which stood the old chapel, Dyer erected, in 1668-9, a tolerably large square, consisting of six imposing houses, with an open entrance for coaches and carriages leading from Aldermanbury, which houses were subsequently occupied by persons of some standing.

William Dyer, who was created a Baronet in 1678, died in 1681. He was succeeded by his son, Sir John Swynnerton Dyer,

and the family may have held the property during the early years of the following century, for we find one Sir John Swynnerton Dyer, shooting himself in a fit of insanity, and receiving burial in Aldermanbury in 1801.

Fifteen or sixteen houses which, in the nineteenth century, stood on ground owned by Sir John Swynnerton, were subsequently pulled down and new premises erected. About 1824, they were converted into warehouses by Messrs. Bradbury Greatorex and Company, and, in 1845, they, with other properties, were destroyed by fire, to the value of nearly a quarter of a million pounds. The present extensive premises, numbered 2 to 11 Aldermanbury, occupy not only the old site in Dyer's Court; but, in order to increase accommodation, additional ground was taken in, leaving the carriage entrance as it was in Sir William Dyer's time.

Next to Dyer's Court is Messrs. Sugden's gutted warehouse, No. 12, which occupies the site where formerly stood two houses owned by the parish. Nos. 13 and 14 were the premises of the Ward Sunday Schools, 15 and 16 are warehouses belonging to the City Corporation, at which was established, in 1880, the first Guildhall School of Music. In the years 1800-19, Dr. William Babington resided at No. 17, at that time one of the very few persons occupying premises as a private residence. Between Nos. 16 and 17 is Carpenter's Court. In Stow's time it was known as Carpenter's Yard, which he held to be the home of the ancient "bury"; but it is contended that it was more likely to have been the yard used by the sworn carpenters and masons as city officials, whose duties, at that time, were to deal with encroachments upon the public thoroughfares, to settle disputes as to boundaries and to determine upon other questions concerning the division of land. In the 15th century they were called upon to enquire into a nuisance concerning some posts fixed in an alley in the parish.

In 1599, John Newman gave to the Mayor and Commonalty his "interest or share in a certain capital messuage in the parish of St. Mary Aldermanburyes and in a yard called Carpenters yard adjoining the same messuage." The name was changed to Carpenter's Court about 1720.

It is not unreasonable to assume that the Court commemorates the name of John Carpenter, the Town Clerk of London in the reign of Henry V, who gave £35 towards the paving of the great hall.

Aldermanbury has the doubtful honour of being associated with the notorious Judge Jeffreys. For ten or more years that remarkable, if inhuman, man had his mansion on the east side of Aldermanbury, erected by the City Corporation on land owned by the parish.

It stood at the back of two houses which, before the Fire of 1666, were occupied by Abraham Nunn and Serjeant, afterwards Judge Guibond Goddard respectively. There was a large garden attached to the mansion with a forecourt leading into Aldermanbury, and a side entrance into Three Nun Court, at that time called Bassishaw Alley, which ran between the mansion and the "Axe" inn on the north.

In March, 1671, George Jeffreys was elected to the office of Common Serjeant of the City, and the newly-built mansion was leased to him at an annual rent of £20.

In December, 1671, it is recorded in the minutes of the Corporation that:—

"It is granted out of special favour to George Geoffries, Esqr., Common Serjeant, that he shall hold and enjoy the back tenement in Aldermanbury, contiguous to the wall enclosing Mr. Town Clerk's Courtyard which (with two other tenements before the same next the street) are now built by the City upon the ground lately purchased of Serjeant Goddard for and during so long tyme as he shall continue Common Serjeant."

At 30 years of age he became Recorder of London in 1678, and, in 1680, when the House of Commons compelled him to resign the Recordership, he was also called to account for the "great sums of money disbursed in fitting up his dwelling-house in Aldermanbury, which he held of the City." He became Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench in 1683, but, in spite of the conditions upon which the lease was granted to him, he continued to occupy the mansion, as may be gathered from an entry in the church books: "Received of Sir Peter Rich, Chamberlain, for ground rent of three houses held by the City of London from the parish, that is to say the houses occupied by Lord Chief Justice Jeffreys, Mr. John Needless and William Baker." As a reward for his exertions in punishing the adherents of the Duke of Monmouth, he was made Lord Chancellor of England by James II, in 1685; but even then he did not surrender the lease, but granted it to one named Normansell, at the considerably increased rent of £82 per annum; being £62 in excess of the rent he paid to the City Corporation. With the flight of King James, Lord Chancellor Jeffreys attempted

to escape in the disguise of a common seaman. He took lodgings at an alehouse called the "Red Cow," in Anchor and Hope Alley, Wapping, and was incautious enough to appear at one of the windows, when he was recognised by a Chancery clerk, whom Jeffreys had previously subjected to insult. Information was lodged that led to Jeffreys' arrest, and he was taken before the Lord Mayor, whose consternation at having to sit in judgment upon one so ruthless and dreaded as the brutal Chancellor, resulted in a seizure, of which he shortly afterwards died.

Jeffreys' insolent coarseness and atrocious cruelty rendered him the object of abhorrence, and it was with some difficulty the crowd was prevented from subjecting him to rough treatment, and he had to be rescued from the mob by a Company of Trained Bands. He was confined in the Bloody Tower, where he died in April, 1689. Finally, in November, 1693, his remains were conveyed from the Tower and buried in the vault under the communion table in the church of St. Mary the Virgin, where lie the bodies of Lady Sarah, his first wife, and several children by her, also Lady Ann, his second wife.

The mansion, which had been rebuilt, was standing as late as 1860, and the two parish houses which had stood in front of it became Nos. 18 and 19, Aldermanbury, now the gutted premises of Messrs. Courtaulds.

The extensive business carried on in the street seemed to call for banking accommodation, and, about 1836, there were established at No. 18, the Bank of Australia and the Bank of South Africa. The premises at an earlier date had been occupied by the Hunterian, Anti-Slavery, the City of London and Yorkshire societies.

North of these premises is a passage, which has been, at different periods, known by various names. In 1275, it was Basingelane, Basseshaw alley, in 1677; Church alley, 1720-90; Church passage, 1792; Church court in 1817; and from the year 1820, as Three nun court, so-called from the figures of three nuns on a signboard there, a sign frequently used by drapers in the 17th and 18th centuries. Basingelane was so named after Adam de Basing (Mayor, 1251), who shortly after he had acquired the Manor, in 1247, proceeded to enlarge his mansion by erecting a hall on the north side of the passage.

On the site of the newly-erected Chartered Insurance Institute in Aldermanbury, until 1932, stood the "Axe" inn, Nos. 20

and 21, with the claim that it had for its predecessors, the mansion of the barons; or, lords of the manor, dating back to the early 12th century, when the soke or manor of Aldermanbury was granted to Berengar, whose son, Reiner Fitz-Berengar, received from Henry the second, a royal confirmation of liberties over all his lands in respect of the soke. After Reiner's death, *circa* 1175, the soke passed through several hands, namely, Richard Fitz-Reiner, his brother, Henry; the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's; Baldwin Crispus; Simon de Aldermanbury; Alan de Aldermanbury; Gervase de Aldermanbury; Alderman Adam de Basing and his son, Thomas, Adam de Bedyk and his son, Henry, Sir Thomas Bedyk; Archdeacon Henry de Chaddesdene, whose executors, in 1357, disposed of "the Inn in Aldermanbury" to Sir John de Beauchamp. In 1417, the manor reverted to the Crown. There is evidence that the mansion, in 1424, existed as an inn, for, in the Brewers' Company accounts for the years 1418-1440, under the date, 20th November, 3 Henry VI, there appears the entry, "William Cokreth atte Ax yn Aldermannebury." This is the earliest mention of the inn by name—a name that was to be associated with the site of the capital mansion for five succeeding centuries, either as a brewhouse, inn or tavern.

When and how the sign originated is not easy to explain; but it was certainly not adopted from the badge or arms of any of the lords of the manor. Two axes are, however, incorporated in the arms of the Coopers' Company, whose hall was situate in the immediate vicinity; but "le Ax yn Aldermannebury" existed nearly a century before the grant of arms was made to the company.

Before the 15th century, it was customary for travellers to rely upon religious houses for hospitality; but at the date to which we have now come, "le Ax yn Aldermannebury" was then a hostelry for the convenience of travellers. It had been acquired by one Raphe Collye, who, in July, 1566, bequeathed it to John Whitehorne, Clothworker. Three years later, Whitehorne died, and "was seised in his demesne as of fee of one large messuage or mansion House called 'le signe de la Ax,' lately a brewhouse. . . ." Whitehorne's son, Augustyne, conducted the business of the Inn until 1581, in which year he granted a twenty-one years' lease of it to Mathew Chamberlayne, selling the freehold two years later to Roger Wilcocks for £460 of 'all that greate messuage or tenement . . . called

or knowne by the name or Signe of the Axe, now or late in the tenure or occupation of Mathew Chámberlayne . . . given to John Whitehorne by Raphe Collye'."

Wilcocks did not hold the freehold for any length of time, for, in 1584, he granted to Thomas Audley, Skinner, "the capital messuage called 'le Axe,' with all and singular house, roomes, buildings, yardes, barnes, stables and hayloftes, which messuage and tenements the said Roger Wilcocks acquired from Augustyne, son and heir of John Whitehorne . . . by bargain and sale 30 April, 25 Elizabeth."

At this time, Chamberlayne had resided in the parish for some 10 years, and still held the lease, with an unexpired term of 14 years, and, in consideration of Chamberlayne surrendering the former lease, Audley agreed to grant him a ninety-nine years' lease.

In the days of the 16th century, inns formed a necessary part of the life of the people; they were to the inhabitants exactly what the coffee-houses were to the people of the 18th century. They were recognised centres of information, entertainment and resort. There exists ample evidence that the life of the tavern was extremely picturesque and pleasant, affording something approaching the home character, a cheerful fire, an inviting meal and a genial and kindly host. Similar to other galleried inns, the "Axe" had an arched entrance, leading to a courtyard, around which the rooms and offices formed the four sides of the square, while stabling and accommodation for wagons, carts and coaches were necessary for the conveyance, warehousing and distribution of merchandise.

In the year 1598, Shakespeare went to lodge with a wig-maker named Montjoy, or Mountjoy, at the corner of Silver and Monkwell Streets, about 200 or 300 yards distant from the Inn, and it is quite conceivable that he, with his friends, Condell and Heminge, frequently visited the inn and its genial host, to quaff "a pot of good double beer," as well as for the purpose of a chat concerning the latest play.

The inn had become a favourite house of call, and well-known to travellers, and the first regular wagon service, from London to Liverpool, was established here about 1630.

"Dapper Dick" Brathwaite, familiarly, if unjustly, described as "Drunken Barnabee," once visited the inn, for, in *Barnabæ Itinerarium*; or, *Barnabee's Journal*, our frolicsome tourist is

found guilty of a tipping round, as related by him in the following rhyme:—

“Country left, I in a fury  
 To the Axe in Aldermanbury  
 First arriv'd, that place slighted  
 I at the Rose in Holborn lighted.”

Our “dry-throated Dapper Dick” would have entered the low-pitched gateway to find himself in a rough, half-paved courtyard encumbered with loaded wagons and surrounded by galleries from which earlier visitors would be viewing the excitement of the fresh arrivals. As a hostelry and carriers' centre, it would be safe to state that few, if any, of the inns in the City transacted anything approaching the amount of business as that conducted at the “Axe.”

Chamberlayne died in 1600, and three months later his widow married John Waterworte, who carried on the business of the inn until his death, when it passed to his son, John, who subsequently assigned the lease to John Griffin. In 1656, Edward Jackson acquired a 21 years' lease of “the messuage or inn called the Axe.” In the Great Fire, the “Axe” did not escape. It was rebuilt and completed, *circa* 1670, for, in the church records appears “1670 Edward Jackson atte ye Axe lent £10 towards the rebuilding of the church.” The importance of the “Axe” in the years immediately following the Fire, may be gathered from its situation and dimensions being clearly defined in Ogilby and Morgan's 1677 plan of the city, while, in Morgan's 1681 map, it is shown with a courtyard surrounded by the inn buildings, said to be capable of providing sleeping quarters for over a hundred guests. Although the inn was “substantially built, with good and sufficient materials,” it was lacking in every respect the mellow appearance of its predecessor, with its heavy timbers fast crumbling away.

In Oliver and Mills' *Survey* of the city after the Fire, the foundations of the inn, as set out in the *Survey*, are shown to agree, both in alignment and measurement, with the site now occupied by the Chartered Insurance Institute building, after making allowance for ground cut off to enlarge the passage from Aldermanbury to Basingshaw, 26th November, 1669. The superficial area so appropriated for the widening of the passage now known as Three Nun Court was 180 feet, that is to say, a strip 90 feet by 2 feet.

The fact that, in 1682, it is described as a coaching inn, is clear evidence that it was rebuilt to serve the purpose of a coaching and wagon centre as well as to invite good cheer.

When Jackson rebuilt the inn he caused three houses to be erected on the north-west corner of the building adjoining the George Yard entrance. Jackson died in 1675, and his widow married Robert Leigh, who remained in possession of the inn for at least 16 years. Sometime between the years 1698 and 1707, Mr. Henry Watts became the landlord, and continued in possession until 1714. Later on, George Lansdell acquired the lease, and appears to have gained the respect of the parishioners.

With the ever-increasing growth of the soft goods trade in the parish, the "Axe" had become an important meeting-place for wool merchants, at which to transact and complete deals over a glass of wine, or at the luncheon table. James Holt, of "Flying Wagon" fame, was the proprietor between the years 1790 and 1820. Up to this period, the inn carried two numbers, 20 and 21, but, owing to the demand for show-rooms, warehouse and office accommodation, the greater part of No. 21 was let to merchants, agents, etc. In 1820, Holt transferred the "Axe" to Mr. William Miller, who continued proprietor until 1826, when it was leased to Nathaniel Hartley, who held it until 1844. At the expiration of Hartley's lease, the site having been considered too valuable for its occupancy as a tavern, new premises were erected for showrooms, and the ancient inn, which had now descended to that of a public-house, was driven from the position which it had enjoyed for several centuries fronting the main street, to an insignificant corner of the original site in Three nun court. During a period of 43 years (1846-1889) the lease of the tavern had changed hands seven times. In 1890, Mr. C. D. Mackness obtained possession, and, after a tenancy of 23 years, it was let on a 14 years' lease, 1913-1927, and was successively under the management of Messrs. Murton, Bowman Condon and Gerrard. Upon the expiry of the lease, in 1927, the tavern was let on a further three years' agreement while Mr. Gerrard was in possession.

In 1930, Mrs. Ricketts obtained an agreement at a rent of £200 and a premium of £750; but she subsequently sub-let it to Mr. Wright, and, with his tenancy, came the end of the remnant of the ancient and one-time flourishing carriers' inn, its painted signboard to the last swinging and displaying upon

its dark red field, composed of twenty-one miniature axes, a large diagonal-wise axe, with the motto, *In hoc signo spes mea*. With the remorseless insistence for improvement and progress, the tavern at last closed its doors, and, by the beginning of the year 1933, nothing remained on the site upon which, during the period of seven hundred years, had successively stood a manor house, the home of barons, lords of the manor and merchant princes, hostel, brewhouse, coaching and carriers' inn, hotel and tavern.

Those days are gone, and, with them, much that was historically interesting, and the one-time famous "Axe," a place of life and bustle in the coaching days, has now been transformed into an important edifice, opened by His Majesty King George the Fifth, 28th June, 1934.

Next to the Chartered Insurance Institute, at No. 22, was George yard, presenting a forlorn and neglected appearance, formerly a carriers' yard, attached to the George Inn, which closed its doors in the last years of the 19th century.

On its site there existed as early as 1360, a large messuage or mansion, occupied by Sir Ralph de Bassett, Lord of Drayton. He was descended from the Ralph Bassett, Lord of Drayton, in Staffordshire, who joined the baronial party against Henry III. Bassett died in 1265, being slain at Evesham. His lands were forfeited for rebellion, but were restored to his widow, Margaret, and their son, Ralph, by reason of the fact that the widow happened to be the daughter of Roger de Someri, an enthusiastic royalist. Their son, Ralph, who served in the French and Scottish wars, died in 1299, and the property descended to his son, the third Ralph, Constable of Dover Castle. He married Joan, niece of Sir John Beauchamp, who, for a short period, held the manor of Aldermanbury. At Bassett's death, in 1344, he was succeeded by his grandson, the fourth bearing the name Ralph, who was then eight years old. When of age, he came into possession of the mansion in Aldermanbury, afterwards known as "Bassettisyn" (Basset's Inn), and at once joined the army of the Black Prince. He was summoned to Parliament in December, 1357, and died in 1390, when the barony fell in abeyance. Shortly afterwards, the mansion was acquired by Ralph Holand, sheriff in 1429, and, in May, 1452, he bequeathed to "the Fraternity of Tailors and Armourers (Merchant Taylors) divers lands and tenements at the corner of Adelan . . . as well as a tenement or hostel

called "Bassettisyn," formerly belonging to Sir Ralph de Basset, Knt. late Lord of Drayton . . . situate in the parish of S. Mary de Aldermanbury . . . for the relief of poor members of the Fraternity."

According to an entry in one of the court books of the Merchant Taylors' Company, dated the 3rd March, 1591, the company granted an annuity of £5 to the churchwardens of St. Botolph, Aldersgate, out of their inn in Aldermanbury, in consideration of £100, given by John Conyers.

On the 18th of July, 1661, the Merchant Taylors' Company demised to Godfrey Lee, in trust for George Witham, "the messuage called Basset's inn, with the yard, gatehouse and two tenements on the street side for the term of thirty-two years at a yearly rent of £8." Lee appears to have conveyed the lease to Thomas Bland, and, in 1666, the property was consumed in the Great Fire. Bland caused material to be prepared with a view to rebuilding; but, owing to alleged claims upon the estate by John Warren, John Whitehorne, and others, as well as the refusal of the Master and Wardens to grant an extension of the lease, the work of rebuilding was held up for eleven years. On the 2nd July, 1677, at a court of judicature for determining differences touching property destroyed in the Fire, Bland petitioned against the Master and Wardens, and it was decreed that Thomas Bland be encouraged to rebuild the premises, and that he be granted an extension of the lease to sixty years at the former rent of £8, during the life of George Witham, such rent to be increased to £40 at the death of George Witham, and paid to his son, Henry Witham.

Half a century after the Great Fire, "Bassettisyn" had become the "George Inn," a sign probably adopted in compliment to our first George of England, and originating in loyalty to the powers that then were. It was a fairly large and important coaching establishment in its day, with an extensive yard.

It passed through many vicissitudes, but, up to the last, it was in the possession of the Company of Merchant Taylors, for, in 1831, it was let on a sixty-one years' lease at a rent of £165. As in the case of the "Axe," the "George Inn" was frequented at times by the churchwardens of the parish, for we find such references as:—

" 1761	At ye George 3 meetings	£11	5	0
1767	Dinner at ye George	£3	18	0
1811	Paid Mr. Briant, George Inn, for the dinner	£24	9	0 ."

In the year 1835 an inquisition was held at the George hotel, on the bodies of Samuel and Francis Holden, which were discovered in the vestry of St. Mary's Church, with their throats cut.

Up to the year 1833, it was known as the "George Inn," at No. 22 Aldermanbury, and between the years 1817-33, the premises exchanged hands six times. In 1834, it became the "George Inn and Hotel," and continued under that sign for twenty-eight years, with W. Waterhouse, Mary Phillips, James Crocker and Frederick Scotson as the respective proprietors. In 1862, under Mr. J. Clarke, it became simply the "George Hotel," and between that date and 1885, the business was conducted by four different innholders. In 1886, it was designated the "Old George Hotel," and, during the succeeding years, the licence passed through four hands.

About the year 1840, Mary Phillips, the then proprietress, established a "tap" in connection with the hotel, and for that purpose acquired part of the premises of the "Axe." At this time, some dozen or more carriers were using the "George" for conveying goods to and from the railways. The "tap" continued from that time until the expiry of the lease under the management of nine different persons, when, in 1892, both the hotel and the "tap" gave way to premises let to merchants, agents of other offices.

Nearby, John Swynnerton, senior, father of Alderman Sir John, had his residence, after leaving the parish of St. Alphage, and from this point Gasporelane or Gayspur lane extended northwards to London Wall, comprising some thirty tenements, and forming the eastern boundary of Elsing Spital in the early centuries. It was first mentioned in 1330, Gaysporelane in 1333; Gay spurre lane and Gayspur lane in 1598, and later corrupted to Giltspur street in 1720, Jasper street in 1746-1820, in which latter year it became absorbed in Aldermanbury. The origin of the name is obscure, the two latter forms are merely corruptions, and give no clue as to its real origin.

From the site of the George inn northwards, the premises were mostly small and unimportant; but, upon an examination of the foundations, it will be seen that four or five of the buildings had frontages measuring between thirty and forty feet. At number 36 was Miller's court, which, in the late 18th century, consisted of four dwelling-houses, Mr. Miller residing in one of them. Adjoining it on the north was Green School Court,

with an entrance to it from London Wall, the extreme north-east limit of the parish. On the west side of the street is Aldermanbury Avenue, of modern construction, having been cut through some property belonging to Sion College at No. 49 in the year 1880.

At No. 57 is Addle Street, now without a single building standing. During the centuries it had been known by various denominations, all of which occur in early records—Athbryght Lane and Aldbryght Lane, the latter appearing in the Harleian MS., names probably derived from Ethelbert, or Ethelbryght, who had his palace adjoining this thoroughfare. About the year 1250, it was called Atheling Street; Addelane, in 1305; Athelane, in 1367; Adlynstrete, in 1400-13; Adlane, alias Addellane, in 1560; Addlestreete, in 1598, 1611 and 1677, and, in some documents, it was described as Addle Street, anciently called King Adel Street.

It has been suggested that the name originated in the Saxon word Aetheling, meaning noble or princely; or, in the nobility of the residents who, in the early centuries, may have established themselves in the vicinity of the palace. In any event, the adjective "noble" could hardly be applied to this narrow highway at the present day, inasmuch as it is only just wide enough for one vehicle to enter, and therefore it would have been ill-adapted for the residence of noblemen in an age when a coach-and-four was the fashionable luxury. In the early days it was merely a footpath for servants going to and from the palace grounds. Later, it became a cart track or lane, and, by reason of gradual encroachment on the palace ruins in the 14th and 15th centuries, it became widened and described as a street.

In 1790, there was a mansion in the lane of such importance as to be rated at £100, while, ten years later, the handsome Brewers' Hall, in the same street, was only rated at that figure, notwithstanding increased assessments. The Plasterers' Hall, close by, was rated as low as £38. At this period, the street was largely inhabited by joiners and all kinds of woodworkers.

Described, in 1756, as a "neat pretty building," the Brewers' Hall, before December, 1940, stood on the north side of Addle Street, at No. 19, adjacent to "Ye Old Cheshire Cheese" hotel. It occupied the site of a hall which was in existence as early as the middle of the 15th century, and which was probably the identical building mentioned by Stow as a "fair house." It

was almost entirely destroyed in the Fire of 1666, and from the subscriptions raised by the members of the Guild, augmented by the proceeds from plate pawned by the Master and Wardens, it was rebuilt in 1673 by Wren, who incorporated in the new building parts of the early structure. This most interesting building was repaired in 1828, and the houses, adjoining it in Addle Street, were rebuilt in 1875. The Fraternity of Brewers was connected with the church of All Hallows on the Wall in 1361, and the company was incorporated in 1438.

In 1527, it received its first mention in the records, under the name of "Brueres" Hall. In it, not only have Ward and other meetings been held in the long past, but, during the last quarter of the 17th century, the Company permitted the holding of church services there.

In his will, dated 1545, William Elder, plasterer, gave to the Master and Wardens of the Guild of Plasterers, his messuage called "The Pynners Hall in Adelstrete," which he acquired from the Master and Wardens of Merchant Taylors. There is no mention of it as the Plasterers' Hall earlier than the last years of the 16th century; but it is possible that Elder's messuage dated back to much earlier times. It was destroyed in the Fire and rebuilt by Wren. For many years, however, the premises had been occupied as a warehouse. The hall stood on the north side of Addle Street, at No. 23.

North of the church were five houses, the sites of which are mentioned in a document of the time of Henry VIII, and shown on Ogilby's plan, Nos. 58-62, and beyond the church on the south is Love lane, a single carriageway, with very narrow footpaths. Before the war, the lane was almost solely occupied by agents of soft goods and manufacturers. The origin of the name, as Stow would have us to understand, is from its being frequented by wantons. It may be that in early days it had become the trysting place for young men and maidens. This would appear to be a more reasonable, and certainly a more pleasing, explanation as to its origin.

Near the corner of the lane, on the south side, was Berry court, and, immediately opposite, next the church, were two houses, Nos. 11 and 12, erected on the Glebe land. Before the Fire of 1666, the leases were held by Mrs. Elizabeth Herring. They were destroyed in the conflagration, and, in consideration of an undertaking to rebuilt them, Mrs. Herring, widow of Alderman Herring, obtained an extended lease, made up to

sixty-one years from 1668, and, in addition, she was granted a considerable slice of the churchyard on the west side of the path leading to the church door on the south, that she might make of it a garden for her house, paying £6 per annum and £30 as a fine. Mrs. Herring afterwards married Alderman Christopher Pack, and continued to reside at No. 11. Alderman Pack had served as Lord Mayor in 1654-5. He it was who submitted a proposal that Cromwell should accept the Kingship. Sometime between the years 1676-1680, the property was let to Mr. Robert Aske, a great benefactor to the parish, and at one time was Master of the Haberdashers' Company. In 1703, Mr. Jacobs, the then tenant, obtained permission to make a doorway from the garden to the pathway leading from the south door of the church to the lane, and to have the use of it during his tenancy, for which concession, he paid for a bottle of wine every year for the churchwardens, of their own selection. The door was afterwards bricked up; but it was shown as existing in 1814. The garden existed down to the year 1860; but, later, had been covered by the building No. 12, afterwards forming part of the premises of Messrs. George Soley and Company's warehouse. It is stated that a vault had been built under the garden, with an entrance to it from the south-west corner of the church. No. 11, before 1940, was still standing as one of the immediate post-Fire houses, built either by Wren or by one of his imitators. The view of the church shows the house west of the church and the doorways to the garden and to the lane.

Alderman Sir Hugh Windham, a Royalist, imprisoned by the Roundheads, occupied a house, the parlour door of which opened into the churchyard. The churchwardens caused the doorway to be bricked up, and he left it in 1649; but the succeeding tenant was granted the use of the churchyard, in consideration of a chaldron and a half coal per annum.

W. Holman Hunt, painter, was born in the Lane.

Nos. 9, 10, 11 and 12 Love lane were let for a term of 49 years (from September, 1860) to Henry E. Knight, afterwards Alderman Sir Henry E. Knight, Lord Mayor in 1882-3. He was appointed a trustee of parish funds in 1886.

At No. 66, Nathaniel Stanton lived, beside which, there were other houses owned by him. The celebrated Dr. Thomas Timms occupied a large house, No. 68, and, on the south side

of that dwelling, were two immediate post-Fire houses, Nos. 69 and 70, in which resided two brothers, John and Richard Chandler respectively. In the 17th century, armorial bearings or badges were frequently affixed to houses; but very few remain with us to-day. On the facade of John's house, No. 69, was a stone sign or family badge, in the form of a sculptured "Pelican in her piety," feeding her young with her blood, the symbol of charity, and representing the crest of the two brothers. The badge which ornamented the pre-Fire house had been carefully removed by the builder and neatly let into the newly-fashioned front. There is still a fragment of the front standing, with the piece of sculpture over what was the doorway. Richard, known as Squire Chandler, who was a great benefactor to the parish, occupied No. 70, the interior of which, it is stated, was interesting, displaying good taste in its construction. He owned seven or eight houses in the parish.

The parish has not only the distinction of being the birthplace of the Guildhall, and its home for more than three centuries, and also the royal residence of the Saxon kings for four and a half centuries; but it also has the exceptional honour of giving to all lovers of Shakespeare, indeed to the world at large, the first folio edition of the works of the great dramatist, so that Aldermanbury will for all time be associated with the publication of the exceedingly rare volume.

But for the veneration of the immortal bard's genius, held by his two friends, Heminge and Condell, who collected and jealously preserved the MSS. of twenty-two plays, which had not previously been published, it is quite conceivable that we, to-day, would not have had the distinction of including in our English literature the works of the greatest of all poets, and the world would have been so much the poorer for the loss of such a priceless treasure. In his will, dated March, 1616, Shakespeare bequeathed to "my fellowes John Heming . . . and Henry Condell . . . xxvjs viijd a peece to buy them ringes." Although these two men were great actors, their chief fame rests in the publication of the 1623 folio.

Aldermanbury, therefore, has the privilege of having been the home of two worthies who, seven years after the poet's death, gave to us the precious folio of the works of their fellow actor and close friend, and whose names will be ever warmly cherished by all who love the works of the great dramatist.

John Heminge lived in the parish for 42 years, serving the

church as sidesman in 1602, and, six years later, as churchwarden and trustee of parish property, an office he held again in 1619. At first he lived at what became No. 68, and, later, at No. 73, at the south-west end of Aldermanbury, from which he later removed to take up his abode at a house in Addle Street at the north-west end, between Nos. 4 and 9. He married Rebecca Knell in 1588, at the church of St. Mary the Virgin, and their fourteen children—nine daughters and five sons—were baptised there. Heminge ceased acting in the year 1623, and it is some gratification that this worthy citizen, after rendering such splendid service to the parish, found his final resting-place in the chancel of the parish church, in the year 1630, eleven years after the passing of his wife.

Henry Condell was prosperous in his profession, and his theatrical engagements brought him into close relations with Shakespeare. While actively engaged as an actor, he was living in a house, No. 74, immediately adjoining on the south that which his friend Heminge had previously occupied. He not only purchased this house, but had acquired another close to it, and, later, he purchased several other properties in the City and at Fulham. He had lived in the parish for about 30 years, and was one of the parishioners who negotiated the purchase of the advowson in 1621. He had been associated with the church, first as sidesman, in 1606, churchwarden in 1617, and trustee in 1619 and 1621. He retired from the stage in 1623; but continued to reside in the parish with his nine children, all of whom were baptised in St. Mary the Virgin between 1598–1614. In 1625, he left No. 74, and went to live at Fulham, where he died in 1627, and was buried in the church of St. Mary the Virgin.

Aldermanbury may justly claim a further link with Shakespeare, for between the years, *circa* 1598–1612, the poet lodged with the Huguenot wigmaker, Christopher Montjoy, in a house close by, at the corner of Silver and Monkwel Streets, where he may have written some of his dramas, and, no doubt, frequently found his way into Aldermanbury, to visit his two actor friends for the purpose of exchanging ideas concerning his latest plays.

For many years, Alderman Sir Henry Knight, Lord Mayor in 1882–83, had his office at No. 75, which, in the 17th century, had been known as the "Flying Horse."

Hard by, was the "Swan with two necks," in Lad Lane,

dating as early as the middle of the 16th century. It was an important carriers' inn in 1630. The gateway is said to have been so narrow that it required an expert to drive a team out of the courtyard without getting jammed in the gateway. Early in the 19th century the proprietor, named Chaple, occupied quite half-a-dozen other London inn yards, and had over a thousand horses running coaches on the various old country roads—quite a dozen coaches leaving London every day.

When the residue of Alderman Adam de Basing's Manor of Aldermanbury reverted to the Crown in the early years of the 15th century, it comprised, with other lands and tenements, six houses, which ultimately became the property of the parish, either by gift or purchase; but, at a later date, they were appropriated by the Crown. In 1619, however, James the First, by letters patent granted them to Alderman Sir John Leman, the bachelor Lord Mayor in 1616-17, and Cornelius Fish, Chamberlain of the City.

By an indenture dated 1st of May, 1620, Sir John Leman and Cornelius Fish conveyed the premises to a committee of parishioners of St. Mary the Virgin, in trust, for the benefit of the parish, and, in the following year, the advowson was acquired by purchase, which still remains with the parishioners, who appoint to the living when a vacancy occurs.

In the early centuries, "cages" were erected in some parts of the city and liberties, for the confinement of petty malefactors and sometimes for scolds. It was a sort of "lock-up" and, in the 16th century, Aldermanbury found it necessary to instal one in the parish, for, in 1621, it is recorded that, "having got out of repair vij<sup>s</sup> was paid to the Alderman's depute towards the repayringe of the cage."

A curious incident occurred in the parish as chronicled by William Gregory, the 15th-century Mayor, the compiler of one of the best-known civic chronicles. It is that in the year 1222, "the King [Henry III], had purposyd hym to have do kaste downe the wallys of London. Ande the same yere the ordyr of Friar Menours came fyrste in to Inglonde, and a man that faynyd hym selfe Cryste, he was crucifyed at Alddermanbery at London."

#### FOUNDLINGS.

As in many other parishes, householders were troubled with mothers of unwanted babies visiting the parish to deposit their offspring on the doorsteps of houses, in the hope, probably, that

the child might be fortunate enough to be adopted by the occupant of a house so favoured. For many years it was the custom to register the foundlings with the name of the parish as a surname; but, in 1685, it was found that Aldermanbury was rather much for a child to carry through life, so, for this particular purpose, it became curtailed to "Berry" or "Bury," and, in that form, the surname of the foundlings continued up to the late 18th century. Many a respectable family of to-day owes its beginning to no better source than this, whether the origin of the surname be parish, street or lane, given to signify the spot where the first possessor was discovered. In the parish books, the following, out of many entries, occur:—

1586	Reward for carrying the child abroad for four days to learn the mother of it .. .. .	£0 2 0
1592	For seeking out the mother of the child left in the parish ..	4 0
1655	Paid for nursing and clothing John Aldermanbury for one year .. .. .	6 4 0
	Paid for nursing and clothing of a child called Abraham Aldermanbury for one year .. .. .	6 4 0
	Paid for nursing and clothing Mary Aldermanbury .. .. .	6 4 0
	Paid for nursing and clothing Rebecka Aldermanbury and burial of same child .. .. .	4 1 0
	Paid for linen for a child left at Mr. Simons' door .. .. .	5 0
1683-5	Paid for nursing and clothing Charity Aldermanbury, afterwards changed to Charity Berry .. .. .	
	Paid for nursing and clothing William Aldermanbury, afterwards changed to William Berry .. .. .	
1686	Mary Berrey, a foundlin child taken up from the Church Steppes against carpenter yard about eleven o'clocke at night .. .. .	
1690	A foundling child taken up at Mr. Lamb's door .. .. .	
1709	Paid for nursing and clothing Joseph Berry .. .. .	
1709	Paid to a woman in labour to get her out of the parish ..	0 3 0
1712	Paid for nursing Mary Berry, dropt in Dyer's Court, 16 weeks at 2/6 .. .. .	2 2 0
1716	Paid a woman finding the father of James Berry .. .. .	0 5 0
1717	Paid to remove several women in labour in the street ..	0 11 0

In 1673 a person was employed by the vestry at 50s. per annum to patrol the streets to keep on the move, suspicious-looking women frequenting the parish, to avoid possible offspring becoming a charge on the parish.

#### EARLY PROPERTY OWNERS.

Cir. 1189-1196 Grant by William, Bishop of Ely, the King's Chancellor, to Geoffrey Blund, of the land and messuage in the parishes of St. Laurence Jewry and St. Mary of Aldermanbury, that he bought of Walter Lorengs for which Blund paid £90.

- Cir. 1189-1196 Grant to Aelicia (Alice) daughter of Alvred Mercer to Henry and Richard, sons of Henry Blund her kinsmen, of the land her father left her in Aldermanesbury and Bassieshaghe paying 6/- yearly.
- Cir. 1200 Alvred Mercer confirmed to Henry Blund and Richard his brother, the land that Alice his sister granted them in Aldermannesbury and Bassieshaghe, which land he also releases to them.
- 1203 Deed of sale and release by Alice daughter of Alvred Mercer to the Prior and Canons of Holy Trinity, London, for 50/- of a quit rent of 6/- which she had for lands that Henry and Richard, sons of Henry Blund held of her situate as described in Bassishaghe and Aldermannebury. In the same year this sale was confirmed by Henry and Richard Blund.
- 1228 Grant by Richard the prior and convent of Holy Trinity, to Robert de Gypewyz, Goldsmith, of land with the buildings thereon, situate in St. Mary's parish Aldermanbury, the extent of being specified in iron ells of King Henry III, and also 4/- quit rent for the whole tenement that was William Wites in the same place at a yearly rent of two marcs.
- 1270 Grant by M. de Sancto Albans to Prior, etc. of land with the houses thereon by the Guildhall in frank Almoin, paying yearly 20/- to Thomas, son of Adam de Basinges.
- 1275 John de Minour left to [his son-in-law] Hugh de Bifete and Isabella his wife his garden in the parish of the Church of Alderesmannebury.
- 1278 William Bokerell left to his wife Dionisia his house at Aldermanbiri for life.
- 1279 Stephen Costentine left to Juliana his wife a house in Basinge Lane in the parish of Aldermanechurche.
- 1280 Thomas de Hereford left to Joanna his daughter a house and rents above Aldermanebiri in the parish of S. Mary.
- 1296 Bartholomew de Castle left to Sir William de Carleton his houses in the parish of St. Mary de Aldermannebury for life.
- 1310 Grant, in fee, to Master Peter de Novo Castro, King's surgeon for his service to the late King of the messuage in the parish of St. Mary Aldermanbury, formerly held from the late King by Master Peter de Pekham subject to the yearly rent of 4d.
- 1312 John le Blund left his son John, the tenement of Hugh Motoun in the parish of S. Mary Aldermanechirche.
- 1313 William de St. Alban left a tenement in the parish of S. Mary de Aldermanberi.
- 1315 Isabella de Higham left tenements.
- 1318 Agnes de Stanes left her maids houses in the parish.
- 1322 William le Lacer left to John his son a tenement in the parish.
- 1323 Ralph de Higham left to Sarah his wife houses upon Aldremanbere for life.
- 1329 Margaret de Bevere left to Peter le Rous her tenements in the parish of S. Mary, Aldermanbury, Sir William de Boudon being allowed to continue as tenant.
- 1332 Richard Costantyn left to Richard his son tenements in the parish.
- 1332 Thomas Poyntels left shops, etc., in the parish.

- 1333 Stephen de Hale left to Matilda his wife a tenement in Gaysporelane (north end of Aldermanbury) in the parish of S. Mary de Aldermannebury.
- 1337 Roger Poyntel left tenements in the parish.
- 1338 Stephen de Clopton left to the Priory of S. Bartholomew de Smethefeld his shops in the parish of St. Aldermanbury.  
William de Everdon left houses in the parish.
- 1349 Richard de Basyngstoke left to Thomas his son a tenement in the parish.
- 1386 John Tours left to Dionisia his wife his dwelling house in Aldermanbury.
- 1502 William Buck lived on the east side, his house being situate in Aldermanbury, and his garden extending into the parish of St. Laurence, Old Jewry. Before his death in 1532 he possessed a capital messuage and four tenements which he left to his wife Margaret for life and remainder to his eldest son John Buck.
- 1565 Dame Margaret Howard possessed one capital messuage and two other messuages lying in the street called Aldermanburye.  
This property was formerly held by Richard Charleton who forfeited it to Henry VII. The King granted it to Richard Hawte for faithful service. Upon the death of Hawte's wife, the property was sold to John Mundaye, who in 1509 granted it to Alderman Sir John Tate and Alderman William Brown. In 1527 Alderman Nicholas Jenyns acquired the property for 100 marks, and at his death it passed to his widow Margaret who married one Howard.
- 1578 Thomas Godfrey lived in Aldermanbury and possessed in addition to his dwelling house four tenements, one shop and fourteen cottages in the parish.
- 1579 Roger Coys who died in 1579 was seised in his demense as of fee of one large capital messuage and one garden, and two small tenements adjoining the said messuages in which he dwelt; also two messuages and one yard or waste ground adjoining the capital messuage and garden, all lying in the parish of the Blessed Marie in Aldermanburye, and which he purchased in 1561 from Stephen Reames of Estfarleigh, Kent, [and] 8 messuages with all the shops, cellars, etc. thereto belonging, lying near the Wall of the said city in the parish of the Blessed Mary in the street of Aldermanbury.  
This property was situate in what at this date (1579) was known as Gasporelane, afterwards forming a continuation of Aldermanbury up to London Wall.
- 1603 Mathewe Paris dwelling in Aldermanbury left property to Mary, his mother's servant.  
Nathaniel Stanton, left several houses in Aldermanbury.

## EARLY RESIDENTS IN THE PARISH.

- 13th Century Adam de Basing, 1247-62. Thomas de Basing, 1275. Iter Bochard, 1271. Thomas de Wynburn. Isabel Bokerel. Sir Roger de Mortuo Mari.
- 14th Century William de Elsinge, founder of Elsinge priory of which he was the first prior.
- " John Brian, parish clerk, of S. Mary de Aldermanbury lived in Addle Street, 1361.

- 14th Century Chief Justice Sir Robert Tressilian, 1383.
- 15th Century Alderman Sir William Estfeld lived in Dyer's Court. He died 1446.
- " William Buck, lived in the house formerly occupied by Estfeld. He died 1502.
- 16th Century Lord John Williams of Thame, Master of the King's Jewels, 1541.
- " Sir Erasmus de la Fontaine, after whom Fontaine Court was named.
- " Dame Margaret Howard, 1565.
- " Thomas Buck, in Dyer's Court. He died 1523.
- " Thomas Godfrey, 1578. He lived in Aldermanbury.
- " Roger Coyes, 1579. He lived on the north-east corner of Gaspore Lane.
- " John Newman, *circa* 1590.
- 17th Century John Swynnerton, Senior, near George Yard, 1580-1608, Master of Merchant Taylor's Coy. He entertained King James I to a sumptuous dinner in the Company's Hall.
- " Sir John Swynnerton (Lord Mayor, 1612-13). He lived in the mansion in Dyer's Court formerly occupied by Sir William Estfeld. He died in 1616.
- " William Isborde, 1600.
- " Alderman Edward Rotherham.
- " Sir Robert Harley was residing in Aldermanbury in 1626, and in July 1627 he wrote to his father-in-law, Lord Conway, asking that he may remove from Aldermanbury to Lord Conways house in Little Britain because of the appearance of small pox in the family.
- " Sir Richard Young resided here between the years 1620-1646.
- " Edmund Calamy, Nonconformist divine, 1639-62.
- " Dr. Simon Ford, Minister.
- " Dr. Thomas Taylor, Minister.
- " John Heminge, lived at Nos. 69 & 73 Aldermanbury for 42 years, 1588-1630.
- " Henry Condell, lived at No. 74 Aldermanbury for about 30 years, 1595-1625.
- " Alderman Michael Herring, at No. 12 Love Lane, *circa* 1640-53.
- " Alderman Christopher Pack (Lord Mayor 1654-5). He lived at No. 12 Love Lane.
- " Sir William Dyer, Sheriff of Essex. He died 1681. Lived in the Court named after him.
- " Sir John Swynnerton Dyer. Lived in Dyer's Court.
- " Lord George Jeffreys lived in Aldermanbury, between 1678-88.
- " Robert Aske, he died 1680.
- " John Chandler, he died 1686. Lived at No. 69 Aldermanbury.
- " Alderman Richard Chandler, he died 1691. Lived at No. 70 Aldermanbury.
- " Sir Hugh Wyndham, English Judge, he died 1684. In 1648, he occupied a house with a window opening into Carpenter's Yard.



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ST. MARY, ALDERMANBURY.

Designed by Geo. Chapman R.S.A.

- 17th Century William Russell, cophin maker lived at the sign of the "Four Cophins" in Aldermanbury.
- 18th and 19th Centuries Dr. Thomas Timms lived at No. 68 Aldermanbury.
- " Nathaniel Stanton at No. 66.
- " Dr. William Babington at No. 17 in the years 1800-19.
- " Alderman Sir Henry Knight (Lord Mayor 1882-3). Occupied No. 75 Aldermanbury.
- " W. Holman Hunt, painter, born in Love Lane.

## RESIDENTS AT THE TIME OF THE GREAT FIRE.

Robert Adcock, Mrs. Katherine Alie, Sir Thomas Allen, Mr. Ashburn, John Atkinson, William Avery, John Baker, William Baker, Philip Barder, Mr. Bell, John Bewley, Sir Theophilus Bidolph, Mrs. Mary Buckeridge, Sir Thomas Clarges, Mr. Coxiter, John Cutlore, Mrs. Davies, Mr. Deane, John Dicker, Sir William Dyer, Judge Guibond Goddard, Mr. Havise, Mr. Holand, Mrs. Hughes, Thomas Hogkin, Edward Jackson, Thomas Jackson, William Miller, Mr. Morice, Mr. Neale, Thomas Needler, John Needless, Mr. Noden, Abraham Nunn, Mr. Oglethorp, Mr. Osley, Walter Pell, Mrs. Eleanor Pricke, John Redman, Alderman William Ridges, Mr. Selsby, Ralph Stayersley, Thomas Stayersley, Mrs. Joanna Swynnerton, Mrs. Tearner, Charles Todd, Alderman Timothy Wade, Mr. Wilson, John Winter, Mr. Witherd.

## THE CHURCH.

Among the earliest references to the church, which is a perpetual curacy, and dedicated to St. Mary the Virgin, are Sancte Marie de Aldermannesberia, Sancte Marie de Aldermannesburi (*circa* 1189); Sancte Marie Aldermannebirii (1225), Sancta Marie de Aldermannebury (1231).

It was notable among London churches, and its antiquity is said to ante-date existing records.

The discovery of a sepulchral stone, inscribed, "John Constantine," and dated 1116, is recorded to have been in the old edifice before the Fire. From this, John Stow formed the opinion that the church was founded by the Saxons. Malcolm states that "the existence of the church may be traced before the reign of Henry II," which began in 1154, and, in *Ancient Deeds* (A.7309), Robert the Priest of Aldermannesberi before 1148, is referred to.

The earliest reliable record of it, however, is that of the "Inquisition" of the churches in London, in 1181 (*Hist. MSS. Com. 9th Report*), giving a list of the ornaments in each church. Fitzstephen, too, writing in the 12th century (*circa* 1180), speaks of the 126 parish churches then existing, which suggests that all the parish churches had been founded by the end of that century. Even if that were so, there is no sound reason

for assuming that St. Mary the Virgin was not ancient even at that date.

Parochial boundaries were established as early as the 10th century, and such boundaries were governed by the then disposition of land, primarily the manor; but this does not appear to be so in Aldermanbury, for the soke or manor originally included the parish of St. Michael Bassishaw and that of St. Mary Magdalen, Milk Street.

With the development of the soke in the early centuries, it is probable that an ecclesiastical expansion also began. The lord of the soke of Aldermanbury, desiring to have a church or monastic institution to serve his liberty, may have caused to be built St. Mary the Virgin, which is close to the site of the manor house and also to that of the "bury," that he might give it to a relation or friend to serve.

Of the first edifice, however, no certain traces of an architectural character have been discovered.

"A grant by the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's to John de Sancto Laurentis of the church of St. Mary, Aldermanbury, to hold in perpetuity dated 1204-15" is recorded in the *Ninth Report of the Com. on Hist. MSS.*, p. 17.

It would appear that the church fell into decay, for, in 1437, we find that Alderman Sir William Estfeld, who, as it has already been stated, was a great benefactor to the church, not only rebuilt the steeple at his own expense; but caused the five old bells to be recast "into more tunable ones," and gave £100 towards other church improvements. He directed that he be buried in the church, and that the funeral be conducted without display, the torches used at the funeral to be afterwards distributed among various churches.

According to Stow, the churchyard was formerly enclosed by cloisters, and probably they existed long before Estfeld's time, although there is no mention of any part of his gift being employed in repairing them, and the records are otherwise silent in the matter, but reference is made to a chapel in the north, and a loft over the porch.

Looking up the lane from Gresham Street, the church formed a picturesque background to the lane projecting into the roadway, and one might well imagine oneself entering an ancient provincial town with a market place about the church, for the street, which is about 15 or 16 feet wide, opens out to three times that width by the time Love Lane is reached.

Attached to the church was the parsonage house, purchased from the Crown in 1610, in which Calamy lived, and, in later years, another was erected in Addle Street, for Dr. Simon Ford's occupancy for so long as he continued to serve the parish.

It would appear that during the ministry of Dr. Thomas Taylor, one of the lecturers engaged by him to preach from Midsummer to Michaelmas, had greatly disturbed the peace of mind of one of the congregation, for one Gabriel Brown, writing, in 1626, to a priest in Spain, which communication was intercepted, he stated that "certain zealous persons were stirred up by the sermons of a Calvinistic sot in Aldermanbury to deface our Saviour's picture."

The church awakens many interesting associations. In it, on the 12th November, 1656, the poet, John Milton, went through the marriage ceremony a second time with Catherine Woodcock. They were married by Alderman Sir John Dethick, a Justice of the Peace for the City. She was buried in the church.

Edmund Calamy, the celebrated Nonconformist divine, was presented to the living in 1639, and his week-day lectures were so extremely popular, that crowds were accustomed to flock to hear him preach, and "the narrow streets leading to the place of worship were blocked up service after service" and "seldom were there so few as sixty coaches" awaiting his enthusiastic supporters near the church doors. In 1639-40 Robert Earl, of Warwick, applied to the churchwardens for sittings in the church, and he was given the choice of occupying Mr. Calamy's family pew, or of building himself one at the end of a little gallery. This seems to show the great popularity the preacher had gained within a few months. About this time, Robert Woodford, Steward of Northampton, came to London to hear Calamy, and in his diary under date, 17th November, 1640, he writes, "I was at Aldermanbury church about 14 hours together, where three ministers prayed and preached one after another—Mr. Calamy and two strangers." Calamy promoted the Restoration; but he lived to repent it, and, after the passing of the 1662 Act of Uniformity, to which he would not submit, he was ejected, but continued to preach in the open, or, in his own house, which example was followed by many of the ejected clergy.

He, however, continued to live in the parish and to attend the church. In the December of that year, he was one of the congregation assembled to hear the sermon arranged for the day,

but the preacher did not appear, and Calamy was importuned by the congregation to take his place. He thereupon took his stand at the reading desk, at which it had been his custom to preach for 23 years, and delivered an oration with considerable warmth. For complying with the wishes of the congregation, he was rewarded by being conveyed to Newgate in January, 1663, by the Royalist party, for unlicensed preaching; but Newgate Street became so blocked with the coaches of his visitors, that by the King's express order he was released. Shortly after the Great Fire, Calamy desired to journey to Enfield, and he hired a coach in which he was driven through the city amidst the ruins. The sight of the hideous destruction of the once flourishing city so affected him, that he retired to his room, which he never again left, and expired within a month, on the 29th October, 1666.

It was the intention to place his body under the reading-desk which he had for so long used, the debris after the Fire was so deep that it was difficult to locate the position exactly, so the coffin was placed as near to it as possible.

In 1633, the church was repaired and beautified by parochial contributions; but it was a complete ruin after the Fire. It was the ninth in order of the churches decided to be rebuilt. The church, before December, 1640, was stately and spacious. It was designed by Wren, much on the plan of the former building, and the work was carried through under his supervision in 1677-8. It is interesting to note that the famous architect did not accept the commission, to build the church as a matter of business, for it is on record, that, in consideration of the kindness shown by Sir Christopher and Mr. Robert Hooke in expediting the work of rebuilding, and by way of encouraging them to assist in perfecting that work, the rebuilding committee presented Dr. Wren with £21 and Mr. Hooke with £10, in 1672. Wren not only returned the whole of the sum presented to him, but he also gave £25 towards the purchase of the clock.

In its construction, much of the material of the destroyed church of St. Mary Magdalen, Milk Street, was incorporated. The east front, which still stands, displays an exceedingly bold design, with its handsome cornice and pediment supported by heavy scrolls, and its central arched window embellished with large carved scrolls at the sides. The roof was covered with lead.

Interiorly, twelve pillars of the composite order supported the vaulting of the nave, which was ornamented by bands of

panels and roses stretching between the pillars. It was enriched by a fine altar-piece, adorned with cherubs and composed of two composite pilasters, imitations of lapis-lazuli, with gilt bases and capitals and a divided pediment admitting the royal arms. The walls were wainscotted and the pulpit was enriched with cherubims. The communion-table, standing on marble, was enclosed with rails and banisters; but the church had been modernised, and excepting the pillars and ceiling, little of Wren's work remained.

Over the door in the north-west corner was a fine painting of the "Last Supper," by Franks, originally intended for the altar, presented by Mr. Alexander Whitechurch, Clerk to the Company of Brewers, whose Hall was in the immediate vicinity of the church. There is still a small statuette of the Virgin and Child over the south door. This formerly adorned the iron gates at the churchyard entrance.

Towards the cost of the rebuilding and decoration of the church after the Great Fire, the vestry granted £800, supplemented by £650 borrowed from forty persons, on the understanding that the lenders should be repaid from the duty on coals.

Amongst the names of lenders are Thomas Page, £50; John Davis, £40; John Dubois, £60; William Dyer, £30; and William Houldgate, or Holgate, whose house abutted on that of Sir John Swynnerton, £55. In addition to these loans, Sir John Langham gave £250, and Alderman Walter Pells gave £100. Two or three years later, five persons similarly lent the sum of £20 each to pay for woodwork.

The church was beautified in 1720, the steeple was repaired in 1736 and work of restoration, repairs and alterations was carried out in 1777, 1808, 1830, 1844, and in 1863-64, at the considerable cost of about £3,400, the edifice was modernised; but the broad effect of the once fine façade was said to be greatly marred by the substituted filled-in tracery, for the original oval windows.

The church was the victim of a theft in the year 1890, when the fine old plate mysteriously disappeared. This, it may be said, is not the only instance of valuables escaping from the custody of churchwardens, and yet not a single word of protest has appeared in the press as to the disappearance from our city churches of plate and pictures.

Some of the church windows were shattered during the

Zeppelin raid over the City on the night of 8th September, 1915, at which time several adjacent buildings were completely destroyed by incendiary bombs.

In 1920, it was one of the nineteen churches calmly scheduled for demolition by the City of London Churches Commission; but the campaign of protest was so strong and so bitter against the proposal, that the bill was rejected by the Privy Council.

It was seriously damaged by enemy action on the night of 29th December, 1940, leaving a mere shell of the edifice, but with the tower still standing, minus the turret and vane. The effect of the blast resulted in the uncovering of some Tudor brickwork which, as it would appear, had been re-used by Wren when rebuilding the church after the Great Fire.

In the seventh report of the *Historical MSS. Commission*, it is recorded that one Daverson, a Scot, preached in the church on 29th June, 1588, "with a kerchief on his head, a velvet nightcap upon that, and a felt hat over that, and prayed a long prayer with all on," after which, removing his hat, said, "let us sing a psalm to the praise of God."

During Calamy's ministry, a quaker named Solomon Eeles was prosecuted for "coming into the church naked in ye time of Mr. Calamy's preaching, January 1, 1660," which prosecution cost the parish £1 5s. 10d.

The little graveyard is reminiscent of Shakespeare, for, on the south side, there still stands, under the shadow of two large plane trees, a strikingly handsome red granite monument, erected in 1896 to the memory of two men—John Heminge and Henry Condell—who gave to the world the first folio edition of the plays. The monument, which was the gift of Mr. Charles Clement Walker, of Lilleshall Old Hall, Shropshire, is surmounted by a bust of the dramatist. It was sculptured by Charles J. Allen, and it takes the form of an open book. On the verso is represented the title-page of the plays, and on the recto is an extract from the preface, bearing the signatures of the two editors.

The principal tablet on the pedestal carries the following inscription:—

"To the memory of John Heminge and Henry Condell, fellow actors and personal friends of Shakespeare. They lived many years in this parish and are buried here. To their disinterested affection the world owes all that it calls Shakespeare. They alone collected his dramatic writings regardless of pecuniary loss, and without hope of any profit, gave them to the world. They thus merited the gratitude of the world."

## PATRONAGE.

It has been shown that the patronage was originally in the gift of the barons of the soke or manor, with whom it remained for two centuries or more. At the death of Henry Fitz-Reiner, the right of presentation passed to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's who, in the early years of the 13th century, granted it to Baldwin Crispus. It then passed to Simon de Aldermanbury, who had married the daughter of Crispus. Simon transferred it to Alan de Aldermanbury and his brother Gervase.

In 1231, according to Newcourt, in his "Repertorium," a question as to the presentation to the church was raised by Gervase de Aldermanbury, by virtue of the King's writ before the Justices. Gervase alleged that his father, Alan de Aldermanbury, presented one William de Aldermanbury to the church, "who died parson of the same, thirty-one years past, and that the church had been void from that time." This would date the presentation earlier than 1200, at which time, Alan de Aldermanbury was the holder of the soke. It was, however, shown that John de Sancto Laurence had held the living (1204-15) and that John de Gloucester and John de S. Peter had held it between the years 1200-1231.

On the 16th February, 1247, we find in a Charter Roll:—

"Grant to Adam de Basing . . . of the gift of Gervase de Aldermaniebury all the messuage . . . in Aldermaniebury sometime of Alan the father of the donor with all the land before the said messuage with the advowson of the Church of St. Mary Aldermanbury. . . ."

Adam de Basing died in 1262, when the manor etc. was inherited by his son Thomas, at whose death, in 1275, Margery, his widow, became possessed of the manor and the right of presentation. At the death of Margery, the property was inherited by the surviving granddaughter of Adam de Basing—Joan de Hadestoke—who had previously married Adam de Bedyk. After Bedyk's death, in 1303, Joan married Sir Roger Sauvage, and they, in 1306, "granted to Sir John de Drokenisford the capital messuage of Aldermanbury . . . together with the advowson of the church of St. Mary Aldermanbury. . . ." Drokenisford re-conveyed the manor, etc., to Sauvage. At Joan's death, her son by her former husband—Henry de Bedyk—became the next holder. In his will, dated 1335, Henry left the capital messuage to his wife, also named Joan, with remainder to his son, Sir Thomas. Twelve years later, his mother granted the manor to Master Henry de Chaddesdene,

to whom, in 1350, Sir Thomas sold the reversion of the estate. Seven years later, Chaddesdene's executors, by deed of sale, disposed of the property, including the advowson of the church, to Sir John Beauchamp and John de Bovenden, in 1359. The following year, Sir John died, and by his will the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's became possessed of the advowson, and, ultimately, it passed to the Crown in 1417.

James the First bestowed the right of presentation with certain messuages, tenements, etc., in 1606, upon two of his favourites, Robert Morgan and Thomas Butler. On the 29th April, 1619, they conveyed a moiety of the property, with the appurtenances, to Robert Rante and his son, by whom for a consideration of £220 it was conveyed to Sir John Davey and other parishioners on the 15th June, 1621. Morgan and Butler, on the 8th May, 1619, had conveyed the other moiety to Thomas Clarke, who, for £220, sold it to Sir John on the 3rd July, 1621. With Sir Richard Young, Henry Condell, and twenty-seven other parishioners, Sir John Davey had thus acquired the advowson for £440. That sum was secured by the sale of two houses belonging to the parish, realising £260, and the balance of £180, by means of private subscriptions, such purchase being subject to a yearly rent charge of £11, payable to the Crown, and certain payments to St. Paul's, amounting to £1 1s. 11d. The sum of £11 being paid out of the rent of two houses forming part of the rectory. The parishioners, since 1621, have had the right to choose their own rector, subject to him being licensed by the bishop.

During the 14th and 15th centuries, there were several lawsuits concerning the right of presentation, and there are deeds in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's as to the right of collation to a chantry in the church, amongst the parties named are Sir Thomas de Bedyk, Henry de Chaddesdene and Sir John de Beauchamp, Sir Roger de Taleworth, Arnold de Mounteneye.

#### CHANTRIES.

- 1251 Adam de Basing, Sheriff in 1251, and holder of the soke, in his will left money to found a chantry.
- 1273 Walter de Kingstone left certain quit rents to provide a Chantry for S. Mary de Aldermannechurche.
- 1275 Thomas de Basing left rents for a lamp and chantry, and for the maintenance of the chapel.
- 1280 Isabella Bokerel relict of Stephen Aswy, and the mother of William Bokerel left to William de St. Alban a house in the parish of S. Mary

- de Aldmannebyri, and ordains her heirs shall provide a chantry in the said Church.
- 1311 William de Carleton left to his cook his tenement in the parish of S. Mary de Aldermannebery . . . charged with the maintenance of a chantry in the said church. The houses devised to him by Sir Bartholomew de Castello (1296) to remain to Bartholomew, nephew of the same.
- 1335 Henry de Bydyk left money for two Chantries.
- 1335 Laurence Botoner left a bequest for two Chantries.
- 1353 Roger de Taleworth bequeathed to the High Alter of St. Mary, Aldermygbure.
- 1357 Henry de Chadesdene left money to found a Chantry.
- 1367 William de Bristowe left to his wife Matilda all his lands and tenements in the city for life, and after her decease his tenements in Athelane in the parish of S. Mary de Aldermanbury to his son Simon for life for pious purposes, remainder to William his son, charged with the maintenance of a chantry in the church of S. Mary de Aldermanbury.
- 1386 John Tours left a tenement to the Rector for the maintenance of the Beam light.
- 1399 Simon de Wynchecombe desired to be buried in the Church and made provision for a Chantry there.
- 1431 John Constantyn left to William his son lands, tenements and rents in the parish for founding a chantry in the Church of S. Mary.
- Dennis Towers gave all his tenements in the parish to found a priest and an anniversary.
- 1446 William Estfield founded a chantry at the altar of St. George, to which he appointed the Company of Mercers patron.

## BENEFACTORS.

- 1260 Alderman Adam de Basing—Rents for charity.
- 1307 Hugh de Glovernia—Rents of a tenement, for the poor in bread, clothes, shoes and money.
- 1361 Richard Lacey—Gift for charity.
- 1374 Simon de Bristowe—bequest for charity.
- 1430 Alderman Sir William Estfield—bequest for the poor, £100 to the Church, etc.
- 1560 Lady Gresham—bequest of £3 annually for the poor.
- 1560 Alderman Sir Rowland Hill—bequest for coal to the poor.
- 1599 John Newman—gave his share in a capital messuage.
- 1620 Sir John Davy—£100 for the poor.
- 1620 Sir John Leman and Cornelius Fisk—Land and tenements.
- 1639 Robert Ecclestone—£60 for the poor.
- 1655 Lady Swynnerton—£20 to the poor.
- 1672 Alderman Walter Pell—£100 to the church.
- 1672 Alderman Sir John Langham—£250 to the church.
- 1672 Samuel Smith—Gave the pulpit.
- 1675 Alderman Richard Chandler—Gave the Font and £50 to the Church.
- 1676 Sir Christopher Wren—£25 towards the purchase of the Clock.
- 1677 Richard Wynne—£10 for the poor.
- 1680 Robert Aske—£80 to the Church.

- 1707 Christopher Morgan—£50.  
 1720 Sir John Bateman—£20 to the poor.  
 1720 Ambrose Newton—£25 to the Church.  
 1723 Samuel Lambert—£500 to the Church.  
 1742 Elizabeth Ashby—£20 to the poor.  
 1748 Mary Mitchell—£20 to the poor.  
 1751 Susanah Edmonds—£20 to the poor.  
 1751 Samuel Smith—£20 to the poor.  
 1762 Thomas Benn—Land of the value of £3 to the poor. The land was sold in 1821 and the purchase money £294 was invested in 4% Consols, and subsequently sold and applied in the redemption of the land tax on part of parish property.  
 1763 John Snee—£20 to the poor.  
 1777 Alexander Whitechurch—Franck's painting of the "Lord's Supper."  
 1788 R. Hogg—£50 to the poor.  
 1792 William Smith—£50 to the Church.  
 1834 J. Baggallay—Oak lecturn and £20 to the Church.

After the Great Fire, a committee was formed to obtain loans towards the rebuilding of the church. A subscription list was opened, and some forty parishioners contributed £650, in varying sums of £5 to £45, on the clear understanding that such monies would be repaid. The whole of the amount lent was repaid in the year 1674, from the coal dues.

#### BURIALS.

- 1116 John Constantine.  
 1391 Simon Winchcombe.  
 1422 Robert Combarton.  
 1428 John Wheatley, mercer.  
 1448 Ald. Sir William Estfield, Mayor.  
 1472 John Middleton, Mayor.  
 1486 John Tomes, Draper.  
 1501 William Bucke, Tailor.  
 1507 Sir William Browne, Mayor.  
 1515 Stephen Jennings, Mayor.  
 1528 Lady Gresham, wife of Sir John Gresham.  
 1569 Elizabeth Davey.  
 1574 Elizabeth, daughter of Lord Norris.  
 1577 Thomas Godfrey, Remembrancer.  
 1586 Alderman Ralph Woodcock.  
 1595 Thomas Diggs, famous mathematician.  
 1608 John Swynnerton, Senior.  
 1614 Sir Thomas Hayes, Lord Mayor.  
 1616 Sir John Swynnerton, Lord Mayor.  
 1627 Henry Condell.  
 1630 John Heminges.  
 1635 Mrs. Henry Condell.  
 1666 Edmund Calamy.  
 1671 Lord Kimbolton, Earl of Manchester.

- 1675 Alderman Walter Pell.  
 1677 Dame Jeffreys, wife of Judge Jeffreys.  
 1690 Bishop Hopkins.  
 1693 Judge Lord Jeffreys.  
 1703 Margaret Bagnall.  
 1713 Ann Betton.  
 1727 Samuel Lambert.  
 1728 Joseph Bagnall.  
 1729 Sir Clive Moore.  
 1730 Revd. Joshua Smith.  
 1731 Sir Joseph Edmund Moore.  
 1732 Dr. Edmund Calamy.  
 1733 William Dyer.  
 1736 William Dyer.  
 1739 Ann Dyer.  
 1782 Elizabeth Smith.  
 1789 Samuel Smith.

In a vault on the north side of the communion-table rest the remains of the infamous Judge Jeffreys, whose body was removed hither from the chapel in the Tower in 1698. Lord Campbell informs us that when the church was repaired in 1810, the coffin was found still fresh, with the one-time dreaded words, "Lord Chancellor Jeffreys," engraved on the lid.

One of the monuments deserving of attention was executed by Dominico Cardelli in 1789. It represents a female figure seated on a gun, her hands crossed on the pedestal of a fractured rostral column. It was erected to the memory of Lieut. John Smith, who was engaged during the American Civil War, and was drowned on the 7th September, 1782.

The two brothers, Richard and John Chandler, were buried in the family vault in the north-west corner of the church, and, on the monument, with busts, erected to their memory, appeared their arms, exactly corresponding with the sculptured sign on the string-course of their house at No. 70 Aldermanbury. The inscription was:—

"Here lyeth the body of Richard Chandler, citizen and haberdasher of London, Esq., who departed this life November 8th, 1691, eighty-five. Also the body of John Chandler, Esq., his brother citizen and haberdasher of London, who died October 14th, 1686, aged 69."

Amongst other monuments and tablets, are:—

Robert Aske, 1688; Edmund and Mary Hack, 1704; Dr. Joseph Letherland, 1764; John Fryer, 1796; Thomas Taylor, 1815; William Rust, 1826; James Holt, 1827; Sarah Willott, 1838; John Taylor Willott, 1841; Rev. John Philipps Bean, 1854; and John Emery.

An order made by Her Majesty in Council, in 1853, directed that burials in vaults and the churchyard should be discontinued.

## ELSYNGE SPITAL.

In the year 1329, a licence was granted to William de Elsyng, Mercer, to alienate in mortmain certain houses in the parishes of St. Alphage and St. Mary the Virgin, Aldermanbury, for the purpose of founding a hospital for the sustentation of one hundred blind men. The deed of foundation was confirmed in 1331. It was one of the earliest almshouses, and it may be said to have been one of the noblest acts of pious charity recorded in the early centuries of the history of the City of London.

Elsyng Spital had formerly been a nunnery, situated on the west side of Gayspur Lane, with an entrance from the street, London Wall. Being much decayed and uninhabitable, Elsyng speedily converted it into a priory, described as the Priory or Hospital of St. Mary the Virgin, Aldermanbury, for Augustine Canons, he himself becoming its first prior. It remained a priory until the Reformation, when it was confiscated by the Crown. At this time, the church of St. Alphage, adjoining the city wall, was in a ruinous condition and was taken down. Elsyng chapel, after various alterations, now became the parish church of St. Alphage in place of the decayed church by the wall.

The priory and adjoining premises, except the church and the tower, passed into the possession of John Williams (afterwards Lord Williams of Thame), Master and Treasurer of the King's Jewels. He converted the prior's quarters, several lodgings and the hospital itself, into a great dwelling-house. The churchyard became a garden and a gallery was erected over the cloisters, whilst the apartments intended to shelter the blind and the aged were translated into stabling. On Christmas Eve, 1541, a fire broke out, when the whole house and adjoining buildings, with many of the royal jewels, were destroyed.

The great house was rebuilt, and, on the death of Lord Williams, the property was purchased for £700 by the very wealthy landowner, Alderman Sir Rowland Hayward (Lord Mayor in 1570 and again in 1590), at whose death, in 1594, George Hayward, his son, sold it to Sir Robert Parkhurst, who, in 1626, conveyed the property to the Rev. Dr. John Simpson and John Keeling, for uses under the will of the Rev. Dr. Thomas White, the founder of Sion College. Dr. White left to his executors the sum of £3,000, to build a college for the use of London clergy, and almshouses for 10 men and 10 women. He further bequeathed £160 per annum—£120 for the

maintenance of the almshouses and £40 for the support of the college. Dr. Simpson subscribed £2,000 towards the cost of providing a library, and the erection of a house as a residence for the governor.

In the Great Fire, the almshouses, student's quarters, librarian's house, and nearly half of the valuable collection of books were destroyed. The college was rebuilt, and the library enriched with a portion of the collection of books, seized in 1672, belonging to the Jesuits. Lord Berkeley, at a later date, presented part of the library belonging to his uncle, Sir Robert Cooke. Apart from many legacies, and donations, each incumbent *within the city and suburbs*, upon taking possession of his living, was expected to present a book of the value of ten shillings at least. The college was removed under an 1884 Act of Parliament to a new building on the Victoria Embankment, and the almspeople were pensioned out of funds arising from the sale of the Elsyngé estate, set apart for the purpose.

Until recently the old tower was standing, but it and the ancient porch, which was used as a chapel for rest and prayer, were destroyed by enemy action in 1940.

#### CHURCH OF ST. ALPHAGE.

At the north-west corner of Aldermanbury, anciently called Gaspur Lane, there formerly stood the rebuilt church of St. Alphage (Aedfheah). The canonised prelate, to whom it was dedicated, was Archbishop of Canterbury, stoned to death by the Danes at Greenwich in 1072. The church, built originally against the old Roman city wall, is said to have been founded prior to the Charter of William the Norman, but the earliest mentions of it found in records are, St. Elfego, 1108; St. Alfego, 1189 (*Ancient Deeds*, A.7926).

Immediately opposite, on the south side of the street (London Wall), stood the 14th century Chapel of Elsyngé Spital, forming part of the priory of that name, founded by William de Elsyngé, in 1331, which, with other religious houses, was confiscated by the Crown in 1536. By this time, St. Alphage, adjoining the city wall, had become much decayed, and the parishioners petitioned for licence to rebuild it, but they could only obtain permission to use the old materials—stone, lead and timber, to repair and make good the confiscated Priory Chapel of Elsyngé Spital, which the Crown sold to them for £100, the

old fabric was therefore taken down. After various alterations had been effected, the Elsynges's Priory became the parish church of St. Alphege.

In 1718, it was found to be in a bad state of repair, and the parishioners submitted a petition to the House of Commons, pointing out that the church received some damage in the Great Fire, and that it was in a ruinous condition, the tower having already received attention, to prevent danger from its falling, and that the adjoining houses had been burnt down. The petition appears to have been ineffective, for, in 1747, it is recorded that the parish church, being very ancient and much decayed, was sadly in need of repairs.

In 1760, it was ordered that the tower and the porch be repaired, that the front be walled and the back be bricked.

In 1774, the church was pronounced to be in such a dangerous state that it was agreed to pull it down and to rebuild it. The work was completed in 1777.

In 1909, a windfall of £3,000 was handed over to the parish for the work of restoration and the building of a new north porch, which was completed in 1914. Three years later, the parish was united with that of St. Mary the Virgin, Aldermanbury.

The church was closed in 1917, and taken down in 1920, and the site was sold, the only portion which was allowed to remain being the vestry room and the 14th-century tower, which, until its destruction in December, 1940, was the only fragment of any mediaeval hospital left in London.

The little graveyard by the wall was closed by an Act of Parliament in 1853. On the stonework of the wall is fixed a tablet, stating it is the "Old Roman Wall." There was certainly no Roman work above ground, whatever there may have been below the surface. The portion of the wall that is still visible, however, is of interest as showing the remains of the mediaeval battlements with stone copings, which were added in the reign of Edward IV.

# THE CITY OF LONDON BREWERY IN UPPER THAMES STREET AND ITS SITE

(with illustrations from photographs by Edward Yates, F.S.A.)

By L. B. ELLIS, M.A.

THE City of London Brewery<sup>1</sup> was the oldest brewery in the City of London. The site occupies an area of about  $2\frac{1}{4}$  acres in the heart of the City, with a frontage to the river of about 223 feet; it is bounded on the north by Upper Thames Street, on the west by All Hallows Lane, and on the east by Red Bull Wharf. It is situate in the ward of Dowgate, in the parishes of All Hallows the Great and All Hallows the Less. In the course of its development the Brewery spread over the sites of several ancient and interesting buildings which it had absorbed. The site was devastated by enemy bombing in 1940 and 1941, and the subsequent demolition of damaged property by the Corporation of the City of London in 1942 left the area in its present almost vacant condition. On 1st July, 1941, the City of London Brewery and Investment Trust Limited removed its offices to 6, Albert Court, Kensington Gore, S.W.7, and severed, at any rate temporarily, its long connection with the City.

## I. THE BREWERY.

There was brewing on and near the site of the City of London Brewery centuries ago. In an assignment of 1431<sup>2</sup> there is a list of brewing utensils which were then in the custody of John Reynold, brewer, at the "Heywharf" in "Heywharflane."<sup>3</sup> This lane has been re-named Campion Lane, after a later brewer. The entrance to the City of London Brewery was from Campion Lane (Fig. 1). Stow relates that at the east end of the church of "Allhallowes the More in Thames Street . . . goeth down a lane called Hay wharf lane, now lately a great brewhouse, built there by one Pot; Henry Campion, esquire, a beer-brewer, used it, and Abraham his son now possesseth it."<sup>4</sup> Henry Pott, beer brewer, was in Grantham Lane<sup>5</sup> at one time, as a messuage or beer brewhouse and cellar there, late of Sir Ralph Dodmore, knight, which were demised

on 6th December, 4 Edward VI (1550), to one Nicholas Chowne, had been late in his tenure.<sup>6</sup>

*Henry Campion's Legacy.*

Henry Campion, beer brewer, whose name is commemorated in Campion Lane, was a benefactor by will of the parish of All Hallows the Great. He and his father before him were owners of extensive premises in the parish, which now belongs to the City of London Brewery and Investment Trust Limited, and their names figure in the vestry books as churchwardens. By his will, dated 2nd December, 30th year of Queen Elizabeth (1587), Henry Campion directed his executor to purchase lands, tenements, or rents to the value of £10 yearly, the profit of which was to be applied to the relief of the good, godly, and religious poor of the parish of Great Allhallows for ever.

His benefaction would have been far greater if his instructions had been carried out literally but, instead of buying property, his son and heir and sole executor, William Campion, paid the annual sum either out of his own pocket or as a rent chargeable on the brewery. At William's death, the brewery and premises passed to Richard Campion, in whom they were vested in 1666, when the whole of the property, with the church and parish in general, were consumed in the Great Fire. Richard Campion also paid the £10 annually all the time that he possessed the property, but it was found in 1672 (from a decree dated 11th October of that year of the Commissioners for regulating charities, appointed under the statute of 43 Elizabeth (1601)), that default had for some time been made in payment of Henry Campion's gift. The Commissioners appointed a jury to enquire into the facts, when counsel was heard for Jonathan Elliott, the then owner of the premises, who had purchased them from Richard Campion some three years since. The Commissioners were fully satisfied in their judgments that the said £10 per annum had been theretofore charged and made payable out of the said brewhouse and premises by some or one of the owners thereof, in pursuance of the intent of the said will, and for securing £10 per annum, for ever, for the use of the poor of Great Allhallows, and, as the said brewhouse was then built into messuages or tenements, they proceeded to decree: "that the said messuages or tenements do and shall for ever hereafter stand and be charged with the payment of the said £10 per annum, and that he, the said Jonathan Elliott,

his heirs, and assigns of the premises, shall for ever hereafter yearly, and every year at the Feast of St. Michael the Archangel, out of the rents, issues and profits of the same, pay, or cause to be paid unto the churchwardens of the parish . . . the aforesaid sum of £10 per annum."<sup>7</sup>

Under a decree of Commissioners of Charitable Uses, enrolled in Chancery and confirmed by that court on 10th June, 1763, this yearly sum was charged, in satisfaction of the donation made by Henry Champion's will, on certain lands in Allhallows Lane, "then in the possession of Cleophas Hawkins and Anthony Baskerville, and which now form part of the site of the brewery of Messrs. Calverts' & Co. by whom the rent-charge is annually paid."<sup>8</sup> Later on, Henry Champion's gift became a charge on part of the City of London Brewery Company's premises and continued to be paid by them.<sup>9</sup>

About the middle of the 18th century, the Brewery passed into the ownership of the Calverts. In 1744, Sir William Calvert was the owner.<sup>10</sup> He was alderman of Portsoken ward and, in 1748-9, he was Lord Mayor of London. The firm was known later as Felix Calvert<sup>11</sup> & Co., and it remained so-named until the formation of the City of London Brewery Company in 1860. In 1932 this company was formed into an Investment Trust Company. The site was developed by the City and Continental Wharves and Transport Ltd., who converted the riverside premises and several warehouses behind into a bonded wharf and developed a trade chiefly in the importation of China mats, and in hides, skins, glass and other commodities. The buildings behind the wharf were also converted into stores and warehouses, whilst the stables and the very large warehouses were converted into garages.

In 1940 and 1941 bombs from hostile aircraft set fire to the wharf (which at the time was filled with about £300,000 worth of merchandise) and other parts of the Brewery premises. In 1942, the Corporation of London pulled down the damaged buildings and sold the iron to the Government as scrap; the bricks and debris were removed, leaving an almost vacant site.

### *Brewery Activities and Tokens.*

Fig. 1 illustrates a busy scene in Champion Lane in 1821. It shows the entrance to the Brewery and the hour-glass vane surmounting the tower. It is from an oleograph in the Company's possession.

At one time the Brewery used to issue a series of tokens to the men for drawing their allowance of drink. They were made of zinc, brass and copper; each had the sign of the hour-glass on one face and the letters P, Q or G on the other. The zinc tokens were for a pint, quart or gallon of porter, according to the letter; the brass ones were for ale and the copper ones for stout in the same way. These tokens were withdrawn from circulation when it was found that they were being sold to outsiders.

## II. THE SITE.

The Ordnance Survey map of 1894-6 (vii, 76) marks in Gothic lettering the sites of the vanished buildings of *Coldharbour*, *Watermen's Hall*, the *Steelyard*, *All Hallows the Great*, and *All Hallows the Less*. Enemy action in 1940 and 1941 destroyed the *Hour-Glass Tavern* and the *Watch-house of Dowgate Ward*, and took further toll of *Whitehall Gate*, which had been mutilated for business reasons before the war. These buildings will now be dealt with in the above order under the headings: "Buildings indicated in Gothic lettering on Ordnance Survey map" and "War damage in 1940 and 1941."

### (1) *Buildings indicated in Gothic Lettering on Ordnance Survey Map.*

The history of *Coldharbour* may be read in detail elsewhere.<sup>12</sup> The entrance from Thames Street led through a gatehouse, which was standing in Stow's time, when the steeple and part of the choir of *All Hallows the Less* stood on it. It was pulled down in 1600 by Gilbert, 7th Earl of Shrewsbury, and the part on the riverside was leased to the Watermen's Company, on which to build their hall. This hall was destroyed by the Great Fire, after which the Watermen built a new hall "upon the quay at the south-west corner of Cold Harbour."<sup>13</sup> The new hall, "a handsome brick building," was absorbed by Calvert's Brewery in 1780, when the Watermen moved to St. Mary at Hill. In Wilkinson's words, "the very extensive brewery and dwelling-house of Messrs. Calvert & Co. . . . are erected on part of the site of *Coldharbour* and on that of the subsequent erection of *Waterman's Hall*."

These building operations occasioned great complaints to be made by the inhabitants adjacent, who set forth their complaint in a petition to the Honourable the Commissioners of Sewers



Fig. 1. OLEOGRAPH SHOWING ENTRANCE TO BREWERY IN CAMPION LANE.



Fig. 2. JACOB JACOBSEN'S FLOOR-SLAB, FROM ALL HALLOWS THE GREAT.

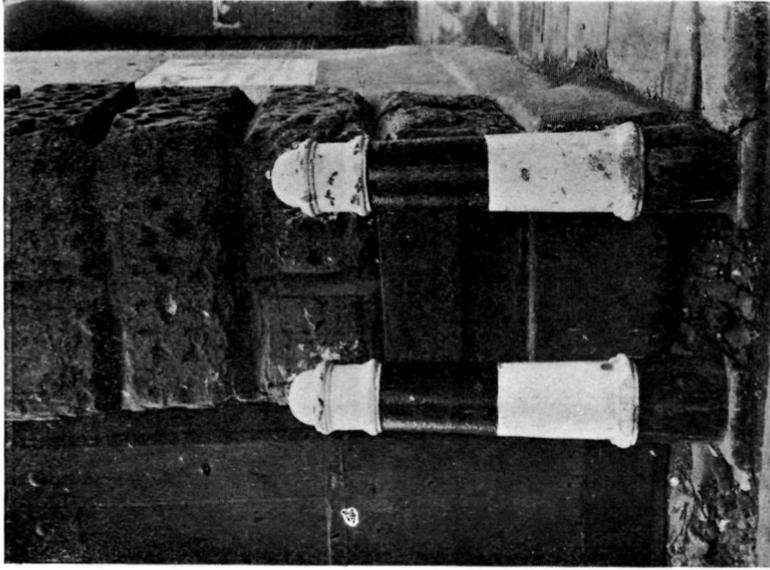


Fig. 4. THE SIGN OF THE HOUR-GLASS ATTACHED TO CANNON-POSTS.

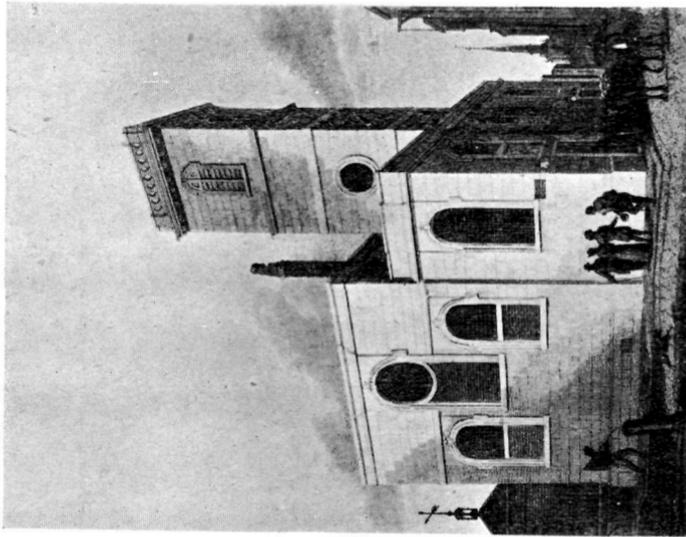


Fig. 3. ALL HALLOWS THE GREAT IN 1812, WITH TOWER AND NORTH AISLE. Hour-Glass vane on a neighbouring building.

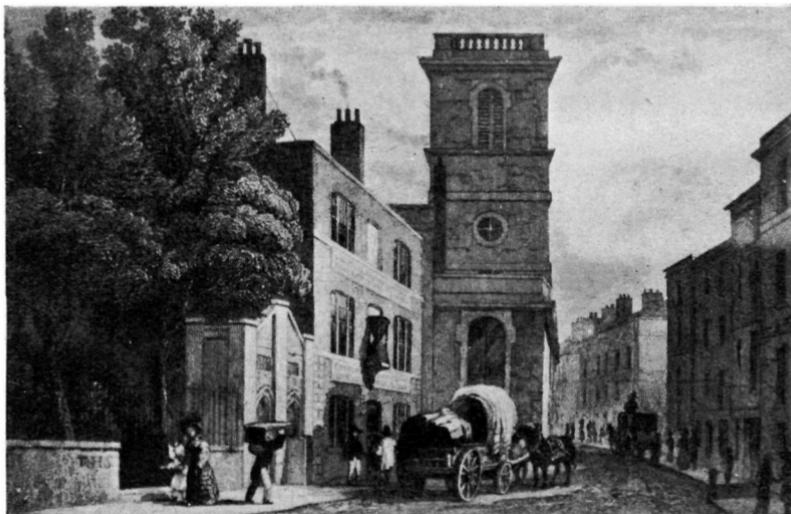


Fig. 5. THOS. H. SHEPHERD'S DRAWING OF ALL HALLOWS CHURCH, UPPER THAMES STREET (engraved by J. HINCHLIFFE), showing the Hour-Glass Tavern, with its Sign; the Watch-house; and the Churchyard of All Hallows the Less.

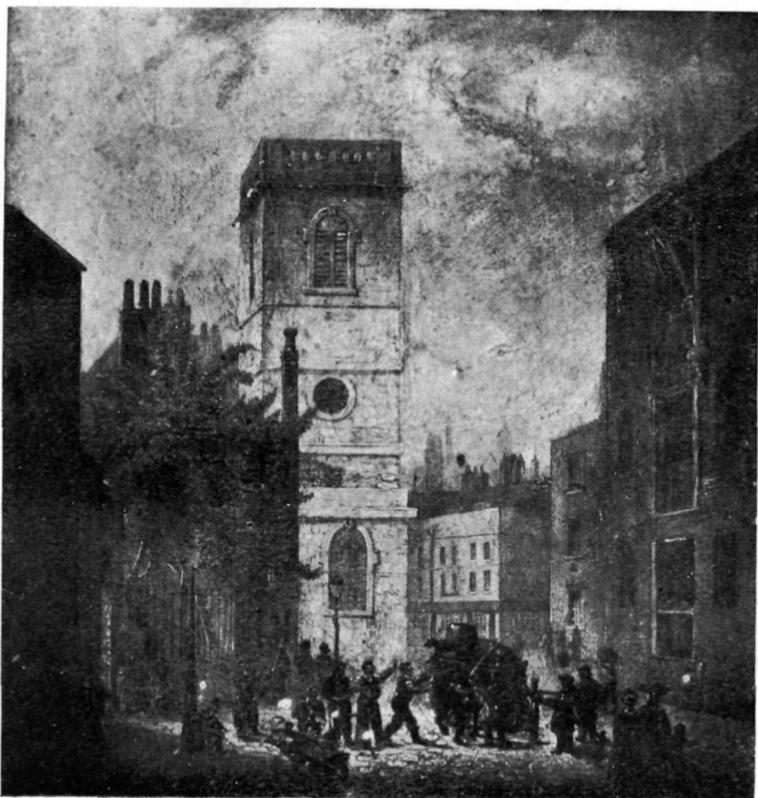


Fig. 6. OIL PAINTING SHOWING WHITEHALL GATE IN THE 19TH CENTURY.

of the City of London, showing "that a considerable part of what has heretofore been used by the public as a common highway along the banks of the River Thames in Dowgate Ward, has recently been enclosed with a wood paling by the owners of the adjoining property, Messrs. Calvert & Co. and others, leaving to the public a narrow enclosed footpath; whereas during the memory of the oldest inhabitants, and supported by the inquest presentments of a more remote period, nearly the whole space now enclosed has always been used and considered as a public highway for the purpose of perambulation and fresh air, as well as for the convenience of the neighbours in other respects, the right of the possessors of the adjacent property to land over the surface of the ground not being questioned." This petition was presented and read 20th February, 1821, when the Court of Sewers confirmed a report of their Select Committee, stating that it was desirable the encroachments should be removed; but, on the 10th of July, 1821, after much opposition by the inhabitants in and near Dowgate ward, an Act was passed both Houses to repeal so much of the Act of the twenty-second of His Majesty King Charles the Second as restrains the proprietors of wharfs between London Bridge and the Temple, from erecting any buildings or enclosure thereon.<sup>14</sup>

The City of London Brewery spread over the *Steelyard*. The estate was sold by the representatives of the Hanse towns, Lübeck, Bremen and Hamburg, in 1853, to two purchasers, from whom it was bought by the Victoria London Dock Company. The buildings of the Steelyard were pulled down in the autumn of 1863, and in 1865 the site was acquired by the South Eastern Railway Company. Cannon Street Railway Station covers approximately the whole site of the Steelyard, except the strip on the north front cut off for the widening of Upper Thames Street.<sup>15</sup> A City of London plaque at the entrance to the station marks the site.

Only two contemporary objects, a monument and a slab, now remain near the site to recall the sojourn at the Steelyard of the Hanse merchants or "merchants of Almaine in England." The monument, which is now in St. Michael, Paternoster Royal, was erected in the church of All Hallows the Great to Jacob Jacobsen by his brother Theodore. The slab, under which lay his bones and ashes, according to its Latin inscription, which has been re-cut (Fig. 2), was formerly in that church

and was removed to its churchyard.<sup>16</sup> Jacob Jacobsen, son of Peter Jacobsen, of Hamburg, was born in 1619; he was appointed agent or house-master of the Steelyard by the Hanse Towns in 1647, and acted as such until his death in 1680. He was succeeded in this office by his brother Theodore, who held it until his death in 1706. Shortly before this date Theodore Jacobsen made over all the rights in the Steelyard derived from his contract to his two nephews, Jacob and Theodore.<sup>17</sup>

The churches of *All Hallows the Great* and *All Hallows the Less* were burnt in the Great Fire. The latter was not rebuilt and its parish was united with that of All Hallows the Great.

The church of *All Hallows the Great* was rebuilt from Wren's designs by William Hamon, mason, in 1683. It consisted of a hall-like nave with a north aisle. The aisle was never, it seems, open to the church, and may have been added to deaden the sound of the noisy road, which was so narrow that the wheels of passing carts touched the outer wall and fouled it with mud. The church was eighty-seven feet in length by sixty feet in width, and its tower was about the length of the nave in height (Fig. 3).

Inside, the building, as first erected, presented few attractions, its plan being irregular, its walls neither parallel nor four-square and its ceiling flat and unsupported by pillars. One side were the blocked arches of the north aisle, and on the other some tall unpainted windows, with a row of plain clerestory lights on each side; in the east wall there were three windows, and there was a marble slab for the holy table; there were two windows at the west end and an organ gallery but no organ. Then came additions, including a stone Corinthian columned reredos, pedimented, and adorned with two statues four feet high (Moses and Aaron), which are thought to have been sculptured by Cibber; also beautiful communion rails; snug square pews; elaborate candelabra in brass; an exquisite pulpit and sounding board, and the incomparable screen which divided the chancel from the nave.<sup>18</sup>

It is usually stated that the screen was the gift of the Hanse merchants and was made in Hamburg. It is, however, "morally certain that the money, both for screen and pulpit, was provided by Theodore Jacobsen,"<sup>19</sup> who retained his

interest in the church in which the "merchants of Almaine in England" had worshipped in their own pews until 1670, when they obtained their own Lutheran church.<sup>20</sup>

In 1876 the tower and north aisle of All Hallows the Great were taken down to widen Thames Street. A belfry over the entrance to the vestry in All Hallows Lane was then built; it contains some re-used late 17th-century stonework from the old tower, etc.<sup>21</sup>

The widening of Thames Street led to the decay and subsequent demolition of the church. The new road face was built across the arches of the nave on this side, and the weight and the traffic proved too much for the ground, which settled and cracked the new erection. The place became insanitary and it was necessary either to overhaul the church completely or to demolish it. The latter course was adopted.

On 5th August, 1894, the site and materials of the fabric of All Hallows the Great were put up for auction at Tokenhouse Yard. The property offered for sale had been divided into five lots, including the site and fabric, a quantity of oak panelling, the old oak pews and seats, and a lead cistern (1786), etc.

The panelling, pews and seats, together with the carved altar-rails, had, however, been bought privately by Canon Ingram, to prevent the scandal of their being offered to auction and the possibility of their afterwards figuring in the adornment of public-houses and billiard-rooms, a fate which has before now awaited City church furniture.

The site and materials were knocked down at £13,100 to the City of London Brewery Company, whose premises occupied the next block of buildings to the church. This sum was extremely small considering the size of the site (4,130 sq. ft.) and its unusual advantages with regard to light, one of the smallest, in fact, arising from any City church disposed of hitherto.<sup>22</sup>

The screen from All Hallows the Great went to St. Margaret Lothbury, the organ-case and the statues of Aaron and Moses to St. Michael Paternoster Royal, whilst other fittings went to St. Paul, Hammersmith, All Hallows, Gospel Oak, and the chapel of Adams' Brewery, Halstead, Essex.<sup>23</sup>

Two tablets at the north-east corner of All Hallows Lane mark the site of the demolished church. The lower one is a City of London plaque, giving the date of demolition as 1893;

above it is a tablet with an inscription, of which all but the first two lines may be read, though with difficulty, as follows:—

.....  
 .....  
 of which  
 The earliest date assigned is A.D. 1361.  
 Destroyed by the Fire of London in 1666.  
 Rebuilt by Sir Christopher Wren.  
 Demolished in 1894.  
 The church of All Hallows, St. Pancras,  
 Being built out of the proceeds of sale  
 of the site.

By a scheme of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, approved of by an Order in Council on 16th May, 1893, the benefices of All Hallows the Great and All Hallows the Less were united with the benefice of St. Michael Royal and St. Martin Vintry into one benefice, under the style of "the united benefice of St. Michael Royal with St. Martin Vintry and Allhallows the Great and Less." By a clause of this scheme, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners were to pay a sum of £500 out of the net proceeds of the sale of the site, materials and fittings of the church of All Hallows the Great to the rector and churchwardens of the united benefice. This sum was to be held and invested by them as trustees, and the annual income arising from such investment was to be devoted towards the maintenance in good order of the churchyards of the parishes of All Hallows the Great and All Hallows the Less.<sup>24</sup>

Under the Union of Benefices Act the remains of all persons interred in or under the church of All Hallows the Great were to be removed in the course of October, 1893, preparatory to the demolition of the church.<sup>25</sup> St. Michael Paternoster Royal received £1,000 from the amount realised by the sale, with which it put itself into a proper state for divine worship, and then held a combined re-opening and harvest festival service.<sup>26</sup> The City of London Brewery Company built its new counting-house on the site, which was first occupied in September, 1900. When the church was pulled down it was found that it had been built on a raft because of the tide, and the new counting-house had to be built on a raft also.

(2) *War Damage in 1940 and 1941.*

From its trade-mark of an hour-glass (Figs. 1, 3, 4 and 5) Calvert's Brewery was popularly known as the Hour-Glass

Brewery, and the City of London Brewery Company continued to use this sign. A small but interesting relic of the Calvert ownership survived until 1943 in a cast-iron plate with an hour-glass, which was attached to two posts at the Thames Street end of Red Bull Wharf (Fig. 4). The posts were there to prevent damage to the masonry from casks and cases discharged from the drays, but, being cannon, they were sent to salvage. Until the recent destruction, the sign of an hour-glass decorated the modern quarries of the windows of the *Hour-Glass Tavern*. This building was older than it looked, as it had been modernized; it was once the tap of Calvert's Brewery,<sup>27</sup> and it is shown in Shepherd's drawing of the church of All Hallows (Fig. 5) with an hour-glass as its sign, "a colossal specimen carved in wood."<sup>28</sup> The hour-glass below the weather-vane on the old clock tower of the Brewery (Fig. 1) is now at Adams' Brewery, Halstead, Essex; another hour-glass below a vane is shown on a building near the church in a drawing of All Hallows the Great by J. Coney, etched by J. Skelton, for the *Architectural Series of London Churches*, 1812 (Fig. 3).

The footway has recently been widened opposite the site of the Hour-Glass Tavern, and the former position of the tavern is now marked by a stone let into the pavement.

The *Leathern Doublet Sewer*, which is one of the oldest sewers in the City, runs below the site of the Hour-Glass Tavern and under buildings on the east side of Campion Lane.<sup>29</sup>

Shepherd's drawing of All Hallows Church, Upper Thames Street (Fig. 5), shows the *watch-house of Dowgate ward* between the Hour-Glass Tavern and the churchyard of All Hallows the Less. Had the building survived, passers-by might still read the following inscription on a panel in its eastern window, and see the small arched recess mentioned therein, which is concealed by a porter in the drawing:—

In the year 1557 this watch-house was erected to guard the graves from the unwelcome attention of the body-snatchers. The exterior of this building remains exactly the same as it was when first built. At the pavement level you will notice a small arched recess, where the watchman kept his bell. In addition to guarding the burial-ground of All Hallows the Less, adjoining this watch-house, it was the watchman's duty to perambulate the neighbourhood at night and call on the citizens to put out their fires and lights.

The inscription was misleading, for the watch-house was

not erected until 1807, as may be learnt from an indenture in the possession of the City of London Brewery and Investment Trust Limited, from which the following extracts are taken:—

At a vestry held in the vestry room of the church of the united parish of All Hallows the Great and Less, Thames Street, London, on Thursday, the fifth day of February, 1807, it was resolved that the churchwardens should apply to the bishop of London for a faculty to build a watch-house of the dimensions of ten feet in width and fourteen feet in depth in the north-west corner of the churchyard of the parish of All Hallows the Less. In pursuance of the said faculty the said watch-house was erected by the end of the year for the use of the ward of Dowgate at the expense of the inhabitants of the ward, and it was arranged that a yearly rent of £5 should be reserved and made payable to the churchwardens of the parish by the said ward of Dowgate for the accommodation received by the ward in having the said watch-house.

The reason for building this new watch-house was the proposed widening of Thames Street opposite Suffolk Lane, in the parish of All Hallows the Less, and the setting back of two houses, under one of which the watch-house was then situated, "the street there being so very narrow as to render it impossible for two carts to pass each other."

It had, therefore, been proposed that these two houses, which were situate in Thames Street, between the parish church of All Hallows the Great and Less and the churchyard of All Hallows the Less should be taken down and that one of them should be set back twelve feet and the other about six feet, by which way the pathway would range in a line with the churchyard wall of All Hallows the Less and considerably widen the street. The watch-house of the ward of Dowgate (of which the parish of All Hallows the Less forms part) was situated under one of the aforesaid houses, and the size of these houses would be so contracted as not to admit of the watch-house being placed there again, when the intended improvement had taken place. The north-west corner of the churchyard appeared to be the only eligible situation for rebuilding the same, and the churchwardens were consequently given the necessary faculty or licence.

The watch-house of 1807 was in use as a watch-house for the ward of Dowgate until it was rendered no longer necessary by the passing of the City of London Police Act<sup>30</sup> in 1839. By this Act, which followed Sir Robert Peel's Metropolitan Police Act<sup>31</sup> of 1829, the police force of the City was reconstituted on modern lines, and the ancient institution of watch and ward became obsolete. The watch-house was sold to Calvert's Brewery, who incorporated it in their Hour-Glass Tavern, and

so it remained until both were destroyed by bombing. Though this watch-house was not an ancient building its passing is regrettable, as it was an interesting link in the history of the City, which had a well-developed system of watch and ward as early as the 13th century, and which has always maintained a separate and independent jurisdiction in police matters.<sup>32</sup>

According to Strype, who gives an interesting account of the watch and of the attempts to reform it, "the watch is a very good means for the security of the City by night, if it were performed, as it is appointed by law; but there be great neglects in the attendances of the watchmen. Some of them frequently leave their stands and go to alehouses, or light people home. So that many times there are not above five or six watchmen in some places (as in the watch at Bishopsgate) instead of sixteen. So that if any fire or other accident should happen in the night, little or no help can be expected from them."<sup>33</sup>

In spite of legislation, however, the watch remained inefficient, and watchmen, those "poore, silly, old decrepped men," were subjects for mirth from the time of Ben Jonson.<sup>34</sup>

Dressed in heavy capes, muffled up to the ears, provided with long staves and dim lanterns, they issued from their watch-houses twice an hour for a minute or two to call the time and the state of the weather. As clocks and barometers they may have been of some service, but for prevention of crime they were worse than useless.<sup>35</sup>

The newspapers were never tired of skits at the expense of the watch, such as the following extract from the *Morning Herald* of 30th October, 1802:—

It is said that a man who presented himself for the office of watchman to a parish at the West End of the Town very much infected by depredators, was lately turned away from the Vestry with this reprimand: I am astonished at the impudence of such a great sturdy strong fellow as you are, being so idle as to apply for a watchman's situation, when you are capable of labour.<sup>36</sup>

The *Microcosm of London* gives a satirical account of the nightly watch, explaining that the watch-house is a place where the appointed watchmen assemble to be accoutred for their nocturnal rounds, under the direction of a constable, whose duty, being taken by rotation, enjoys the title of Constable of the Night.<sup>37</sup>

The remains of *Whitehall Gate* may still be seen in Upper Thames Street, adjoining the churchyard of All Hallows the Less, in spite of bombing and earlier mutilation. This gateway was removed from Whitehall in 1813, at the expense of Messrs. Calvert & Co., and set up by them in Thames Street with the consent of the parish, the Wardmote Inquest, and the Commissioners of Sewers, upon condition of their setting back a part of their premises in Upper Thames Street, adjoining the east end of the churchyard, and keeping open the said gate (and another which they likewise had the permission of erecting at the south end of Coldharbour) for the convenience of the public in passing and repassing from sun rising to sun setting, and the churchwardens having a key of each of the said gates for the public use at all times.<sup>38</sup>

This gateway stood for nearly fifty years in Whitehall, in place of the old Tudor gateway of the palace, which was found in 1765 to be in danger of falling, and which was thereupon demolished. The new gateway and gates had been estimated to cost £156; on removal, the contents were stated to be 656 feet, estimated at 6s. per foot.<sup>39</sup>

In 1928 the arch of the gateway was removed to allow the vans loaded with China mats to pass through. The jambs were shattered by the bombs which destroyed the Hour-Glass Tavern and the watch-house in May, 1941, when their stone blocks were scattered over Thames Street, leaving the structure in its present condition.<sup>40</sup>

Whitehall Gate may be seen intact in its Thames Street setting in an oil painting<sup>41</sup> which is reproduced at Fig. 6. The name of the artist is not known, but the date cannot be earlier than 1813, when the gate was brought to Thames Street, or later than 1876, when the tower of All Hallows the Great was taken down. The presence of a beadle,<sup>42</sup> not a policeman, perhaps indicates a date earlier than 1839, when the City of London Police Act was passed, though his activity outside the churchyard of All Hallows the Less suggests that he was employed by the vestry. In any case, his scarlet coat was doubtless more attractive to an artist than a policeman's more sombre uniform.<sup>43</sup> Gas lighting in the street<sup>44</sup> does not make greater precision in dating easier, for it is difficult to ascertain when this illuminant was used throughout the City, though a start is known to have been made in 1807,<sup>45</sup> and London was generally lighted in 1816.<sup>46</sup> The spread of gas lighting

must, however, have been gradual, for as late as 1855 the Metropolis Management Act<sup>47</sup> of that year required every vestry and district board to cause the several streets within their parish or district to be lighted well and efficiently with gas or otherwise. Several large towns were lighted with gas by 1825,<sup>48</sup> though the local authorities in parishes were empowered by the Lighting and Watching Act of 1833<sup>49</sup> to cause their streets to be lighted with gas, oil or otherwise.

In a letter to a newspaper a year or two before his death, in 1845, Sydney Smith drew attention to the changes which had taken place in his lifetime in these words:—

A young man, alive at this period, hardly knows to what improvements of human life he has been introduced; and I would bring before his notice the following . . . changes which have taken place in England since I first began to breathe in it the breath of life—a period amounting now to nearly seventy-three years.

Gas was unknown: I groped about the streets of London in the all but utter darkness of a twinkling oil-lamp, under the protection of watchmen in their grand climacteric, and exposed to every species of depredation and insult.<sup>50</sup>

The changes brought by the war permit no such complacency and, though lovers of London of every generation “have a house not built with hands, A sanctuary in the heart whom none can touch, And fragile memories more durable than stone,”<sup>51</sup> those that come after will have to rely even more than ourselves on pictorial and written records. They have been robbed of so much that commercial development had spared. The details and illustrations assembled in this article may give new life to some vanished buildings which will be indicated in Gothic lettering in future editions of Ordnance Survey maps. In any case, there are Pennant’s words to remind us that “the sight of a great London brewhouse exhibits a magnificence unspeakable,”<sup>52</sup> and Malcolm’s that “Calvert’s great brewhouse is another instance of opulence, industry and gain, but indescribable.”<sup>53</sup>

#### NOTES.

1. The writer is greatly indebted to Mr. Alfred Moat, Director and Secretary of the City of London Brewery and Investment Trust Limited, for much help and information in preparing this paper, and for giving Mr. Yates facilities for photographing several objects.
2. *Cal. of Plea and Memoranda Rolls of the City of London*, A.D. 1413–37, p. 252.
3. There is a reference to Haywharf near the Ropery (from which the adjoining church of All Hallows the Great had its other name of “Allhallows in the Hay”) in 17 Edward III (1344). (*Lib. Cust.* I, p. cxii, and II, p. 450.)
4. Stow, Everyman ed., pp. 210, 211.

5. Grantham Lane was "so called of John Grantham, sometime mayor, and owner thereof, whose house was very large and strong, built of stone. . . . Ralph Dodmer, first a brewer, than a mercer, mayor 1529, dwelt there, and kept his mayoralty in that house; it is now a brewhouse, as it was afore." (Stow, *Everyman* ed., p. 208.)  
Grantham Lane is now called Brewers Lane; it lies west of the site of the City of London Brewery.
6. *Catalogue of Ancient Deeds in P.R.O.*, Vol. V, A.12629.
7. J. J. Hubbard, *A Brief Historical Account of the Parish of Allhallows the Great* . . . 1843, pp. 61-7.
8. *Endowed Charities (City of London)*, vi (1904), p. 28.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 761.
10. See Robert Wilkinson, *Londina Illustrata*, Vol. II, 1825, and Maitland, *History*, ed. 1772, p. 639, for an account of the fire on the premises in June, 1744.
11. Pennant gives "a list of the chief porter brewers of London, and the barrels of strong beer they have brewed, from Midsummer 1786, to Midsummer 1787." In this list Felix Calvert is second with 131,043 barrels. "And we make no doubt but it will give our readers much pleasure to find such a capital article of trade solely confined to England; and the more so, as a large quantity of the porter makes a considerable part of our exports." (Pennant, *London*, 1790, pp. 278-9.)
12. See C. L. Kingsford, "Historical Notes on Mediaeval London Houses," in *London Topographical Record*, X, pp. 94-100, and the references there given; also Charles Pendrill, "Coldharbour in Upper Thames Street," in *National Review*, August, 1936, pp. 212-23.
13. Wilkinson, *op. cit.*
14. Wilkinson, *op. cit.*
15. Philip Norman, "Notes on the Later History of the Steelyard in London," in *Archaeologia*, Vol. LXI, Part 2, 1909, pp. 410, 411.
16. R. C. H. M., *The City*, p. 100a.
17. Philip Norman, *op. cit.*, pp. 396, 399, 400.
18. *City Press*, 6th August, 1894.
19. Philip Norman, *op. cit.*, pp. 413, 414.
20. In 1670 Theodore Jacobsen, with his brother Jacob and four others, all described as merchants of London and Germans born, obtained the King's letters patent for the building of a Lutheran church on the site of the destroyed church of Holy Trinity the Less in Trinity Lane. This church was later replaced by the German Lutheran church in Ritson Road, Dalston, which contains some of the old carved woodwork from its predecessor.  
*Ibid.*, p. 412.
21. R. C. H. M., *The City*, p. 100a.
22. The above account of the sale is from an article in the *City Press* for 6th August, 1894, entitled "Selling a City Church—A Knock-down Price."
23. Some of the fittings from All Hallows the Great were bought by Mr. Adams, of the Brewery, Halstead, Essex.
24. *Endowed Charities*, vi, p. 35, which adds that the rector and churchwardens expended about £45 in the erection of gates at the entrance to the old churchyard of All Hallows the Less, facing Upper Thames Street. The old churchyard of All Hallows the Great is entered by a passage leading from this street.
25. *Builder*, 9th September, 1893.
26. *City Press*.
27. Edward Callow, *Old London Taverns*, 1899, p. 131.
28. Larwood and Hotten, *History of Signboards*, 2nd ed., 1866, p. 397.
29. The crown of the sewer formed the floor of the cellar of the Hour-Glass Tavern and of certain other buildings in the Brewery.
30. 2 and 3 Vict., cap. xciv.
31. 10 Geo. IV, cap. xlv.
32. Halsbury's *Laws of England*, 2nd ed., 1937, Vol. XXV, p. 303.
33. Stow, ed. Strype, 1720, v, p. 394.
34. *Times Lit. Suppl.*, 7th October, 1944, "Police Exhibition at the Bodleian."
35. Capt. W. L. Melville Lee, *A History of Police in England*, 1901, pp. 183-4.
36. *Ibid.*, pp. 184-5.

37. *Ibid.*, pp. 185-6.
38. Wilkinson, *op. cit.*, where, however, the date of the removal of Whitehall Gate is given as 1810.
39. Survey of London: *The Parish of St. Margaret*, Part 2, 1930, pp. 44-6.
40. The wall, which was protected by the cannon-posts at the corner of Red Bull Wharf and Upper Thames Street (see Fig. 4 and p. 173), appears to be an imitation in stucco of this stonework.
41. In the possession of the City of London Brewery and Investment Trust Limited.
42. The beadle was an officer of much importance in his capacity of agent for the overseers. He was appointed by the parishioners in vestry. He was employed as messenger of the parish, but acted more as a constable by keeping order in the church and churchyard during service. (*Encyc. Brit.*, 14th ed.)
43. The uniform of Peel's new force was a suit of blue cloth; the coat was of the "swallow-tail" fashion, with a row of bright white buttons. The collar, worn over a high leather stock, was of the stiff stand-up pattern. The stock was fastened with a brass buckle, and the unfortunate policeman's head was held tightly as in a vice, making it impossible to look round without turning his whole body. His trousers were of the peg-top fashion and his boots a pair of half-Wellingtons clumsily made. (Alwyn Solmes, *The English Policeman*, p. 130.)
44. The streets of London were the first in the world to receive gas lighting. It was introduced by F. A. Winzer, a German, who was known in this country as Winsor. In 1803 and 1804 he publicly exhibited his plan of illumination by coal gas at the Lyceum theatre and, early in 1807, he lighted up a part of one side of Pall Mall. (William Matthews, *An Historical Sketch of the Origin, Progress and Present State of Gas Lighting*, 1827, pp. 29, 32.) He promoted the formation of the first gas company, now known as the Gas Light and Coke Company, which obtained its charter by Act of Parliament in 1812, subject to the provisions and restrictions contained in the earlier Act of 1810 (50 Geo. III, cap. clxiii). In 1815 Winsor "extended to France the advantages which had attended his efforts in England" (*Gent. Mag.*, 1830, ii, p. 89). The City of London Gas Company was formed a few years later by the Act of 57 Geo. III, cap. xxiii, but was amalgamated with the Gas Light and Coke Company under the City of London Gas Act of 1868.
45. This date is furnished by the Minutes of the Commissioners of Sewers, from which the following extract is taken:—  
 "At a Public Meeting of the Commissioners of Sewers of the City of London and Liberties thereof in the Council Chamber of the Guildhall of the said City on Tuesday the 16th June, 1807, Mathew Wood, Esq., informed the Court that the Proprietors of Golden Lane Brewhouse had lately lighted the same with Gas and that they had offered to try the experiment of Lighting the Public Lamps in Part of Golden Lane and Beech Street, which was accepted." It was ordered "that the materials necessary to try the said experiment be provided under the direction of the Commissioners of the Ward of Cripplegate Without and the Surveyor." (Information from Mr. F. J. Forty, City Engineer.)
46. F. S. Cripps, *Earliest Works on Gas Lighting prior to 1840*, p. 17.
47. An Act for the Better Local Management of the Metropolis, 1855 (18 and 19 Vict., cap. cxx).
48. See *Notes and Queries*, 6th February, 1858, p. 111.
49. 3 and 4 Will. IV, cap. xc.
50. *Times Lit. Suppl.*, 24th February, 1945.
51. From some verses entitled "Anywhere in Tuscany," signed V. P., in *Ibid.*, 16th December, 1944.
52. Pennant, *op. cit.*, p. 279.
53. Malcolm, *Londinium Redivivum*, 1802, Vol. I, p. 50.

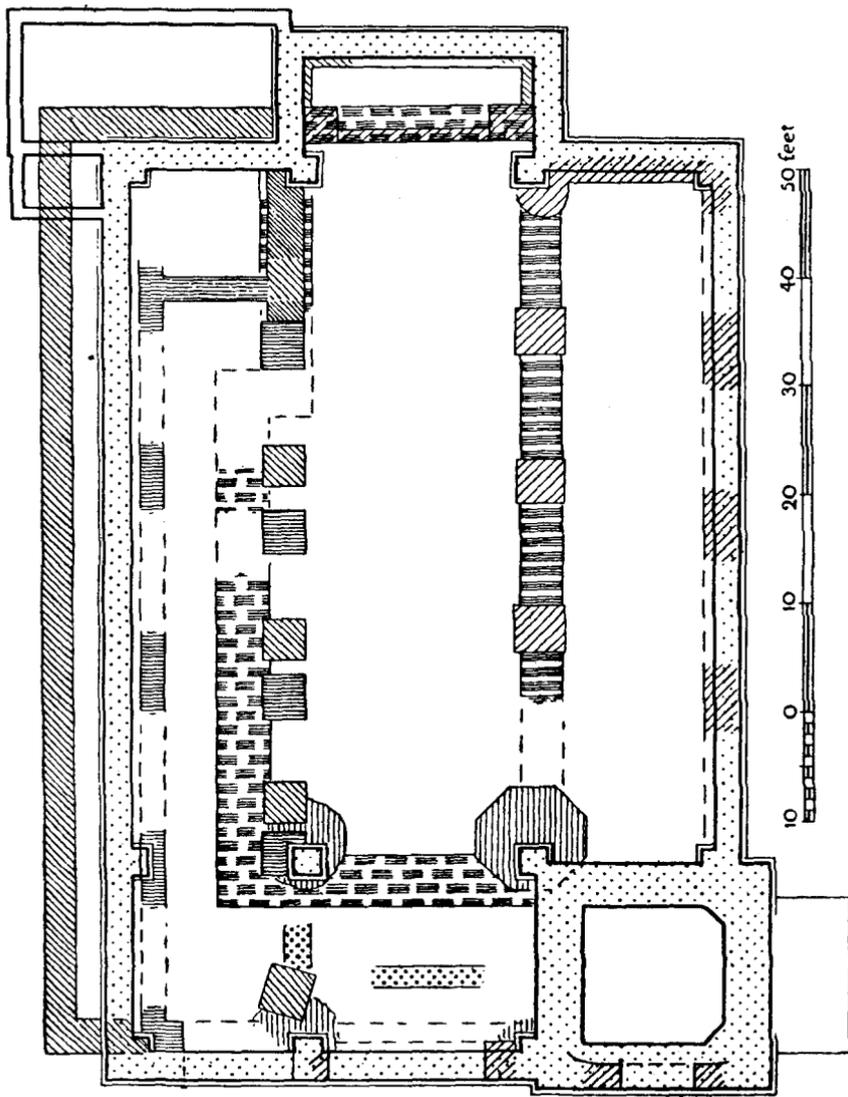
# CHURCH OF ALL HALLOWS LOMBARD STREET

demolished 1939-40

Plan of foundations.

-  earliest church 11th or 12th c.  
ragstone & Roman rubble
-  same excavated  
robbed roofings
-  same period or earlier?  
pitched ragstone rubble
-  N aisle, probably 13th c.  
chalk walls  
ragstone piers
-  probably 13th c.  
ragstone wall
-  later N aisle 14th or 15th c.  
chalk walls  
ragstone & granite piers
-  S aisle, late 15th c.  
chalk piers  
ragstone walls
-  large piers of 16th c tower  
ragstone, brick,  
& grey mortar
-  plan of 1694.

J.W. Blox based on  
notes & measurements  
by Adrian Oswald



## REPORT OF THE VISITS MADE TO THE SITE OF ALL HALLOWS, LOMBARD STREET

FROM NOTES BY J. W. BLOE, O.B.E., F.S.A.

WHEN the first visit was made, by Messrs. Taylor and Bloe, to All Hallows, Lombard Street, on 23rd May, 1939, the side walls were still standing but roof-timbers were being carted away, and stones thrown down from the tower made close inspection dangerous. Mediaeval stones from the east wall which fell in 1934 had been put aside but buried under debris and were never recovered.

Thirty visits by our two representatives were made before 2nd March, 1940, and they were made to coincide with the workmen's dinner hour. On 27th June, pieces of 15th century window jambs and tracery, used in Wren's north and south walls were put aside, together with stones of the 13th and 14th centuries. These were sketched and photographed, and the best were a vaulting boss of an angel holding a shield, and the jamb of an elaborate 15th century monument or recess. Mr. Quintin Waddington, of the Guildhall Museum, agreed to take the vaulting boss, but had no room for other relics.

Six other pieces were set aside for preservation, to which was added a 13th century moulded base of Purbeck marble, and some other items of the same date. Eighteenth century gravestones, leaden coffins and human remains were being exposed, and carefully collected for interment elsewhere. A portion of the base of a large octagonal pier came to light under the north-east corner of Wren's tower, and at the south-west angle of his chancel were found what seemed to be the foundation of the east respond of a former south arcade. In August two mediaeval arches were exposed in the foundations of the west wall and 24 lead coffins were removed from black earth with much humus, probably the filling-in after the Great Fire. Under the former south aisle was black earth, mixed with chalk, stone and brick. Another mass of mediaeval masonry was being exposed in the northern half of the nave-site, corresponding with the octagonal southern pier.

When work on the site was stopped on the outbreak of

war another small arch had been uncovered below the foundation of Wren's south-west tower; and ten important stones were removed to safe custody. Nearly three months later, 30th November, our representatives had a conference with Mr. Waddington and Mr. Oswald at the Guildhall Museum, and learned that the work had been resumed and that Mr. Oswald had made important discoveries during the five weeks of his efforts.

He had made careful measurements, but the mediaeval north and south walls with basement arches had been demolished. Many mediaeval pottery shards had been found as well as a penny of Edward the Confessor. Another visit on 14th December showed the east end and part of the south wall still standing to wait for adjacent demolition of office property.

In the south wall there remained the easternmost of the segmental-pointed foundation arches, and part of the next, earlier than the great west arch and with rougher voussoirs of stone.

The square pier between them contained flints and pieces of Roman brick, while on the north side was a scrap of the basement of the west end of the narrower aisle, in which were the remains of a chalk arch, and a little of the original west wall of the aisle, also with the voussoirs of a similar arch. Another chalk arch was seen in the foundations of the east wall of the chancel. The wall of the wider north aisle, with its chalk arches, had entirely disappeared, but many pieces of 15th century window tracery were seen in the broken edges of the south walls. A photograph was taken on 21st December of the south-east corner, showing the foundation arches. The large octagonal pier, 10 feet across, of good dressed ashlar, and a corresponding pier in the northern half, seen four months previously, were now levelled; the evidence of these two piers showed that the mediaeval tower must have been at the west end of the nave instead of at the south-west angle of the Church.

The west wall, pierced by the great arch, was 4 ft. 4 in. thick, enough to support such a tower. Eastward excavations were showing square sub-bases of the pillars of the north and south arcades.

Mr. Oswald's digging in January, 1940, for which the Society of Antiquaries had voted money, did not reveal much evidence of the Saxon church.

Most early masonry had been grubbed out by mediaeval

builders, but he found a narrow cross wall below the former west tower, and a similar one in line with the former north arcade. A mass of masonry against the west wall was probably the north-west angle of the mediaeval tower. The square footings of the south arcade indicated four bays between the east end and the tower, but on the north side were found footings of two different arcades, of four bays but differently spaced. The rough great pier, probably the north-east leg of the mediaeval west tower, was broken down, having been built above two arcade bases, one of each period. A pier of Roman bricks was found incorporated in the east wall, and north of the nave was a Roman rubbish pit.

On 2nd March, 1940, our representatives were advised by the foreman to get further details from the Guildhall Museum, and arrangements were made accordingly. Our Society was first in the field, and we were able to watch early excavations; but it was lucky that Mr. Oswald, with far more time at his disposal, was able to pay almost daily visits to the site. We pay a warm tribute to Mr. Oswald's admirable investigations and to the courtesy which he has shown to our representatives. The differences of interpretation are very slight. Mr. Oswald's plan shows the earliest church with a nave 24 feet wide, with its south well coinciding with the later arcade, but with its north wall outside the line of the north arcade. Very few stones were found of the east and west walls, so the lines are partly surmise.

Stones discovered make it difficult to say whether the first church was Saxon or Norman. The chancel, possibly of 13th century, was narrower on the north side. A narrow cross wall at the west end suggests a possible narthex or porch preceding the tower. John Stow, in 1598, speaks of the church "lately new built," and this may include the aisle. John Warner, Sheriff, in 1494, began the south aisle, which his son Robert finished in 1516. The pewterers were benefactors to the north aisle, and the steeple was finished in 1544, while the fair stone porch came from the dissolved Priory of St. John of Jerusalem, by Smithfield.

West of the church was the George Hostelry, and next to it the Church of St. Edmund, so probably the "fair stone porch" was on the south side. Writing of the Grassmarket, Stow says that "the street was far broader than now, being straitened by encroachments." This probably refers to

Lombard Street and the south side and porch were definitely on the market front.

To sum up, the later mediaeval church had a chancel and nave, each 21 feet wide, and as long as Wren's Church, 90 feet in all, with a possible chancel arch between the two; a south aisle, probably finished in 1516, two north aisles of different widths and dates, and a middle west tower built within the church. Five out of eight city towers identified by the Hist. Monuments Comm. as mediaeval were middle western.

The south arcade was of four 14-15 feet bays, spaced with regard to the great octagonal south-east pier of the tower, which may have been begun at much the same time, although finished later. There may also have existed an earlier south aisle as there was a narrow mediaeval arch below the west wall of Wren's south-west tower, set in a thinner wall than Wren's superstructure.

On the north side two sets of footings for arcade columns were found. The earlier seems to have been of four 15-foot bays from opposite the first south pillar up to the west end. The north-east pier of the 16th century tower was found to have been built above the base of the western pillar. The footings were of ragstone and the aisle, with walls of chalk, was fairly narrow (about 10 feet). This was probably of the 13th century. Mr. Oswald thinks it stopped at the conjectural west end of the shorter 11th or 12th century nave and that the nave was not lengthened westwards before the 14th century, to which date he ascribes the second range of pillars and the wider north aisle, the north wall of the narrow aisle representing the remains of the earliest nave. The footings of ragstone and granite seem to indicate an arcade of four 15-foot bays up to the west tower, tallying approximately with the south arcade but a little longer towards the east, and with its columns placed to the east of the earlier footings. The aisle was some 17 or 18 feet wide, probably that of the 15th century mentioned by Stow. The north wall is said to have been built of chalk. It seems that further length was restricted by the hostelry, so that when the tower was planned it was inserted within the nave, destroying the westernmost bay of the early arcade or, if Mr. Oswald is correct, the westernmost bay of the 14th century arcade. There was another unexplained footing set askew on the site of this bay.

The most peculiar feature, however, is the presence of

arches in the basements of all the walls. They appear to have been merely wall-arches and had no connection with sub-vaults. The remains of the westernmost arch of the north wall of the narrow aisle, which certainly seemed to extend right up to the west wall, and also its west arch, were photographed and sketched. They were of chalk, as was also one under the east wall of the chancel. The easternmost arch of the south wall of the south aisle and part of the next were also still standing, and were photographed: these were of hard stone. The east wall of the aisle had much shallower foundations and the workmen were digging out brown earth from below it while others were demolishing the top of it.

The great arch in the west wall of the nave, which was segmental-pointed, pierced a 4 ft.-4 in. wall of rubble. It was about 14 ft. span as exposed, but was about 16 ft. span originally. Its apex was north of the axis of the mediaeval tower and was possibly earlier. It had good long dressed stone voussoirs such as one can see in many a 14th or 15th century bridge in the country. They were perfect in the lower part of the south half of the arch, but had been hacked back on the face about 8 or 9 inches in the upper part, probably by the 17th century builders. The rough toothing or edge of the longitudinal wall that met the north side of the arch (reducing its span about 2 ft.) was probably a relic of the 16th century tower, retained by Wren to support the pilaster of his vestibule. The smaller arch north of and in line with it was a very rough piece of work without any proper voussoirs, and the early west arch of chalk had been partly destroyed for it. This, too, seems to have been Wren's work. His west wall, being on one plane throughout, came outside the west wall of the mediaeval aisle. He retained the good octagonal foundation of the south-east leg of the old tower to support the north-east angle of his tower and the south respond of his vestibule arcade and probably the core of the mediaeval north-east leg was kept to carry the other pier of this arcade. Presumably the reason for all these basement-arches was the accumulation of debris and loose material right from Roman times, which it was considered easier to pierce at intervals for piers than for continuous footings. Opportunities to examine the foundations of city churches have been rare (at least up till 1940). It will be interesting to see if other city

churches were treated in a similar manner when the time comes for the repair or demolition of some of those that have suffered severe war damage. Incidentally, it is possible that the arches were a source of weakness in themselves or at least insufficient to prevent weakness in the superstructure (being mostly of chalk) and this may have necessitated the rebuilding mentioned by Stow. Wren's north wall avoided the older north walls of chalk, possibly only for purposes of symmetry, but he did rebuild above the south and west walls, which had good stone foundation-arches. The chalk arch below the east wall of Wren's chancel may well have contributed to its downfall in 1934. He seems to have reinforced the foundations of the south wall of the chancel where many window-fragments were re-used in the wall.

As to the mediaeval stones found in the walls, several photographs were taken of these. How far they are evidence of the dates of the various parts of the mediaeval church is uncertain for the reason that, excepting the numerous pieces of window tracery, there was seldom more than a single stone of each kind brought to our representatives' notice. Some may have been indigenous to the church or the fair south porch from St. John's, but, on the other hand, there must have been huge heaps of derelict stones after the Great Fire which could be drawn upon for whatever church was being rebuilt at the moment. The pieces of window tracery, jambstones, etc., seem to have belonged to the church. Many of these were extraordinarily well preserved (apart from breakages), with sharp arrises and cusps, and could not have been of great age when the Fire occurred, but some of them seem to have been of the 14th century. Some groups were collected together and photographed. The carving of the angel with the shield seems to have been a vaulting-boss: the charges, two millrind crosses alternating with two plain crosses, have not been identified. The other angel with a plain shield was the stop of a late mediaeval window-label. There were several pieces of Purbeck marble, including the 13th-century hold-water base of a  $4\frac{1}{2}$ -in. shaft, which were saved. Another 13th-century fragment is the intermediate moulded band of a small engaged shaft in stone and there were several fragments of carved capitals. One of these had been recarved more than once, starting as a foliage-capital of a three-quarter round shaft, but its head, and

again the back of it, had later workings. Efforts were made to save this stone, but it had disappeared when the others were collected for removal.

The large white stone, 18 in. wide and 27 in. high, was elaborately moulded and enriched with a frieze of quatrefoils with carved central bosses. It may have been part of a large tomb like the Rahere monument at St. Bartholomew's, Smithfield; as illustrated, it may be upside down or on its side. It was too large to be removed. Another stone may have been also part of a tomb recess, it differs from the rest in being of a rather friable red-brown material. This was saved, but had suffered from exposure and misuse. They were practically all isolated examples and no replicas were seen. But many of the other fragments of carvings or mouldings were very badly smashed or mutilated. It is rather surprising that no Norman or earlier carvings were found, and there were very few pieces earlier than the 14th century.

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## ALL HALLOWS, LOMBARD STREET

By FRANCIS R. TAYLOR

THIS church was demolished in 1939-40, and was watched by J. W. Bloe, F.S.A., and myself from June to March. Many stones from mediaeval churches were evidently used by Wren in his rebuilding after the Great Fire of 1666, some from other churches on the site, some from elsewhere.

This is the sixth City church with a similar dedication which no longer exists. All Hallows, London Wall, built in the late 18th century, is still intact, but All Hallows, Barking, has only its four extreme walls and its brick tower of 1658 still standing.

All Hallows, Lombard Street, was given by Britmer, of Grasschurch, to the Priory of Christchurch, Canterbury, in 1053, which gives it a Saxon origin. A second church was built in 1258, enlarged in 1494, and finished in 1544.

The church had to be demolished after the Great Fire, though parts were still standing in 1679. Wren rebuilt it in 1686-94, for £8,058 15s. 6d. Part was built on the old arched

foundations, and Wren, as usual, employed suitable existing material, and followed the plan of the mediaeval church.

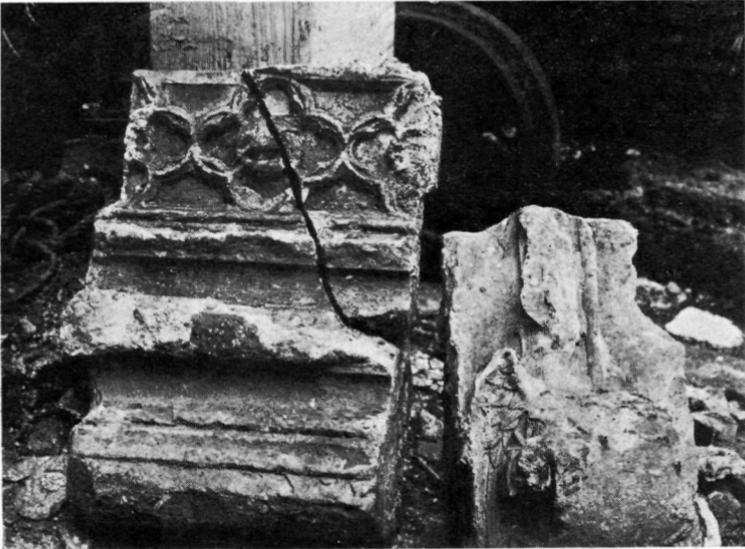
The exterior of the church, erected on an enclosed site, was plain. At the south-west corner was a three-storey tower, with string course dividing the storeys, finished with a cornice and open parapet.

The porch on the south side had two Corinthian columns at the entrance, with entablature and pedimented tablet with the name of the church inscribed. Access from the north side of Lombard Street was through a low archway, and its encirclement by buildings, obscuring all but the tower's summit, earned it the name of "the church invisible." Its interior had beautiful fittings by late 17th-century craftsmen; the reredos, inlaid Communion table, pulpit, bread shelves, and the screen at the west end being excellent examples of Wren period woodwork. The white marble bowl of the font, which came from St. Brides, Gracechurch Street, has cherubs carved at the corners, on a well designed pedestal, with a fine wood cover surmounted by a figure of charity.

In March, 1934, the City Dangerous Structures Surveyor condemned most of Nos. 18 and 19 Gracechurch Street, and it was soon discovered that some of their walls were also part of All Hallows Church. A summons issued in August, 1934, led to the demolition of the party wall on 8th November, 1934.

The Bishop of London's Commission next planned to unite the Benefice of All Hallows with St. Edmund's and pull down All Hallows, using its interior fittings and sacred vessels in some other church. A protest was made by a conference of nine societies interested in the preservation of City churches and open spaces, including our own Society, and presided over by Lord Esher.

They pointed out that the site had been occupied for a church since the reign of Edward the Confessor; that it possessed good carved woodwork the removal of which would diminish interest; and that it was a dangerous precedent. The ecclesiastical authorities claimed the right to do what they liked with their own; to which reply was made that the church had been built and beautified by successive generations of citizens and that it was the site value that determined the decision of the Bishop's Commission. The Lord Mayor and Corporation supported the protest but the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council decided that the site should be sold, the



ALL HALLOWS: LOMBARD' STREET.  
15th Century stones utilised in the walling.



ALL HALLOWS: LOMBARD STREET, Arches to Foundations at West end.

church demolished, but all its interior fittings preserved and used elsewhere.

The destruction or damage of so many city churches during the war suggests that strong measures must be taken by the public to prevent the sweeping away of churches with historical association to provide the church authorities with huge site values.

Is not the truth of the matter stated by the *Architects' Journal* for 28th July, 1926—"It is but human to wish to take the line of least resistance. To obtain the necessary money by the sale of the sites of the City Churches is delightfully easy. But the Church of England claims to be national, and its historic church buildings it holds in trust for the nation."

The Church of All Hallows, Twickenham, has the old Lombard Street tower, modified in the thickness of its walls, with the entrance facing east, not south. The old carved gateway at the west end of the church, originally at the street entrance, has been refixed on the north wall of the re-erected tower. All the interior fittings have been used in the new church; the reredos, the carved communion table, the tablets of the Lord's Prayer, Creed and Ten Commandments, the pulpit, font, the west screen with the carved door case with figures of Time and Death, the organ, organ case and gallery, the pews with pierced and carved panels and the bread shelves and all the monuments have been utilised in the new church at Twickenham.

## JOHN STOW COMMEMORATION SERVICES

THE annual service for 1944 was held on Friday, 9th June, and was conducted by the Rt. Rev. Henry Montgomery-Campbell, M.C., M.A., Lord Bishop of Kensington, Rector. The lesson was read by William Wheatley, M.A., A.I.C., and the Address was given by the Rev. Edward C. Rich, M.A., Vicar of St. Nicholas, Chiswick. The Lord Mayor and Sheriff attended in State, and were received by the Alderman of the Ward, the Clergy and the Churchwardens. The usual procession was made to the Tomb of John Stow, and the Lord Mayor placed the new quill pen in the hand of John Stow's effigy.

### THE ADDRESS

BY THE REV. E. C. RICH

There is something strangely significant in the annual service of commemoration of the life and labours of John Stow. Other and greater men there have been; but Stow was the first to relate the history of this city and to record its antiquities. His work has become the fountain-head of all subsequent histories, and but for his painstaking researches our knowledge would be seriously defective as to the growth of London during the Middle Ages and into the New Age of commercial expansion. His lifetime extended over five reigns from Henry VIII to James I, the stormiest and most revolutionary period, socially, economically and culturally, in our history. Much that he records was in his own day ruthlessly swept away. The London on which he saw coming into existence was devastatingly destroyed in the Great Fire. The age in which he lived was a dangerous time, and men had warily to watch their step. Stow himself came under grave suspicion in 1569 because of the mass of old MSS. and books which he had collected from the monastic houses, and which led to a flimsy charge of leanings towards Popery. His preservation of priceless relics of the past give an element of heroism to Stow's quiet, painstaking labours. He was not so much a historian as a chronicler, but both kinds are needed; and he recorded the mighty changes that took place in his own lifetime and make us regret that so much of inestimable value and beauty in art and treasure and architecture was destroyed.

The days in which we live have some close kinship with the times of John Stow, for ancient landmarks are being destroyed, and new ideas are in the air. We, like Stow, know something of the pain and sorrow that the ruthless destruction of ancient buildings and customs creates. But "hope springs eternal in the human breast," and as we gaze at the ruins and devastation around us, we know that we have a chance of building a new London, fairer and nobler than in the past. Two such chances have occurred in the past; the first after the destruction of Rome in the 5th century, when the great St. Augustine of Hippo sat down and composed his inspiring treatise on *The City of God*. It was his vision that helped to shape the cities of mediaeval Europe, of which our City of London was a fair example. It was a society in which the Sovereignty of God was frankly recognised and in which religion was wholly integrated.

Mediaeval society was far from perfect, and it finally became corrupt and decadent. The period of the Renaissance and Reformation was a great opportunity for our forbears to reconstitute society on a Christian basis, and a citizen of London, perhaps the greatest Englishman who ever lived, Sir Thomas More, gave us in his *Utopia*, an ideal not without its potent influence in many modern movements. His book has been much misunderstood, but it is at last coming into its own. Unlike the *City of God*, *Utopia* is an allegory of the national order, whereas the other is a vision of the eternal and supernatural. In *Utopia*, More is giving a glorified picture of "the flower of cities all," and this is the London which Stow knew and loved.

Modern English society grew up in utter disregard of More's dream and ideal, and our city in particular has been allowed to reflect the want of any vision or pattern. The immediate future offers us a challenge and an opportunity as we seek to salvage the treasures of the past.

An eminent modern historian of Europe has declared that he fails to discern any "plot, rhythm, predetermined pattern" in history. He sees "only one emergency following upon another as wave follows upon wave." In so far as this is true, it is accounted for by man's failure to co-operate with the Eternal Purpose of God.

A study of the past makes us realise how far short we have come of the goal set before us. But the past is never the

dead past and our characters are largely determined by our history. It is true that "the world passeth away" and that "here we have no continuing city." But, because "we seek one to come," we can each in his own way, and each generation in its turn seek to fashion his earthly city more in accordance with the Eternal City, "whose Builder and Maker is God."

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*The annual service for 1945 was held on Thursday, 7th June, under the same auspices as in 1944.*

The lesson was read by Commander G. Bridgmore Brown, R.D., M.B.E., R.N.R., and the address was given by the Very Rev. W. R. Matthews, D.D., Dean of St. Paul's, London. The Lord Mayor and Sheriff attended in State and were received by the Alderman of the Ward, the Clergy and the Churchwardens. After the Address, the usual procession advanced to Stow's Tomb, headed by the Verger, and comprising the Verger, the Sheriff, the Alderman of Aldgate Ward, the Lord Mayor, the Churchwardens and Clergy, the Lord Bishop of Kensington, and the Council of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society.

## NOTES AND QUERIES

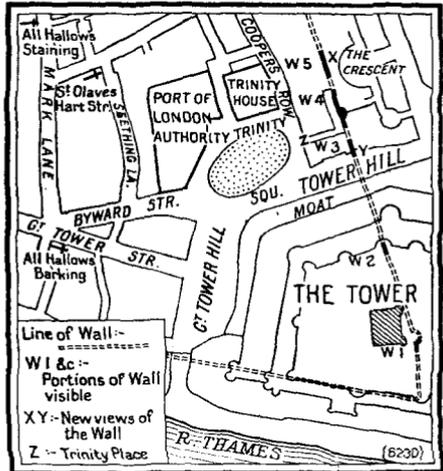
1. London Freemen. 2. London Wall, near the Tower. 3. London Wall, near St. Giles'. 4. Bombed London Sites. 5. The Nelson Monument. 6. Post-War Reconstruction in the City of London. 7. The City of London Reconstruction Plan. 8. City Churches. 9. The Future of St. Paul's. 10. Other Problems. 11. Kings in Exile. 12. National Collections Saved. 13. The Record Office. 14. Final Survey of Damage. 15. Wren's Churches. 16. Past and Present. 17. Romano-British Finds at Littleton. 18. Red Deer at Laleham.

1. LONDON FREEMEN.—Gordon Home, whose works on *Roman* and on *Mediaeval London* and on *London Bridge* are so well known, writes:—"In the pages of the *Register of Freemen of the City of London in the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI* my eye fell on some blanks at the top of page 117. They can be filled in as follows:—

[Edward] Osborn, son of [Richard Osborn] of Ashford Co. [Kent, not Lanc., an easy misreading] yeoman, apprentices to William [Hewet, Clothworker] (Entry) N.

Dec. 18, 3 Edw. VI. This Edward Osborne was the ancestor of the Dukes of Leeds, and while apprentice to William Hewet lived for a time, how long I have so far not discovered, on London Bridge, and it was during that period that the famous episode of the rescue from drowning of Anne Hewet occurred.

2. LONDON WALL, NEAR THE TOWER.—It is perhaps remarkable that Roman London should have been a walled city, seeing how far it was from the northern border, where Hadrian had systematised such strong defences. But some effort to fortify London may date from the time of the ineffectual opposition to Boadicea, Queen of the Iceni; and a further effort was probably made in the time of Hadrian, when a serious disaster occurred to the



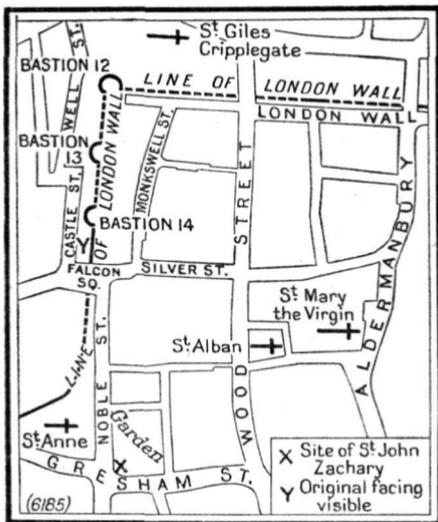
WALL NEAR THE TOWER.

(By kind permission of *The Times*.)

Roman army by which the Ninth Legion disappeared from the Imperial Army Lists. Whatever the cause, London was a walled Roman town, and its history as a settlement is clear from the invasion of Claudius up to the departure of the Legions in A.D. 410.

Just north of Tower Hill considerable portions of the wall have now been revealed, which join on to the substantial fragments which were already known. Into the wall of Barber's Bonded warehouses in Cooper's Row is built the portion of wall 110 feet long, 35 feet above the ancient ground level, complete with sentinel's walk and protecting breastwork. "Underground, the Wall has been recorded to its Roman footing, with the original masonry and mortar and bonded ~~cause~~ cause of brick attributed to the beginning of the fortification, somewhere about A.D. 120."

3. LONDON WALL, NEAR ST. GILES'.—As was only to be expected, the bombing of London has revealed many new vistas of



BASTIONS 12-17.

(By kind permission of *The Times*.)

the past, and during the last year and more London Wall has been more visible than at any time since the reign of Charles the Second. The Bastion near the church of St. Giles Cripplegate has always been well known, though little visited. It stands at the north-west corner of the Roman City, and the wall here turns south and runs down to the Wren Church of St. Anne and St. Agnes, Gresham Street. On the way south "two other bastions have been revealed together with important fragments of the Wall and a clear demarcation of more." Unfortunately, a good deal of needless demolition has taken place, and the upper levels have disappeared. But in the more southerly of the bastions there is about 20 feet of wall above ground, and some of the facing is Roman and not mediaeval.

There are courses of Roman tile intact; and elsewhere tile mingles with ragstone, indicated the re-use of older material. With typical Cockney grit, there has been planted a garden among the ruins which has been tended by men of the N.F.S., who produce flowers and tomatoes and also rear pigs and poultry.

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4. BOMBED LONDON SITES.—The problem of the bombed City churches does not seem to have been finally solved. Complete restoration is suggested wherever possible; the church tower is usually fairly complete even if the rest will need to be demolished; the site might well be retained "as an open space for the use of the numerous City workers, who seek refreshment and rest during the day." The idea of selling a site, removing a City church and rebuilding it in the suburbs does not appeal to many of those who have planned the City's restoration. To them it would seem disastrous, seeing that they want to "retain and maintain these great memorials of the past for all time in memory not only of the great traditions of the past, but of the magnificent courage and devotion which the City showed during the terrible bombardment which it received during the Battle of Britain.

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5. THE NELSON MONUMENT.—There is an interesting centenary reminder of what took place in the House of Commons in August, 1845, when Sir Robert Peel announced in the House that the Committee supervising the erection of the Nelson column in Trafalgar Square had consulted Sir R. Smirke and Mr. Walker, who, considering the length of the fluted Corinthian column, which was also to have a bronze capital and statue on the top, declined to answer for its safety, strongly advising that the shaft should be reduced by 20 feet. The curtailment was injurious to the effect, but it arose entirely from consideration of public safety, as it was thought that it would be extremely inconvenient should the monument fall in that crowded part of the Metropolis.

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6. POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION IN THE CITY OF LONDON.—The air attacks on London have given its citizens a chance for drastic and epoch-making planning such as will never occur again. Should there be another world war, the damage caused by atomic bombs would make the Battle of Britain seem like

child's play, and there would be no one left to replan London at all. And so it behoves those in charge to do their utmost now to devise a scheme for the "square mile" which shall take advantage of a great opportunity, and produce a centre which shall satisfy our descendants for many generations to come. The Report "relative to post-war reconstruction in the City" has not met with universal approval." One well-informed critic writes that, though the County of London Reconstruction Plan is thorough and even drastic, the City Report presents no scheme "for re-planning that mediaeval jig-saw, that antique warren which still corresponds in most respects to the earliest maps of London we possess." He points out that times and habits have entirely changed even in the last century, and that we must not plan for an age "when the merchant lived above his counting-house and alongside his warehouse."

One real difficulty is the ownership of the land where the City is built, and where the replanning has to take place. A map showing exactly who owns the City estates would be extremely interesting and essentially useful. It might very well surprise us, and help us to understand some of the difficulties that face the City replanner.

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7. THE CITY OF LONDON RECONSTRUCTION PLAN was circulated as a private and confidential document to the Court of Common Council on 26th July, and was authorised for publication.

It is a magnificent production (produced by B. T. Batsford, Ltd., for the City Corporation), with a splendid series of sixteen maps of the whole of the city, illustrating present or past conditions, and future proposals; with seven drawings by J. D. M. Harvey, showing three aspects of the City, incorporating various big schemes of development, and four views of St. Paul's Cathedral, which give some idea of the grand improvements proposed in its vicinity as envisaged from the embankment on the Southwark, from the corner of Friday Street and Cannon Street, from the east end of the Cathedral and from the west, from the corner of Shoe Lane and Fleet Street; and with a clear commentary on the proposed changes which it is hoped to achieve.

Among the outstanding features of the report are the continuation of the Embankment on the north side of the Thames, so as to reach from Blackfriars to London Bridge, and then continue as a wide inland street as far as Tower Hill; a Ring

Park from the Tower round the north of the City to Holborn; and an open space showing the bastions of London Wall, south of St. Giles's, Cripplegate.

The Ring Road is to be 80 feet wide, and is to have major junctions where it is intersected by the principal existing radial routes into the County.

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8. CITY CHURCHES.—There were proposals in the 1936 Report, made by the City Engineer and Mr. Gerald Eve, P.P.S.I., to respect the existing churches and other historic buildings; and the damage done by aerial assault have made it still more important to preserve what is still left. "With the privilege of possessing such buildings goes the responsibility of their care and protection. Many of them are examples of architecture that have set the keynote to a whole period of building, but might, by virtue of their age, have outlived their purpose; but they are to-day actually forming the background to both local and national life as suitably and effectively as at the time they were erected. They are, indeed, no dead 'museum pieces' preserved only for the sake of their past glories." This was the aim in 1936, and the present Report indicates that "some of the buildings listed by the Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments, 1929, have unfortunately been destroyed. Those that remain are therefore doubly precious and should equally be guarded against loss of amenity."

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9. THE FUTURE OF ST. PAUL'S.—From an antiquarian and historic point of view the proposed treatment of St. Paul's is vital; and most if not all of those Londoners and visitors who have enjoyed during the last few years the glorious, unchecked views of Wren's masterpiece will hope that some at least of these opportunities will be preserved for all time. It would please many if the railway viaduct crossing at the bottom of Ludgate was removed; but the Report points out that "a proposal to discontinue the line in order to obtain a local aesthetic advantage would throw a load and inconvenience upon the railways elsewhere which would be difficult to justify, while to put it underground would involve several miles of tunnels and an expenditure upon engineering works alone likely to cost, we understand, some tens of millions of pounds. Despite, therefore, the aesthetic advantage which would arise

from the elimination of the bridge at Ludgate Circus in relation to the western approach to St. Paul's Cathedral, this is not a scheme which we feel the Corporation of London is in a position to sponsor unless a favourable opportunity arises."

Still, in spite of the apparent timidity of the Corporation, the widening of Ludgate Hill and the enlargement of Ludgate Circus which was proposed, make us hope that such a superb change will not be lost. J. D. M. Harvey's drawing gives us the opportunity of comparing the two views.

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10. OTHER PROBLEMS.—Perhaps the chief defect of the Scheme is that it is not sufficiently definite; for instance, in discussing open spaces it approves of the County scheme for one acre for every 10,000 day population; it recognises the need to acquire open spaces, both as amenities and as possible "fire breaks," but it does not "at this stage show any specific sites for the purpose. Other problems are wholesale markets, three of them inside the City boundaries, the use of the riverside, adequate zoning, control of heights and angular set-back, and road construction on the lines of previous efforts of the City Fathers in Holborn Viaduct and Queen Victoria Street.

The suggested Ring-Route is one of the most important features, as it would tend to diminish traffic in the centre, by sending through traffic round instead of across.

Perhaps it is the lack of sufficient concrete and immediate schemes of planning that led Mr. W. S. Morrison, the Minister for Town Planning, to refer the plan back to the Corporation.

The new Minister, Mr. Lewis Silkin, has had so much experience in his work at the L.C.C. in connection with the County schemes, that he will doubtless be helpful in dovetailing the two schemes together and producing a thoroughly satisfactory scheme. It may take years if not a decade or two to complete the carrying out of a satisfactory plan, but such a chance will not occur again and must be utilised to the full.

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11. KINGS IN EXILE.—*The Times*, in a recent Fourth Leader, commented on the evacuation of royal statues and waxworks from London to safer places in the country or in disused tubes. George III, says the Fourth Leader, "was the last to be persuaded to leave London—though he stayed quietly in his

home when another enemy, also preparing the invasion of his kingdom, had occupied the Channel ports. George IV, giving substance to his belief that he fought at Waterloo, kept his stirrup-less charger under control throughout the Battle of Britain; the marble Queen Victoria continued to survey the processional road which is her memorial; her gilded consort remained quietly under the canopy opposite the Hall which bears his name; and Edward VII still firmly sat his horse." Soon they will be rejoined by the evacuees, and Le Sueur's lovely equestrian statute of Charles I, perhaps the noblest of London statues, will be restored to its plinth looking down Whitehall. The carved plinth was encased in brickwork during the war, and the military authorities built round it the strong-point which still dominated Whitehall and the Mall, even after the submission of Germans and Japanese. A battery seems to have been placed near this commanding spot in the days of the Commonwealth. The statue of King James II, as a Roman legionary, was moved into the Aldwych tube. Charles II at Chelsea and George II at Greenwich had to be protected on their sites, but William III was moved from St. James's Square, George III from Cockspur Street, and, though not royalty, General Gordon was moved from Trafalgar Square, and Rodin's Burghers of Calais from their garden near the Houses of Parliament.

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12. NATIONAL COLLECTIONS SAVED.—It was a very wise move on the part of Mr. Ormesby-Gore (now Lord Harlech), First Commissioner of Works in 1933, to consult the directors of museums and picture galleries, and make plans to meet the dangers of a probable war. Some things, when the time came, were protected where they were; others were put underground in deep shelters under the museums. But a very great many were moved away, Leonardo da Vinci's wonderful cartouch of the Holy Family from the Royal Academy to a Piccadilly section of the tube, with pictures from the Tate, and the wax effigies from the Abbey.

Over eighty big country houses up and down the kingdom housed collections belonging to the nation; and when these plans were made the Government also arranged for the safe-keeping of treasures from Dulwich, Ken Wood and the Soane Museum. It was lucky that the famous screen and mantelpiece

from Stationers' Hall was put into a place of safety. The armour from the Tower was divided between Hall Barn, Bucks. and Caernarvon Castle; the National Gallery pictures went to Bangor and Aberystwyth; the Wallace Collection went half to Hall Barn, and half to West Wickham Park. To Mentmore, Lord Rosebery's seat, went most of the National Portrait Gallery exhibits, the King's coach and the Speaker's coach, and valuable fittings from Westminster Abbey and St. Paul's. A feature of especial interest is the organ in the Church of St. Peter as Vincula in the Tower, formerly in the Banqueting House, Whitehall. That also went to Mentmore.

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13. THE RECORD OFFICE.—Researchers will be interested to learn that 2,000 tons of documents, in 88,000 large packages, were dispatched to seven different refuges, where they were available in case of real need. Other documents of great value were similarly safeguarded.

As bombing became more severe and more widespread, the Manor Quarry, near Blaenau-Festiniog, and the Corsham Quarries, near Bath, were converted, one into a repository for the National Gallery pictures, and the other for the British and the Victoria and Albert Museums.

Considering what a lot had to be left behind in London, only a small amount of damage was done. In a raid at Hendon, many valuable newspaper files at the British Museum branch were burned; books and specimens were destroyed in the various London museums; but, considering the tremendous risks, the losses were infinitesimal.

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14. FINAL SURVEY OF DAMAGE.—Now that the war is over, it is possible to estimate precisely the damage that has been done to the *London City Churches*.

When A. E. Daniell published with Constables' his book with that title in 1896 there were 108 churches anterior to the Fire still standing, 35 of Wren's and 12 of a later date. Before the second World War broke out eight of them had already been pulled down, leaving 47, out of which one only is comparatively untouched, St. Mary Woolnoth, which was in serious danger of demolition when the Tube first arrived. Three churches have been completely destroyed, Austin Friars' (called by the Dutch Reformed worshippers Jesus Temple) St.

Mildred, Bread Street, and St. Stephen, Coleman Street. Another church which has been very badly damaged is All Hallows—Barking, or by-the-Tower. As *The Times* recently remarked in a recent leader, this church is an epitome of English history. Roman pavements, a Saxon doorway, Decorated nave and chancel, a "Cromwellian" tower, memories of such opposites as Archbishop Laud and William Penn, and a new association, now 25 years old, with Toc H, all these demand a speedy reconstruction.

There are 24 severely damaged churches, of which the worst are, St. Alban, Wood Street; St. Augustine by the Cathedral; St. Lawrence Jewry (the Corporation church); St. Mary Aldermanbury; St. Nicholas Cole Abbey St. Olave, Hart Street (the church of Pepys and his wife); and St. Swithun by London Stone. The other seventeen are All Hallows, London Wall; St. Andrew, Holborn; St. Andrew-by-the-Wardrobe; St. Bride, Fleet Street; Christ Church, Newgate Street; St. Giles, Cripplegate; St. Dunstan-in-the-East; St. James, Garlickhithe, St. Katherine Cree; St. Mary Abchurch; St. Mary Aldermary; St. Mary-le-Bow; St. Michael, Paternoster Royal; St. Sepulchre, Holborn; St. Stephen, Walbrook; the Temple Church; and St. Vedast, Foster Lane. Five of these churches still have their famous steeples standing—St. Bride, Christ Church, St. Dunstan, St. Mary-le-Bow, St. Vedast.

Comparatively slight damage has been done to St. Andrew Undershaft (Stow's church); St. Anne and St. Agnes in Aldersgate; St. Bartholomew the Great; St. Bartholomew the Less; three churches dedicated to St. Botolph, patron saint of wayfarers, at Aldersgate, Aldgate and Bishopsgate; St. Benet, Paul's Wharf, the Welsh Church; St. Clement, Eastcheap; St. Dunstan-in-the-West; St. Edmund King-and-Martyr; St. Ethelburga, and St. Helen, Bishopsgate; St. Magnus, Lower Thame Street; St. Margaret, Lothbury; St. Margaret Pattens; St. Martin, Ludgate; St. Mary-at-Hill; St. Michael, and St. Peter-upon-Cornhill.

Several of these churches were damaged by rocket bombs, especially the two dedicated to St. Bartholomew; in most of them the fittings were mainly spared.

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15. WREN'S CHURCHES.—Fifty-one churches were rebuilt by Sir Christopher Wren after the Great Fire of 1666, and thirty-two had survived up to the beginning of this war. How many

will be restored or rebuilt now remains to be seen, as nothing definite has yet been decided. It seems almost incredible that nineteen of Wren's churches were demolished in peace time. As *The Times* aptly quotes—*Quod non fecerunt barbari, fecerunt Barberini*; only the "London imitators of the Barberini perpetrated their mischief first." Two of the nineteen were domed churches, some of the six designed by Wren as studies for St. Paul's. Two more have suffered badly in the Blitz—St. Mildred, Bread Street, which is totally destroyed, and St. Stephen, Walbrook, "more or less seriously damaged," but not completely burnt out. It is fortunate that we shall still see some of his spires and bell-towers rising above the City sky-line. Wren's towers and steeples, the product of his mature thought, and the most striking evidence of his exuberant genius, have been more fortunate than his interiors.

The two loveliest of them all, St. Mary-le-Bow, and St. Bride, still rise above the walls which alone remain of the churches to which they gave their final grace.

N. G. BRETT-JAMES.

16. PAST AND PRESENT—The Correspondent, who summarises the situation in London in a recent issue in *The Times*, concludes his survey with these words:—"Behind the facts is a glow of splendour. The flames of 1940 and later years lit up an elder past. Deep and hidden things called to one another. The churches were the visible link with generation of men long passed away.

"These were not the first ruins of London, nor the second or third. After each calamity they rose again. Where there was nearly a clean board, as in 1666, survivals from earlier centuries were recognised and their tradition preserved. Wren is said to have rebuilt London, but it would be truer to say that he found and cherished and adorned much that would otherwise have been forgotten.

"And the citizens, attached to little crowded parishes where their ancestors lay buried, held to their spot of soil and prolonged the name when nothing else remained.

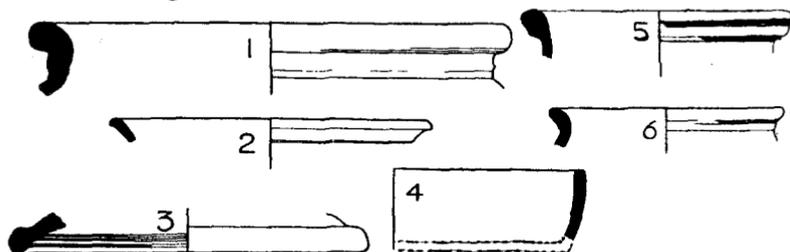
"Many such names have come through all the years to the peace of 1945. St Edmund King and Martyr was an East Saxon sovereign when England was England. St. Alban became the first British martyr when Verulamium was a Roman municipality.

"All the St. Botolphs, watching over the gates of London, recall that Saxon saint, who was the patron of wayfarers. St. Magnus the Martyr stood at the northern end of London Bridge from 1196 to 1831. Something akin to a personality belongs to them all. It is gathered up in the character of London, like the furrows on an old, old face deeply lined with years and experience."

17. ROMANO-BRITISH FINDS AT LITTLETON. There is a very large water-filled gravel-pit in the parish of Littleton, lying on the north side of the main road from Shepperton to Chertsey bridge. In October, 1943, the western end of this pit was being worked for gravel, and some black patches appeared in the gravel where the top-soil had been removed. I examined one of these; it seemed irregular in shape, and its bounds were not ascertained in the short time available. The gravel filling of these areas was hard and well compacted, and the pottery sherds were very small and few. Several other black pits were observed in the side of the gravel-working, but these could not be approached owing to continual subsidence into the lake.

*The Pottery:—*

1. Rim and neck of large jar; hard, pinkish granulated ware.
2. Lip of sandy grey ware.
3. Fragment of lid with internal steppings; grey ware, dark grey surface.
4. Plain dish; red-brownish, sandy paste, polished black surface.
5. Rim of hard granulated buff ware; rough surface.
6. Rim of grey ware.



ROMANO-BRITISH POTTERY, LITTLETON, MIDDLESEX.

Some of these sherds can be paralleled among the local wares of Surrey. No. 1 is very similar to an early 2nd-century

rim from Wisley (*Surrey Arch. Colls.* XLVI, 135, No. 9); No. 2 no doubt belongs to a jar of the type figured in *Surrey Arch. Colls.* XLVIII, 55, No. 27, from Ewell, also of 2nd-century date; while No. 5 is of a type of ware which has been found with late 1st century pottery at Thorpe. Thus, a date in the 2nd century seems probable for the collection. The site will have been a peasant village of normal type, flourishing at a period which was one of prosperity for many similar villages in the area. It lies on O.S. 6-in. sheet, Surrey, XI, N.E., at a point 4·7 in. from the left inner, and 5·3 in. from the bottom inner margin.

S. S. FRERE.

18. RED DEER AT LALEHAM. In November, 1943, I visited Lavender's gravel-pit in the parish of Laleham, about three-quarters of a mile north of Chertsey bridge, and was shown the antlers and part of the cranium of a red deer which had been dug up in the pit, it was said from a layer of peat which thought to be an old river-course. The skull had been cleaned, but I was able to obtain some pieces of dried mud from the interstices of its inside. Dr. K. P. Oakley kindly arranged for these to be examined by Mr. A. S. Kennard, A.L.S., F.G.S., who reports as follows:—

“The material contains shells of the following mollusca:

*Bithynia Tentaculata* (Linné).

*Bithynia leachii* (Sheppard).

*Lymnaea peregra* (Müller).

*Planorbis albus* (Müller).

*Ancylus lacustris* (Linné).

*Zua lubrica* (Müller).

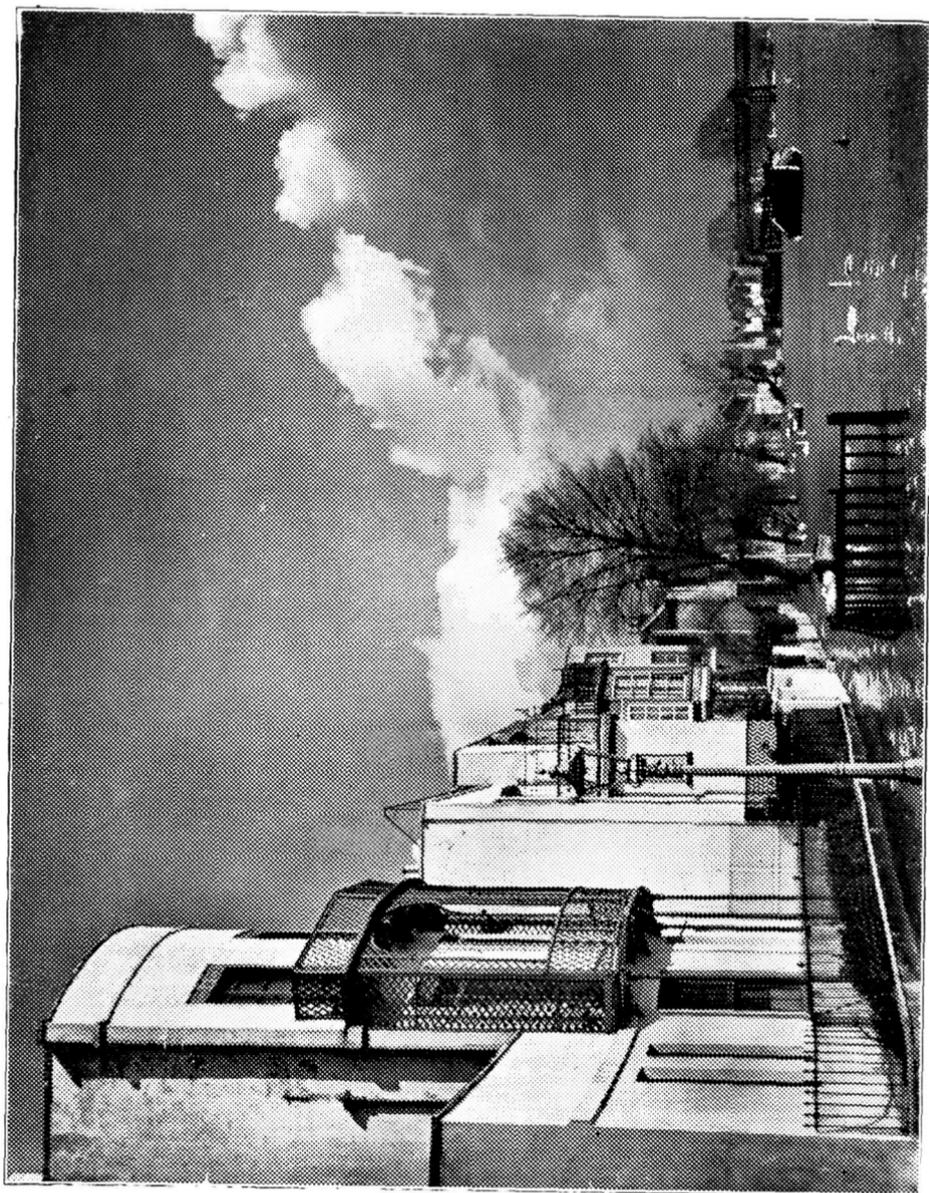
*Valloni excentrica* (Sterki).

*Trochulus hispidus* (Linné).

*Pisidium amnicum* (Müller).

These are clearly from a peaty deposit. In age they are probably pre-Roman and may even be Early Bronze Age.”

S. S. FRERE.



STRAND-ON-THE-GREEN. By kind permission of *The Observer*.

## REPORTS OF THE SOCIETY'S MEETINGS, 1944

1. HENDON (conducted by the Chairman of Council), Saturday, 27th May, 1944. St. Mary's Church, with its Norman font, Early English chancel and aisles, 1430 tower and modern extension, was first visited. There are interesting memorials to John Donne (1575), the Nicholls, Herberts, Whichcoles, Rawlinsons and Colmore, the latter by Flaxman. Sir Stamford Raffles, founder of Singapore (at the time of our visit in Japanese hands) is buried in the Church, and there is a fine statue of him in the Town Hall. Others associated with the Parish are Sir Joseph Ayloff, Curator of the State Papers; Mark Lemon, Editor of *Punch*, and Rev. Sir Henry Bate Dudley, Curate at the Church, and later the founder of the *Morning Post*.

Miss Pyman, research librarian, had arranged a Collection of Hendon Surveys and Ancient Deeds at the Central Library, where the Ministry of Information had an exhibition of contemporary American literature.

2. ALL HALLOWS, TWICKENHAM.—Saturday, 10th June. The Vicar conducted our members round this new church, mainly constructed from the old city church of All Hallows in Lombard Street. The tower is a reconstruction, and in it are hung the old peal of ten bells. Almost all the old fittings are being used, and were described by J. W. Bloe, F.S.A.

3. HAMPTON COURT PALACE.—Saturday, 15th July. Edmund Yates, F.S.A., gave our Society the benefit of his encyclopaedic knowledge of this home of Wolsey, Henry VIII, Cromwell and William III. There are a few relics of the original owners, the Knights Hospitallers, but most of the building is Tudor and Classical Renaissance. The Great Hall is now known to have been built to the order of Henry VIII, in 1531, and the Tennis Court (1529) is the oldest still in use.

Sir Christopher Wren was responsible for the additional quadrangle built for William and Mary and for Queen Anne, and there are fine specimens of the work of Grinling Gibbons, Sir James Marpill and William Kent.

4. CHISWICK CHURCH.—Saturday, 16th September (conducted by Francis R. Taylor, Hon. Director of Meetings). The

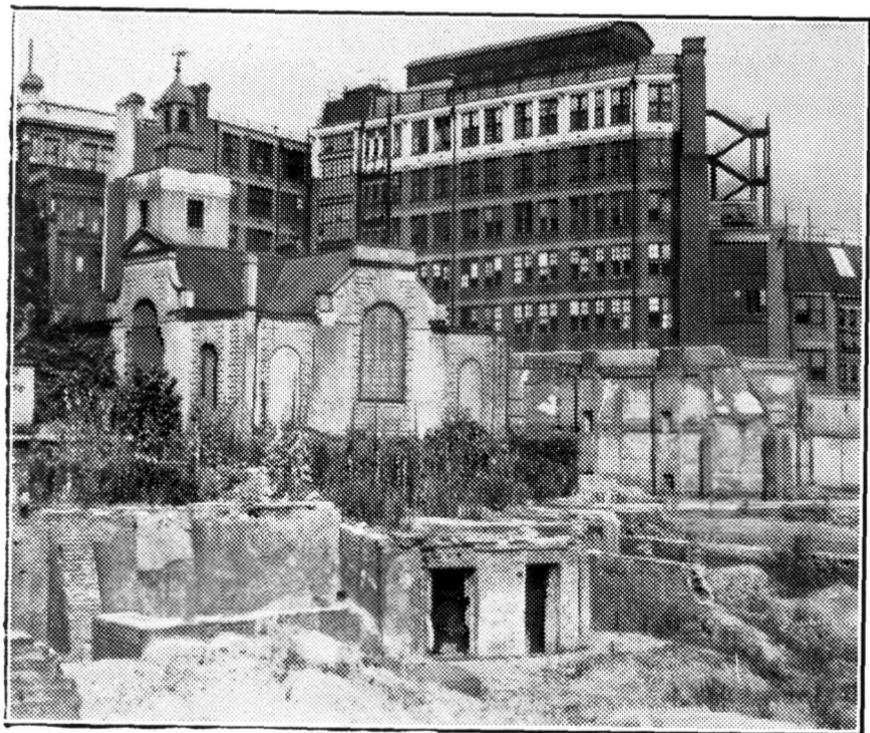
Roman Survey line passes through the site, and there may have been a pagan temple, consecrated to Christian uses by Mellitus, Bishop of London in A.D. 604. The first recorded church dates from 1252, and the tower was built about 1435. Everything save the tower was pulled down in 1882, and a new building, designed by J. L. Pearson, R.A., was consecrated in 1884. Amongst those buried in the old church are Mary Cromwell, Lady Fauconberg, who died in 1713; Frances Cromwell, who married Robert Rich and Sir John Russell, and died in 1726. Both were daughters of the Lord Protector.

Barbara Villiers, Countess of Castlemaine and Duchess of Cleveland, is also buried at Chiswick (1709) and may have lived at Walpole House. The church has many interesting memorials to members of the Challoner and Walpole families, while in the churchyard Hogarth is buried. His house, which is national property, was damaged during the second World War, but can be restored.

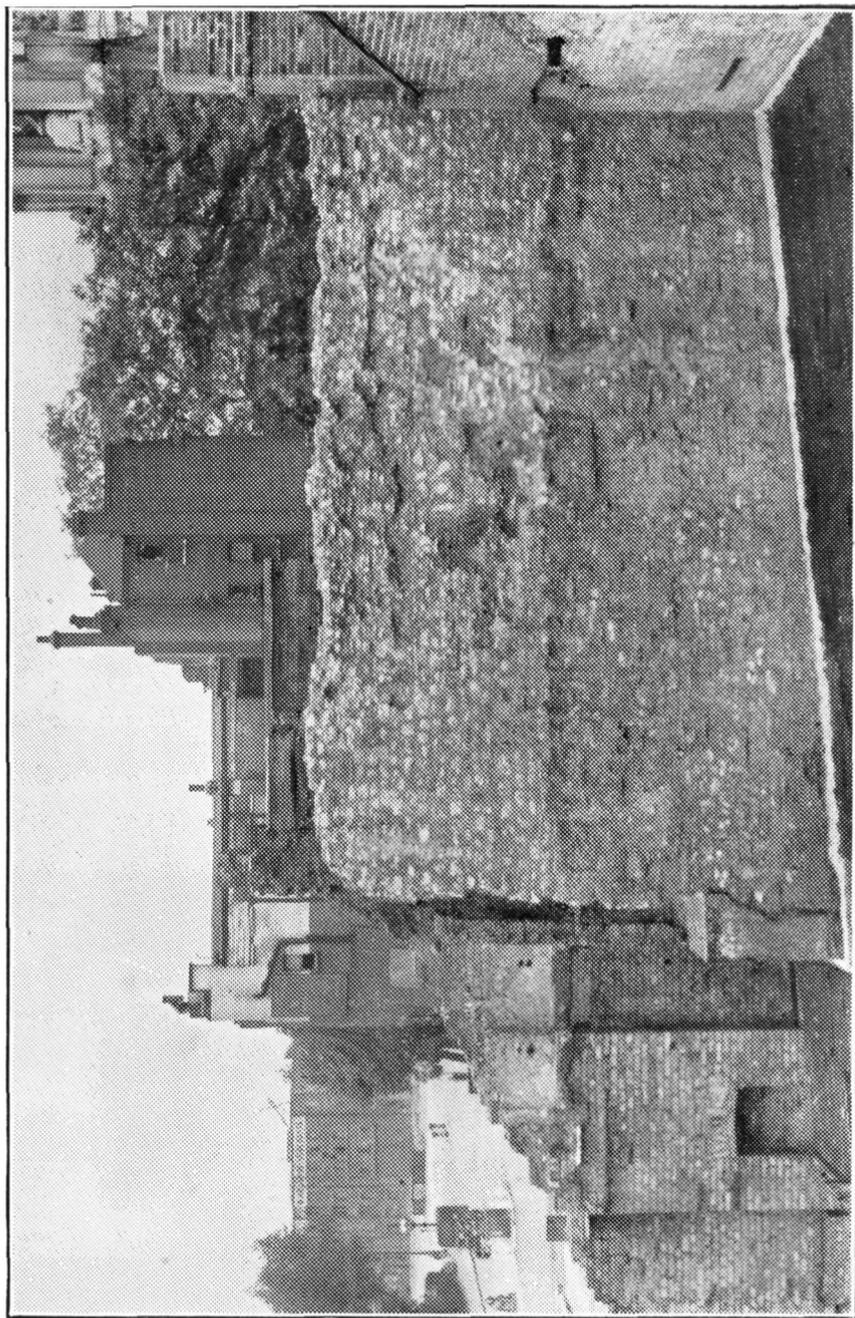
5. HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT.—Colonel the Rt. Hon. Lord Nathan, a member of Council, showed a large party round the Palace of Westminster on Saturday, 18th November. The ruins of the House of Commons were seen, and the House of Lords, the Royal Gallery, St. Stephen's Chapel, St. Mary's Chapel and Westminster Hall were also visited. It was a most successful visit, and all thanks are due and are hereby paid to our host and guide.



ROMAN WALL. (By kind permission of *The Times*.)



ROMAN WALL. (By kind permission of *The Times*.)



ROMAN WALL. by kind permission of *The Times*.

## OBITUARY

### FRANK MARCHAM

WE regret the loss of an old and valued contributor, who was killed by enemy action last year. His skill as a researcher and his experience as a collector and purveyor of out-of-the-way volumes were alike most praiseworthy. He collaborated with his brother in transcribing and printing the *Court Rolls of the Bishop of London's Manor of Hornsey, 1603-1701*. These were the first to be printed for any Middlesex Manor and contain an introduction, folding map and a facsimile confirmation charter of about A.D. 1152. Another book of interest and importance was *The King's Office of the Revels*, newly discovered contemporary evidence, consisting of fragments of documents in the MSS. Dept. British Museum, edited by Frank Marcham, with an introduction by the Keeper of the MSS. at the Museum. Sir E. K. Chambers reviewed this in the *Review of English Studies*.

A good deal of light on the Shakespeare family is shed by a book on *William Shakespeare and his daughter Susannah*. In it Frank Marcham gives a list of Jurors for the County of Warwick for 1572, and among the names for Stratford are those of Thomas and John Shakespeare, the former, a Queen's Messenger. This suggests that William, Thomas's nephew, did not suddenly achieve his position at Court in the reign of King James. It is in this volume that Frank Marcham suggests that the wording of the impudent dedication ill disguises the name of the begetter or appropriation of the manuscript—"MR.W.H.A.L.L.H.A.P.P.I.N.E.S.S.E," Mr. William Hall, whose son John married Susannah Shakespeare.

His other writings include the *Draper Family*, showing the connection with Dame Alice Owen (in co-operation with his brother); *Lopez the Jew*, the prototype of Shylock; a *Bibliography of the Publications of Alexander Dalrymple*; and *Sales Conducted by R. H. Evans, 1812-45*, the only auctioneer to sell William Shakespeare's autograph.

## REVIEWS

HENRY YEVELE, THE LIFE OF AN ENGLISH ARCHITECT. By John H. Harvey.  
(B. T. Batsford, Ltd., 15s. net.)

The chief aim of this book is, in the author's own words, "to bring to our remembrance the great life of one of the truest sons of England, who endowed us with several of the loveliest monuments of architecture, and who deserves an interest and affection, as well as the title of our greatest architect." Yeaveley, in Derbyshire, seems to have been his place of origin; but the family is found in London by 1362, when Henry's brother, Robert, is described as Warden of the Masons at the Tower. Henry himself was a distinguished London mason even earlier, and his fame began soon after the period of the Black Death. During the boyhood of Yevele the King's Craftsmen, at Westminster, were creating the Perpendicular style, which is perhaps the most national style which we have produced. Of the buildings that most influenced Yevele were cathedrals or abbeys at Lichfield, Wells, Tewkesbury and Bristol, especially the first-named, and he had his chance of success by surviving the greatest calamity in the history of Europe, when so many stone-masons and architects seemed to have died. A wave of religious feeling led to the provision of tombs and chantry chapels, and also to the building of new foundations, both abbey and parish churches.

In 1356, trouble between various groups of masons led the Mayor and Aldermen of London to arrange for a new guild to be established. Of the twelve masons chosen to represent the trade, six were to sit for the brewers, and six for the layers and setters. Of the brewers, one was Yevele, who, at the age of about thirty-five, was one of the "most skilful men" of his trade. Success began to crowd in on him, and before long he was refitting Kennington Palace for the Black Prince and was "disposer of the King's works pertaining to the art of masonry in the Palace of Westminster and the Tower of London," with fees of 12d. a day.

Yevele was, perhaps, the first and greatest master of the Perpendicular style, and, throughout his architectural career, he gave to English architecture "a unity and strength comparable to the qualities with which his friend, Chaucer, was endowing our language." His work is to be seen in various parts of England, particularly in Kent and in the London area. The West Gate at Canterbury and parts of the City Walls and the Nave of the Cathedral are among the most prominent of his works in Kent. But perhaps his most distinctive buildings are to be found in the London area. The Bloody Tower in the Tower of London (1361); the Nave and West Cloister in Westminster Abbey (1362) and the Abbot's House; the Charterhouse (1371); Westminster Hall (altered and restored in 1395) are existing buildings which have survived to this day. Besides his skill as an architect, Yevele has left us some fine monuments still standing in the Abbey, notably that to King Edward III, in which he was aided by Hugh Herland and John Orchard.

The tombs of Cardinal Langham, and of King Richard II and his Queen Anne were also the work of Yevele. There are a number of other buildings in London which have now disappeared which we owe to the genius of Yevele,

and it is more than likely that he was the architect of the Savoy Palace in the Strand, St. Dunstan in the East, and parts of Durham Cathedral and Selby Abbey.

He died, in London, on 21st August, 1400, only a few weeks before Geoffrey Chaucer, and was buried in a tomb which he had prepared in the Church of St. Magnus. Included in his property were two quays and a brewery, called "La Glere," in the parish of St. Magnus; houses in Basing Lane and Cordwainer Street in the parish of St. Martin, Outwick; watermills and houses in the parish of St. Olave, Southwark; and the reversion of his property went to St. Magnus, and failing that, to the maintenance of London Bridge, which he repaired, and of two chantry priests in the Bridge Chapel.

He also left money for the rebuilding of the ancient aisle in the Church of the Hospital of St. Thomas the Martyr of Southwark, "where the poor inmates lie."

Very few lives of eminent architects of the Middle Ages have been written, and this full and well-documented account of one of the greatest designers of the Perpendicular style of architecture is of very real importance. Notes on some of his contemporaries and successors continue the story, and show what a number of distinguished men there were in that very critical era. Yevele can claim to be worthy to be classed among the very greatest architects of all time. John H. Harvey writes that he has "compared his work for English architecture with the formation of English language and literature by Chaucer, and there is nothing far-fetched in this comparison; but just as Chaucer has a significance which far transcends national boundaries, so has Yevele in his own medium."

This is a most satisfactory book, and its appeal is to historians and archaeologists, to architects and the general public. It is lavishly illustrated, with admirable photographs, ground-plans, and useful sketches by the author; and it is produced with all the skill and beauty which characterises the publications of the firm of B. T. Batsford.

LONDON'S GLORY, 20 Paintings of the City's Ruins, by Wanda Ostrowska, text by Viola G. Garvin. (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 15s. net.)

One can sometimes get a new interpretation of one's homeland or hometown through the eyes of a foreigner, and in these twenty pictures, about half in colour and the rest in monotone, we see ruined London from a new angle. This Polish artist shows us "the bomb damage, the scarred grey streets, skeleton buildings, charred wildernesses and lonely spires."

Her titles are well chosen—"The Chimney," a factory in Upper Thames Street, and "The Skull," a warehouse near Greenhithe Wharf, give us business houses in ruins; "Roman Ruins" and "Evenings" are pictures of the ruined City Temple, and the almost undamaged Memorial Hall. She shows us St. Paul's Cathedral from the ruins of the Chapter House, from Seton Street, from Whitecross Street and from Ivy Lane; and a group of drawings of our damaged City Churches gives us St. Bride's, St. Vedast's, St. Giles', St. Mary-le-Bow, St. Mildred's, St. Margaret Pattens, and St. Alban, Wood Street.

The text is admirably suited to the drawings, reminding us of historic events of the past and of great Londoners. "Here, too, we had our singers, our poets, our playwrights, our excellent discourses in prose. Herrick was born in Wood Street; Sir Thomas More in Milk Street; John Donne . . . in

Bread Street; Shakespeare, in 1604, lodged . . . at a corner of Markwell Street. Do not forget Spenser, born in East Smithfield, and Keats on Finsbury Pavement, Ben Jonson, son of a bricklayer, Chaucer in the Vintry, and . . . greatest of all, John Milton." This book of war-scarred London Town is appropriately dedicated to peerless, shattered Warsaw.

THE COUNTY OF LONDON PLAN, explained by E. J. Carter and Ernő Goldfinger. (Penguin Books, 3s. 6d.)

This is a brief summary of the L.C.C. Scheme, with many comments and explanatory maps and plans, designed to help the average person to understand the complex problems which face Londoners, and to make additional suggestions for their solution.

A map showing "London Areas" indicates some of the problems. The City is one square mile, with a population of less than ten thousand, while Greater London is about 700 square miles, with a population of  $8\frac{1}{2}$  million.

But there is also the County, 117 square miles; Water London, 575; Postal London, 692; Traffic London, 1820; Electric London, 1,842; London Passenger Transport Area, 1,986; and Metropolitan Traffic Area, 2,418 square miles, with a population of 10 million. Here are problems enough, and to spare! The various chapters discuss very fully and very lucidly such needs as Housing, Factories and Business houses, Opportunities for Leisure and Open Spaces, getting to and from one's job, and the need to make London as beautiful and convenient a place as possible, keeping all the problems in view. Pictures of past and present give us hope and alarm—the Inns of Court, Chelsea Embankment, the view across Lambeth Bridge to the Palace of Westminster, Bloomsbury—all tell us what splendid success is possible; but another group of pictures, showing slums, muddled use of land, lack of open spaces, traffic problems and architectural squalor—these make one almost despair. But the preparing of such books as this should bring home to most, if not all Londoners, the wonderful chances which the Sybil has once more offered to them, and the absolute need to make the very most of such an opportunity.

THAMES TRIUMPHANT. By Sydney R. Jones. (The Studio Publications, 15s.)

This is a companion work to *London Triumphant*, and, though one-third of it deals with the River above Staines, the rest fills in some gaps in the previous magnificent volume, and widens our knowledge of the Metropolis, especially along the river bank.

London is singularly fortunate at the moment in having several extremely competent interpreters of her beauty, and Sydney Jones is certainly one of the best. Anne Boleyn's Gateway at Hampton Court, several riverside views of Isleworth, Brentford Ferry and Brentford from Kew, The London Apprentice Inn, Syon House, crowned with the lion from Northumberland House in the Strand, these are outstanding views on the Middlesex side of the River. Syon House, one of the few stately homes of England still left near London, is full of historic interest, and has associations with Catherine Howard, Henry VIII, "Queen" Jane, Charles I's Children and Princess (afterwards Queen) Anne. Next come Strand-on-the-Green and Chiswick, then Westminster and the Victoria Embankment, the Temple and St. Paul's,

and a singularly pleasing drawing of the exterior of the Hall of the Watermen's Company. The Turk's Head at Wapping, well-known to Dickens and Whistler, and bits and pieces at Shadwell and Ratcliff are, it is to be hoped, still standing. If they are among the victims of the "Blitz," these typical drawings of Sydney R. Jones will keep their memory green.

THE GUILDS OF THE CITY OF LONDON. By Sir Ernest Pooley, K.C.V.O. (William Collins of London, 4s. 6d.)

Some years ago, a Lord Mayor wrote in introduction to a book on London, that "the rock on which our civic life is built is that of its Guilds and Livery Companies." These ancient institutions comprise a fraternity of service that was in existence before the Conquest, and has an unbroken history of over a thousand years. Throughout the centuries the Guilds have stood for high adventure in the service of great causes, in help for the weak and suffering, and in the spread of enlightenment through education. Their spirit is expressed in their fine creed: "In seeking the good of others we shall find our own." Their story is the record of man's struggle for his rights. It is the tale of how many of our liberties as citizens have been won and handed on to us." There could hardly be a better summary of this attractive book on the London guilds than this comment made on another occasion, by Sir Charles Collett. A very interesting fact which is not generally known is the attachment of various guilds each to a Saint. Thus, the Draper's Company is still formally described as the Fraternity of the Blessed Virgin Mary; the Grocers are a Fraternity of St. Anthony, the Merchant Taylors of St. John the Baptist, the Goldsmiths of St. Dunstons, the Skinners and Salters of Corpus Christi, and the Saddlers of St. Martin. Their original objects were religious and social, to which was added benevolence; and it was only later that the organisation of trade and manufacture became important. Life in mediæval London presented many points of difference as compared with the life of the City to-day. The population of London is now living mainly in the suburbs or even further afield; the distinction between east and west London is even more marked than it was; and much of the business activity of the City has little or no connection with the ancient Guilds. Banks and insurance companies and overseas trade are not associated in the main with any of the twelve great companies or the 65 smaller ones. A good deal has been lost to both sides by this divorce, and a change is not likely to take place to remedy this breach.

The Companies are famous for their generous hospitality, for their Halls, for their charities and for their schools. Of the "twelve chief companies out of which the Lord Mayor is yearly chosen," nearly all have educational establishments which owe their original endowments to members of the guild, and one need mention only Merchant Taylors', St. Paul's, Oundle, Tonbridge, Aske's, Aldenham, Gresham's at Holt, to realise what education owes to the Guilds. A great deal of financial help has also been given to higher education and to the voluntary hospitals of London. The wealth of the City Companies is mainly derived from land purchased or inherited in the heart of London; and the enormous increase in the value of such property has given to the Guilds large sums of money available for hospitality, for help to liverymen or freemen who need it, or for charity. Whatever may

have been the case in the past, there can be little doubt that the funds of the Guilds are well administered to-day.

The devastation suffered by the Companies within the one square mile has been great, and it will be a big business to repair and restore the Companies to a full measure of their prosperity. Meantime, as Sir Ernest Pooley assures us in his summing up, "they will continue the course they have been pursuing so successfully for generations, guided by the pious aims of their benefactors, and true to the spirit of the Corporation motto: *Domine Dirige Nos*.

THE HISTORY OF EDWARD LATYMER AND HIS FOUNDATIONS. By William Wheatley, M.A. (Printed at the University Press, Cambridge.)

This admirable story of the Latymer schools was published shortly before the war, but it has not been possible to review it earlier. Written by one of our Members of Council, it gives the story of a small school in Edmonton from 1627 to 1910, now a well-equipped mixed school of over 900 pupils; a rather larger school, for boys only, at Hammersmith, from 1657 to 1878; and then the foundation of Latymer Upper School for Boys in 1895; and of the Godolphin and Latymer Girls' School in 1906. The nation-wide interest in secondary education which the new "Butler" Act has produced makes it appropriate to remind ourselves that many of the schools that are going to solve some of our educational problems are of very ancient lineage. Edward Latymer came of an extremely interesting family, and his will, which outlines the plans for his schools, occupies more than a dozen pages, and is dated 1624. Here is solid antiquity, of which masters, mistresses and pupils may well be proud.



CHARLES W. F. Goss, F.S.A.

## CHARLES WILLIAM FREDERICK GOSS, F.S.A.

THE London and Middlesex Archæological Society lost an old and valued friend in the death of Charles Goss at the age of 82 on 10th September, 1946. He was born a Londoner in 1864, but his early work as a Librarian was done in Birkenhead and in Newcastle-on-Tyne. Leaving the north to become first public Librarian at Lewisham, he was appointed in 1897 to Bishopsgate Institute, and continued there until his retirement in April, 1941, carrying on long after the normal age for retirement. When Charles Goss took office at Bishopsgate the open access system was at work. After four or five years he was able to introduce the Cotgreave Indicator, which lasted until 1946. The change-over was due to some mismanagement before Goss's arrival, and for many years librarians were divided in their views on the open access system. Goss was a vigorous opponent of this system, against which he wrote and spoke very vigorously. But, as the *Library Association Record* says, "he was much more than a controversialist, being also a very able Librarian, who built up a splendid library in the Institute, issued a masterly catalogue, in dictionary form, which was packed with valuable annotations, made a magnificent collection of London prints, besides writing many stimulating papers on various aspects of library activity."

Perhaps his most useful contribution to a study of London's history was a very thorough Bibliography of *The London Directory, 1677-1855*, with a careful survey of 285 volumes and an excellent introduction. This was published in 1932. and had very attractive end-papers of "Londres, Capital de l'Angleterre." It provides much useful material for "the student of sociology and topography, the antiquary, the historian, the biographer and the genealogist." His earlier researches resulted in the publication of *Crosby Hall* (1908); a *Bibliography of the Writings of George Jacob Holyoake* (1908); *Methods of Producing and Preserving Prints* (1915); and the story of several London parishes. For our Society's *Transactions* he wrote a *History of the Parish and Church of St. Martin Outwich, Threadneedle Street* (1929); *Sir Paul Pindar and his Bishopsgate Mansion* (1930); *A History of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society, 1855-1930* (1931); *A Tribute to John Stow*, which he

delivered at the Stow Commemoration Service on 28th April, 1936; *Parish Registers for London and Middlesex* (1938); and *St. Mary the Virgin of Aldermanbury* (1945).

An interesting comment or two on Charles Goss occur in the Diary of John Burns, another keen researcher into London's Story. On 10th February, 1916, Burns writes: "To Bishopsgate Institute, a really great institution, conducted on human and intelligent lines by that best of all directors and book lovers, Mr. Goss. With him a feast of London literature, prints and London histories."

On 12th October, 1917, Burns records a return visit of Goss to see the famous collections which are now housed at County Hall. "Whilst finishing our daily work on the garden, Mr. Goss, the Bishopsgate librarian, called to see our display of More's books. Our largest table was covered with the exhibit. With great knowledge of London literature, Mr. Goss was greatly surprised to see our collection. Frankly he envied it for his Institute, and he derived much pleasure and interest in going from book to book to examine their merits and to become acquainted with what was in many cases information about books. I was pleased at his delight in seeing such a large collection of treasures in such condition. To the National Liberal Club for lunch, and again an agreeable talk with him upon London. Certainly Mr. Goss should be at South Kensington or the British Museum."

He was a member of our Council for many years; Honorary Librarian and Chairman of Council; and was elected a Vice-President in recognition of his long services to the Society. He had a remarkable collection of *Londiniana* in his own possession; and he helped to make the Society's collection and that belonging to the Bishopsgate Institute as complete as possible. His wide knowledge and experience were at anyone's disposal, and an extremely valuable talk was one given during the war on "Grangerising" or extra-illustration, of which he was a past-master. For many years he was Honorary Secretary of the Society of Public Librarians, and one of them describes him as "a kindly, generous-hearted and good-natured man, with an extremely active mind and tremendous energy." Our Society, with which he was associated for almost half a century, pays a tribute of respect and affection to his memory. We have lost by death a number of loyal and valued members during the last few years, including Walter Bell, Arthur Bonner, Sir

Edward Braybrooke, G. J. B. Fox, F. Marcham, William Martin, Philip Norman, Garraway Rice, Harold Sands, Sir Montagu Sharp, and now Charles Goss. So fine a list of past supporters of our work should be a great stimulus for the present and for the future.

STOW COMMEMORATION  
AT ST. ANDREW UNDERSHAFT, LONDON,  
ON FRIDAY, 30TH MAY, 1947

ADDRESS BY THE REVEREND A. C. BOUQUET, D.D.

THE Lord Mayor and the Sheriffs, attended by the State Officials, were received at the Church of St. Andrew Undershaft on Friday, 30th May, 1947, by the Lord Bishop of Kensington, by Dr. A. C. Bouquet, the Revd. T. Barfett and the Churchwardens. The Lesson was read by Commander Bridgmore Brown, and the customary procession was made to Stow's Tomb, where the Lord Mayor placed a new quill-pen in the hand of John Stow's effigy, and presented the old one in its case to the prize-winner from Mary Datchelor School. After the service, the Bishop, Dr. Bouquet and the Chairman of Council lunched with the Lord Mayor at the Mansion House.

Added interest was given to Dr. Bouquet's address by the fact that he is a descendant of a branch of the Stow family of Cornhill, which settled about 1680 at Farnborough Hall, near Bromley, an estate they leased from the Hart-Dykes, and there flourished until the 19th century. The Farnborough Stows were proud of their distinguished forbear, and Dr. Bouquet's career as a historian at Trinity College, Cambridge, maintains the tradition of sound learning established by John Stow. No one of these Stows attained to any outstanding fame, but Dr. Bouquet's great-grandfather once had an adventure which would have pleased John Stow, and pursued a highwayman from Farnborough, through Bromley and Lewisham, then unspoiled villages, and captured him at a wayside tavern in Greenwich. The pistol, which was dropped near Farnborough Hall, is still an heirloom belonging to Major Roger Stow, late of the Dover Garrison, and the last of his line.

Dr. Bouquet paid a debt of gratitude to the City of London for its generous hospitality to the Huguenots in 1685 after their tragic experiences in Poitou, so graphically described by Alfred de Vigny.

The Bouquets were able to send their sons to Westminster School and then to find posts for them in the newly established Bank of England, where there has never ceased to be one of the

family employed in some capacity. Dr. Bouquet himself enjoyed the hospitality of the School of St. Dunstan in the East for his early education.

Dr. Bouquet took as his text St. John xviii., 37, "Everyone that is of the Truth heareth My voice," and spoke fittingly of John Stow as a Christian.

(a) Stow was the heir of a long Christian tradition, and four generations of the Stow family had supplied the Church of St. Michael's, Cornhill, with lamp oil and candles. His grandfather was, in 1506, Master of the Tallowchandlers' Company; an earlier Stow had been Dean of St. Paul's, *c.* 1420, and Camden records a chantry to his memory in the old Cathedral. C. L. Kingsford mentions still earlier members of the Stow family as far back as 1283.

Stow records the legend that the adjacent Church of St. Peter, Cornhill, was the oldest in Britain, built in the reign of King Lucius, and he mentions, though he will not affirm, that it was built by an "Archbishop" of London.

(b) Living as he did in the time of the Reformation and through four Tudor reigns without disaster, Stow had a lively interest in the mediæval Church, in which he probably disagreed with his mother, and once or twice got into trouble for his alleged sympathy with foreigners and with Romanists. The Bishop of London reported "unlawful" books in Stow's library, but these included Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, a clear indication of Stow's real attitude to the Church. Stow was a loyal subject of the Virgin Queen, and a supporter of Archbishop Parker, who made a rich accumulation of MSS. now at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and for whom Stow edited some documents. Parker evidently trusted the scholarship of Stow, who was in no way a crypto-Papist, but a typical, genuine Elizabethan Anglican. The lists which he gives us of Mayors and Bishops of London suggests that he thought the two lines equally valid, and that he felt that the Elizabethan Church leaders maintained and ensured the English Church as a true and continuous development without a break from the pre-Reformation institution. Stow does not argue or defend the point, but writes at the end of his list, "this much for the succession of the Bishops of London," without any fear that someone will challenge all those from Grindal onwards. This *argumentum e silentio* is worthy of note, especially as Stow was

not used by Parker as Hooker was by Whitgift to defend Anglicanism. Incidentally, Stow regarded Whitgift as a man born for the good of church and country. Improvements in church organisation Stow welcomed, though he cordially disliked iconoclasm, and he was by no means a mere *laudator temporis acti*. The longest story he tells of any London Bishop refers to Bishop Roger Niger who admonished the money-lenders of 1229 to do penance for their sins, and when they mocked and threatened him he excommunicated them all and ordered that all such usurers should be expelled from London. Stow was an original member of the Society of Antiquaries, founded in 1572, under Parker's patronage; he read a paper on the origin of sterling money, and would liked to have written an outline of universal history, such as those we owe to Voltaire and H. G. Wells. It is probable that his researches into church history greatly helped Dugdale to write his famous *Monasticon*.

(c) John Stow was attractively unworldly, which he showed by ignoring the chance of making money as a Merchant Taylor, and devoting his labours for 30 years to work as a historian and antiquary. His City company generously pensioned him, but he impoverished himself by his extensive collecting of MSS., now preserved in the British Museum. His work was appreciated, but few helped him financially and King James I gave him permission to beg. Stow's efforts in this direction were not successful, though William Camden pensioned him; but Stow continued in his work undaunted and unsoured till he died at the age of 80. Ben Jonson tells of a meeting which they both had with two crippled beggars, whom Stow asked what they would charge to receive him into their "order." Once when he was 78 he hinted at growing infirmity by writing "My feet, which have borne me many a mile, have of late refused once in four or five months to convey me from my bed to my study."

(d) Stow's unworldliness is shown in his devotion to truth and accuracy, so essentially Christian virtues. Edmond Howes, his friend and literary executor, comments on his fine appearance, his courtesy, and his retention of memory until the day of his death. "He always protested that he has never written anything either for malice and fear or favour, nor to seek his own particular gain or vain glory, and that his only pains and care was to write truth." Stow's Address to the Reader in his *Chronicles* and *Journals* confirms this verdict: "Though it be written homely, yet is it not, as I trust, written

untruly; and in histories the chief thing that is to be desired is truth," an obvious reminder of Christ's comment to Pilate: "To this end came I into the world, that I should bear witness to the Truth."

The age of Elizabeth was an age of heated controversy, and abuse was often exchanged. Even Stow sometimes attacks Grafton's alleged crooked behaviour; but as a rule he was an accurate student of documents and as scrupulous as the great Erasmus. His work includes a critical edition of Chaucer, *Chronicles* and *Annals* of England, with five editions to his credit, and, like good wine, kept to the last his famous *Survey of London*, published in 1598, when he was over 70, with a second edition in 1603. Stow was a fine researcher with all the features of the modern scientific historian, and in these days of exaggeration and distortion we do well to take as our model one who never wrote for private ends, and who always wrote the truth even "though it were to his own hindrance."

Though no Puritan, he was a man of great probity, and hated intemperance, and the increase in quaffing even at the royal court of the first Stuart. He was himself a surveyor of alehouses and a collector of men for a muster of 4,000 for the Queen's service. He disliked a lack of discipline among the clergy, and deplored the introduction of the coach-and-four into this country, much as men today might deplore the motor-car. Stow also disliked the "longwaggons" which ran from town to town with passengers and commodities, rather like motor-coaches of today. He strongly disapproved of extravagance, and Howes tells us that he refused to use any wheeled vehicles. His books are a mine of information about Elizabethan customs, and show how little London's spirit and temper have changed. The account of the Elizabethan night-watch, broadcast by the B.B.C., reminded us of the Home Guard; and our V.E. celebrations no doubt resembled those that followed the defeat of the Spanish Armada. As a Londoner and as a churchman Stow was a "citizen of no mean city."

Stow's religious traditions were handed down in his family and its branches, and the Stows of Farnborough Hall had many 17th and 18th century religious books in their libraries. The words at the head of his tomb, "Aut scribenda agere, aut legenda scribere," sum up Stow's ideals, and they have been an inspiration and a judgment for the preacher and for many others. "We must do what is worth recording, or write what

is worth reading," says the proverb; and the English are sometimes accused of being incorrigible Pelagians, who felt that one only had to work hard enough to secure the results. But John Stow, like his contemporary Richard Hooker, felt that we can never act or write worthily, save by the grace of God which strengthened us.

Hooker himself warned us that our hopes are vain if we think we can preserve London by watching it, if we do not ask God to help us. And we are equally wrong if we expect God to protect London if we ourselves are not careful to watch. "Grace is not given us to abandon labour, but labour required lest our sluggishness should make the grace of God unprofitable . . . and, seeing that all we of ourselves can do is naught, let Him alone have the glory, by Whose only grace we have our whole ability and power of well-doing."

## HUGH DE CRESSINGHAM

BY NORMAN G. BRETT-JAMES, M.A., B.LITT., F.S.A.,  
Chairman of Council and Honorary Editor

THERE are, from time to time, brief notes in Evans' *History of Hendon*, which suggest further investigation, such as is possible to-day, with the greater opportunities for easy research which we enjoy. Here is one such note:—"A certain Hugh de Cressingham died seized of property in 1296 . . . it is impracticable to trace the property further; perhaps it forms part of Wyldes, granted by Henry VI to Eton College," and there are added a few lines from the *Inquisitiones post mortem* for 16th October, 25 Edward I, which is, incidentally, 1297, and not, as Evans says, 1296.

This Hugh de Cressingham, so briefly related to Hendon, is an important historical figure, with a tragic and startling end, one whom we may be glad to add to Hendon's roll of fame, if not of honour.

Hugh de Cressingham came presumably from one of the two villages of that name in South-west Norfolk, near Watton and on the river Wissey. In Great Cressingham, with a population of perhaps 500, there is a Church dedicated to St. Michael, with two early piscinæ, and with a holy water stoup in the porch.

### HIS NORFOLK ORIGIN.

There is also some trace of an ancient priory farm-house in the larger parish, while in Little Cressingham, only half the size of Great Cressingham, there is a Church of St. Andrew, with the doorway and steps to the rood loft in a good state of preservation. The place of his origin, as suggested by his name, is almost certainly one of these two Norfolk villages. Another small piece of evidence of his Norfolk origin is the fact that he was a witness to the partition of the lands of John de Vallibus, a Norfolk tenant-in-chief, who died in 1288, leaving a large estate, including the property of Blanchappelton in London. (*Cal. of Close Rolls*, Edward I, 1279-88, p. 530, 10 Feb., 1288, Westminster.)

Further evidence is suggested by the fact that his constant colleague, William de Ormesby, who shared his unpopularity in Scotland, but not his tragic fate, was a Norfolk man, and held property in Ormsby in East Norfolk, three miles from Caistor.

If we accept the suggestion that Hugh was a Norfolk man, then he was of the same county as Falstaff, whose congenital stoutness he anticipated. His stately proportions, to which further relation will be made, figure in his history as did Falstaff's, but our researches have failed to discover any such joviality as characterised Falstaff.

#### HIS EARLY OFFICIAL LIFE.

The date of his birth we do not at present know, but we find him in 1273 on 10th May, when he would probably be as old as 23, one of a group of government officials, charging William de Benges with the death of Geoffrey de Askeby during the disturbances in the reign of Henry III, associated with the rising of the Barons and the career of Simon de Montfort (*D.N.B.*). In 1282 he was a Clerk in the Exchequer, and was employed in the matter of wrongs done to the Abbot of Ramsey, presumably during the troubled reign of Henry, when there was so much disorder in Hendon.

He was by this time a Clerk in Holy Orders and was given the parsonage, of the village of Chalk in Kent, by the Prior of the Benedictine Convent of Norwich, where possibly he obtained his early training. Like so many of his time he was a pluralist, and held the Rectory of Doddington in Kent, and that of Ruddesby, probably Rudby in Cleveland, as well as several prebendal stalls (*D.N.B.*).

#### STEWARD TO ELEANOR OF CASTILE.

In 1290 he was appointed to hold an inquisition re the lands of a minor, William Pippard, living in Middlesex (*Cal. of Close Rolls*, Ed. I, 1288–1296, p. 70, 12th February, 1290), and at this time, and probably for some years earlier, he was Steward to Eleanor of Castile, the heroic queen of Edward I, for whose benefit the Hendon sub-manor of Hodford was later given to the Monks of Westminster to say perpetual masses for her soul. For Queen Eleanor he was also Bailiff of the Barony of Haverford in South Wales. It was at the end of 1290 in November that Eleanor died of a low fever at Harby, near Grantham, an irreparable loss to Edward I, who erected a fair cross, a miracle of sculptor's and mason's work, on every spot where her beloved corpse had rested on its final sad journey to the Abbey.

The death of the Queen left Hugh without any official post

save his clerkship in the Exchequer and his various prebends and livings, but in 1292 he was appointed auditor of the debts due to Henry III, who had been dead for 20 years. He seems to have carried out his duties to the King's satisfaction, for on 28th August, 1292, an order was sent to the Keeper of the royal forest of Salcy, instructing him to cause Hugh de Cressingham to have from that forest 6 bucks of the King's gift (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 1288-96, p. 241).

These two posts held by Cressingham were intimately associated with the life of the court, and are a clear indication of the regard in which Hugh was held by the King.

#### AN ITINERANT JUSTICE.

His progress was now rapid, for in the same year we find him serving as a Justice in Eyre for the Northern Counties. On 10th April, 1292, Hugh was appointed with William Ormesby and others as Justices in Eyre for Lancaster, Westmorland and Cumberland, with special injunctions to hear and determine complaints against the King's bailiffs and ministers (*Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1281-92, p. 485). Four days later, a writ of summons was sent from the King at Stepney to the Sheriff of Lancaster for an eyre to be holden in the Octave of Holy Trinity before the same Justices (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 1288-96, p. 261). On 20th August, 1292, a writ was sent from the King, who had come as far north as Pickering in his advance towards Scotland, instructing the Sheriff of Northumberland to arrange for an eyre for common pleas to be holden before the same Itinerant Justices (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 1288-96, p. 272; *Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1281-96, p. 507).

The Jurisdiction of Justices in Eyre has a conspicuous place among the institutions reformed by Edward I, and a brief explanation of the position before he came to the throne is necessary. In the 18th article of the Great Charter it was agreed that two Justices should visit each county twice a year for the purpose of holding assizes of *Mort d'ancestor*, *novel disseisin* and *darrein presentment*, thus modifying somewhat the previous arrangements for Itinerant Justices and their duties of general gaol delivery, dating from the reign of Henry II. In Henry III's reign these eyres were very frequent and active, and brought a large revenue to the Crown, thus turning a beneficent measure into a means of oppression. The Provisions of Oxford contain evidence of the unpopularity of these courts,

and in the first year of Edward I's reign, before he returned from Palestine, his ministers discontinued the work of the Itinerant Justices. In the statute of Rageman (and the second statute of Westminster, 1285) Edward revised the system of eyres, and in 1292 he divided the whole country into four circuits, each with two Justices. In the development of the work of these Itinerant Justices, de Cressingham played an important part.

#### DISPUTED SUCCESSION IN SCOTLAND.

The years of Cressingham's promotion were those in which Edward was busy with affairs in Scotland, where the death at sea of the Maid of Norway had caused a vacancy in the throne. For the next five years Cressingham is playing a very critical part both in Northern England and in Southern Scotland.

Edward I called the magnates of Scotland together to Norham Castle, that magnificent ruin above the banks of Tweed, which has been so splendidly restored by H.M. Office of Works. In Norham Church, Roger Brabazon, Chief Justice of England, and incidentally a considerable landowner in Hampstead, the adjoining parish and manor to Hendon, demanded from the Scots fealty to Edward, and after some delay this was accorded. From August, 1291, until November, 1292, a Court was sitting at Berwick-on-Tweed, then belonging to the Scots and the one great centre of commerce in that poor and disorderly land.

Edward fairly and wisely allotted the crown to John Balliol who did homage to him for his Kingdom, and on 3rd December Edward was at Roxburgh, in a castle perched up on high ground between the Teviot and the Tweed, now a heap of ruins, the details of whose plan can hardly be distinguished to-day. He was at the height of his power, having annexed Wales and checked the unruly Lords Marchers, having seemingly checked the Barons and kept in order the aggressive churchmen. He had reformed much of the legal system of the Country, acted with some success on the Continent, and was now overlord of Scotland. Everything might have seemed well, but with the death of his Queen his troubles had really begun. Soon afterwards he lost his Mother, his Chancellor Burnell, Bishop Kirkby, his shrewd financier, and Archbishop Peckham, meddlesome but bustling and business-like. He was faced with a generation of lesser men of the type of Cressingham and Ormesby, men of meaner stature, who provided a marked

contrast to his stern figure in its increasing loneliness, as difficulties gathered round him, both at home and abroad, in his declining years.

On 3rd November, 1292, Cressingham and Ormesby were at Carlisle, holding the inquests for Cumberland, and at the beginning of the next year they were holding the Northumbrian inquests at Newcastle-on-Tyne.

Edward's attempt at limiting the jurisdiction of the nobles by means of his writ *Quo Warranto* found a ready supporter in Cressingham, and no doubt many of the efforts which Hugh made to deprive lords and towns in the North of England of their ancient rights were approved if not suggested by Edward. It would be in this connection that the Lord of Millom Castle, one of the Huddlestone family, proved his title before Hugh de Cressingham in 1292, no doubt at Carlisle (*Lanercost Chronicle*, p. 147, Hist. Doc. Scotland, I, pp. 365 and 390).

#### EDWARD'S PERSONAL REWARD FOR CRESSINGHAM

From Roxburgh, where we left Edward in December, 1292, resting from his exertions in connection with the Scottish succession, he issued an order to the Sheriff of Westmoreland to cause a coroner to be elected for that County in place of Thomas de Piking, whom the King had removed from office because he was attending the King's affairs before Hugh de Cressingham and his fellows, Justices in Eyre for the County of Cumberland. It would be necessary for the Sheriff of Northumberland to act similarly in the next eyre to be held at Newcastle, for its affairs could not conveniently be expedited without his presence, as the King learned from the testimony of Hugh de Cressingham (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 1288-96, p. 276).

In February, 1293, the King sent a message from Kirkby in Ashfield to the Sheriff of York, enclosing a writ of summons of an eyre for common pleas to be holden at York in the quinzaine of Holy Trinity before Hugh de Cressingham, William de Ormesby and others, and on the same day, 19th February, Hugh, *inter alios*, was excused attendance at the eyre to be held in the County of Kent (ib. pp. 310, 311).

On 6th June, 1293, the King sent a message to the Keeper of the Forest of Galtris, ordering him to cause Hugh de Cressingham to have in that forest 6 bucks for the 6 that the King on 20th August in the 20th year of his reign had ordered the Keeper of the Forest of Salcey to send to Hugh as a gift from the

King. It appeared that Hugh had never received the present and the writ for the bucks had been returned to the King still sealed, so Hugh was to have ten bucks in all, instead of six (*Cal. Close Rolls*, ib. p. 286).

#### JUDICIAL ACTIVITY IN THE NORTH.

Hugh de Cressingham was during this time actively engaged in judicial work in Northumberland, Cumberland, Lancaster, Westmoreland and York, and on 2nd July, 1293, an order was sent to him and Ormesby telling them to restore to the men of Carlisle their city, if the Justices had taken it into the King's hands, solely because the men of the City did not produce to the Justices the charter of liberties granted by the King's progenitors. As a matter of fact the reason for the non-production of the charter was its destruction in a recent city fire. The King stated that he was glad to return the city to the custody of the citizens (*Cal. Close Rolls*, ib. p. 292).

Evidently Cressingham was carrying the King's legality to an extreme limit, and was showing the same desire to trample on rights and privileges which was to have so disastrous a result for him in Scotland.

In the same month an order was sent to him as to other Justices in other counties to the effect that in writs of *Quo Warranto* limitations were to be made in the courts thereof of the time of Richard I (ib., p. 294). Cressingham was at this time acting for the King at York, and it is of great interest to realise that in this same year of 1293 John Balliol, though King of Scotland, was more than once summoned to appear before the Justices in Eyre at York. Had he obeyed the summons, he would have had to plead before Cressingham and Ormesby.

Two years of great activity in judicial work in the north now followed for Cressingham. As Itinerant Justice for Northumberland he confiscated the liberties and fermes of the Earl of March because he did not appear at his summons, but on 20th July the King sent an order from Canterbury that the estates were to be returned (ib., p. 295). In the next month an order came to Cressingham from the King at Odiham to cause Walter de Cambhon to be released from the prison wherein he was detained, for a conviction for trespass established before the said Hugh and his fellows, last Justices in eyre in the County of Northumberland. This was to be done provided that Walter

found security for the 200 marks which Hugh had fined him for the King's benefit because of the said trespass (*ib.*, p. 297).

A further instance of Hugh's zeal, which seems again to have outrun discretion, is given later in the year, when the King sends from Westminster on 8th December to the Justices at York (including of course Hugh) ordering them to withdraw the fine of 100 marks inflicted on Gerard Archdeacon of Richmond for not admitting a suitable parson to Great Langton (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 1288-96, p. 337).

Two days later, on 10th December, there is an order from the King at Carlisle, that the fine is to be withdrawn against John, Bishop of Carlisle, in relation to four messuages and 82 acres of ground and a mill in the suburbs of Carlisle and Dalston, to which Hugh de Cressingham seems to have thought that the King had some claim (*ib.*, p. 338).

In 1294 there are six records of similar doings of Cressingham and Ormesby in the Northern Counties. On 7th June they and their colleagues were ordered not to molest John de Twenge, against whom a charge had been levied in the eyre of York for the death of Roger Colstan. De Twenge was pardoned by the King's orders, and he must have been a relative of Sir Marmaduke de Twenge who subsequently escaped from the battle of Cambuskenneth, and held Stirling Castle against Wallace (*ib.*, p. 350). On 12th June a message was sent to Cressingham from Westminster ordering him to prorogue the pleas at York. Another example of Cressingham's high-handed action is supplied by an order from the King at Fareham on 4th August sent to the Sheriff of Lancaster to return the liberties which de Cressingham had taken away from the town in connection with the fair and market held there. These corresponded with those held at Northampton, and were quite in order (*ib.*, p. 361).

In spite of his attempts to insist on the King's rights, or perhaps because of them, Cressingham still gave satisfaction to Edward, and on 8th August instructions were sent from Portsmouth to the Keeper of the Forest of Wauberge to give Hugh six more bucks (*ib.*, p. 362).

He still continued his severe measures in the North and had confiscated for the King's benefit the goods of one William Beaumont. On 3rd September the King sent a message from Westminster to York that the goods were to be returned, as William was about to set out on the King's business in Gascony

and the King wished to do him a favour (*ib.*, p. 370). Beaumont may well have been some relative of Louis of Beaumont, the well-known illiterate Bishop of Durham in 1317 and his brother, Henry. Edward was being treated by Philip of France in much the same way as he himself was treating Balliol, as a subservient vassal and not as an independent, and he was having considerable difficulty in Gascony to satisfy Philip's demands.

On 12th October Hugh sent a report to the King at Westminster that the property of Richard le Fraunceys of Westmorland, which had been confiscated because he was accused of harbouring felons, might be returned as the charge was apparently unfounded (*ib.*, p. 371).

#### DE CRESSINGHAM AND WALES.

King Edward, meanwhile, was getting more involved in trouble, as, in addition to his anxieties abroad and the growing disaffection among nobles and clergy at home, Scotland was becoming restive under King John, and Wales was not entirely settled. It was in connection with Wales that de Cressingham's new activity occurred. On 23rd April, 1295, the King, who was trying to solve his Welsh problems for good and all, ordered Hugh to take the 36 Welsh hostages who had been accepted for the good behaviour of the principality, and deliver them to Reginald de Grey, Justice of Chester, for him to hand over to the Justice of Shropshire at Shrewsbury (*ib.*, p. 410).

Two more confiscations by de Cressingham should here be mentioned. One concerned a certain John de Lek Paynel, suspected of the murder of Ralph Paynel. Hugh had confiscated his lands but the King on 23rd August, 1295, instructed him to restore them as the suspect had been pardoned (*ib.*, p. 422).

The second confiscation was ordered to be made good in the same month and concerned 52 acres of land in Bamburgh, Northumberland, which Cressingham had confiscated from William, son of William the Coroner. Forty-five of the acres were ordered to be returned (*ib.*, p. 424).

It is difficult not to see in these actions of de Cressingham that high-handed and ruthless method of administration which made him so hated both in England and Scotland. Although Edward had on some occasions to restore property confiscated in his name, in other instances he was glad to avail himself of

some of the rights secured for him by the efforts of de Cressingham. On 24th September, 1295, there is a record in the *Calendar of Charter Rolls* (Vol. II) to the effect that "whereas the King lately recovered in his court before Hugh de Cressingham and his fellows, Justices in Eyre in Lancashire, from the Abbot of Furneys the Sheriff's town in Furneys, which is worth by the year 6s. 8d. and also recovered from the Prior of Durham wreck of the sea in Litham, and also recovered from the Prior of Kertmel wreck of the sea and waif in Kertmel and also recovered from Nicholas Blundel wreck of the sea in his manors in Aymulvedale," he decided to give to Edmund, Earl of Lancaster, the King's brother, the said wreck and waif.

#### DE CRESSINGHAM AND SCOTLAND.

Meantime Edward's own high-handed action with Balliol had produced in Scotland the beginnings of a national spirit, which was after a few years of despair to unite all parties in their antagonism to England, a hostility which was to make the borders unsafe for two-and-a-half centuries, and an alliance with France which was to be Scotland's dominant policy. Balliol quite naturally refused to attend English Courts of Justice, to join Edward in his attack on France, or to surrender the border fortresses to the English, and so early in 1296 Edward marched into Scotland. Immediately after a pious pause at Easter, Carlisle was saved from a threatened raid by seven Scottish earls, and Berwick, which had massacred its English merchants, was captured and its inhabitants ruthlessly put to the sword for nearly two days.

Edward then advanced against Dunbar, but found the castle held by the Scots, though its lord, the Earl of March, was in Edward's army. This was the same earl whose Northumbrian property had been confiscated by Hugh de Cressingham, but returned by Edward's orders. In the ensuing battle of Dunbar the English won a complete victory, the Scots scattering "swifter than smoke," and the castle was surrendered. Edward captured Roxburgh, Edinburgh and Stirling with consummate ease from the demoralised Scots, Balliol made an abject surrender and the country was swept as far north as Elgin. Edward then marched back, sent the stone of destiny from Scone to Westminster Abbey, and summoned 2,000 notables of Scotland to do homage at Berwick. Few names of importance were absent from this Ragman Roll, as it was called.

On 22nd August, 1296, Cressingham and Ormesby received the reward of their faithful if somewhat ruthless service to the King. They were summoned to meet the King at Berwick and were appointed respectively Treasurer and Justiciar of Scotland, under Warenne as Warden. Balliol was taken south with Edward, who left behind him a nation that for the moment at least had ceased to be a nation. During the preceding months of 1296 de Cressingham had not been idle. He had sent information to Edward which induced him to send an order on 10th February from Conway to the Bishop of Bath and Wells, Treasurer of England, for all the sheriffs to come to the exchequer and furnish lists of all knights worth 40s. and over, and bid them come to the King's service (*ib.*, p. 439). He also deprived a clerk named John de Levynton of all his lands for harbouring a felon, but the culprit had purged himself before the Archbishop of Canterbury, and so the King, who was in Northumberland, sent an order for his release to the Sheriff of York (*ib.*, 475).

In the autumn of 1296 Edward was in the South of England preparing for his campaign in Flanders, and he had given strict injunctions to Cressingham and Ormesby to exact fealty and homage from all tenants-in-chief, and to drive into exile all who refused. Scotland was to be taught the meaning of a military occupation, and Cressingham carried out his instructions with more than needed vigour.

On 21st May, 1297, Hugh was in attendance on the King at Portsmouth, having left Scotland to attend a Parliament in London along with de Warenne. They left Ormesby to carry on single-handed and bear the brunt of the work and thus incur more than his share of odium (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 1296-1362, p. 107).

Three days later a message was sent to Patrick, Earl of March, ordering him to join Hugh de Cressingham, who had an important message for him from the King (*ib.*, p. 80). Edward was especially devoted to the Church of St. John of Beverley, and had arranged that a sum of money should be sent each year from Berwick for its support. Accordingly on 20th July, 1297, instructions were sent to de Cressingham to dispatch arrears amounting to £40 from Berwick to Beverley (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 1296-1302, p. 41). The next day he was instructed to pay over a sum of £179 to Hugh de Lawther, late Sheriff of Edinburgh.

## WALLACE'S RISING.

During the short year in which he was actively employed as Treasurer of Scotland, Cressingham succeeded in rousing the Scots to a state of fury. Both he and Ormesby treated Scotland as a conquered country and by outlawry and imprisonment exasperated the people against the English. Not only nobles like Bruce the younger, but Knights like Wallace, who had not signed the Ragman Roll, and common people as well, soon made common cause against the tyranny of the invaders.

Cressingham was almost as unpopular in England as he was across the border, being regarded by his fellow countrymen as a "worthless and unstable man, swollen with arrogance and wholly given to avarice." The many instances of restoration of lands which he had confiscated and of cancelling of fines which he had inflicted show his unfair behaviour as a Justice and bear out this contemporary estimate of his rapacity.

Wallace's rising was as successful as it was unexpected. He soon set the country in a blaze, captured castle after castle and put to the sword all the English whom he captured. Fugitives came across the border with tales of horror and bloodshed, revealing the unwelcome news that the country which had apparently been cowed was united under a worthy champion against the tyranny of Cressingham and Ormesby.

Part of the English collapse was due to the slackness of de Warenne, who found it unpleasant to live in the bleak climate of Scotland and so had left too much to his subordinates. He was ordered to march northwards and put down the rebellion. After some initial successes he advanced towards Stirling, the gateway to the Highlands. Meantime Ormesby had endeavoured to stem the tide of popular revolt but he had been defeated by Wallace at Scone, escaping with his life, but with the loss of all his possessions.

## BERWICK AND CAMBUSKENNETH.

Cressingham had a great deal on his conscience, for, in addition to his severity and cruelty which had alienated the Scots and his rapacity which had infuriated them, he had kept back money intended for the repair of the fortifications of Berwick.

It had been agreed that stone should be added for safety to the existing earthworks round the town, but he had neglected to see to this, with dire results for the town and its inhabitants.

The money allotted for the purpose he had, with customary greed, appropriated to his own uses.

To meet de Warenne, who was advancing with a substantial force, Wallace hastened from Dundee and took up a strategic position near Stirling. He chose his ground with skill, placing his troops on a slope overlooking Cambuskenneth Abbey, near a narrow wooden bridge over the Forth.

Before the battle Lord Henry Percy arrived at Cambuskenneth with re-inforcements from Carlisle, but Cressingham, who was soldier as well as priest, ordered him to dismiss his troops so as to save the King's money.

This monstrous suggestion, made probably for reasons of greed, so infuriated the soldiers that they were ready to stone him. De Warenne was getting old and had lost much of characteristic vigour. He delayed for some time, sending messengers hither and thither, but at last decided to advance and cross the bridge in spite of the warning of many who knew the ground. Cressingham, whom a contemporary chronicler calls "a man too handsome and fat . . . pompous indeed and the child of death," encouraged de Warenne with these words:—"My Lord Earl, it is not expedient to protract the business further and spend the King's treasure in vain, but let us cross and do our duty as we are held bound." Greedy though he was, Cressingham was not deficient in courage or perhaps in foolhardiness.

The English banners advanced, and many soldiers passed over the bridge, though some realised the trap into which they were advancing. When enough had crossed for him to deal with, Wallace flung the main part of his army upon them, seized the bridge and cut off their retreat. Cressingham, for all his unclerical helmet and breast-plate, was slain, and indeed hardly a man of the advanced guard escaped alive.

De Warenne led back a few of his troops with speed, and reached England defeated and disgraced.

Such was the fury which Cressingham had aroused, and so odious was his memory to the Scots, that, if we may believe the well-authenticated legend, his body was flayed after his death. He was unusually stout and blessed with a pink skin, so many of the Scots took small trophies therefrom and Wallace, for all his gigantic stature, had a sword belt made out of the skin of the hated treasurer.

In his *Tales of a Grandfather*, Sir Walter Scott comments on

the barbarous character of the Scots of those days as exhibited by this piece of brutal ferocity, but suggests that de Cressingham must have been amazingly unpopular to provoke it. In one almost contemporary chronicle we read that some made saddles and girths out of his skin, but no doubt the story lost nothing in the telling (Walsingham, *Chronicles*, p. 70; Heming, Vol. I, p. 118; Trivet, p. 299. All quoted by Hume, *History of England*).

#### DE CRESSINGHAM'S LAND IN HENDON.

The battle took place on 10th September, 1297, and the bad news came swiftly through to England, for on 18th September a writ was issued dealing with de Cressingham's property and on 16th October there is an entry in the *Inquisitiones post mortem* for Edward I's reign (No. 405) dealing with his Hendon land.

It runs: "Extent made at Hendon, 16th October, 25 Edward I, by the oath of William Halce and others, who say upon their oath that Hugh de Cressingham held nothing of the Lord the King on the day on which he died, in the vill. of Hendon, but he held certain lands in the vill. of Lord Richard le Rous by the service of rendering 21 shillings by the year. And they say that the capital message is worth by the year 21 shillings.

"Also there is there in demesne 240 acres of arable land and worth by the year 20 shillings, price the acre 2d. Also there are 9 acres of meadow and worth 13s. 6d. price the acre 18d.

("Also they say that there are at Finchesleye 27 acres of arable land held of divers lords by the service of 2s. 10d. by the year and worth by the year 6s. 9d. price the acre 3d. Also that there are there 2 acres of meadow and worth 3s. 4d.")

"Of the heir they say they are ignorant because they have heard from certain persons that the said Hugh was a bastard."

Evans, in his *History of Hendon*, makes the ingenious suggestion that Cressingham's property in Hendon was possibly Wyldes. It would seem that the property escheated to the Crown, and if so it may have formed part of the endowment which Henry VI gave to Eton College at its foundation in 1441.

When Wyldes was surveyed *inter alia* by Crow and Messeder in 1756, it was put down as 240 acres, 2 roods, 35 poles, almost identical in area with the property of Cressingham in 1297. But the fact that the land was held of Richard le Rous, who was Lord of the Manor until 1312, when he exchanged Hendon for

Hodford, makes it difficult to accept Evans' view, as Rous does not seem to have held any property south of the Brent.

If Cressingham's land should prove to be Wyldes, it would mean that the land which Dame Henrietta Octavia Barnett purchased for the garden suburb in 1908 was the same which escheated to the Crown after Cressingham's tragic end at the battle of Cambuskenneth more than 600 years before.

#### FURTHER COMPLAINTS AGAINST CRESSINGHAM.

But we have not entirely finished with Hugh de Cressingham. He obviously had no time to clear up the affairs of his office of Justice in Eyre and for 5 years after his death complaints were coming in to the King and are recorded in the Close Rolls.

In June, 1298, there was a dispute about some land in Bagoteby, given by Hugh to the convent at Wartre (perhaps Wavertree) (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 1296-1302, p. 170) and on 5th November the question of the land at Bamburgh, which he had confiscated, came up again in the Eyre for Northumberland at Newcastle (*ib.*, p. 186) and it was not finally settled until 10th August, 1302 (*ib.*, p. 546).

On 3rd October the King was at Jedburgh engaged in recapturing Scotland from Wallace, and while there he heard of a claim of Didacus lupi de Haro, Lord of Biscay, who complained that Hugh de Cressingham had seized in a sloop (calepo) off the coast of Wales goods belonging to the aforesaid Didacus. The King replied that Hugh had died in Scotland, and that it was therefore impossible to get at the rights of the case. He was, however, prepared to pay to Didacus £350 by way of compensation (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 1298-1302, p. 220). Two years later, on 23rd October, 1300, the King being at Dumfries ordered that land taken by de Cressingham from Walter de Bolleby, because he was charged with the murder of William de Mowbray, his wife, daughter and brother, should be returned.

It will be remembered that Hugh had harrassed the citizens of Lancaster about their market and fair, which the King had declared to be legal and in accordance with the precedent of Northampton. The matter came up once more on 9th February, 1302, while the King was at Roxburgh Castle (*ib.*, p. 514).

This and the matter of Bamburgh alluded to above were the last items of de Cressingham's office to be cleared up.

## HIS CHARACTER.

It is extremely difficult to get any clear impression of a man, when one tries to recapture his identity after more than 600 years, and one is apt to judge such a one by modern standards. When Hugh de Cressingham died at the battle of Cambuskenneth, he was probably under 50 years of age, and he left behind him the reputation of a rapacious greedy cleric, who had by his wits and with little backing risen to a position of great importance in the English judicial system, and to a post of still greater eminence in Scotland. But making out the worst case possible and accepting all the charges of greed and rapacity which have been brought against him, we must still admit that we have to do with a very versatile and able man, unscrupulous and cruel though he may have been. He was not afraid to deal faithfully with people of consequence, as is shown by his judicial proceedings against the Bishop of Carlisle and the Earl of March and by his daring though reckless rebuke to Lord Henry Percy.

He was a man of courage and daring as his advance into obvious danger at Cambuskenneth clearly proved. As a judge he was strict and exacting, jealous for the King's interests and probably working for his own well-being at the same time.

He brings us into touch with growing towns like Lancaster and Carlisle, anxious to establish some independence of the King's judges, with foreign seamen and soldiers, trading or fighting the King's battles overseas and he is an important and romantic link with Sir William Wallace, one of the greatest and most honoured of Scottish national heroes.

The evil that men do lives after them, and this is remarkably true of Cressingham. It is probably due as much to him as to anyone else that the Scottish national spirit was aroused against England when it was, and that Scotland became allied abroad against a common foe, that it cherished for nearly three centuries a loathing of England and the English, and that during all that time English foreign policy had always to take account of a close alliance between the Scots and France. Hugh de Cressingham is not one of those who have contributed much to the development of Hendon, but it is interesting that so notorious a character should have had even a passing connection with a simple and perhaps typical mediaeval Manor.

## THE GOVERNOR'S TABLE

### A curious link with James Boswell at Chelsea Hospital

BY C. G. T. DEAN, CAPTAIN OF INVALIDS

DINING and wining are matters of some moment, especially in these days of food rationing, yet it cannot be pretended that they are regarded in the ceremonious light that they were by *our forefathers*. The change in habits and outlook in this respect during the past 250 years is well illustrated by the decline and eventual suppression of the Governor's Table at the Royal Hospital, Chelsea. This once typical, though now long forgotten, institution is lent additional interest through James Boswell's own racy accounts of the proceedings when he attended on several occasions as a guest.

When the Royal Hospital was founded in 1682 it was still customary, as it had been in feudal times, for a person of standing to keep a public table. Thus Sir Stephen Fox, the Treasury Commissioner whom Charles II entrusted with the management of the Hospital, kept such a table at his lodgings in Whitehall. He must have appreciated that some such provision would have to be made for the Governor, and the precedent, then so dear to the heart of the civil servant, soon became available. When Kilmainham Hospital, the Irish precursor of Chelsea Hospital, was taken into use in 1684, it was laid down that the Governor, or Master, "was to reside in his lodgings and dine constantly in the Common Hall at a table with the chaplain and other commissioned officers, and such other officers of the Hospital as he shall admit thereto." This was duly carried out, and some years later it was stated that "there was an allowance settled of £200 a year for a Publique Table to be kept in the Hall of the Hospitall there, which was called the Masters or Governours Table, and att which the Principall officers belonging to the said Hospitall did constantly eat."

In November, 1690, Sir Thomas Ogle, the first Governor of *Chelsea Hospital*, who had then been two years in residence "without," as he said, "any allowance for his Table and other Extraordinary Expenses that he is oblig'd to be at," asked for a grant in aid. His petition was supported by the Paymaster-General, the ex officio Treasurer of the Hospital, but was set

aside by the Treasury, "to be considered when the Hospitall is settled." Two years later, when the Hospital opened, approval was given for the twelve senior officials, or "Officers of the House" to be allowed "every Day three Dishes at Dinner, as also a Loaf of Bread and a Quart of Ale or Strong Beer each; but to have no Suppers; The whole Charge of the said Diet not to exceed ten shillings a day." The Officers concerned were the Lieutenant-Governor, Major, Chaplain, Second Chaplain, Physician, Secretary, Deputy Treasurer, Steward, Comptroller, Clerk of Works, Surgeon and Apothecary. The Governor was not included, probably owing to his age and infirmities, and it may be assumed that he and his successors only attended the Table on special occasions. Nearly half a century later, after the creation of the appointment of Adjutant, that officer also became a member of this mess, and the daily allowance was raised to a shilling a head per diem. Otherwise there were no changes throughout the 18th century.

The Governor's Table was placed in the Great Hall, "on the Steppe att ye upper ende"; the dais being paved with black and white marble whereas the body of the Hall had plain Purbeck paving. The board itself was described as a "wanscott table, with 2 formes covered with Blew Cloth," and there were also "2 Great Cane Chairs with Blew Cushoons." The Table probably resembled those at which the In-Pensioners sat, but the position of the trestle legs must have been differently arranged, as the design of the latter would not allow anyone to sit at the head or foot. Though all the tables were furnished with cloths, only those privileged to sit at the Governor's were allowed napkins. Each table had a copper cistern, the precise function of which has not been determined; and a service of pewter, that at the Governor's being three dozen plates, three deep and three shallow dishes, and six small dishes. This Table was also furnished with a dozen white-hafted knives and the following silver: a dozen spoons and forks, six salts, six large flagons, and six cans, all marked with the royal cyphers, W.M. Three more cans and a large tankard were added before 1702.

The plate was kept in two oak cupboards, in charge of the Master Butler, who laid the Table and waited at dinner, assisted no doubt by the officers' personal servants. Provisions were bought by the Steward, whose bills were checked by the Comptroller to see that they did not exceed the authorised allowance. The hour of dining was at first between 11 o'clock

and noon, and the Master Cook began dishing up on the beat of the drum. He "delivered out" first the dishes for the In-Pensioners, and then those for the Governor's Table; the food being carried from the Great Kitchen along the open Colonnade and so to the Great Hall. The ceremony of dining was regarded at the time as an interesting spectacle, and visitors who wished to view the proceedings were taken up to the Gallery by the Usher of the Hall.

The routine remained unchanged until 1740, when Lieutenant-General Sir Robert Rich, shortly after his appointment as Governor, transferred his Table to the "Officers' Hall" in the middle of the northern wing in Infirmary Court. This is a finely proportioned apartment, panelled in deal and with a bold bolection moulding round the fireplace. It measured 38 by 24 feet, and was formerly lit by windows at both ends, but one end has since been partitioned off to make an entrance lobby and stair to some rooms above. On being taken over in 1740 it was provided with a new floor, and the walls were painted white as they still are. The room then became known as the "Governor's," or "Gentlemen's," Hall, and was placed in charge of the Second Butler. A sideboard is first mentioned in 1753, and eight years later a dozen "wallnuttree Framed Chairs with stuff seats" were bought for twelve guineas and two "Elbow Chairs" for three guineas.\*

The messing at the Governor's Table was strongly criticised by Dr. Phillip Francis, the Second Chaplain, in 1766. He was a testy individual, who when appointed to the Royal Hospital at the instance of his patron, Henry Fox, Lord Holland, two years previously, had been not at all pleased, having hoped for an Irish bishopric in view of his services as tutor to Charles James Fox. On the occasion of his complaint, he sent to the Great Kitchen to enquire why a quarter of lamb had been supplied that was "mere carrion." The Master Cook, obviously a man of spirit, returned word that "it was a Dinner for a King, and he would knock any man down who would deliver any Message from that Table" in future. He should have known what he was talking about, for after graduating, as it were, 36 years earlier, in the kitchen of the late Princess of Orange, he became chef successively to George II and Princess Amelia.

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\* Two photographs of this Hall are given in *L.C.C. Survey of London*, Vol. XI, Plates 96, 97.

Dr. Francis now brought the matter before the Commissioners of the Royal Hospital. He complained that the best pieces of meat were never served at the Governor's Table, and that "the Pastry in General is bad, except when it is made by the Master Cook himself, and that the Custards, Puffs and Cheese Cakes he verily believes are bought from Criers' Baskets when going accidentally thro' the College," as the Hospital was often called. He added that the messing was so bad that few officers attended, and that the Steward, who was supposed to buy the provisions, was usually away in the country. Summoned from his rural retreat to answer these weighty charges, the Steward stated that "a Soup and two' Dishes, One of boil'd and the other of roasted Meat, with a Pudding, Pye or Tart" were served daily; and that there was enough food for four or five servants to dine on the leavings. As to why officers abstained from dining, he attributed it to the disagreeable manners of the Second Chaplain. He mentioned that on his inviting the clergyman who had acted as *locum tenens* before Dr. Francis's appointment, to dine as his guest, Dr. Francis had threatened to complain to the Governor. Further, the Chaplain had "utter'd such disagreeable and ungentlemanly Expressions, that had debarr'd him from dining there since," although "it had always been customary to introduce a friend to dine without any Exceptions."

After much discussion, during which the Commissioners adroitly evaded being drawn into adjudicating on the nice issue as to whether maiden ewe lamb was fit for human consumption, they dismissed the complaint. A few months later Dr. Francis was said to be "very feeble and languid"; and he was stricken with palsy the following year and died at Bath in 1773. There may have been some grounds for his dissatisfaction with the management of the Governor's Table, because in 1780 the Lieutenant-Governor reported that "very improper Company were invited to dine." Such irregularities were to be explained no doubt by the unsatisfactory way in which successive Paymasters-General exercised their patronage in *making appointments to the Royal Hospital at this period*. Indeed it was alleged that "a man by shaving the Paymaster, brushing his coat, or marrying his mistress, became the companion of a General, a Knight of the Bath, a Physician or a Divine!" Be that as it may, the Chelsea Board restricted the privilege of messing at the Governor's Table to the Officers of

the House, Adjutant, and officiating clergymen, that is to say clergymen acting as deputies to the Chaplains.

The hour of dining was gradually set back, and by 1781 was 2 p.m. in winter and 3 p.m. in summer. Fifteen years later, in view of complaints from several officers, the Chelsea Commissioners conducted an enquiry into the messing at the Governor's Table. They found that although fruit and vegetables were supplied from the Hospital kitchen garden, and bread from the Bakehouse, as formerly, the expenditure on other provisions had risen to £327 per annum. This figure they considered excessive, particularly so as not all those entitled to dine at the Governor's Table did so. But they were still more amazed at the consumption of wine, which amounted to 19 bottles of port and three of claret, besides six pints of sherry, each week. At the request of several officers the Chelsea Board therefore authorised an allowance of three shillings a day for each dining member, which incidentally was continued until 1833, and ordered the Governor's Table "to be abolished from Christmas next, excepting the two annual festivals."

These two Festivals, which had been kept without a break since the opening of the Royal Hospital in 1692, were Oak Apple Day, commemorating the birthday and restoration of King Charles II, the Founder, and the anniversary of the reigning Monarch's birthday. On these grand days the In-Pensioners had a double quantity of food and beer, while the staff fared correspondingly well. The expenditure on these celebrations in 1810, a typical year, included £50 for provisions and a similar sum for wines and spirits. Four years earlier the drinks served at the Governor's Table were claret, Madeira, port, Lisbon, sherry, cider, spirits, porter, ale and beer. Small wonder that these functions became quite celebrated, and that James Boswell, with his peculiar zest for new experiences, should have sought an invitation. He first obtained one in May, 1783, through his friend Edmund Burke, who had been appointed Paymaster-General the previous month. Boswell relates how he drove to the Paymaster's on Oak Apple Day, the 29th May, where he found:

"There was a card from him to me requesting my being with him this day at two to go to Chelsea College, which had not yet been sent and was delivered to me; so that I found there was no wavering about my having the anniversary feast of King Charles II's restoration with him in his official capacity, for which I had staid in London some days. I was apprehensive his uneasy

state of mind on account of Powell's melancholy exit\* might have prevented him from attending. . . . The Paymaster, his son, Mr. St. Marie and I drove in a hackney coach to Chelsea College. Mr. Burke's own horses were ill. . . .

"Sir George Howard was very courteous to me at Chelsea College during the whole repast, and after it was over asked me to dine there every anniversary as long as he was Governour. I sat between Mr. Burke and Dr. Mounsey, Physician to the College, who in his eighty-ninth year was quite entire in his mind. I had a good deal of conversation with him. He professed his belief in a future state. He told me brandy was very pernicious to the Stomack. I asked him how one might attain to such an old age as his. He referred me to Celsus, who advised not to observe any constant regimen. Mr. Burke was very attentive to old Captain Grant, son of the Minister of Auchinleck in my Grandfather's time, who is Adjutant to the College; so that the Captain, who has the oldfashioned enthusiastic attachment to THE LAIRD, was much pleased to see him so intimate with Mr. Burke. We had an excellent dinner, and a great deal of good wines. I drank liberally, was in high spirits and very happy in my talk, being much encouraged by Mr. Burke. I got acquainted with General Trapaud. He (Burke) and I, his son and Mr. St. Marie drank tea at Mr. Champion's."

Boswell left for Scotland the very next morning, no doubt ruminating on his new acquaintances. Lieutenant-General Sir George Howard, the Governor, on whom he had made such an instant impression, had been commissioned as an Ensign when only eight years old, had commanded the Buffs at Fontenoy, Falkirk and Culloden, and also seen service at Rochefort and in the Seven Years' War. A man of great stature, he was said to be "an accomplished courtier and a gallant soldier"; and in the House of Commons, where he sat as an M.P. in 1762-96, he was regarded as George III's mouth-piece.

Boswell's next-door neighbour, Dr. Messenger Monsey, a notable character, must have reminded him in some ways of Dr. Johnson, for he was equally careless about his appearance. Dr. Johnson, as Boswell relates elsewhere, did not like Monsey, being "vehement against him as a fellow who swore and talked bawdy"; and it was possibly to test the accuracy of this verdict that Boswell caused the conversation at Chelsea to take the turn it did. There are many amusing anecdotes about the old physician, who had a most malicious sense of humour, which he retained up to the last. Thus in his will, when disposing of a fortune of £16,000, he bequeathed an old velvet coat to one friend, and the buttons on it to another.

Captain Grant had been Adjutant since 1761, having previously

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\* John Powell, Chief Accountant at the Pay Office, and Secretary and Register at the Royal Hospital since 1777, had committed suicide.

been Lieutenant in a Company of Invalids. He suffered much inconvenience owing to "the annual increase to his Expenses from a Numerous Family." Although he managed to secure several rises in pay he never succeeded in catching up with his "annual increases," and at his death in 1791 left two daughters "wholly unprovided for." The story ends happily, however, for the Chelsea Board, in benevolent mood, granted the two maiden ladies an annuity and allowed them the use of a cottage in the grounds. No doubt they had many interesting stories to tell of Boswell's visits to their father, to which Boswell himself briefly alludes in his diary.

General Trapaud had no connection with the Royal Hospital, but was no doubt a friend of the Governor's. The Mr. Champion, with whom Boswell had tea, must have been Samuel Champion, the Master Baker. He was an old man of 82, and later that same year his appointment, described as "a sinecure place," was abolished. He was probably related to Richard Champion, an old friend of Edmund Burke's, who had been manager and later owner of the Bristol China Factory and was made Deputy to Burke at the Pay Office.

Boswell did not keep a record of his attendance at the Festival Dinner in 1784; but on the 11th July, 1785, he notes telegraphically that he "dined Chelsea College, instead of 29 May (Anniversary), as room new painted. Sir George Howard and I at head of table in Arm Chairs. Did not riot." Omitting any reference to his visit the following year, Boswell next mentions how on the 29th May, 1787, he "went to General Paoli's and accompanied him to Chelsea College; General Trapaud, General Tonym, Colonel Skene, etc., there. Old Captain Grant seemed glad that we met. There was no high glee, but I liked my annual feast." General Paoli needs no introduction to the reader, and the other senior officers named were, like him, guests.

Six days later Boswell found himself once more at the Royal Hospital, for George III's birthday fell on the 4th June. As he relates, "Sir George Howard had kindly asked me to dine this day again at Chelsea College. I went and found General Paoli, Colonel Leland, Colonel Skene, Mr. Drummond (son of the Provost), whom I had never seen before, a sensible well-behaved man. Came to town in the General's Chariot." The Governor, it may be observed, did not live at his house in the Royal Hospital, but in Grosvenor Square. Boswell gives a

long description, on the 29th May, 1790, of what was apparently his last Festival Dinner, as follows:

"I was engaged to the Anniversary of Charles the Second's Restoration at Chelsea College, to which dinner I had an invitation from Sir George Howard, the Governour for fifty years, from 1785, having been introduced to it by Mr. Burke in 1783 when he was Paymaster of the Army, and having been absent only in 1788 when I was in Scotland on account of my dear wife's illness. I wish I had kept an account of the Company present each year.

"Dr. Mounsey, the Physician, and Mr. Adair, the Surgeon, had been succeeded by Dr. Moseley last year and Mr. Keate this. Today the company was Sir George Howard, Major Buckley, Major Dawson, Dr. Burney, Mr. Keate, the Rev. Mr. Blayney, Mr. Graham, of the Establishment; and of guests Sir George Osborne, General Trapaud, General Pattison, Colonel Teesdale, Major Da Costa, Rev. Dr. Steevens, Mr. George Drummond, Captain Buckley of the Guards, and myself. Poor Captain Grant was unable to attend. There is generally a change of Generals each year.

"It was an excellent dinner, as usual, and I drank of all the liquors: Cold drink, small beer, ale, porter, cyder, Madeira, sherry, old hock, port, Claret. I was in good spirits at the Festival, talked well, and was pleased, as the table began to thin, to find Mr. Keate come and sit by me and carry on some intelligent conversation. Sir George was called away. Major Buckley took the chair, and we circulated the glass a long time. I never saw candles there before, I think. Trapaud, Dacosta and I drank a glass of Cherry brandy at Dawson's and went to town in Trapaud's coach. . . . I was much intoxicated, and I suppose talked nonsense (at another function he then attended). Very irregular this; but I thought the festival an excuse."

The following day, Sunday, the first entry in Boswell's diary is: "Awaked somewhat feverish." Of those named on this occasion Dr. Moseley was an authority on tropical diseases. He had served in the West Indies, and may have acquired a liver there; for although "he could be very entertaining," so it was said, "he was certainly of the 'genus irritabile,' and dipped his pen in caustic often and deeply." By contrast, Robert Adair, the late Surgeon, the Robin Adair of the popular ballad, had been a man of irresistible charm. His successor, Thomas Keate, had attended George III during his temporary insanity, and later became Surgeon-General.

Captain William Bulkeley, or Buckley as Boswell spelt his name, was the popular Major of the Royal Hospital; and an unusual entry in the Church Registers, at his death in 1801, testifies to his "Elegant Manners, Inflexible Integrity and universal benevolence." Major Dawson assisted Captain Grant, and on the latter's death in 1791 succeeded him as Adjutant. As he had to be supplied with a special "gouty chair," one may infer that he drank port as well as cherry brandy. Like Dr.

Burney, the Organist, and Mr. Blayney, who was officiating for the Chaplain, he was not a regular member of the Governor's Table and so evidently attended by invitation. Mr. Graham, on the other hand, was present by virtue of holding the office of Apothecary, to which he had succeeded on his father's death. He was quite unqualified, and did not occupy his apartments at the Royal Hospital, but performed his duties by deputy. His portrait as a boy appears in the delightful conversation piece of the Graham children, by Hogarth, now in the National Gallery.

In 1806 the guests were Dr. Burney, Mr. Justice Read, Magistrate for Oaths to the Royal Hospital, and four others introduced by the Governor; but no details are available for other years. The Festival Dinners were eventually discontinued about 1846, though why is not known. Possibly the Governor, Sir Edward Paget, who died in 1849, did not feel equal to them owing to age and infirmities, for he had lost an arm in action many years before. The Festival Dinners do not pass wholly unremembered, however, as in lieu of them, each officer still receives a plum pudding on Oak Apple Day and another at Christmas.

An inventory taken in 1847 shows that the mess equipment then included a large quantity of silver, pewter, cutlery, china and glass, as well as eight brass and eight large silver-plated candlesticks; but unfortunately none of these articles have been preserved, nor indeed has the Governor's Table itself. The old Officers' Hall was used as a Board Room for the Chelsea Commissioners from 1797 until the present war, during which it has been utilised for various purposes, including temporarily housing some ladies who had been bombed out of their club. Though all the windows have been blown out, no structural damage has been done. Thus the discerning visitor may still people it in his imagination with the bewigged diners of long ago, and among them the shade of Boswell—rioting!

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# WARDROBE PLACE AND THE GREAT WARDROBE

By L. B. ELLIS, M.A.

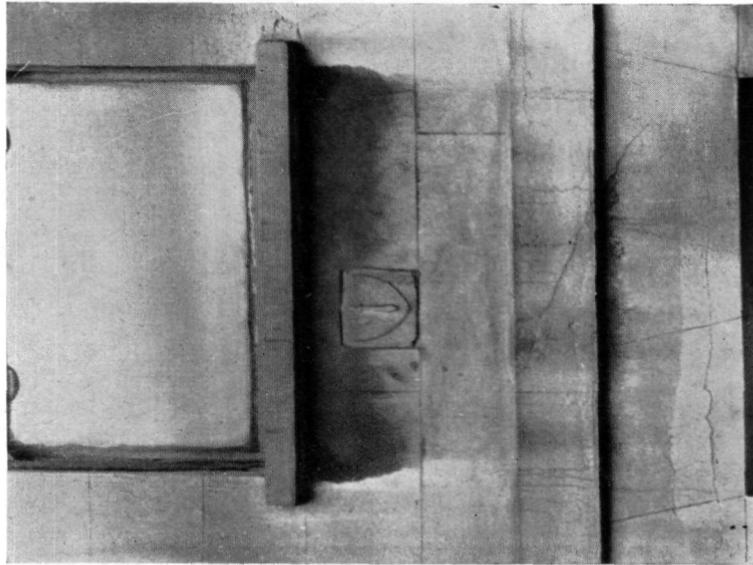
THIS paper is a confession of failure in that I have been unable to explain an inconspicuous mark in Wardrobe Place (Fig. 1). I had hoped to connect it with the history of the site through the Great Wardrobe, which was here from 1361 until it was destroyed in the Great Fire; or with Baynard's Castle, which was close by; or to show that it was a boundary mark of the parish of St. Andrew by the Wardrobe. Instead of a solution I can only offer a digest of much pleasant reading, and I do so in the hopeful and unselfish spirit of one of the Greek epigrams: "I am the tomb of one shipwrecked; but sail thou; for even while we perished, the other ships sailed on over the sea."<sup>1</sup>

## WARDROBE PLACE

Wardrobe Place may be entered from the south side of Carter Lane at No. 57; it was formerly called Wardrobe Court.<sup>2</sup> "The most picturesque bit of Restoration London as rebuilt after the Fire that is left to us is Wardrobe Place, Doctors Commons," wrote the late Walter G. Bell in these *Transactions*.<sup>3</sup> Only three of its old houses are left, Nos. 3, 4 and 5<sup>4</sup> (Fig. 2). Nos. 3 and 4 have been skilfully restored by the occupiers, who have thrown these two houses into one and, by removing the staircase of No. 3, have enlarged some of its rooms and have extended the staircase of No. 4. One of the rooms in No. 3 has retained one of its china-cupboard recesses. Two additions have been made to the exterior: a modern rainwater-head and an iron object which was found on the premises and supposed to be a torch extinguisher.

The mark in question is on the south elevation of No. 1, Wardrobe Place; it is below its most easterly second-floor window, on the part which extends over the entrance from Carter Lane. The charge on the shield has a rounded base and a tapering stem, with a short cross-piece or rim near the top; a flaw or mark on the shield makes it look like a battle-axe in the photograph.

The first thought to arise on seeing this shield is that it represented some exalted owner of the site in times past. This



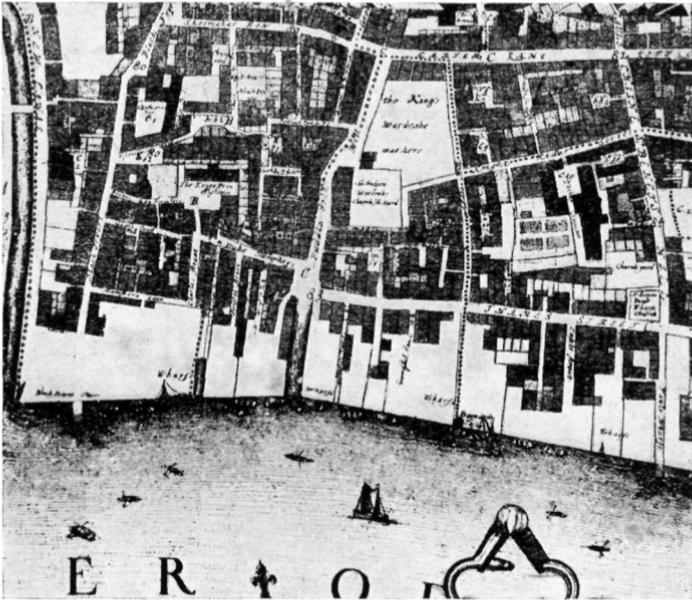
[Photo by Edward Yates

Fig. 1. THE MARK IN WARDROBE PLACE.



[Photo by Edward Yates

Fig. 2. Nos. 3, 4 and 5, WARDROBE PLACE.



[Photo by Edward Yates

Fig. 3. THE SITE OF THE GREAT WARDROBE IN 1677.  
(Ogilby and Morgan)

suggestion, however, led nowhere, and it then seemed possible that, as the sign resembles a lace bobbin, it had once marked a department or factory of the Great Wardrobe, from which Wardrobe Place derives its name, in spite of the improbability that such a small object should have survived and been saved from the Great Fire. It is interesting to note that Mills set out one foundation in Carter Lane on 3rd March, 1669, for one Ridges, "being part of the old pallas belonging to the said Esqr. Ridges."<sup>5</sup> There were certainly houses in this part of Carter Lane in 1677, as Ogilby and Morgan's map of that date shows an entrance between them leading into a vacant space on which is written, "The King's Wardrobe was here" (Fig. 3). Leeke's *Exact Surveigh of the Streets, Lanes and Churches comprehended within the Ruines of the City of London in 1666* shows a vacant space called "The Wardrobe."<sup>6</sup>

In a Report of the Commissioners of the Treasury of 13th February, 1671, on the petition of Lord Buckhurst<sup>7</sup> for a grant of the ground whereon the Great Wardrobe stood before the burning of London, it appeared that for a building lease for 60 years it might yield about 5s. a foot fronting every way, 50 feet in depth, which containing about 400 feet in front would amount to about £100 per annum.<sup>8</sup> Later in the year there was a warrant for a grant to Charles, Lord Buckhurst, of the soil on which the Great Wardrobe formerly stood, with its appurtenances, for the term of 99 years from the date thereof, at the rent of 5 nobles per annum.<sup>9</sup> In 1720 Strype could record that the garden of the King's Great Wardrobe "is covered into a large and square Court, with good Houses, and called Wardrobe Court."<sup>10</sup>

As Fig. 3 shows, the Great Wardrobe lay north of Baynard's Castle between Carter Lane north, St. Andrew's Church south, Puddle Dock Hill<sup>11</sup> west and Addle Hill east. The site is now occupied by the Rectory, Wardrobe Place, Wardrobe Terrace, etc.<sup>12</sup> Between Nos. 4 and 5, Wardrobe Place, is a Corporation of London plaque with this inscription: "Site of/The King's/Wardrobe<sup>13</sup>/Destroyed in the/Great Fire 1666."

In this part of the parish of St. Andrew by Baynard's Castle (as the church was then called), to the east of the great convent of the Black Friars and not far north of Puddle Dock, which gave it access to the river, Sir John Beauchamp, younger son of Guy, Earl of Warwick, governor of Calais and a hero of Edward III's French wars, had built on his own land a spacious town

house, with shops and houses adjacent, giving on to a small square. After his death in 1360 his executors sold the whole site, mansion, shops, houses and square, to the King, who resolved to transfer to these roomy quarters the office of the Great Wardrobe. The removal was completed on 1st October, 1361.<sup>14</sup> Stow supplies some interesting details in his account of Castle Baynard Ward, though the last lines of the passage quoted below contain an inaccuracy (see later).

Then is the king's Great Wardrobe: Sir John Beauchamp, knight of the Garter, Constable of Dover, Warden of the Sinke ports (son to Guido de Beauchampe, Earl of Warwicke), built this house, was lodged there, deceased in the year 1359, and was buried on the south side of the middle aisle of Paule's church. His executors sold the house to King Edward III, unto whom the parson of St. Andrew's complaining that the said Beauchampe had pulled down divers houses, in their place to build the same house, where through he was hindered of his accustomed tithes, paid by the tenants of old time, granted him forty shillings by year out of that house for ever.<sup>15</sup> King Richard III was lodged there in the second of his reign.

In this house of late years is lodged Sir John Fortescue, knight, master of the wardrobe, chancellor and under-treasurer of the exchequer, and one of her majesty's most honourable privy council. The secret letters and writings touching the estate of the realm were wont to be enrolled in the king's wardrobe, and not in the chancery, as appeareth by the records.<sup>16</sup>

### THE GREAT WARDROBE.

Before the purchase of Sir John Beauchamp's house, other houses in the City had been used by the Great Wardrobe. Among these was the messuage of the Bardi merchants in Lombard Street, which was bought by Edward III in 1328<sup>17</sup>; in the latter part of Edward II's reign the Great Wardrobe occupied a house in Bassishaw,<sup>18</sup> and in the fourth year of this reign (1311) the Mayor and Aldermen were ordered by writ of Privy Seal to deliver to Ingelard de Warlee, the Keeper of the King's Wardrobe, certain houses for the purposes of the King's Wardrobe.<sup>19</sup> Its first home in London seems to have been in the Tower.<sup>20</sup> After the Fire the office was removed outside the City, first to Buckingham Street in the Savoy, and later to Great Queen Street.<sup>21</sup> It was abolished in 1782 by Burke's Act for Economical Reform.

The plaque in Wardrobe Place commemorates the King's Wardrobe instead of the Great Wardrobe and, in so doing, perpetuates a mistake which, in the words of the late Professor Tout (from whose work much of this section is taken), "has at least the excuse of being a venerable one." He points out

that "a good historian, like Stow, knew that the place was really the king's great wardrobe, yet in connection with it he tells us that 'secret letters . . . were wont to be enrolled in the king's wardrobe,' though the great wardrobe had, of course, never been the place of such enrolment. A similar want of clarity made the keeper of the great wardrobe the 'wardrober' or 'the master of the wardrobe,' with his lodging still in Beauchamp's house."<sup>22</sup>

The Wardrobe itself was a branch of the Exchequer for the receipt of monies and the disbursement of them in the personal expenditure of the Sovereign.<sup>23</sup> In spite of its name the Great Wardrobe, in its origin and for the first century and a half of its history, was a department of the King's Wardrobe.<sup>24</sup> The term "great" referred to the size and quantities of the goods stored, and not to the status of the office. These goods included furniture and equipment, tapestry and hangings for rooms, wearing apparel, cloth, silk, canvas, furs and the like.<sup>25</sup> In the course of time the Great Wardrobe enlarged its functions and purchased, stored, repaired and made all sorts of arms and armour, tents, harness, saddles and other articles. Early in the 14th century the arms and armour department became a separate institution, called the Privy Wardrobe of the Tower.<sup>26</sup>

Beauchamp's old mansion and grounds were so roomy that they could accommodate much more than the Great Wardrobe office. The official residence of the Keeper or Master was there, and there was space to group round the central office some, at least, of the factories where some of the articles were made in which it dealt.<sup>27</sup> After the Restoration of 1660 there were still 800 workmen employed in the Wardrobe.<sup>28</sup> A small colony of them lived in the precincts to carry out the manifold functions of the office: the knitting, spinning, weaving, lace-making, button-making, and silver-winding. All kinds of State clothes were there, and choice linen for the King's household.<sup>29</sup> Pepys, however, recorded a lack of the last named on 2nd September, 1667, when:

After dinner comes in Mr. Townsend; and there I was witness of a horrid rating, which Mr. Ashburnham, as one of the Grooms of the King's Bed-chamber, did give him for want of linen for the King's person; which he swore was not to be endured, and that the King would not endure it, and that the King his father would have hanged his Wardrobe-man should he have been served so; the King having at this day no handkerchers, and but three bands to his neck, he swore. Mr. Townsend pleaded want of money, and the owing of the linen-draper £5,000; and that he hath of late got many things made—

beds, and sheets, and saddles, without money, and he can go no farther: but still this old man, indeed, like an old loving servant, did cry out for the King's person to be neglected. But, when he was gone, Townsend told me that it is the grooms taking away the King's linen at the quarter's end, as their fee, which makes this great want; for, whether the King can get it or no, they will run away at the quarter's end with what he hath had, let the King get more as he can.

Some of the varied functions of the Great Wardrobe are illustrated in the following passages. The Keeper of the King's Wardrobe had the care of the robes of the Knights of the Garter.<sup>30</sup> In May, 1432, he was instructed by the Privy Council to provide Alice Countess of Suffolk with the necessary robes when she had been granted the distinguished privilege of wearing the habit of the Order of the Garter.<sup>31</sup> William, 5th Earl and afterwards 1st Duke of Bedford, was installed as Knight of the Garter on 3rd June, 1672. The material for the mantles or mantlings—fifteen yards at least of blue velvet, with white taffeta for lining, and the crimson velvet for the surcoat, came from the Wardrobe. Sometimes this department also supplied the crimson velvet to make the cushion on which the robes, collar and insignia were placed to be carried before the Knight Elect. At the death of a Knight, the Wardrobe awaited his robes, though sometimes it waited in vain, as they were often left as a legacy to a son or close friend.<sup>32</sup>

On 13th February, 1668, Pepys recorded that "Tom Killigrew hath a fee out of the Wardrobe for cap and bells, under the title of the King's Fool or Jester." On 31st January, 1671, there was a warrant to the Master of the Great Wardrobe for payment to Dr. Wren, Surveyor-General of his Majesty's Works, of £12 15s. 10d. for his livery due at All Saints last, and also for the allowance of several parcels for his livery at All Saints in every year during his life.<sup>33</sup>

#### MASTERS OF THE GREAT WARDROBE.

The Master or Keeper of the Great Wardrobe held an office of great antiquity and dignity. He was usually a personage of high political consideration, and subordinate to him were a comptroller, a patent clerk, and many other officers and servants.<sup>34</sup> King Henry VI granted many privileges to the Keeper of the Great Wardrobe,

amongst others that no officer should have power to enter to make arrests, which grant was confirmed and enlarged by Queen Mary by letters patent, whereby the Wardrobe was made a body corporate for ever and a free place

exempt from the jurisdiction of the Corporation, and the Keeper of the Great Wardrobe was empowered to let the houses, etc., thereto belonging, and the tenants were exempted from paying all taxes and duties and from bearing any offices in the civil government and from being compelled to keep watch or ward, with divers other privileges, which were likewise confirmed by Queen Elizabeth and King James.<sup>35</sup>

The last Master was Thomas, Lord Pelham, afterwards 1st Earl of Chichester, who was appointed in 1775, as "the principal officers of the Great Wardrobe" were "utterly suppressed, abolished, and taken away" in 1782 by Burke's Act for Economical Reform (22 Geo. III cap. lxxxii). This Act further "enacted and provided that whenever his Majesty shall be pleased to order for the use of his Majesty's palaces or any other house, any of such furniture or goods as were formerly under the direction of the office of the great wardrobe, or any such other work to be done as formerly was done by or under the direction of the said wardrobe, the same shall be done and executed (so far as regards the previous estimate and subsequent controul and account) in the manner by this act directed for works undertaken by the surveyor of the buildings."<sup>36</sup> There is an echo of past glory at a coronation, when "the Armill and Robe Royal or Pall of cloth and gold shall be delivered by the Officer of the Great Wardrobe to the Dean of Westminster, and by him put upon the King, standing; the Lord Great Chamberlain fastening the clasps."<sup>37</sup>

*Sir Edward Montagu, 1st Earl of Sandwich.*

When Sir Edward Montagu, 1st Earl of Sandwich, went to the Great Wardrobe as Master in 1660, he found the official residence on St. Andrew's Hill ruinous and unfit for use and had to spend £1,200 during his first three years of office to make the house even "pretty pleasant."<sup>38</sup> The place was the centre of varied life. Besides the workmen who lived in the precincts, there were children connected with some charity.<sup>39</sup> Pepys mentions these children when he went on 21st June, 1660, "with my Lord to see the Great Wardrobe, where Mr. Townsend brought us to the governor of some poor children in tawny clothes, who had been maintained there these eleven years,<sup>40</sup> which put my Lord to a stand how to dispose of them; but he may have the house for his own use."

The grounds and houses belonging to the Great Wardrobe were granted to the Earl of Sandwich as Master for his life, and after the Great Fire he was given compensation for them.<sup>41</sup>

Pepys recorded many visits to the Wardrobe, such as the following:—

29 October 1660: I up early, it being my Lord Mayor's day,<sup>42</sup> and neglecting my office, I went to the Wardrobe, where I met my Lady Sandwich and all the children.

16 May 1661: To the Wardrobe, and there we found my Lord newly gone away with the Duke of Ormond and some others, whom he had had to a collation; and so we, with the rest of the servants in the hall, sat down, and ate of the best cold meats that ever I ate in all my life.

22 May 1661: To the Wardrobe, where my Lord and all the officers of the Wardrobe dined, and several other friends of my Lord, at a venison pasty.<sup>43</sup>

24 July 1661: To the Wardrobe, but came too late and dined with the servants.

13 August 1661: To the Wardrobe and found my young Lord very ill, so my Lady intends to send her other three sons, Sidney, Oliver, and John, to my house, for fear of the smallpox.

On 27th November, 1660, Pepys "found my Lord gone abroad to the Wardrobe, whither he do now go every other morning, and do seem to resolve to understand and look after the business himself." On 8th June, 1661, "my Lord . . . did tell me that he would have me go to Mr. Townsend, whom he had ordered to discover to me the whole mystery of the Wardrobe, and none else but me, and that he will make me deputy with him, for fear that he should die in my Lord's absence."

The charge for the Wardrobe was upon the first-fruits of a diocese; when that did not answer, it was shifted to the hearth-money. In Charles II's time it was impossible to get any money from the Treasury.<sup>44</sup> To Lord Sandwich the Wardrobe had never been a very profitable affair: his old home there was destroyed in the Great Fire, and in 1668 the perquisites of the Master were cut down when, instead of an appropriation of the surplus, he was given a salary of £2,200, in compensation of all other ancient fees and allowances.<sup>45</sup> Pepys's entries amplify these statements:

On 20th December, 1662, "my Lord Sandwich and I walked together a good while . . . , he acquainting me with his late inquiries into the Wardrobe business to his content; and he tells me how things stand. And that the first year was worth about £3,000 to him, and the next about as much; so that, at this day, if he were paid, it will be worth about £7,000 to him." On 15th July, 1664, Lord Sandwich told Pepys "that he hath now evened his reckonings at the Wardrobe till Michaelmas last, and hopes to finish it to Lady-day before he goes. He says now there is due, too, £7,000 to him there, if he knew how to get paid." On 7th June, 1667, Pepys was "With Mr. Townsend, whom I sent for to come to me to discourse upon my Lord Sandwich's business; for whom I am in some pain, lest the Accounts of the Wardrobe may not be

in so good order as may please the new Lords Treasurers, who are quick-sighted, and under obligations of recommending themselves to the King and the world, by their finding and mending of faults, and are, most of them, not the best friends to my Lord." On 2nd September, 1667, "By and by Sir G. Carteret, and Townsend, and I to consider of an answer to the Commissioners of the Treasury about my Lord Sandwich's profits in the Wardrobe; which seem, as we make them, to be very small, not £1,000 a year; but only the difference in measure at which he buys and delivers out to the King, and then 6d. in the pound from the tradesmen for what money he receives for him; but this, it is believed, these Commissioners will endeavour to take away."

Lord Sandwich's expenses may well have been heavy, to judge from his appearance at "the King's going from the Tower to Whitehall" on 22nd April, 1661, the eve of his coronation, when it was "impossible to relate the glory of this day, expressed in the clothes of them that rode, and their horses and horse-clothes. Among others, my Lord Sandwich's embroidery and diamonds were not ordinary among them."<sup>46</sup> In the evening Lord Sandwich talked with Pepys "about his suit, which was made in France, and cost him £200, and very rich it is with embroidery."<sup>47</sup> On Coronation Day Lord Sandwich carried the sceptre.<sup>48</sup>

On another occasion (2nd January, 1668) Pepys recorded the King's disregard for economy:

This day at Whitehall I overheard Sir W. Coventry propose to the King his ordering of [*dealing with, directing*] some particular thing in the Wardrobe, which was of no great value; but yet, as much as it was, it was of profit to the King and saving to his purse. The King answered to it with great indifferency, as a thing that it was no great matter whether it was done or no. Sir W. Coventry answered: "I see your Majesty do not remember the old English proverb, 'He that will not stoop for a pin, will never be worth a pound.'" And so they parted, the King bidding him do as he would; which, methought, was an answer not like a king that did intend ever to do well.

#### *Ralph, 1st Duke of Montagu.*

Lord Sandwich very soon tired of the new arrangement and sold the office of Master to his cousin, Ralph Montagu,<sup>49</sup> who held it from 1671 to 1685, and from 1689 until his death in 1709.

Ralph Montagu succeeded his father as Baron Montagu of Boughton in 1684; he was created Duke of Montagu in 1705, after the marriage of his son John with Mary, youngest daughter of the great Duke of Marlborough. In a letter dated 13th April, 1672, to Lord Arlington from Paris, where he was ambassador, Ralph Montagu, hoping to be one of the Commissionaires of the

Prizes, wrote discontentedly about the bargain he had made with his cousin:

At the return from my Embassy, such a distinction would do me credit in the world; and methinks it is natural and lies fair enough that since his Majesty has done me the honour to employ me or trust me in many things relating to the war, that I should have some share in the employments it produceth; for as for my office in the Wardrobe, you know with what difficulty I purchased it, to save my credit and [at] home and abroad; and yet, as the matter is ordered it is so far from being a credit or advantage to me, that it has prejudiced me in both.<sup>50</sup>

He did not, however, want to give up this post, judging by the following letter to him of 16th March, 1704, from Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough:

Finding your Lordship so uneasy as you were t'other day at the proposal of exchanging your own life for your son's in the Great Wardrobe, and the apprehension I had, myself, that there was a possibility (in one case) that it might happen to your prejudice, I have done all I could to procure it, as I hope you will like, the Queen having at last consented that your son shall have the reversion of the Master (*sic*) of the Great Wardrobe for life, with the same appointments your Lordship now has, reserving only a power to herself, in all other particulars, to appoint such regulations as she may at any time think proper and necessary for her service, in the execution of the office.<sup>51</sup>

In the following letter to her son-in-law's father, which was written from Windsor about 1706, the Duchess of Marlborough refused point blank to try for further advancement:

I have received the honour of your Grace's letter by Lady Monthermer, and I think it so needless to make professions of my inclination to serve your Grace, or to assist my Lord Monthermer, in anything that is in my power, that I will not take up your time upon that subject. I will only say that there is so few employments, and so many to be gratified for the Queen's service, that I can't think of asking the Captain (*sic*) of the Yeomen of the Guards for my son-in-law, who has (in reversion) one of the best things the Queen has to give, and for his life.<sup>52</sup>

*John, 2nd Duke of Montagu.*

As the Duchess of Marlborough had arranged, her son-in-law, Lord Monthermer, became Master of the Wardrobe at his father's death and held this office until his own death. He succeeded his father as John, 2nd Duke of Montagu. He was Lord High Constable<sup>53</sup> at the coronation of King George I and he bore the sceptre with the cross at the coronation of King George II. He was buried at Warkton, where the monuments of himself and his duchess are by Roubiliac.<sup>54</sup>

Among the Buccleugh MSS. in Montagu House there is a series of amusing letters from Lord Tyrawley, British Ambassador

at Lisbon, to John, 2nd Duke of Montagu, as Keeper of the Great Wardrobe, in which the writer relates many personal anecdotes and criticizes the manners and customs of the Portuguese. The following extracts concern the Wardrobe; the first is dated 19th December, 1732; the second, 29th July, 1735:

I have in my house at Lisbon a great room, and a most noble one, that overlooks the whole town, the river and the sea à *perte de vue* . . .; in short, a great prospect. This room is 46 foot long, 20 foot broad, and 15 foot high; so that the room has a wall on one side of 46 foot; on the opposite side are four very large windows; *les lambris* between the windows are 6 foot and a half, and from the top of the window-case to the cornice is 4 and a half; and the end walls of consequence are the breadth of the room, and a slip of 46 foot long by 4½ broad over the windows. This room few of my predecessors made use of, because it would cost a vast sum to furnish it; and, by what I can find, such of them as did furnish it, did it very scrubly (*sic*). Hitherto I have hung it with good tapestry hangings, which by the by were not my own, but lent me by a friend here, to whom they were pawned by the Vice-Roy of Goa; he some time ago redeemed his hangings, and my room is demolished.

Now what I mean by all these particulars is, that in case it is possible for you to help me but with any of the old trumpery of the Great Wardrobe, you will vastly oblige me. Whether what I ask of you is practicable, I really can't say, or whether the old furniture is not the perquisite of your under-officers; or what are your methods in the office, as you may imagine, I am quite a stranger to; but upon the whole, if any such thing could be done, you would save me a great deal of money, for the house loses its whole beauty without that room.

I have four other rooms of the same size, and the prospects as beautiful, but they are all furnished. One is my chapel, handsomely fitted up; another a library (*cabinet de Monsieur, où il depeche avec ses secrétaires*); the other *la salle à manger*, that opens to a terrace 60 foot long, that looks to the sea; and the fourth room is a billiard room. But this room, of which I have sent you the dimensions, lies so in the middle of the house, that if I shut it up, the whole house is spoiled.

When I say my rooms are 15 foot high, I mean from the ground to the cornice; for they are vaulted rooms, and rise from the cornice several foot higher, with the vaults all painted in fresco, and very ill painted. I know I should not call them vaults, but I have forgot the other term; in short, like the great room below stairs at Ditton. This I thought necessary to explain to you, for the honour of my rooms. If your Grace can equip me, Colonel Wilton, Dela Haye Street, Westminster, upon any message from you, will take care to send me the hangings.<sup>55</sup>

They have now made me Plenipotentiary, which by the by I am sure they would not have done, only that I suppose Norris would not come abroad without being so, and they could not with any decency do it for him and leave me out. We are indeed joint and separate Plenipotentiaries, and I am told I shall continue so, after he goes home. A man should not brag of his own performances, but I may modestly say I have done great services to

the Ministers since I have been in Portugal, and upon very little reflection upon this country, they may know it.

I think my Plenipotentiary powers give me a claim to a State (*sic*), though different from that of Ambassador; if any such thing is due to me out of the Great Wardrobe, pray, my Lord, send for Colonel Wilson, and put him in the way of making a proper demand of it, for I have a noble great room, and very handsomely furnished, that only wants such an ornament to make it complete. I have also a notion the King's picture is due to a Plenipotentiary; if so, I shall hope it comes likewise from your Office, and I should be very glad of the King's countenance; 'twas a shrewd saying.<sup>56</sup>

#### ST. ANDREW BY THE WARDROBE.

Wardrobe Place is in the parish of St. Andrew by the Wardrobe, in Castle Baynard Ward. The northern boundary of the parish is formed by the part of Carter Lane which runs between St. Andrew's Hill (formerly Puddle Dock Hill) and Addle Hill. It therefore seemed possible that the mysterious mark might be a parish boundary mark and that its design might have something to do with the history of the parish.<sup>57</sup> O.S. Map 1894-6, vii, 65, does not, however, show a mark in this position, and the Rector, the Rev. V. C. Morton, has negated this suggestion.

The church of St. Andrew by the Wardrobe was burnt in the Great Fire and rebuilt (by Wren) in 1692. By the Act of 22 Car. II, c. 11, entitled "An additional Act for the rebuilding of the City of London, uniting of parishes and rebuilding of the cathedral and parochial churches within the said City," the parishes of St. Andrew by the Wardrobe and St. Anne Blackfriars were united into one parish, and the church theretofore belonging to the said parish of St. Andrew was made the parish church of the said parish so united. The presentation to the rectory of St. Andrew by the Wardrobe is made alternately by the Mercers' Company and the inhabitants of the parish of St. Anne Blackfriars, being house-holders.<sup>58</sup>

The name of St. Andrew by the Wardrobe was not the original name of the church. In 1279-80 it was called St. Andrew at Castle Baynard.<sup>59</sup> It was the manorial church of Baynard's Castle, which it adjoined, and the boundaries of its parish were the same as those of the soke of the castle;<sup>60</sup> the FitzWalters were its patrons.<sup>61</sup>

#### BAYNARD'S CASTLE AND THE FITZWALTERS.

The most illustrious of the FitzWalters was Robert, leader of the remonstrant barons against King John in 1215, under the

title of "Marshal of the Army of God and of Holy Church."<sup>62</sup> He was Baron of Dunmow in Essex, owner of Baynard's Castle in the City of London, and lord of a soke which embraced the whole of the parish of St. Andrew Castle Baynard. He was castellan and chief bannerer or banneret of London and was possessed in right of the soke and these offices of considerable privileges in peace and war, which were claimed by his grandson in 1303.<sup>63</sup>

Baynard's Castle was destroyed in 1213 because of Robert FitzWalter's opposition to King John. In the third year of Edward I (1275) the second Robert FitzWalter, grandson of the first, received licence from the Crown to transfer Baynard's Castle to Robert Kilwardby, Archbishop of Canterbury, for the purpose of the foundation of the house and church of the Friars Preachers or Black Friars, provided always, that by reason of this grant, nothing should be extinguished to him and his heirs which to his barony did belong.<sup>64</sup> In the fourteenth year of Edward II (1321) the same Robert again pressed his claims to the ancient privileges and franchises appendant to Baynard's Castle, stating that in the time of Edward I he had disposed of Baynard's Castle, but had especially reserved to himself all rights in virtue of the said castle and barony to him belonging; though he very considerably added that he was quite ready to disclaim all right and title to drown traitors at Wood-wharf.<sup>65</sup> It may, however, be concluded that the citizens of London strenuously and successfully resisted these claims, as in the 21st year of Edward III (1347) it was reported to the Mayor, Aldermen and Commonalty in the Guildhall of London assembled that Sir John FitzWalter claimed to have franchises in the ward of Castle Baynard wholly repugnant to the liberties of the City, and to the prejudice of the estate of the King, and of the liberties of the City aforesaid; whereupon it was agreed by the same that the said John had no franchise within the liberty of the City aforesaid, nor was in future to intermeddle with any plea in the Guildhall of London, or with any matters touching the liberties of the City.<sup>66</sup> Thus in all probability came to an end the extraordinary rights and privileges once enjoyed within the walls of the City of London by the powerful family of FitzWalter.<sup>67</sup>

The arms of FitzWalter are *or, a fesse between two chevrons gules*. They may be seen on the shield and horse-clothes on Robert FitzWalter's seal in the British Museum.<sup>68</sup> The ancient

barony of FitzWalter continued uninterruptedly from 1295 to 1756. On 30th September, 1924, the abeyance was determined in favour of Henry FitzWalter Plumtre, who then became 20th Baron, but since his death in 1932, the succession has not been established.

A new Baynard's Castle was built in 1428, east of the old site, on Thames side. It was burnt in the Great Fire and the remains were converted into buildings and wharfs.<sup>69</sup> A City of London plaque at 12-13, Upper Thames Street marks the site. In Stow's time it belonged to the Earl of Pembroke.

William Herbert, K.G., 1st Earl of Pembroke, who married as his first wife Anne, sister of Queen Katherine Parr, obtained the rich estates belonging to the abbey of Wilton in Wiltshire; in 1546 he became Keeper of Baynard's Castle, which was granted to him in 1551 and which became the London residence of the Earls of Pembroke until the Great Fire of 1666.<sup>70</sup> The first Earl of Pembroke was one of the most powerful noblemen of his time. He raised a body of 300 horse for the special service of the Crown and rode to his mansion of Baynard's Castle in great state on 17th February, 1552-3, at their head, "of which 100 of them were gentlemen in plain blue cloth, with chains of gold and badges of a dragon on their sleeves."<sup>71</sup>

Baynard's Castle subsequently became the residence of the Earls of Shrewsbury, with whom the Earls of Pembroke were connected by marriage.<sup>72</sup>

The Herbert crest is a green wyvern. To judge from its style, Green Dragon Inn, St. Andrew's Hill, which was pulled down in 1896, must have dated from immediately after the Great Fire.<sup>73</sup> Considering the connection between the name of this inn with the Earls of Pembroke, it seemed reasonable to wonder if the mark in Wardrobe Place might refer to the same noble family, but this line of enquiry also led to nothing.

The problem presented by the mark in Wardrobe Place remains, therefore, unsolved. The writer of this paper has given "great argument About it and about, but evermore Came out by the same door where in I went," and can but repeat the exhortation in the first paragraph: "Sail thou."

#### NOTES

1. J. W. Mackail, *Select Epigrams from the Greek Anthology*, 1906, p. 155.
2. Harben, *Dictionary of London*, pp. 609-10.
3. *Trans. L. and M. Arch. Soc.*, N.S., Vol. IV, Pt. III, 1920, "Surviving City Houses built after the Great Fire," p. 203.
4. Built late in the 17th or early in the 18th century (R.C.H.M., *The City*, p. 59a).

5. Oliver and Mills, *Survey for the Rebuilding of London after the Fire* (Guildhall MS. 84, Mills, Vol. II, fol. 131a).
6. See later for this confusion in terms.
7. Charles Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, inherited the estates of his maternal uncle, Lionel, Earl of Middlesex, and was created Baron Cranfield and Earl of Middlesex in 1675. He succeeded his father as 6th Earl of Dorset in 1677. He was joint Lord Lieutenant of Sussex with his father from 1670 to 1677 and was sole holder of this office from 1677 to 1687-8. Reappointed in 1689, he held the office until his death. (G.E.C., *Complete Peerage*.) On 20th February, 1684-5, he became Custos Rotulorum of Sussex. (Collins, *Peerage*, ii, p. 168.) He was the Lord Buckhurst of Pepys's *Diary*. His portrait as 6th Earl of Dorset, K.G., may be seen at the National Portrait Gallery in the room devoted to portraits by Kneller of members of the Kit-Cat Club.
8. *Cat. State Papers Dom.*, 1671, p. 80.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 350-1.
10. Stow, ed. Strype, 1720, iii, p. 230.
11. Now called St. Andrew's Hill.
12. Harben, p. 335.
13. See note 6.
14. T. F. Tout, *Chapters in the Administrative History of Mediaeval England, The Wardrobe, The Chamber and the Small Seals*, Vol. IV, 1928, chap. xiv, The Great Wardrobe, pp. 405-6.
15. In *Ibid.*, p. 406, Professor Tout mentions that "William Everdon, parson of the parish, complained bitterly of the loss of dues and offerings which resulted from the conversion of a knight's mansion, filled with followers and soldiers, into a government office and store, guarded, at times, only by a clerk and a yeoman. In the end, the disgruntled rector of St. Andrew's was placated by a pension of 40s. a year for life [*Enrolled Accounts* (W. & H.), 4-8], and the adoption of a policy of letting the houses and shops to various tenants prevented the complete disappearance of parishioners from Beauchamp's old property [*Ibid.*, m. 23]."
16. Stow, ed. Everyman, p. 327.
17. Tout, op. cit., p. 401.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 399.
19. *Cal. Letter-Book D.*, p. 254. To quote Professor Tout (p. 398) on this writ, "these houses were not specifically said to be for the use of the great wardrobe, but it is difficult to see for what else they could have been needed, and in 1311, of course, the great wardrobe was still strictly subordinate to the keeper of the wardrobe."
20. Tout, op. cit., p. 397.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 411. For the house in Great Queen Street see Bristol House, eastern half, in *Survey of London*, V, St. Giles' in the Fields, Pt. 2, 1914, pp. 65-6.
22. Tout, op. cit., pp. 408-9.
23. *Lib. Cust.*, ii, p. 804 (Glossary, *Garderoba*).
24. Tout, op. cit., p. 349.
25. *Ibid.*, pp. 351-2.
26. *Ibid.*, pp. 352-3.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 409.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 411, note 1.
29. F. R. Harris, *The Life of Edward Montagu, K.G., first Earl of Sandwich*, 1912, Vol. I, p. 242.
30. J. P. Malcolm, *Londinium Redivivum*, Vol. II, 1803, p. 361.
31. *Country Life*, 22nd March, 1941.
32. Gladys Scott Thomson, *Life in a Noble Household*, pp. 330-2, and *Two Centuries of Family History*, p. 305.
- In 1442 the Infant [Prince Henry the Navigator] was created a Knight of the Garter of England. He was the 153rd Knight of the Order; and his collar descended, through many holders, to the late Earl of Clarendon. (Gomez Eannes de Azurara, *Discovery and Conquest of Guinea*, Vol. II, Introduction, p. ii, Hakluyt Society, 1899.)
33. *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, 1671, p. 60.

34. Haydn, *Dignities*, 1890, p. 295. At p. 296 of this publication is a list of Masters of the Great Wardrobe from the reign of James I to the abolition of the office in 1782.
35. *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, 1671, p. 80.
36. *Statutes at Large*, p. 143.
37. *The Times*, 11th May, 1937, Coronation Number, p. vi. See also Dr. Jocelyn Perkins, *The Crowning of the Sovereign*, 1937, p. 161.
38. F. R. Harris, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 241. Cf. Pepys's *Diary*, 13th November, 1660: "By water to the Wardrobe. A great deal of room in the house, but very ugly, till my Lord had bestowed great cost upon it."
39. F. R. Harris, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 242.
40. In *London and the Kingdom*, Vol. II, p. 324, Sharpe quotes from *Journal of the House of Commons*, vi, 226, that on 6th June, 1649, Parliament had assisted the City with the sum of £1,000 towards the relief of the poor, and had consented to convey to the municipal authorities a certain storehouse in the Minories, as well as the Wardrobe near the Blackfriars, the latter to be used as a workhouse. This passage exactly accounts for the eleven years mentioned by Pepys.
41. *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, 1671, p. 80.
42. In 1752, Lord Mayor's Day—the day of presenting and swearing the Lord Mayor Elect in the Court of Exchequer at Westminster—was changed to 9th November in accordance with the Act of Parliament of 24 Geo. II, c. 48 (*An Act for the abbreviation of Michaelmas Term*). By the Calendar Act of 25 Geo. II, c. 30, the day for the Lord Mayor's admission and swearing in Guildhall was changed from 28th October to 8th November. (*Statutes at Large*, pp. 298 and 368–70 respectively.) These two days in November are the New Style equivalents of 28th and 29th October, and in 1752, when 3rd September was reckoned as 14th September at the reform of the Calendar, the then Lord Mayor was continued in office until 8th November.
43. There was another "good venison pasty" on 27th July, 1661, "it being my Lord of Sandwich's birthday."
44. F. R. Harris, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 257.
45. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 187.
46. *Pepys's Diary*.
47. *Ibid.*
48. *Ibid.*
49. F. R. Harris, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 188. On 4th July, 1671, there was a warrant for a grant of the place of Master of the Great Wardrobe to Ralph Montagu in reversion expectant on the death of, or other voidance thereof by, the Earl of Sandwich, the present Master; and on 6th August, there was a warrant for a grant to Ralph Montagu, Master of the Horse to the Queen, of the office of Keeper of the Great Wardrobe, surrendered by the Earl of Sandwich. (*Cal. State Papers Dom.*, 1671, pp. 363 and 418 respectively.)
50. Hist. MSS. Comm., *Bucleugh MSS. at Montagu House*, Vol. I, p. 520.
51. *Ibid.*, p. 352.
52. *Ibid.*, p. 356.
53. A list of the holders of this office at the coronations of our sovereigns from Edward VI to Queen Victoria is given in Haydn's *Book of Dignities*, p. 289. The following additions bring this list up to date: the Duke of Fife was Lord High Constable at the coronations of King Edward VII and King George V, and Lord Crewe was Lord High Constable at the coronation of King George VI.

The office of Constable was probably granted by Henry I to Walter of Gloucester, and was certainly enjoyed by his son Miles. It was early recognized as hereditary, and Miles's daughter carried it by marriage into the great house of Bohun, which was raised to the earldom of Hereford in 1200. The male line became extinct in 1373 at the death of Humphrey de Bohun, when his vast inheritance was divided between his two daughters, Mary and Eleanor. Mary Bohun married Henry of Bolingbroke, Earl of Derby, afterwards Henry IV, and Eleanor became the wife of Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester. At the coronation of his nephew, Richard II, Thomas of Woodstock claimed to act as Constable of England by right of his wife. (*Lib. Cust.*, Vol. ii, p. 457.) When Henry IV ascended the throne the claim

to the Constabship was treated as dormant but, on the death of Henry VI and the extinction of the Lancastrian line, the sole representation of the Bohuns was vested in the Staffords, Dukes of Buckingham, who were the descendants of Thomas of Woodstock. Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, was accordingly acknowledged as Constable by Richard III. He rose in revolt against his patron and died on the block at Salisbury. His honours were forfeited by posthumous attainder. His son Edward was restored in blood; he claimed the Constabship in 1514 but, having aroused the jealousy of Wolsey and the alarm of the King, he too was committed to the block, when the office of Constable became forfeited to the Crown. Since then the office has only been granted for the single day of the coronation to a peer whose duty it is to accompany the Earl Marshal in the procession, walking on his right as his superior officer and bearing a black staff. (See *The Times*, 11th May, 1937, Coronation Number, p. xxix.)

54. G.E.C., *Complete Peerage*, new ed., Vol. IX. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society and of the College of Physicians and Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of English Freemasons. His portrait is among the paintings by Kneller of members of the Kit-Cat Club.
55. *Buccleugh MSS.*, Vol. I, pp. 382-3.
56. *Ibid.*, p. 387.
57. See *J.B.A.A.*, viii, 1943, "Boundary and Property Marks in London" for the history recorded in the boundary marks of St. Stephen, Coleman Street, and St. James, Duke's Place.
58. *Endowed Charities* (London), vi, p. 96.
59. See Harben, p. 25, for variants of the name.
60. *Lib. Cust.*, i, p. 150.
61. *Ibid.*, p. 237.
62. Sharpe, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 74, quoting Matthew Paris, ii, 154-6.
63. *Lib. Cust.*, i, p. lxxvii.
64. *Ibid.*, p. lxxvi.
65. *Lib. Cust.* i p. lxxvii. If any traitor were taken within his soke or jurisdiction it was the Castellain's 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. A similar punishment, of Scandinavian or Teutonic origin probably, was inflicted upon the freemen of the Cinque Ports; it being their questionable privilege, when capitally condemned, to be drowned in the sea, while non-freemen had to submit to the indignity of being hanged. (*Lib. Cust.*, i, pp. lxxxiii-lxxxiv.)
66. *Letter-Book F.*, fol. cxlii (Latin), of which a translation is given in Riley, *Memorials of London*, pp. 236-7, and *Lib. Cust.*, i, pp. lxxvii-lxxviii.
67. *Lib. Cust.*, i, p. lxxviii. The services and franchises of Robert FitzWalter in war and peace are set forth at pp. 147-51 of this volume. They may also be read in Stow's *Survey* (Everyman ed., pp. 58-60).
68. They may be seen in Westminster Abbey for her first husband, Walter, Lord FitzWalter, on the tomb of Philippa de Mohun, wife of Edward, Duke of York. They were also placed in the nave among the painted shields which are believed to commemorate benefactors to Henry III's rebuilding of the Abbey. They were placed for his first wife, Jane, daughter of Robert Radclyffe, Earl of Sussex, Viscount FitzWalter, Lord FitzWalter, among the quarterings on the monument of Sir Anthony Browne, 1st Viscount Montague, which is now in Easebourne church.
69. Strype, ed. Stow, 1720, i, 62.
70. *Complete Peerage*, new ed., p. 406, note f.
71. *Burke's Peerage*.
72. The first Earl of Pembroke married as his second wife Anne, daughter of George, 4th Earl of Shrewsbury; the third Earl of Pembroke married in 1604 Mary, daughter of Gilbert, 7th Earl of Shrewsbury.
73. Philip Norman, *Catalogue of Drawings of Old London* V. and A. Museum), p. 29.

# SCALES INN, MAIDEN LANE

By L. B. ELLIS, M.A.

## THE FIRE DECREE.

A curious combination of circumstances has resulted in the addition to Middle Temple Library of a copy of the Fire Decree on rebuilding Scales Inn.<sup>1</sup> There is a note on it dated 25th June, 1773, which reads: "Examined this copy with the original decree in the Town Clerk's Office (London) of which it appears to be an exact copy. Edward Bloxley, Clerk in the said Office, and William King."

The first page of this document is reproduced at Fig. 1. The heading reads:

At the Court of Judicature for determination  
of differences touching Houses burned or  
demolished by reason of the late which  
happened in London Held in Cliffords Inn Hall on Tuesday  
the first day of December in the twentieth Year of the  
reigne of our Sovereign Lord King Charles the Second  
Annoque Dni 1668.

The omission of the word "Fire" in the original is indicated by a horizontal stroke in the third line of the copy. The top left-hand corner is occupied by the bracketed names of the three judges:

Mr. Justice Tyrrill }  
Mr. Baron Turnor } p<sup>r</sup>sent  
Mr. Justice Archer }

Then follow the names of the surviving trustees for and on the behalf of the Honourable Society of the Middle Temple, petitioners against several persons named,<sup>2</sup> including one John Cox Esqr., who had interests in "all that capital messuage or inn called Scales Inn and of a messuage or tenement to the same adjoining with the appurtenances situate and being in Maiden Lane in the parish of St. Michael Paternoster in the ward of Vintry London." The said petitioners and other trustees of the said Society were seized of the fee or inheritance of this property by virtue of a conveyance made to them by Charles



Cox Esqr. deceased and his nephew, the above-named John Cox. The Middle Temple had subsequently demised these premises to two tenants by two indentures of lease dated 1653 and 1665 respectively. The premises had been burnt down in the time of the late dreadful Fire and no rent had since been paid to the petitioners, nor had the said tenants made any proposals to rebuild the said premises, though the petitioners were willing to grant just and reasonable terms.

A deed was produced in Court bearing date 24th June, 1650, and inrolled in the High Court of Chancery, whereby it appeared that these houses had heretofore been in the freehold of Charles Cox, late of the Middle Temple Esqr. deceased, and that he and his nephew, John Cox, had conveyed the same to the petitioners and others named in the said deed upon trust that they should receive out of the same yearly £40 clear with all expenses and charges incident to the management and recovery thereof, for the maintenance of a charitable use in the said deed expressed, and that the said trust being first satisfied they should suffer the said John Cox and his heirs to have the residue of the profits thereof over and above the said £40 a year and charges, and the said John Cox by the said deed covenanted to repair the said premises at his own charge as need required.

The final decision of the Court, which adds further testimony to the reasonableness of their judgments, is as follows: as Mr. John Cox had undertaken in Court to pay £200 so that the various interests might be determined, and as he was to have the whole profits of the premises over and above the £40 per annum and charges and expenses incident as aforesaid, it was decided that he should be the builder and have a term of ninety-nine years at the yearly rent of £40; also that he should have the recompense from the City to be allowed for the ground which had been staked out to enlarge the street. In this way his uncle's charitable use might be supported and Mr. John Cox himself would benefit according to the intention of his said uncle.

#### THE "CHARITABLE USE."

The following account of the "charitable use" mentioned above is taken from *Master Worsley's Book*, where it is stated that there is vested in the Benchers of the Middle Temple a parcel of ground and the buildings thereon, which before the Fire of London was situate in Maiden Lane in the parish of St. Michael Royal in the ward of Vintry, formerly called Scales

Inn (probably because it was sometime the mansion house of the Lord Scales) in trust to secure £40 per annum to be paid to two Referees.<sup>3</sup> These Referees are two barristers appointed by Charles Cox by deed bearing date 30th September, 1637, and chosen by the Treasurer of the Middle Temple, who are to attend in the Hall of the Inn on certain specified occasions, for the purpose of settling disputes between members.<sup>4</sup> Cox's Referees, as they are termed, are still appointed by the Benchers of the Inn and, although they have not for many years been called upon to settle disputes, the proceeds of the fund are paid to them each year.<sup>5</sup>

#### THE SITE OF SCALES INN.

According to the 1896 edition of *Master Worsley's Book*, some part of the ground of Scales Inn was taken after the Fire to make a new street called Queen Street and the range of the streets was so far altered that the remaining part was then separated from Maiden Lane, three houses being situate on one side of Queen Street and three on the other, and a sugar-house on each side between them and Maiden Lane.<sup>6</sup> More exact details are given in the 1910 edition of this manuscript, where it is stated that on the re-edification of the City, part was taken from the west side of the ground whereon Scales Inn stood to make the new street, for which the heir of Mr. Cox received a recompense from the City, pursuant to the decree of the Court of Judicature, and a lease of the remainder granted to him by the trustees for 99 years to commence from Christmas, 1668; reserving only the £40 per annum for the Referees, which remainder lies in the angle between Queen Street and Maiden Lane, having Queen Street on the west and Maiden Lane on the south.<sup>7</sup> Nos. 62 and 63, on the east side of Queen Street, formed part of the "Scales Inn" property<sup>8</sup> in the middle of the 19th century, when they were required by the City of London for the purpose of widening Queen Street and the western extension of Cannon Street, under the London (City) Improvement Act of 1847. From their position, No. 60, Queen Street,<sup>9</sup> at the corner of Maiden Lane, and No. 59, Queen Street, formerly 3, Maiden Lane,<sup>10</sup> must also have been on the site of Scales Inn; they too were required for the purposes of the Act of 1847.

Scales Inn was bought by the Corporation of London in about the year 1850 under this Act and the later Act of 1850 for the further extension of Cannon Street west of Queen Street.<sup>11</sup>

## THE NAME OF SCALES INN.

A century before the Great Fire, Scales Inn was one of the London tenements which were left to St. John's College, Oxford, by Sir Thomas White,<sup>12</sup> and it had belonged previously to Henry Grey, Marquess of Dorset,<sup>13</sup> father of Lady Jane Grey. Scales Hall, Middleton, Norfolk, was the family seat of the Barons Scales,<sup>14</sup> and Scales Hall at Hockwold, Norfolk, was part of Sir William Tyndall's share in the partition of the Scales estates<sup>15</sup> when, at the accession of Henry VII, he and John de Vere, 13th Earl of Oxford, were recognized as the two co-heirs of the barony.<sup>16</sup> It seems likely, therefore, that Scales Inn, Maiden Lane, in the Vintry, was the town house of the Barons Scales, and took its name from them (see *ante*). This suggestion is strikingly confirmed by comparing two passages in the last will of Sir Anthony Woodville, 2nd Earl Rivers, who was 8th Baron Scales by right of his wife.

Thomas, 7th Lord Scales, writer of several of the Paston Letters, was the last baron of his line. He left a sole surviving child, Elizabeth, who married as her second husband Sir Anthony Woodville, a brother of Elizabeth Woodville, Queen Consort to Edward IV. Elizabeth Lady Scales was childless; she died before her husband, when all her estates remained in his possession. Anthony Woodville, Earl Rivers and Baron Scales, made his last will on 23rd June, 1483, the day before his execution.<sup>17</sup> His main concern was the enrichment of his father's family, for "I will that all such land as was my lord my father's remain wholly to his right heirs . . . and such lands as were the Lady Scales' my first wife be unto my brother Sir Edward<sup>18</sup> and to his heirs male for fault of such heirs male unto the right heirs of my said lord my father. This is my will and intent to take effect as far as conscience and law will."<sup>19</sup> As for his debts, "I knowlege that I owe a sum of money to Lomner mercer of London as it well appeareth both by his bills and by my book in my closet at London." The house is more precisely located in a passage concerning the disposition of his household goods, for he left his second wife certain household effects, "and (except that stuff) all other stuff of household in the Mote and at my place in the Vyntree to be to my said lord my father's heirs." This distinction and the wording in the two passages suggest irresistibly that the house in the Vintry had belonged to the testator's first wife and that it was, indeed, Scales Inn.

Yet another possibility is suggested by this will. The testator's desire to endow his father's heirs with his wife's inheritance may even account for the sometime possession of Scales Inn by Henry Grey, Marquess of Dorset. For if Scales Inn and "my place in the Vintry" were truly one and the same house, the Marquess may have inherited it by virtue of his Woodville blood: he was a great-grandson of Elizabeth Woodville by her first husband, Sir John Grey, Lord Ferrers, and all the queen's brothers had died by 5th March, 1490-1.<sup>20</sup> It must, however, be remembered that Richard III set aside the claims of the Woodvilles by granting the Scales possessions to John Howard, Duke of Norfolk,<sup>21</sup> though the testator had humbly beseeched him as "Lord of Gloucester" that "mine executors may with his pleasure fulfil this my last will."

## NOTES

1. This document was found in a collection of deeds which had been received by Mr. G. W. Willis, Curator of Basingstoke Museum and Chairman of the Basingstoke Estates Committee, from a local solicitor's office. As a result of some correspondence between Mr. Edward Yates, F.S.A., and Mr. Willis about Basingstoke property marks in George Alley, Upper Thames Street (see "Boundary and Property Marks in London," by the writer of this article, in *J.B.A.A.*, third series, Vol. VIII, 1943), Mr. Willis sent all the documents in this collection which concerned property in London to Mr. Yates, asking him to find suitable homes for them. The document which is summarized here was accordingly offered to the librarian of the Middle Temple and was accepted as "a most interesting addition to our records."
 

The original document is fol. 161 in Vol. V of the *Five Decrees* (Guildhall Records Office). It is indexed at the end of the volume as "Middle Temple vsus Parsons & Cox & al."
2. Sr. John Maynard Knt. Serjt. at Law Sr. Peter Ball Knt. William Hussey Esqr. Sir Boulstrode Whitlock Knt. Bartholomew Hall Esqr. Sr. Robert Reynolds Knt. Thomas Whitmore and Bennett Hoskins Esqrs. the Surviving Trustees for and on the behalf of the Honble Society of the Middle Temple petõners agt. John Parsons Edward Acton Esqr. and Elizabeth his wife Thomas Hales and Margaret his wife William Powle Robert Randall Gent and Martha his wife Edward Proby Richard Hodges and John Cox Esqr.
3. *Master Worsley's Book*, edited by Master C. H. Hopwood, 1896, p. 29.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 184.
5. Information from Mr. H. A. C. Sturgess, Librarian and Keeper of the Records of the Middle Temple.
6. Pp. 29-30.
7. *Master Worsley's Book*, edited by Arthur Robert Ingpen, K.C., 1910, p. 200.
8. See *Middle Temple Minutes of Parliament*, 24th May, 1850, and 3rd June, 1853, on the release of these houses from the rent charge of £40 per annum, as "the other part of 'Scales Inn' is an ample security" for it.
9. See *Improvements* (Guildhall Records Office), Vol. II, 29th January, 1849, for claims for compensation for freehold interest and leasehold interest in premises situate No. 60, Queen Street, a "brick built substantial warehouse . . . with stable and chaise house attached in Maiden Lane."
10. *Ibid.*, 15th January, 1849.
11. *Master Worsley's Book*, 1910, p. 110, note 2.
12. Rev. H. E. Salter, F.B.A., "Particulars of properties in the City of London belonging to St. John's College, Oxford," in *London Topographical Record*, XV, pp. 92, 107.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 99.

14. *D.N.B.*
15. Robert Edmond Chester Waters, *Genealogical Memoirs of the Extinct Family of Chester of Chicheley*, 1878, Vol. I, p. 255.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 253, and G.E.C., *Complete Peerage*, Scales.  
 Both these co-heirs were descended from Robert, 3rd Baron Scales, as Sir William Tyndall was the great-great-grandson of his younger daughter, Elizabeth, by her marriage with Sir Roger de Felbrigg, and as John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, was the great-great-grandson of Robert's elder daughter, Margaret, wife of Sir Robert Howard. The Earl of Oxford obtained the larger share of the Scales estates as the senior co-heir and added the title "Lord Scales" to his other titles. On the death in 1526 of his nephew and successor, the 14th earl, the representation of the co-heirship devolved upon his three sisters and their descendants; it was in right of his descent from one of these ladies that Sir Charles Robert Tempest petitioned in 1856 for the determination of the barony of Scales in his favour, proving that he had vested in him one seventy-second part of one moiety.
17. This will is printed by Bentley in *Excerpta Historica*, I, pp. 246-8. See also Chester Waters, *op. cit.* The spelling has been modernized above.
18. His next brother and heir.
19. The testator was evidently not easy in mind about his will, for it was "to be seen and determined by two doctors of London and two of Oxford and of Cambridge or doctors at the least with two of the chief judges and two of the eldest serjeants of the law." The Scales family was not, however, forgotten completely, for "he that shall have the land to pay, or he have possession, 500 marks that to be employed for the souls of my last wife Lady Scales . . . and the souls of all the Scales blood in helping and refreshing hospitals and other deeds charitable."
20. Sir Anthony Woodville, 2nd Earl Rivers, was executed in 1483; Sir John shared his father's fate in 1469; Lionel was Bishop of Salisbury; Sir Edward fell in battle in 1488; Sir Richard, the youngest, succeeded his brother Anthony as 3rd and last Earl Rivers (*D.N.B.*) but died unmarried 5th March, 1490-1, when the peerage became extinct.
21. John Howard, Duke of Norfolk, was, indeed, descended from Margaret, elder daughter and co-heir of Robert, 3rd Lord Scales, as he was the grandson of her son, Sir John Howard, by his second wife. He was not, however, her representative, as the claim to the barony of Scales was transmitted by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John's first wife, to her own great-grandson, John de Vere, 13th Earl of Oxford. (See p. 1, note 16.)

# ENCLOSURE ACTS AND AWARDS COUNTY OF MIDDLESEX

By W. E. TATE, F.R.HIST.S.

Wherever possible, place names have been given in their generally accepted *modern* forms. All acts in the official return<sup>1</sup> are included. Those in Dr. Slater's lists,<sup>2</sup> as including open field arable, are in list A. Those not in Dr. Slater's list presumably relate to meadow and waste alone. These are in list B. The 1836<sup>3</sup> Act authorised the enclosure of open field alone, though it was frequently used to carry out the enclosure of open lands of other classes.<sup>4</sup> Unless evidence to the contrary is available it is assumed here that the Act was properly applied, so that enclosures under it are of common field. These are in list C. This Act was extended in 1840, to cover lammass lands, etc., and enclosures carried out under the 1836 and 1840 Acts are listed in list D.

The General Act of 1845<sup>5</sup> authorised enclosure of lands other than common pastures by provisional order alone. This provision remained in force until the sixth amending Act,<sup>7</sup> with an exceptional clause in favour of enclosures actually in progress in 1852. So for some ten years from 1845 proposed enclosures not including the waste of a manor were not submitted to Parliament for approval. After 1852 all enclosures required statutory authorisation, and this was given in the annual General Act; Lists E and F cover enclosures in those two classes. The data have been obtained from the various official blue books,<sup>8</sup> from the Enclosure Commissioners' annual reports, and from the Ministry of Agriculture memorandum for awards from 1893 onwards.<sup>10</sup> Enclosures by agreement listed in list G must be a very small proportion of these actually carried out. They are the ones of which formal written record survives either in the Public Record Office, or among the county records. It has not been possible to classify them like the others, into enclosures containing common field, and those consisting of common pasture and meadow, etc.

1. P.P. (H.C.) 399, 1914.
2. *The English Peasantry*, 1908, App. 2.
3. 6 and 7 Wm. IV, c. 115 (1836).
4. G. W. Cooke, *Enclosures and Rights of Common*, 1864, p. 84.
5. 3 and 4 Vic., c. 31 (1840).
6. 6 and 7 Vic., c. 118 (1845).
7. 15 and 16 Vic., c. 39 (1852).
8. P.P. above cited, also P.P.s 455 (1893) and 50 (1904).
9. No. 702/LG.
10. Such local lists as are available have been consulted, and the dates have been checked by various gentlemen whose help is acknowledged elsewhere.

## CONTRACTIONS USED.

- H. Enrolled copy of award has plan attached.  
Ch. Award enrolled on Chancery Close Roll in Public Records Office.  
C.P. Award enrolled on Common Pleas Recovery Roll in Public Record Office.

- C.R. Award enrolled among County Records in custody of Clerk of the Peace.
- D. of L. Award enrolled among records of Duchy of Lancaster in Duchy Office.
- E.K.R. Award enrolled on Exchequer of Pleas Plea Rolls in Public Record Office.
- E.P. Award enrolled on Exchequer of Pleas Plea Rolls in Public Record Office.
- (L.) Lordship or Liberty.
- (M.) Manor.
- n.s. (Area) not specified.
- (P.) Parish.
- R.D.M. Statutory Registry of Deeds, Red Lion Square, W.C.1, later removed to Bournemouth. Most of its records are now with the Middlesex County Council.

## Middlesex Field Systems and Early Enclosure Movements

### MIDDLESEX FIELD SYSTEMS.

MIDDLESEX, as Professor Gray's map<sup>1</sup> shows, lies wholly outside the midland area formerly owned, occupied, and farmed under the two- and three-field systems. Like its neighbouring counties of the lower Thames basin, Middlesex formerly displayed in its open field structure certain peculiarities which are well worth investigation. It is not surprising to find the region showing features distinctly reminiscent of open field structure in Kent, as well as others resembling rather those commonly associated with open field arrangements in East Anglia, and still others again having some points of resemblance to the usages of the English Midlands. On the face of things it would appear that one should include in this last class last-named the fact that in this county the normal unit of villein tenure was the virgate. But the Middlesex virgate was a very different affair from its midland namesake, situated more or less evenly in two or three extensive open fields. The Middlesex virgate consisted of scattered strips dispersed throughout several, sometimes a great many furlongs, "fields," shots, or crofts. This is, of course, the main point of resemblance between field systems in this county and those in Kent and East Anglia.

Professor Gray<sup>2</sup> thinks that there is a clear contrast in field systems between townships in the eastern and those in the western half of the county. In Dr. Slater's<sup>3</sup> lists, of the 26 enclosure acts (those including common field) passed during the 18th and 19th centuries, only two of the acts noted relate to

the eastern half of the county. These are the acts for Edmonton and Enfield. The latter of these, to which Dr. Slater has ascribed the enclosure of 1,231 acres of land "open field and some waste," Professor Gray has proved cannot possibly have included more than some 500 acres of open field land at the most. Elsewhere Professor Gray<sup>4</sup> quotes a terrier of 2 Jac. I, 1604-5, which proves clearly that though Edmonton had an open field system then, it was by no means a regular one. There were about a dozen fields, all of small area, and only one of these was shared among any considerable number of tenants. Each tenant's holdings in the different "fields" were quite unequal, and in every respect, save that the land was after all, open field arable of a kind, the structure of the place was utterly unlike that of any of the "typical" open field villages in the Midlands. Professor Gray found earlier evidence against the existence of the two- or three-field systems in this county. He examined data of 4 John, 1202-3, for East Greenford, others about the same time for Laleham, others again of 1299 for Sutton, of 1593 for Harlesden (in Willesden), of 2 Jac. I, 1604-5, for Cold Kennington (Kempton Park). All these similarly show numerous unequal fields or furlongs, and irregular distribution of holdings among them. Corbett's pioneer study, *Elizabethan Village Surveys*,<sup>5</sup> includes references to but one such survey for a Middlesex manor. This belongs to Ruislip, 1565. Corbet says generally of all the surveys examined, including presumably this one, "the fields are often numerous, sometimes more than half a dozen, and of every variety of area."

In the effort to investigate this point still further, Professor Gray examined a series of local *inquisitiones post mortem* of the late 13th and early 14th centuries, looking for the phrase that (a third of the demesne) "is worth nothing, because it lies fallow." The only such inquisition he noted was one for Little Greenford,<sup>6</sup> which contributes the curious information that here a third of the land lay fallow every year (so that apparently there was a three-field system, or at any rate a three-course rotation), but that nevertheless it was very far from worthless. (*Quaere*: Whether this implies that the grazing upon the fallows was a manorial right, not a communal one? Analogies for this could be found in the manorial right of fold course in East Anglia.)

By way of contrast with field systems of this kind is that

referred to in a most interesting terrier of Feltham in 2 Jac. I,<sup>7</sup> 1604-5. This shows a three-field system of a kind, with a rough equality of each tenant's holding between field and field. Professor Gray considers, only to dismiss it, the possibility that "midland habits were creeping down the Thames." Or again, he suggests<sup>8</sup> reasonably enough that both in Middlesex and in Surrey the midland and Kentish systems came into contact, and that in general midland traits characterised the resultant hybrid in Middlesex, Kentish ones the system developing in Surrey. These hybrid systems are quite plainly seen in both counties, they are somewhat difficult to follow, and it is impossible to say very much of value about them until a good deal more research has been undertaken.<sup>9</sup>

A third factor which must be taken into account in attempting to trace the history of field systems in this county, although it is still uncertain what weight must be given to it, is the high proportion of the land, especially of the hilly land in this county which was reclaimed quite late from a waste condition in the great local forests. At first no doubt here as elsewhere such assarting as there was, was largely a matter of enclosing small widely scattered parcels. Then if some of the tiny settlements spreading out into the still remaining waste arranged their agrarian affairs more or less after the Kentish plan (the settlements being those of Kentish settlers), while others, established by pioneers who were moving south-east, planned theirs rather after the midland model, then a good deal which is otherwise inexplicable about early Middlesex field systems becomes fairly easily understandable.

#### EARLY ENCLOSURE IN MIDDLESEX.

Middlesex is one of the few counties not under the midland open field systems which retained any great area of open field arable land until the era of parliamentary enclosure.<sup>10</sup> It may well be that the admixture of midland usages referred to above conditioned the survival of open fields in this area to so remarkably late a period. Despite Dr. Slater's remark as to the obscurity of the enclosure history of the county,<sup>11</sup> there are some few casual references to it by various writers, and I think the principal ones of these are noted below. The county says Professor Gray<sup>12</sup> appears in the Lansdowne transcripts of the *Domesday of Inclosures*, 1517, with 1.52 per cent. enclosure, though only in a few brief London references. Apparently the

Chancery returns or some of them for the county still exist in the Public Record Office, awaiting an editor. The places mentioned in the Lansdowne transcripts are Dalston, Blackheath, "Danserlane," London Field, etc.<sup>13</sup> All the enclosures are relatively small, and the total area recorded is but 281 a., a percentage of but some 0.3 of the county area. Evidently then Professor Gray's figures are based upon the consultation of the Chancery returns. No doubt a great part of this represents small grazing enclosures, such as one would expect to find in the immediate neighbourhood of any large town. Much more interesting than the Lansdowne transcript is the extract from Holinshed<sup>14</sup> which Mr. Leadam prints:—"This yeare the citizens of London finding themselves greued with the inclosures of the common fields about Islington, Hoxton, Shorditch, and other places neer to the citie whereby they could not be suffered to exercise their bowes, nor other pastimes in those fields as before time they had bene accustomed, assembled themselves on a morning and went with spades and shouels vnto the same fields, and there, like diligent workmen, so bestirred themselves that within a short space al the hedges about those townes were cast downe, and the ditches filled. The king's counsell comming to the graie friers to vnderstand what was meant by this dooing were so answered by the maior and counsell of the citie, that the matter was dissembled: and so when the workmen had done their worke, they came home in a quiet maner, and the fields were never after hedged." It seems as though the protests of the London citizens may have been to some purpose. At any rate the county was not included in those to which the Depopulation Act of 1536 was to apply.<sup>15</sup> Presumably then enclosure had been checked for the time. Leland visited the county in 1538-44,<sup>16</sup> and found it largely in champion near Staines, but more in severalty near Uxbridge. His references are:—I passed over the Tamise (Thames) by Staines-bridge, and thens most by champai(ne) and corne ground . . . pasture to (H)ampton Courte 6 miles. And about half a myle a this syd it is Hampton village on the Thamise side. . . . From London to New Brentford 8 miles . . . Brentford to Hundeslawe (Hounslow) 2 miles . . . Hundeslaw to Longforde a V miles . . . al the grounde from a mile or more a this side Langford to Colebrok bridge is al low pasture grounde . . . From Hagmondesham (Amersham, Bucks.), to Uxbridge a 9 miles by goodly enclosyd grownd, of a graveley soyle havynge woods, medowes, pasture,

and corne to Great Hellindon (Hillingdon) . . . From Uxbridge to Southole (Southall) . . . Thens to Acton a praty thrwgh the fayre 4 miles, Thens. to Maribone-broke (Marylebone Brook) . . . To London 2 miles. Tusser<sup>17</sup> notes as a peculiarity of Middlesex agriculture in Elizabethan times the local rotation, barley, wheat or rye, fallow, instead of the usual wheat or rye, barley, fallow:—

But drink before bread corn with Middlesex men,  
Then lay on more compas, and fallow again.

I am not farmer enough to judge whether this was a sign of unusually bad husbandry, even for open field management, or whether it was in some way peculiarly well suited to Middlesex conditions. Tusser does not say this rotation applied especially to Middlesex champion or to several, or to both alike.

From other sources it is known that very considerable enclosure was taking place in the county about this time. Professor Gray<sup>18</sup> notes that this must have been mainly in the western half of the county, since, as noted above, the eastern half remained largely open until the era of parliamentary enclosure. Harlesden in Willesden<sup>19</sup> was partly enclosed by 1593. A survey of Edgware in 1597<sup>20</sup> shows the place as entirely enclosed by then. Middlesex, like the neighbouring counties, Essex, Hertfordshire, and Surrey, was exempted from the operation of the last Depopulation Act,<sup>21</sup> passed in the year last-named, and according to the evidence of a contemporary "*thereby no Inconvenience in y<sup>e</sup> stat found.*"<sup>22</sup> A survey of Edmonton in the same year again shows the place as in the main already enclosed. One of Feltham in 2 Jac. I, 1604-5,<sup>23</sup> shows considerable enclosure, but definite traces of three-field usages still remaining. Cold Kennington in the same year had a system reminiscent of that in the Midlands. Professor Gray<sup>24</sup> considers Feltham to be the nearest approach to a "midland" open field village in western Middlesex in Jacobean times, and he notes the error in Dr. Slater's ascription of a three-field system to Cowley and Hillingdon in this area at the time of the enclosure in 1795.

Miss Leonard's very valuable essay<sup>25</sup> on the enclosure of open fields in the 17th century contains one very interesting reference to 17th century enclosures in this county. The Privy Council referred to the county justices in the 1630's the question whether depopulation was or was not being caused by enclosures made

from the open fields in order that houses might be built to serve the growing villages of Chelsea and Kensington. The justices reported that there were these enclosures, and gave an indication of their modest extent, but left the council to decide whether or not these constituted an offence under 35 Eliz. c. 6 (1581) or otherwise. The 1581 Act is of course, the well-known one forbidding all enclosures within three miles of London, the forerunner of all modern acts for commons preservation.

Little seems to be known of Middlesex enclosures in the 17th century. By 1675 when Ogilby issued his *Britannia*, on which Professor Gonner<sup>26</sup> based his estimates of the percentage of open land enclosed and that still remaining in each of the counties of England, Middlesex seems to have been almost entirely enclosed. At any rate if the percentage of open road is a fair indication of the percentage of open land generally, this county is 33rd of the 37 counties listed in order of open land still remaining, with open land about 11 per cent., and enclosure about 89 per cent. Evelyn,<sup>27</sup> in 1676, speaks of Enfield Chase as still open, and is scandalised at the existence of so large a tract of unused land so near London:—"in the compass of 25 miles, yet within 14 of London, there is not an house, barne, church, or building besides three lodges . . . and few inclosures, the rest a solitarie desert." There are a few other odd references to Enfield Chase in Celia Fiennes' *Journal*, and in Defoe's *Tour* about this same time. On numerous occasions during the 18th century it was proposed to enclose the Chase. Especially this was suggested about 1760.<sup>28</sup> Actually the enclosure was not undertaken until 1801. Marshall says<sup>29</sup>:—"The sums of money (not to mention the fortunes) which have lately been expended in the improvement of Enfield Chase are too well known, and will, it is to be feared, throw a damp on the further improvement of the Royal Wastes; a matter of some importance to these kingdoms. But how easily, and with what certainty, might these wastes be improved? The wood upon most of them is doubly sufficient to make the necessary improvement (by grub-felling and sod-burning or summer fallowing). . . . The Royal Forests at present afford little benefit to the community; but are no doubt capable of affording great national advantage. . . ." Apparently the only other extensive area still remaining open in the latter part of the 17th century was about Finchley. On the strength of these facts Professor Gonner

suggests<sup>30</sup> that an extensive area in the north of the county must have been enclosed after the time of Evelyn and Ogilby, and that there must have been extensive non-parliamentary enclosures in the 18th and early 19th centuries. Mr. Fussell's<sup>31</sup> essay on Middlesex agriculture contains few references to the history of enclosure, but has the suggestive remark that by the 18th century "The Middlesex fields were like gardens, and the farmers half gardeners" (supplying, of course, the enormous markets of London). The two Board of Agriculture reports<sup>32</sup> on this county are both composed by professional surveyors. Both comment on the large areas of waste still remaining in the county. Foot speaks of "many thousands," Middleton more specifically, though perhaps not with a great deal more real accuracy, of c. 17,000 acres. According to Foot the commons were a nuisance to the public, and almost worthless to those entitled to common right. Middleton says they were a positive injury to the public, since they offered free firing and a free run for pigs and poultry, so that shiftless persons flocked thither in great numbers. Moreover the commons were notoriously the resort of "gipsies, strollers, loose persons, . . . footpads, and highwaymen." There are a few scanty references to Middlesex commons in Eden's<sup>33</sup> book. Ealing had one of 70 acres, on which the parish paupers were employed at a weekly wage of sixpence each for tobacco. At Ealing the poorhouse was built on the common, "in an airy situation on gravelly soil." Foot has also a little to say of the lammas meadows on the Middlesex side of the Lea. These were divided into allotments of two or three acres, but their value was diminished by their lack of drainage. The common arable fields, however, he describes as at once extensive and well-tilled.<sup>34</sup> Exactly what had happened to the other earlier Middlesex common fields it is difficult to say. Dr. Slater<sup>35</sup> thinks that many of them had been converted, largely by agreement, into market gardens, and dairy farms. If so, and if Professor Gray is right in his belief that they had never existed on a very large scale, clearly a good deal of Middlesex enclosure in the 17th and 18th centuries, and perhaps much earlier, must have consisted of improvement more or less directly from the waste.

One cannot leave even a cursory account of Middlesex open fields, commons, and enclosures, without a brief reference to the Act of 1545, 37 Hen. VIII, c. 2, which has been styled the first English enclosure Act. This concerns Hounslow Heath.

In spirit, though not in form, it anticipates the private enclosure Acts of the 18th century. It recites that the king might justly approve the waste there (under the Statute of Merton),<sup>37</sup> but nevertheless orders the appointment of commissioners who are to set out to every inhabitant a portion of the Heath either as a copyhold in perpetuity, or on a twenty-one years lease.

#### PARLIAMENTARY ENCLOSURE IN MIDDLESEX.

As the lists show (Lists A-G), Middlesex parliamentary enclosures are neither early nor numerous. List A—Acts including some proportion of open field arable—includes 25 acts ranging in date from Ruislip, 1769, to Northolt, 1825, with 1813 as the peak year, having seven Acts. It will be seen that most local acts include some proportion of open arable field. There are but 9 in all (List B), relating to pasture and waste alone. From what has been said above, however, it will be clear that the proportion of open field in the acts listed in A is probably a small one. Middlesex enclosures under the 1836 and 1840 General Acts (Lists C and D) are but two in all, and later enclosures under the General Acts of 1845 *et seq.* are still more remarkably low, with but one inclosure involving open field arable (List E), and two relating to waste alone (List F). No doubt there would have been many more such enclosures in later years but for the activities of the Commons Preservation Society, which for the last seventy or eighty years has kept a watchful eye upon all attempts to enclose commons, especially, of course, those near London and other large towns. An attempt to enclose Hampstead Heath was defeated in Parliament as early as 1829, and eventually in order to safeguard the public against any future effort, the manorial rights were bought in 1868 by the Metropolitan Board of Works,<sup>38</sup> after a lengthy dispute as to the commoners' rights. London Fields, Hackney Downs, and Hackney Marshes, the Tudor efforts to enclose which have been dealt with above, were "regulated" in 1872-93, after the buying out of the manorial rights. It is noteworthy, however, that unlike most "commons" near London, these are really not common pastures at all, but lammas lands. Another interesting survival of lammas lands in Middlesex is that of the 250 acres still remaining at Tottenham. Surviving commons are much more frequently found, especially near London. Fuller details will be found in Lord Eversley's book already referred to. Here it will be sufficient to note the 353

acres of Staines Moor, regulated under the Metropolitan Commons Act of 1866, Hampstead Heath and Hackney Marshes already referred to, a fragment of Hounslow Heath some 270 acres in extent, secured in other ways, and Hadley 174 a., and Stanmore 147 a., still remaining legally in their original condition, without any special protective legislation.

Probably the special protective legislation, early and late, for the preservation of open lands near London is largely responsible for the solitary rather doubtful enclosure by agreement noted in List G.

I have wondered whether the gaps in the list of awards enrolled might be accounted for by the fact that Middlesex, like each of the three Ridings of Yorkshire, but unlike every other English county, has a statutory Registry of Deeds. This was set up under Act in 1708.<sup>39</sup> In the Ridings it is the exception rather than the rule to find an enclosure award executed under a private Act enrolled, as is usual in most counties, with the clerk of the peace. Instead the awards are normally enrolled in the registries at Wakefield, Beverley, and Northallerton. Inquiry has shown, however that few Middlesex awards are enrolled in the Middlesex Registry in Red Lion Square. Presumably, therefore, such awards as are not recorded here should be sought for in enrolled copies in the records of various manorial courts. It is perhaps significant in this connection that the manorial organisation seems to have survived quite late in the county, and in this county as in few others an enclosure act often relates to the manor of X rather than to X township or parish.

1. H. Gray, *English Field Systems*, Cambridge, Mass., 1915.
2. Op. cit., p. 381.
3. G. Slater, *The English Peasantry*, 1907, pp. 287-8.
4. Op. cit., p. 551.
5. In *Trans. R. Hist. S.*, N.S., Vol. XI, 1897, p. 71.
6. Op. cit., p. 396.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 552.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 402.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 417.
10. Gray, op. cit., p. 404; *Vide atque*, Slater, op. cit., p. 218.
11. It is remarkable that (enclosure Acts) should cover so large a part of the area of the county—19·7 per cent., *Ibid.*, loc. cit.
12. In *Trans. R. Hist. S.*, N.S., Vol. XIV, 1900, p. 238.
13. All indexed by Mr. Leadam under London and Suburbs, *Trans. R. Hist. S.* N.S., Vol. VI, 1892, p. 296-7; VIII, 1894, pp. 251-6.
14. *Chronicle* edn. of 1808, Vol. 3, p. 399, Anno Dom. 1513, An. Reg. 5.
15. 27 Hen. VIII, c. 22 (1536).
16. *Itinerary*, 1538-44, ed. Miss L. Toulmin Smith, 1907, Vol. I, pp. 106-7; Vol. II, pp. 113-4.
17. *Five Hundreth Pointes*, 1573 edn., reprint of 1931, p. 113.

18. Op. cit., p. 381.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 383.
20. Prof. R. H. Tawney, *The Agrarian Problem*, 1912, p. 772.
21. 39 Eliz., c. 2 (1597).
22. *A Consideration of the Cause in Question*, Cott. MSS. Tit. F, IV, f. 319; in Cunningham, *English Industry and Commerce in Modern Times*, App. II.
23. Gray, op. cit., p. 551.
24. Op. cit., p. 287.
25. In *Trans. R. Hist. S.*, N.S., Vol. XIX, 1905, p. 108.
26. Gonner, op. cit., p. 173.
27. *Journal*, 2nd June, 1676.
28. Quoting *Letters of the First Earl of Malmesbury*, 1870, p. 144.
29. Marshall, *Rural Economy of Yorkshire*, 1788, Vol. I, pp. 317, 322.
30. Op. cit., p. 251.
31. In *Ministry of Agriculture Journal*, Jan., 1937, p. 947.
32. P. Foot, *General View*, 1794; and J. Middleton, *General View*, 1807. There was also a report of 1793, T. Baird, *General View*, on which was based Middleton's earlier *General View*, 1798.
33. Sir F. M. Eden, *State of the Poor*, 1797, Reprint of 1928, p. 239.
34. Op. cit., p. 72.
35. Op. cit., p. 218.
36. T. E. Scrutton, *Commons and Common Fields*, 1887, p. 95.
37. Stat. Merton II, 20 Hen. VII, c. 4 (1235).
38. G. Shaw Lefevre, (Lord Eversley), *English Commons and Forests*, 1894, pp. 47-57, and still more, pp. 366-8.
39. 7 Anne, c. 20 (1708).

## II. MIDDLESEX ENCLOSURE ACTS AND AWARDS.

Date of Act.	Place(s).	Approx. area as est. in Act.	Date of award.	Award enrolled.
<i>A. Enclosures by private Act of lands including any proportion of open field arable.</i>				
1774	Laleham (M.) .. .. . Indexed as partly in Surrey. Here counted as wholly in Middlesex. No area is specified in the Act, that given is from the award. There is a detailed account of this enclosure in Hammond, op. cit., p. 364, with notes also of the abortive petition of 1767 and an abstract of the 1774 Act.	n.s.	1803	C.P. 43 Geo. III 1803*
1780	Ickenham .. .. .	n.s.	1781	C.R.
1789	Stanwell and Hammonds <i>als.</i> Shipcott (Ms.) in Stanwell (P.) There is another Stanwell in Slater. I hope I have not confused two separate enclosures. The award figure is 2126 a. There is an account of this enclosure, with an abstract of the Act, and details of abortive petition of 1766 in Hammond, op. cit., p. 378.	3000	1792	C.P. 32 Geo. III 1792

Date of Act.	Place(s).	Approx. area as est. in Act.	Date of award.	Award enrolled.
1795	Hillingdon and Cowley .. .. Original award is with Uxbridge U.D.C.	n.s.	1796	?
1799	Teddington, <i>als.</i> Toddington <i>als.</i> Tettington <i>als.</i> Tuddington, <i>recte</i> Teddington).	883	1800	Ch. 40 Geo. III 1799- 1800*
1800	Hanworth and Kempton (Ms.) in Hanworth, Feltham and Sunbury Act not 1801 as in 1904 <i>Blue Book</i> . There was, however, an amending Act in 1801. Two awards not three as in <i>Blue Books</i> . Half <i>Blue</i> <i>Book</i> entries say 1803, other half 1802. The later is correct.	3200	1803 1803 1802 1803	C.R. C.R.
1800	Edmonton .. .. .	1231	1804	R.D.M.
1801	Enfield .. .. . Not in 1904 <i>Blue Book</i> . Award with the D. of L. is a duplicate. There is also among the Duchy records an extract (lib. 4, p. 198) and sundry miscellaneous papers.	3540	1806	R.D.M.
1803	Harrow .. .. . Amending Act, 1806.	n.s.	1817	C.P. 58 Geo. III 1818*
1804	Ruislip <i>als.</i> Riselip ( <i>recte</i> Ruislip) .. Amending awards concerning corn rents, 1878 and 1898 in C.R. The latter is enrolled in 1900 (Ministry of Agriculture).	n.s.	1814	E.P. 55 Geo. III 1815**
1805	Harmondsworth .. .. . Not Harmendsworth and 1700 a. as in Slater. Amending Act, 1816.	3000	1819	?
1809	Hayes <i>als.</i> Hesse ( <i>recte</i> Heese) and waste lands of Hayes and Nor- wood (Ms.), Yeading, Southall, Frogmore, Norwood Green, etc.	2000	1814	C.R.
1809	Ashford <i>als.</i> Echelford ( <i>recte</i> Ashford)	1200	1811	C.R.
1811	Hampton .. .. .	n.s.	1827	C.P. 7 and 8 Geo. IV 1827
1812	Hillingdon .. .. . Not 1400 a. as in Slater.	3600	1825	C.R.
1813	East Bedfont with Hatton, Pates, and Cranford (Ms.) in East Bedfont	1300	1817	C.R.

Date of Act.	Place(s).	Approx. area as est. in Act.	Date of award.	Award enrolled.
1813	Heston, Hounslow, Syon, Twickenham, and Twickenham Rectory (Ms.) in Isleworth, Heston and Twickenham Not 2470 a. as in Slater. Amending Act, 1818.	7870	1818	C.R.
1813	Greenford .. .. .	640	1816	C.R.
1813	Hanwell .. .. .	350	1816	C.R.
1813	Great Stanmore .. .. .	216	1839	C.R.
1815	Cricklewood, Kensall Green, Harlesden Green, etc., in Willesden Amending awards concerning corn rents, 1839, 1840, 1845, 1848, 1858, 1859 in C.R.	560	1823	C.R.
1818	Cranford .. .. .	395	1820	C.R.
1819	Harlington, Hepiston, and Dawley (Ms.) in Harlington	820	1821	C.R.
1824	West Drayton .. .. .	n.s.	?	?
1824	Northolt <i>als. (et recte)</i> Northall	n.s.	1835	C.R.
<i>B. Enclosures by private Act of lands including no proportion of open field arable.</i>				
1769	West Wood or West Coat Common in St. Catharine End (M.) in Ryslip <i>als. (et recte)</i> Ruislip)	?	1770	C.P. 10 Geo. III 1770
1771	Stanwell .. .. .	?	1792	Said to be in P.R.O. but not traced there
1777	Enfield Chase .. .. . Not listed in Deputy Keeper's 1866 Report. Public Act. ? <i>Quaere</i> whether open fields included.	?	1777	D. of L.
1777	St. Leonard's (P.), Shoreditch .. Public Act. ? <i>Quaere</i> whether open fields included.	?	?	?
1806	Chiswick .. .. .	68	?	?
1811	Bibsworth and Finchley Friern (Ms.) in Finchley	900	1816	C.R.
1811	Harefield .. .. .	700	1813	R.D.M.
1813	Hornsey and Brownswood (Ms.) in Hornsey Two awards, or ? is it award executed 1815, enrolled 1816	400	1815 1816	C.R. C.R.

Date of Act.	Place(s).	Approx. area as est. in Act.	Date of award.	Award enrolled.
1814	Chertsey and Laleham .. .. Chertsey is in Surrey, Laleham in Middlesex. I am therefore reckoning this Act under both counties.	165	? ?	
1814	Chiswick .. ..	40	? ?	
<i>C. Enclosures, mainly of open field under the General Act of 1836.</i>				
1836	Staines .. .. In <i>Blue Book</i> of 1904 as 1849. ? Enrolled 1849	?	1845	C.R.
1836	Shepperton .. ..	?	1842	C.R.
<i>D. Enclosures, mainly of waste alone, under the General Act of 1840.</i>				
NIL				
<i>E. Enclosures under the General Acts of 1845 et seq. of lands including any proportion of open field arable.</i>				
(i) By Provisional Order alone, without specific parliamentary confirmation.				
NIL				
(ii) By Provisional Order confirmed in pursuance of Annual General Act.				
1845 and				
1848	Littleton .. .. Award cannot be 1841 as in 1904 <i>Blue Book</i> . One return says award 1850, another 1851.	625	1850	C.R.
<i>F. Enclosures under the General Acts of 1845 et. seq. of lands including waste alone.</i>				
1845 and				
1851	Edgwarebury .. .. Not in 1904 <i>Blue Book</i> .	58	1854	C.R.
1858	Shepperton .. .. Award cannot be 1842 as in 1904 <i>Blue Book</i> .	120	1862	C.R.
<i>G. Enclosures by private agreement enrolled in County or national records.</i>				
Date of agmt.				
?	South Mimms .. .. I can find nothing about this except the reference in Deputy Keeper's 1866 <i>Report</i> , and put it here as a pure guess. It is indexed under Deeds of Exchange.	?	1781	D. of L. Lib. 3 p. 504

## NOTES.

All these are private Acts except Enfield Chase and St. Leonards, Shore-ditch, 1777, which are public Acts. Laleham, 1774, and Chertsey and Laleham, 1814, are indexed as in Surrey and Middlesex. Actually Laleham is in Middlesex, Chertsey in Surrey, so the act first named is reckoned under Middlesex only, the second act under both counties. An amending act was passed for Harrow (1803), 1806.

For assistance in checking the lists of acts and awards which form Part II of my study I am indebted to C. W. Radcliffe, Esq., Clerk of the Peace for the County of Middlesex, to Miss T. Cameron, County Clerk of the Records, and to R. Haigh, Esq., Superintendent of the Middlesex Registry of Deeds, formerly of Red Lion Street, Holborn, and now of Marsham Court, Bourne-mouth. I have also the pleasant duty of acknowledging my indebtedness to the Houblon-Norman Research Trustees whose help has enabled me to spend my time upon agrarian history at the expense of other less interesting but more remunerative pursuits.

Despite all my care it is certain that the work must still have errors and omissions. I shall be very grateful to any reader who will be so good as to send me *c/o* Balliol College, Oxford a postcard note of such. Errors so noted will be corrected, omissions supplied and the assistance properly acknowledged if ever my work appears, as it is hoped that eventually it may, in a single volume covering the whole country.

W. E. TATE.

## REPORTS OF THE SOCIETY'S MEETINGS

The meetings of the Society were successfully carried out in 1945 and 1946, although there were many difficulties arising from the fact that interesting places visited in past years were no longer available due to the devastation by the greatest of all wars.

The meetings in 1945 were as follows:—

On Saturday, 12th May, at the Church of St. Bartholomew the Great, West Smithfield, the members listened to an instructive talk on the history of the Church and inspected the fine Norman work of the Apsidal east end founded and built by Rahere from 1123 to 1133, also other work of this period together with the alterations and additions of succeeding periods, including Prior Bolton's oriel window inserted in the south triforium early in the 16th century. The canopied monument of late 15th century date to Rahere is of four bays with an altar tomb in three of them.

On Thursday, 7th June, at 12 noon, the Annual Stow Commemoration Service was held at St. Andrew Undershaft. The Lord Mayor and Sheriffs attended. An address was given and as usual, a new quill pen was placed in the hand of Stow's effigy.

On Saturday, 30th June, the members met at the ancient Church of St. Mary Overy, founded in 1106 and now the Cathedral church of St. Saviour, Southwark, and were under the guidance of the Rev. Canon T. P. Stevens. In the North Transept and Chapel from same, as also in the North Aisle Wall of the Nave, are examples of the Norman period; in the Presbytery of Early English; in the South Transept of Decorated, also in parts of later periods and much modern work.

On Saturday, 14th July, the annual whole-day excursion was arranged by Commander George Bridgmore Brown to St. Albans.

On Saturday, 8th September, our members accompanied the Ecclesiological Society to St. George's Chapel, Windsor, and were conducted by Mr. W. A. Forsyth. This church is one of the finest examples of the Perpendicular period with the windows and doors forming an effective part of the design. Originally it had a wooden roof which was removed by Henry VII who replaced

it with the stone fan-like tracery and groining of excellent proportions and beautiful effect, with the arms of the Knights of the Garter suitably displayed.

On Saturday, 29th September, the Friends of the City Churches were the conductors at the visit to some of the bombed churches of the City of London, the party meeting at St. Bride's, Fleet Street, which has suffered badly from bombing; the spire still remains as was the case also with other bombed City churches.

On Saturday, 27th October, the Rt. Hon. Lord Nathan of Churt again conducted our members through many parts of interest in the Houses of Parliament, some of which were not included in the previous visit.

The winter meetings were held at the Bishopsgate Institute.

On Saturday, 20th October, our Chairman, Major Brett-James, gave a most interesting address on "The Historians of London."

On Saturday, 24th November, an excellent account was given by Mr. Edward Yates on "Pre-War Tower Hill to Temple Bar," illustrated by lantern slides.

On Saturday, 15th December, Mr. Francis R. Taylor gave a description, with lantern illustrations, of "Some Architectural Examples in London."

The meetings in 1946 were the following:—

On Saturday, 19th January, at the Bishopsgate Institute, Mr. H. E. Chiosso gave a lantern-illustrated lecture on "Romanesque Architecture in English Parish Churches."

On Saturday, 22nd March, an interesting visit was made to St. John's Gate, Clerkenwell, under the able guidance of Mr. H. W. Fincham. The Gate House of the Priory was built by Grand Prior Docwra in 1504 and is an important building belonging to "The Order of The Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem." There have been alterations and an extension on the south side, of which Mr. J. O. Scott was architect in 1903. St. John's Church in St. John's Square, a short distance from the Gateway, has been badly damaged by bombing but the beautiful Norman and Early English Crypt is intact.

On Saturday, 6th April, St. Mary's Church, Twickenham, was first visited. It was brick-built with a stone tower in 1713-18 as the previous church had fallen down on 9th April, 1913. In 1859 and 1871 alterations were made to the galleries

and pews. The chief interest now consists in its monuments of Pope's father and mother and of Pope. Sir Godfrey Kneller was buried in the church in 1723 without a monument there, but a monument was erected in Westminster Abbey.

All Hallows Church was visited as well, a former visit there being on 10th June, 1944, and the members had another opportunity of seeing the good method adopted in utilising the church fittings from the demolished Wren Church of All Hallows, Lombard Street.

On Saturday, 18th May, the members proceeded to St. Mary's Church, Hayes, Middlesex, where they were received by the Rector, The Rev. Albert E. Hill. This church is chiefly of Perpendicular date with nave, aisles and clerestory. There are a few examples of earlier work. The font is Norman. In 1873-4 the church was restored by Sir Gilbert Scott.

On Wednesday, 5th June, the Stow Commemoration Service was held at St. Andrew Undershaft. The Lord Mayor and Sheriffs attended. The Service was conducted by the Rector, the Bishop Suffragan of Kensington, the lesson was read by Dr. John F. Nichols, and the address given by the Lord Bishop of London. A new quill pen was placed in the hand of Stow's effigy.

On Saturday, 22nd June, Mr. Edward Yates, F.S.A., conducted our members to interesting places in the Village of Hampton and gave excellent accounts of their historical associations.

On Friday, 9th August, the members assembled at the Hall of the Tallow Chandlers' Company, Dowgate Hill, Cannon Street. This Hall was erected in 1671-72 on the site of the former Hall destroyed in the Great Fire of 1666. There were many alterations and reconstructions in 1881. The Court Room retains its original arrangement. The historical associations connected with the Company and the Hall were suitably given and much appreciated.

On Saturday, 21st September, Mr. R. G. Kent conducted our members to places of interest in Southwark and gave an account of incidents in connection with same.

On Saturday, 5th October, there was a conducted tour by the Friends of the City Churches to some of the City churches, the members meeting at St. Michael's Church, Cornhill, where a short organ recital was given by Dr. Harold Darke.

The meetings at the Bishopsgate Institute were as follows:—

On Friday, 8th November, "London Ironwork" was given by Mr. Edward Yates, with lantern illustrations.

On Friday, 6th December, "Samuel Pepys and his London" was given by Mr. W. R. G. Kent, also with lantern illustrations.

On Friday, 17th January, 1947, there was a *Conversazione* and Exhibition and also an Address by Major N. G. Brett-James, our Chairman, and this evening was most successful, *being much appreciated.*

In conclusion it may be mentioned that the Annual General Meeting for 1945-46 was held on Saturday, 23rd February, 1946, and that for 1946-47 on Friday, 28th February, 1947, and the Officers and Council elected are given in the List of Officers, Council and Members circulated to all members immediately on publication.

## NOTES AND QUERIES

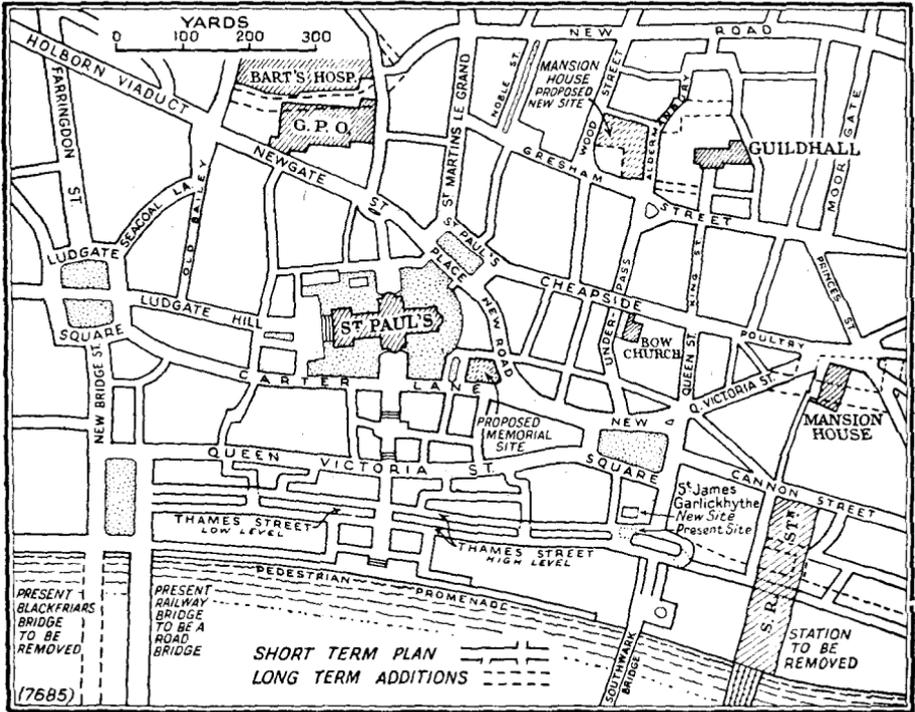
1. Replanning the City of London.
2. Number one, London.
3. Bankside Power Station.
4. Heath Row.
5. Westminster City.
6. Victory Celebrations.
7. Henry VIII's Chapel.
8. The Temple.
9. London's Lost Waters.
10. County Boundaries.
11. Public Records.
12. St. Peter ad Vincula.
13. An M.P.'s Prayer.
14. The L.C.C. come home.
15. London Libraries.
16. Roman London.
17. Cooper's Row.
18. London Bridge.
19. Brunswick Wharf.
20. Strawberry Hill.

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1. REPLANNING THE CITY OF LONDON.—On 14th November, 1940, a Committee of the City Corporation was appointed to consider the post-war planning of London, and they presented their report on 24th May, 1944, and it was published by Messrs. Batsford in July of that year. It had a number of valuable plans, a bird's-eye view of the City before the blitz, and several perspectives of proposed changes drawn by J. D. M. Harvey. These especially considered the correct treatment of St. Paul's Cathedral from all angles. Another important addition was a plan made in 1903 of all the street improvements carried out in the City between 1851 and 1902, which had involved an expenditure of nearly £6,000,000. But Mr. W. S. Morrison, who was in 1944 Minister of Town and Country Planning, rejected, as inadequate, the plans put forward, and Town Planning Consultants were appointed to produce a more satisfactory scheme. Dr. Charles Holden and Professor W. G. Holford were the two asked to consider the reconstructional problems, and they presented their report to the *Improvements and Town Planning Committee* on 17th April, 1947, and a full discussion was possible in *The Times* of 22nd May.

One of the chief features of the present survey is that it considers not only acreage, but also the height which might be recommended, and the problems of daylight which are vital to successful business efforts. It is well to remember that if all the people in central New York were to come into the streets at the same time traffic would be impossible. The report on London suggests that almost the same thing would have happened if recent development had been on the largest permitted scale. Fortunately, during the last 40 years, owners contented themselves with older, smaller buildings with a fair supply of daylight. It is a most important warning that in a number of these overdeveloped areas 40 per cent. of the high-density accommodation remained unlet in the three or four

years before the recent war. The density suggested for the City of London is based on the idea that the normal floor-space should be five times as great as the area of the building plot. This would seriously reduce the available accommodation round the Bank of England, and round St. Paul's, but would increase it north of the General Post Office and south of Queen Victoria Street. The total reduction for the whole City would not be more than 4 per cent.



ST. PAUL'S AREA.  
(By kind permission of *The Times*.)

The whole of the City is to be regarded as a single zone devoted to business purposes, but there should be considerable elasticity in average City blocks of about two acres; care being taken to provide sufficient light and air, and to adjust the claims of adjacent owners. It is good to find that the planning proposals are dictated by a desire to preserve where possible buildings of historic or architectural significance. In recent discussions on the replanning of London, emphasis has been

laid on the precinctual notion of areas devoted to one special industry or profession, and preserved from through traffic and other intrusive elements. This new plan recommends that the area round St. Paul's shall be treated as a precinct, and in the plan given of the area from the Mansion House to Farringdon Street, and from Bart's to the River, the Cathedral is given outstanding prominence. From Carter Lane to Paternoster Row is all devoted to St. Paul's, much as Wren designed and as mediæval development permitted. Ceremonial steps are suggested from a pedestrian promenade along the River just south of Thames Street, across Queen Victoria Street and rising in two flights to the level of the Cathedral Close. Where Fleet Street and Farringdon Street join, just at the bottom of Ludgate Hill, a large open space is proposed, Ludgate Square, which will give a magnificent view of the Cathedral from the West; with another open space east of New Bridge Street close to the river. It looks as though, at last, Holborn and Ludgate Hill stations are to be removed, and the railway bridge to their south will become a road bridge over the Thames. To the north-east of St. Paul's there will be an open space at the west-end of Cheapside, where Newgate Street and St. Martin's-le-grand join, with a new road running south-east past a proposed memorial site, joining up with Carter Lane and running into Queen Victoria Street. Close to where Queen Victoria Street crosses Cannon Street there will be a large open space, New Square, and Cannon Street station is planned for removal. Almost all these suggestions are part of an immediate programme, which is timed to take 10 years to accomplish. Engineering operations are planned to begin in June, 1948, and building operations about 9 months later.

The second scheme, which is planned to take three times as long, includes a big open space where the Bank underground station is situated, the real hub of London's "High" Street, and the removal of the Mansion House (largely paid for by electing dissenters as sheriffs, and then fining them because they were legally forbidden to serve) to a new site between Gresham Street, Wood Street and Aldermanbury. Another feature of the long-term policy is to remove Blackfriars Bridge, no longer needed when the adjacent bridge is converted to passenger traffic. A really ingenious scheme, which might as well be put into force at once, is the digging of an "under-pass" roadway from south to north, just west of Bow Church and underneath Cheapside.

The attitude of the planners towards sacred and historic buildings is admirable, and the City churches and the Livery Companies' Halls are given respectful consideration. There is an attempt made to aid pedestrians by linking up footways across the City, while massive views are encouraged, the intimacy of curving streets, so loved by Hilaire Belloc and many another, is preserved where possible, and there is some attempt made to preserve something of the picturesque skyline given by the spires of those of Wren's churches which survive. It is to be hoped that, when spires have outlived their churches, they should be allowed to go on doing so.

One of the most difficult problems of any planning for a great city is to balance the claims of through traffic and intimate peregrinations; and it seems as if this new plan has done something to adjust these conflicting interests.

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2. NUMBER ONE, LONDON.—Legend has it that a foreigner, coming from Kensington into London, decided that after passing the southern end of Hyde Park he had arrived; and so gave to Apsley House the designation "Number One, London." Whoever first gave the title, it has undoubtedly stuck, and the Duke of Wellington's generous gift of Apsley House to the nation has brought it into prominence. The official postal address is stated by E. V. Lucas, the famous "Wanderer in London," as being 149, Piccadilly, as the numbers start the other end.

An old veteran of Dettingen, named Allen, and his wife had an apple stall at the southern end of Park Lane and when George II passed one day he recognised his comrade in arms, gave them the piece of land upon which his wife had kept the stall on suffrance, and allowed him to build a tenement there. The stall is shown in a print of 1766, and it continued in a second generation until the land was bought by Apsley, Lord Bathurst, to serve with adjacent property for the site of his house. The brothers Adam, whose Adelphi is no longer with us, built it in red brick in 1771-78, and for 27 years it was occupied by the Bathursts, until they sold it in 1805 to the Marquess Wellesley, a former governor-general of India, elder brother of the Duke of Wellington. But the name remained unchanged, and the Bathurst stag is still a decoration of several rooms in the house. Two years later, James Wyatt made a few changes

in the house, and, on 17th July, 1810, the Marquess, who was then Foreign Secretary, received the South American liberator, Simon Bolivar, whose name is commemorated in the State of Bolivia.

In 1820 Wellesley sold the lease to his brother, Wellington, who got the younger Wyatts, Benjamin and Philip, to case the brick of Apsley House with Bath stone, and to add the portico on the south side and the rooms on the west, including the Waterloo Gallery. Wellington, who was then Prime Minister, began the custom of holding a Waterloo Banquet each year, and in 1828 he bought the lease from the Crown for just over £9,000.

Only a year or two later, when the agitation for the Reform Bill was at its height, the mob hurled stones through the windows into the Waterloo gallery. The Duke had bullet-proof iron Venetian blinds fixed to protect his windows, and they were not removed during his lifetime. "They shall remain where they are," he said "as a monument of the gullibility of the mob, and the worthlessness of that sort of popularity for which they who gave it can assign no good reason. I don't blame the men who broke my windows. They only did what they were instigated to do by others who ought to have known better. But if any are so disposed to grow giddy with popular applause I think a glance towards these iron shutters will soon sober him."

The old brick front figures in Thackeray's *Vanity Fair*, recently broadcast each Sunday evening:—"And the carriage drove on, taking the road down Piccadilly, where Apsley House and St. George's Hospital wore red jackets still; where there were oil-lamps; where Achilles was not born, nor the Pimlico circle raised." It was also the place where the toll-gate still obstructed the westerly approach to London and emphasised that when it was opened London really began.

Not far from the entrance stood the Duke's statue from about 1846 to 1884, when it was removed to Aldershot. But there is a less prominent statue of the Duke in bronze, on his charger, "looking steadfastly for ever at his old home." The other Wellington trophy is the Achilles statue in the Park, a gigantic figure cast from cannon captured at Salamanca, Vittoria, Toulouse and Waterloo, and erected at the cost of the women of England to commemorate Wellington's victories.

By the generosity of the present Duke of Wellington, Apsley House and most of its contents will shortly become national property. Some rooms on the ground and second floors will

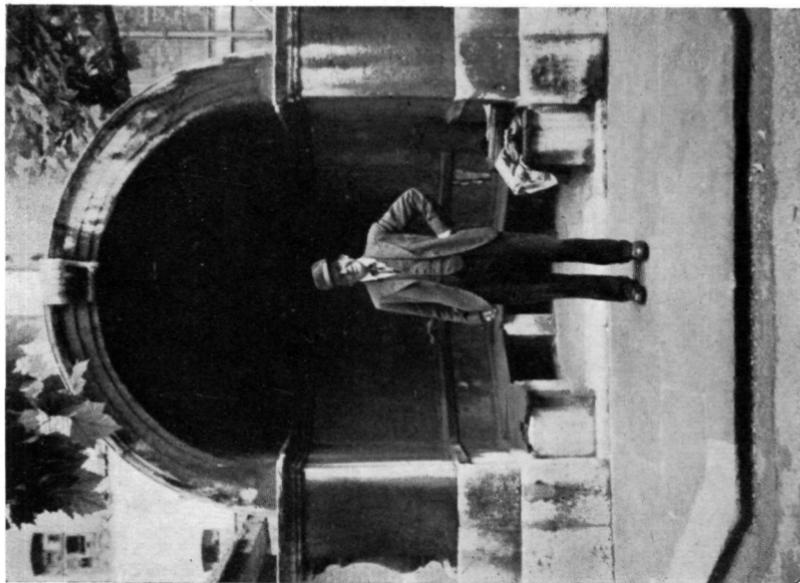
continue to be occupied by the Duke, but most of the house will be a museum linked to the Victoria and Albert in South Kensington, and part will be used for governmental entertainment.

When Napoleon's brother, Joseph, for the time King of Spain, was trying to escape into France after his troops were defeated at Vittoria, Wellington captured a large number of Spanish pictures which Joseph was trying to carry off as loot. For three years Wellington kept the pictures in London, but in 1816 he tried to give them back to the royal family of Spain. One pleasant trait in the otherwise tiresome character of Ferdinand VII was a generous instinct that prompted him to send a message to the Duke that "touched by your delicacy he does not wish to deprive you of that which has come into your possession by means as just as they are honourable." These pictures include priceless examples of Corregio and Velasquez; three Murillos; and works by Titian, Luini and Andrea del Sarto. There are also portraits of Wellington by Goya and Laurence, a colossal nude marble statue of Napoleon by Canova, a gift from George IV; famous Dutch and Flemish masters such as Van Dyck, Breughel, Rubens, Teniers, de Hooch and Stein, many English masters, including a picture commissioned by the Duke from Sir David Wilkie, for which he paid £1,260 in 1825, showing "Chelsea Pensioners reading the Waterloo Dispatch." There are a great number of personal possessions of the great Duke, gifts from English and foreign royalty, and from the Merchants of London. The badge of the garter which George IV gave to Wellington was formerly the property of the Duke of Marlborough.

The Ambassador's plate, presented in France to the Great Duke when he was ambassador there, will be available for use by the government of the day on special state occasions. No wonder that the Museums Correspondent of *The Times*, writing on 24th May, 1947, says: "The immensely valuable gift now being made will bring into the nation's possession a treasure, nobly housed, which will appear as something strikingly individual among the museums and show-places of London."

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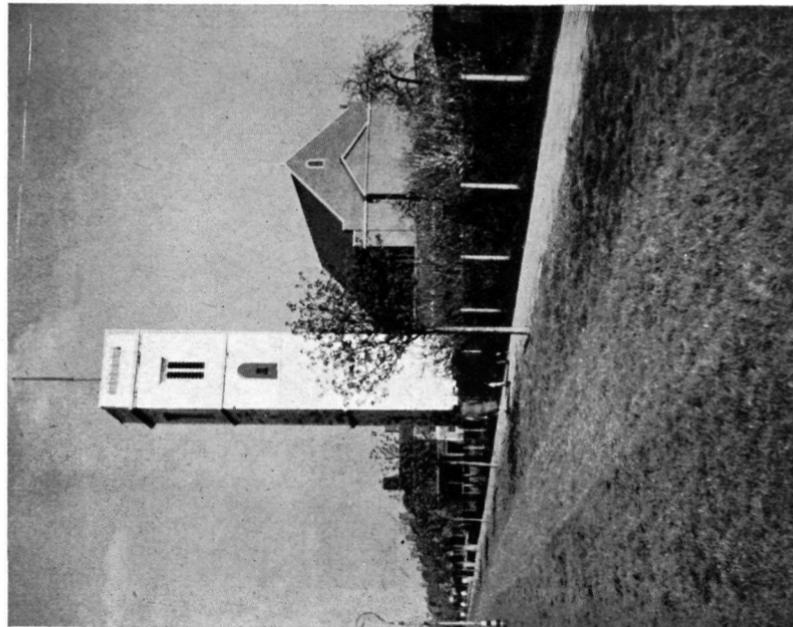
3. BANKSIDE.—One of the vital differences between London and Paris is the poor quality of the southern bank of the river that flows through London as contrasted with the attractive



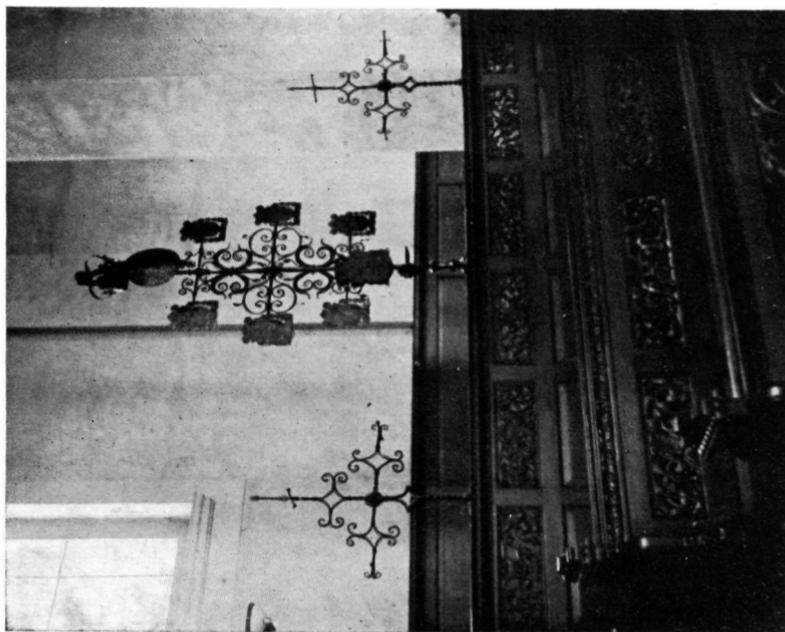
[Photo by H. E. Chiosso  
Guys' Hospital.  
Mr. William Kent in front of one of the alcoves removed  
from Old London Bridge.



[Photo by H. E. Chiosso  
HOUSE IN GREEN DRAGON COURT, SOUTHWARK.



[Photo by H. E. Chiosso  
ALL HALLOWS CHURCH, TWICKENHAM.]



[Photo by H. E. Chiosso  
ALL HALLOWS CHURCH, TWICKENHAM—SWORD RESTS.]

quality of both sides of the Seine. It may be that the island in the centre of Paris helps its structure by providing a very obvious "precinct" or "enclave"; it may be because Paris is really situated more at a spot like Oxford where the Cherwell and the Isis are linked like the Marne and the Seine. But the fact remains that the Surrey side in London, the Borough, as it is historically called, has had for some centuries very little to recommend it.

As Lord Llewellyn commented in the Bankside Power Station Debate in the Lords, for centuries Lambeth Palace, almost alone, had the Surrey side relieved from being completely barren of beauty once one came up the river from Greenwich Hospital.

The fine administrative home of the L.C.C. gave rise to hopes that from Westminster Bridge down to London Bridge there might develop a finely planned scheme of things which would make the south side of the river a good place to look upon and a desirable place in which to live and work.

And now comes the proposal to rebuild the existing power station on Bankside on a much larger scale, and the scheme has been opposed by all the civic authorities concerned and by the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's Cathedral.

Opposition was voiced by Lord Latham, Lord Lieutenant of the County, and Leader of the L.C.C., who said that all his colleagues on the County Council save two were opposed to the scheme, which was against good, sound planning, and violated the whole conception of the development of the South Bank. Southwark had borne for 100 years the ravages of disordered and unregulated building, and the scanty allowance of open space, less than any other borough in England, cried aloud for reform. The Bishop of Hereford was for nearly 10 years Bishop of Southwark, and he added his plea for a complete reconsideration of the scheme. Viscount Samuel compared the size of the proposed structure with other prominent buildings, and noted that it would be almost as long as St. Paul's and half as long as the Houses of Parliament; while its chimney would be as high as the Clock Tower at Westminster and more than double the height of the Nelson Column. He reminded the House that Southwark had for years consisted of a mass of half-derelict low-grade warehouses along the water's edge, with a huddle of wretched buildings, a melancholy desolation of tidal mud and decaying poor-class property. It lived down to Dicken's tale

of sinister silence and solitude. The new London plan envisaged a fine embankment with roadway and gardens, and a magnificent layout of streets and squares. And into this redeemed suburb, this internal link between Westminster, the governmental capital, and London, the commercial capital, was to be introduced this Bankside power station. He could imagine travellers in the future from overseas coming up the river in a steamer from Greenwich and being pointed out the various objects of interest: "On the right is St. Paul's, 515 feet long, built by Wren. On the left is the Bankside Power Station, 450 feet long. Its chimney is one of the tallest in the world and was erected in 1948. It is usually known as Silkin's folly."

The Southwark Borough Council also objected very strongly and protested against the disastrous effects of such a building, which would "lose, possibly for ever, the opportunity now presented, of making the area reconcilable with the magnificence of the opposite bank, and worthy of its associations with the everlasting memories of Shakespeare, Dickens, Wren and others; and of its position on the most famous water front, and in the heart of the greatest city in the world."

A very urgent appeal against the Minister's decision to allow the power station scheme to proceed was voiced in St. Paul's Cathedral on 25th May, 1947, by the Dean. After praising the new plan for central London which would make the next generation "citizens of a city which will have no cause to hang its head when compared with other great capitals," he said that he found it hard to express his feelings about the Bankside power station with becoming moderation. It was not so much the affront to St. Paul's that was to be feared, but the risk "that the great sweep of the river, which ought to be the most beautiful of all city waterways, will once again be given up to piecemeal and sporadic exploitation."

4. HEATH ROW.—When the Maxwells wrote their important book on *Hounslow Heath* in 1938, they commented on the rural aspect of the land to the west of Hounslow between the Bath Road and the Staines Road and northwards towards West Drayton and Hayes Station. Especial reference was made to such places as Mogden, Perry Oaks and Heathrow, which seemed almost "off the map." The increase in the size and speed of aircraft has made the earlier aerodromes of little use for long-distance planes. Hendon, Feltham and Heston can still be

used for small craft, and Northolt Aerodrome can cope with much of the European traffic, but for world journeys something far bigger was needed. And so what was called in 1935 the Harmondsworth Aerodrome has been enlarged in all directions until it will ultimately occupy more than seven square miles, between 5 and 6 times the area of Croydon Airport. Its boundaries will roughly be Harmondsworth, Sipson, Harlington, Cranford and Hatton, West Bedfont, Hanwell, Longford, with Heathrow, which gives its name to London Airport, in the centre. Mogden and Perry Oaks have been taken over in connection with the sewage disposal works for N.W. Middlesex. Already London Airport is actively engaged in receiving and despatching V.I.P. and others less important, though sometimes they have to be diverted to Bassingbourn or Hurn. According to the original plan, the whole of the hamlet of Sipson and part of the village of Harlington were due for demolition by the end of 1950. Representations as to the beauty of Harlington Church have met with great sympathy from Lord Nathan, who besides being President of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, is also Minister of Civil Aviation. Harlington Church is to be preserved *in toto*, and the work of removing such parts of Sipson and Harlington as will have to go is postponed till 1953. When the whole scheme for Heathrow Airport is complete, 3 schools, 2 churches, 12 inns, a hospital and a police station, besides more than 1,000 houses, will have disappeared to make way for hangars, offices and the gigantic runways needed to enable the Airport to deal with 160 aircraft and 4,000 passengers every hour. An early extension of the Central London Tube from Hounslow West Station will, no doubt, simplify arrivals in the metropolis still more.

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5. WESTMINSTER CITY.—There is little reason to fear that the royal city will be absorbed in one of the London Boroughs, but the Council have prepared evidence to show the great age of what is really the capital of England, housing, as it does, the home of the Monarch, the seat of the Parliament and of the Government and much if not all of the Judiciary. Westminster goes back to A.D. 610, when Sebert, King of the East Saxon Kingdom, which then included Middlesex, built a church "to the honour of God and St. Peter" just about where the Abbey now stands.

Westminster, which contains 2,503 acres, became a borough in 1900, when a Royal Charter declared it to be a city. The population has declined from 183,000 in 1901 to 65,700 in 1944, but its daytime population, due to its increasing importance as a business centre, is to-day about half a million.

The rateable value is almost ten million pounds, three million more than the City of London, and one-sixth of the rateable value of the County of London, which contains almost 75,000 acres. The City Council maintains 100 miles of public highway; issues more than a million and a third of books from its three libraries; has spent three quarters of a million in highway improvements in less than 20 years; and plan to build 2,000 flats.

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6. VICTORY CELEBRATIONS.—To light up London from 8th June to 15th June, 1946, 66 searchlights and 2,545 floodlights were used, and 35 of London's principal landmarks were illuminated at a cost of £27,000. The dome of St. Paul's Cathedral was illuminated with twelve searchlights, and the statue of Nelson on the top of the column in Trafalgar Square was pin-pointed from four searchlights mounted on buildings at points round the Square. Buckingham Palace was floodlight with purple, and the upper storeys and the Royal Standard were illuminated. St. James's Palace had 27 floodlights, mostly red, but a few in amber. Especial care was taken to throw blue and white, and red and dark blue on the Admiralty Arch.

The National Gallery, the Government Offices in Trafalgar, especially the War Office and Admiralty Buildings, had red, gold and flame floodlights. Canada House, in Trafalgar Square, and the fountains there added to the glamour of the scene; while the Abbey, Lambeth Palace, the Houses of Parliament and Big Ben gave that portion of Westminster a majestic appearance. All the other Government offices in the West End were lit, and, further afield, Hampton Court, Windsor Castle, the Tower, Bethnal Green Museum, Waterloo Bridge, and Royal Naval College at Greenwich completed the picture.

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7. HENRY VII'S CHAPEL.—In restoring, cleaning, repairing and replacing items of historic interest in different parts of

London, chances have been given and accepted of close investigation. The elaborate beauty of the sculptured detail in the ceiling of Henry VII's Chapel at Westminster has been examined and photographed, and any actual or possible damage has been carefully treated. New cusps of various sizes have been cemented into place, and these have been carved in facsimile either before or after replacement. The damage was not very severe, being due to a bomb which fell in Old Palace Yard. The Chapel was erected between 1503 and 1519, being commenced by Henry VII and finished by his son.

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8. THE TEMPLE.—Few things have been more noticed than the disasters that overtook the Temple, among them Middle Temple Library, seriously damaged by blast from a bomb on the Embankment, two landmines and some flying bombs. To make some plans for a new Library, which may have to last for ten years, a site for temporary accommodation was made in Brick Court, where 80,000 books can be re-assembled from the country house where they were stored during the war and for some time afterwards. It is claimed that this is the only single library in London which can cater for the needs of returned lawyers and new students for some years to come.

A big crack which was to be seen by the side of the Tower was not due to the bombs, but had been there for nearly half a century, and was due to a subsidence caused by the soft soil of the old wharf that formerly stood on the site.

Many old bricks are being used to restore parts of Elm Court and Brick Court, some of them late 17th century, some salvaged from the Great Fire. The oldest house in Middle Temple Lane, with its timber-framed and plastered front has been jacked up and repaired and pulled back into its original line. It is interesting to note that Caen stone, which was used in many mediaeval London buildings, does not withstand the atmosphere well. Portland stone gives far better resistance, and wears and weathers admirably.

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9. LONDON'S LOST WATERS.—In a recent book by A. Courtenay Williams, *Angling Diversions*, we read with interest of the lost tributaries of the Thames from which could once be caught plenty of good fish. The Westbourne, which must be the only

river which runs above a railway station (Sloane Square), is now entirely covered in, the last part having been covered in by 1891. Edward the Confessor gave the lands which adjoin the stream to the monks of Westminster, and plenty of fish used to be taken from what is now a rat-haunted London sewer. The Effra, which runs from Wandsworth to Vauxhall, used to open out "into placid lakes, in which boys were wont to angle for the fish which were found in shoals amid the water-lilies which studded its surface. Time was when anglers seeking trout were wont to wade in it—but, alas! they are London sewer men clad in black thigh boots and thick jerseys."

Salmon were to be found in the Thames from Roman times almost to within living memory. An entry in the churchwarden's book for Wandsworth for 1580 records:

"In the Somer, the fysshers of Wandsworth tooke, between Monday and Saturday, seven score salmon in the same fishings, to the great honour of God."

Ponds attached to taverns, inns, hostelries and the like frequently had stocks of fish to attract customers, especially from 1750 onwards. At week-ends or on a fine summer's evening "their banks were lined with a jostling crowd of fishermen, even if fishing was only an excuse for enjoying a convivial time at an adjacent hostelry." From Chelsea to Lechlade good salmon were obtainable, netting being practised near London during the reign of Charles II. The last native salmon was caught more than a century ago in 1833, and all subsequent attempts to stock the Thames have not had the success they deserved.

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10. COUNTY BOUNDARIES.—Between the wars the Middlesex and Surrey County Councils agreed to a transfer to Surrey from Middlesex of 31·3 acres of land, and from Surrey to Middlesex of 18·8 acres; so that the county boundary would follow precisely the course of the Thames, except in the case of Brentford Act, which belongs to Richmond Corporation. This scheme is to be put before the Boundary Commission for the whole country, and it will be asked to confirm the agreement. As our Vice-Chairman of Council, William Wheatley, remarks, it leaves the Honorary Editor 12·5 acres less to write about in his book on *Middlesex* in Robert Hall's new County Series! But it is only fair to remark that, by a gentleman's agreement with Sir William

Beach-Thomas (who is responsible for the volume on Hertfordshire), Arkley, and the three Barnets (High, New and East) and Totteridge are to be reckoned in Middlesex, if so desired, which adds nearly 10 square miles to the task! As is well-known the curious boundary between the two counties which permits this curious "enclave" to be in Herts. is due to the rival claims of the Abbots of St. Albans and Westminster, and dates from before the Conquest.

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11. PUBLIC RECORDS.—The work of repairing the Public Record Office was made necessary by a bomb in September, 1940, which destroyed one of the turrets, by a flying bomb in 1944, and about 70 incendiary bombs. The priceless manuscripts were packed in 90,000 cases and were evacuated to such refuge centres as Shepton Mallet Gaol, Belvoir Castle, Haddon Hall, and a Poor Law building near Market Harborough. It was a very difficult and complicated task to unpack the containers, check the documents and make sure that jolting, movement and dampness had done no harm, which fortunately was the case. The earliest documents to be on view once again were such historic specimens as Domesday Book, specimens of Chancery Rolls from the reign of King John, the original warning which revealed Guy Fawkes and the Gunpowder Plot, the Log-book of *H.M.S. Victory*, despatches from the battlefields of Waterloo, and the original "Scrap of Paper" of 1839, by which the Germans guaranteed the neutrality of Belgium.

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12. ST. PETER AD VINCULA.—The Chapel of St. Peter ad Vincula in the Tower of London was probably built in the reign of Henry II, and was partly reconstructed after a fire in 1512, at much the same time as the building of Henry VII's Chapel. One of the most complete monuments to be seen in the Tower is the Blount Tomb which was cleaned in the spring of 1946.

Macaulay has well called the Chapel one of the saddest spots on earth, so many tragic figures in history having been buried there. Among Tudor victims were More and Fisher, Ann Boleyn, Thomas Cromwell, Catherine Howard, the Duke of Somerset, Lady Jane Grey and her husband, Lord Guildford Dudley; the Duke of Monmouth during the disastrous reign of James II; and victims of Jacobite conspiracy, Lords Tullibardine, Kilmarnock, Balmerino and Lovat.

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13. AN M.P.'S PRAYER.—In an appeal for money to aid Britain's bombed churches and to restore religious work on the Continent, a speaker quoted a prayer composed by John Ward, M.P., in 1727:

"O Lord, Thou knowest that I have nine houses in the City of London, and that I have lately purchased an estate in fee simple in Essex. I beseech Thee to preserve the two counties of Middlesex and Essex from fires and earthquakes—and for the rest of the Counties, Thou mayest deal with them as Thou art pleased."

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14. THE L.C.C. COME HOME.—Among evacuees during the war the London County Council and staff of 450 were housed at Cooper's Hill, a middle-19th century mansion on Englefield Green, a fine eminence not far from Windsor. It was a good many years ago the Royal Indian Engineering College, and will now be taken over by the Ministry of Education so as to train ex-servicemen for five years. Then the L.C.C. will convert the 375 rooms into a convalescent home. The L.C.C. will have restored to County Hall the two magnificent London libraries collected by Henry A. Harben and John Burns and given to the Council by the owner and by Lord Southwood respectively.

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15. LONDON LIBRARIES.—The two collections mentioned above are probably the best to be found in public hands, but there are two other fine accumulations still in their owners' possession. One of these belongs to our President, Colonel Rt. Hon. Lord Nathan, who has for many years been a keen student of London history, and has been able to make a collection which can challenge comparison with that made by John Burns. The second library is that made by Colonel A. C. Bromhead, C.B.E., J.P., at Douglas House, Petersham, famous for its association with Carleton, Kitty, Duchess of Queensberry and John Gay, who wrote "*The Beggar's Opera*" in the summer-house. Colonel Bromhead's collection consists of nearly 4,000 books and tracts on London, including a first edition of John Stow's *Survey*, tracts dealing with social conditions in London in early Stuart times, minute lists of victims of the Great Plague, many playbills recording the gay life of the 18th century, a contemporary panorama of the funeral procession of Anne of Cleves.

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16. ROMAN LONDON.—Before the war we had a London Committee to watch all City excavations, whether small or great, in order to record any Roman remains which might be discovered. The damage done from the air has given archaeologists a unique chance of exploring the sites of the old Roman foundations. To the Lord Mayor's Committee for the excavation of Roman London two of our members were invited, the Honorary Secretary, Commander Bridgmore Brown, and the Honorary Editor. W. F. Grimes, Keeper of the London Museum and Director of Excavations to the Roman and Mediaeval London Council, was able to make a trial excavation, the first ever made in the City exclusively for archaeological purposes, on the bombed site of the Saddlers' Hall in Gutter Lane, north of Cheapside. The cutting was 50 feet long and five feet wide, and went 28 feet below the level of the street. After a very careful study of the finds, the conclusion is that the level 28 feet down is approximately of the date A.D. 50, while 4 feet above is c. A.D. 100. There are indications of huts belonging to Roman-British settlers, soon after the Claudian conquest, with timber floors and roofs supported by posts. A number of unimportant Roman pottery fragments help to determine dates. There are later timber dwellings, and traces of occupation up to mediaeval times, when there seem to have been pits of the 14th century, possibly used by saddlers in leather-tanning. The prospects of results to be obtained by these trial excavations are good, and may give us important news about mediaeval methods and "supplement the history of the City Livery Companies as well as the wider story of unknown London."

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17. COOPER'S ROW.—Underneath the pavement of Cooper's Row, near the Tower of London, is one of the City's greatest relics, the longest piece of Roman wall, 110 feet long, 30 feet high, holding up the floors of the bonded warehouses of Joseph Barber and Co. A bomb which blew off the roof of the warehouses did not damage the wall which was probably built in A.D. 79. The original patrol path used by Roman sentries is still extant, with two loopholes in the wall, and it was evidently the strength of the cement which kept the wall intact, a secret method of holding stones together which has not yet been discovered. The vaults containing the Roman wall cover about

two acres, and were formerly occupied by the East India Company. There is a large tunnel at the extreme south end of the wall and there is a tradition that it linked up the Roman wall with the Tower of London.

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18. LONDON BRIDGE.—The old nursery rhyme telling us that "London Bridge is broken down" suggests that earlier generations were well aware of the only bridge over the Thames from Kingston to the sea. The story of the Bridge from its construction by Peter of Colechurch in the reign of King John was told recently in the Children's Hour of the B.B.C. Considerable local patriotism would no doubt have been thereby aroused, and it is to be hoped that similar talks will produce a wave of keen students who want to know more about the metropolis and the county of Middlesex. Meantime, our members, Dr. F. W. M. Draper and W. E. Maclagan are interesting other schoolchildren in local history; young men who have recently been conscripted are using spare time in the army to discover antiquities, and we are glad that a number of keen younger members and schoolboys and girls availed themselves of the chance of helping in the recent excavation of Sulloniaca on Brockley Hill. The Honorary Secretary of the work was Douglas Gabriel of 103, Sunnyside, Mill Hill, N.W.7, and besides our parent society, Barnet Records, Edgware and Stanmore and Mill Hill and Hendon joined in. We hope to resume work next summer.

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19. BRUNSWICK WHARF.—This wharf is part of the site marked out for the new Poplar power station, and a great deal of historic material is in process of demolition. From the dockmaster's house a bronze plaque has been carefully removed to a place of safety, because it records the fact that in 1606 (before the sailing of the *Mayflower* and *Speedwell*), on 19th December, the *Sarah Constant* (100 tons), the *Godspeed* (40 tons) and the *Discovery* (20 tons) sailed from this spot with 120 adventurers on board, and, after a voyage of four months and a week, landed them at Cape Henry, Virginia, thus founding the first permanent English colony over there. All those on board were men and 15 died on the way, but Captain John Smith survived to be rescued from his Indian captors by Pocahontas, and to bring her back to England as his wife. Two centuries and a half

later on Brunswick Wharf was used as a transhipment point for German and Dutch emigrants to U.S.A. They were brought ashore in living memory, driven off to lodgings in horse-drawn wagonnettes, and after a night's rest brought back to join their ship and sail to their new home across the Atlantic.

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20. STRAWBERRY HILL.—Twickenham today connotes International Rugby Football, but our minds were recently sent back two centuries to one of its most famous inhabitants, Horace Walpole. On the road from Twickenham to Teddington the coachman of the Earl of Bradford built Chopped Straw Hall, where in later years lived Colley Cibber, a Bishop of Durham and the Marquis of Carnarvon. It was in 1747 that Horace Walpole acquired the lease and afterwards the freehold of the property from the toy-woman, Mrs. Chenevix. He was delighted with his purchase, he enlarged it with bastard Gothic library and cloisters, and many of the wits and beauties of his day came to visit him at Strawberry Hill. "Thank God," he wrote, "the Thames is between me and the Duchess of Queensberry."

The house as furnished by him and a handsome annuity were left to Mrs. Damer, the sculptress, and later on the Earl and Countess of Waldegrave gave garden parties there. It is now St. Mary's College, Twickenham, and to commemorate the bicentenary of Walpole's purchase, R. W. Ketton-Crewe gave a lecture on "Horry," the rival of Pepys, Evelyn and Boswell, and perhaps also of Hervey, Creevy and Greville. A great deal of the real history of the 18th century is to be gleaned from his writings, and he certainly contrived to write one of the comparatively rare books to which the epithet "immortal" can fairly safely be given. Macaulay devotes an essay to his "Whims and oddities and virtuosities," and during the Second World War Dr. G. P. Gooch gave us in *Courts and Cabinets* a series of characters of almost all the well-known royal and political notables who were known to Hervey and Walpole.

## REVIEWS

THE LOST TREASURES OF LONDON. By William Kent.

A very apposite comparison is made, in this extremely competent and well-produced survey, between the damage done by the Great Fire, and that perpetrated by the Great Blitz. In 1666, 89 churches, 13,200 houses and 400 streets were lost; 15 out of 26 wards were completely destroyed, 8 partially. That means that three-quarters of London was lost by accident. In the recent war the total acreage deliberately destroyed up to February, 1944, was 164 acres out of 460 acres of built-up land in the City, not much more than one-third of the total. It is bad enough, but it might have been so very much worse.

Our members will have had the chance, of which they will be sure to have availed themselves, of studying this book in detail, and of undertaking the seven fascinating walks therein suggested.

It is difficult to assess the damage done or to pick out the greatest tragedies. St. Clement Danes suffered from bombing on three separate occasions, and it is the literal truth to say that the complete gutting of the building was responsible for the death, from a broken heart, of William Pennington Bickford, its rector, and of his wife, who both died in the summer of 1941. The disasters to Westminster Deanery and School must have had their effect on the late Dean, Dr. Labillière, who had given such devoted service to the Abbey and had extended its uses so wisely. For all scholars and students the wholesale destruction of books will always be a source of sadness and grave inconvenience. Simpkin Marshalls alone in Paternoster Row lost four million books, and nearly thirty publishers whose offices were there were great sufferers too. "Sagittarius," in the *New Statesman*, made this comment:—

"They who their own land robbed of light and learning,  
Kindled the books here, a brand for London's burning,  
Lighted the bonfire of Paternoster Row."

Other serious losses of books were sustained by the Templars and by Gray's Inn, by Lambeth Palace, Sion College, the British Museum, University College, and the Guildhall. It is doubtful whether the total loss of books (perhaps a dozen million) suffered in the City of London can ever be made good.

Mr. Kent regrets that the publishers chose a few illustrations on their own initiative. In this way there was included a picture of the font of the demolished Church of All Hallows, Lombard Street, described as All Hallows, Barking. The necessary correction has been made in the third impression, now on sale.

ROUND THE SHIRES. By Martin S. Briggs, F.R.I.B.A.

It is not surprising that this attractive book, with very many line drawings and maps by the author, should already have gone into several editions. Forty-two chapters touch all the counties of England in turn, and for once Middlesex as well as London gets its fair share. The author comments on the lack of county feeling in the county, due to the instability of suburban life, the restless dormitory population, the obliteration of ancient landmarks

by the sprawl of the "Great Wen." Fifteen years ago he told the story of the county in word and drawing (*Middlesex; Old and New*), appealing for the preservation of the few beauty spots and historic buildings still left.

The Second World War did some damage in Middlesex, but it did at least check building; and meantime town planning has put a veto on a good deal of needless destruction. The author comments on the growth of population in Middlesex during half a century from half a million to two millions, and welcomes the comprehensive reports which plan "satellites" instead of "suburbs." He speaks with admiration of some of the newer churches, St. Thomas's at Hanwell, St. Mark's at Teddington, All Hallows and Holy Cross at Greenford, and John Keble at Mill Hill; and comments on the amount of light manufacturing now done in the South of England, especially in the light and airy factories along the Great West Road and Western Avenue. In his chapter on London he gives most attractive pictures of a new view of St. Paul's Cathedral, and of the Senate House and Central Tower of London University.

THE PLACE NAMES OF MIDDLESEX is Volume 18 in the publications of the English Place-Name Society, and has been compiled by J. E. B. Gover, Allan Mower, F. M. Stenton and S. J. Madge. This important work discusses, first of all, the name Middlesex, and concludes that probably Surrey and Herts., from the Chilterns to the North Downs, were included in the original Saxon division. It naturally places in its Bibliography the *Transactions* of our Society, with special reference to the *Black Survey* and later *Extents* of Hendon which provide a great number of field- and farm-names. There are very few British names, all rivers, Brent, Colne, Lea and Thames, and small trace of Roman occupation. The whole county is eminently Saxon, and a very full list of the chief elements used in place-names is given, showing how often the simple portions occur, e.g. bridge, bury, bourne, cote, down, end, field, ford, gate, green, hale, hill, land, lane, marsh, moor, stone, street, ton, wick, well, worth, and wood. In an interesting appendix there is a discussion of the three Hendon Charters, two of Hampstead, and those of Westminster Abbey. In the former occurs the word "Suluc," i.e. Silk Stream, in close proximity to a "tunsteall," possibly a Roman station on Watling Street, as the editors suggest. But they cannot accept the suggestion that the station is *Sulloniaca*.

This full survey covers the whole of the old Saxon County of Middlesex, apart from the actual City of London, which has to be postponed until times are easier.

THE ENGLISH TOWNSMAN. By the late Thomas Burke. (Published by B. T. Batsford, 12s. 6d. net.)

Town life, the author claimed, is as natural a life as any, and London has drawn tributes of affection from one generation after another. Fourteenth century towns had tiny populations, London leading the way with 20,000. The guilds, with their schools, almshouses and chapels, rendered fine civic service, and did not make wealth their sole ambition. London protected its citizens when on journey, collected their debts, set up high standards of workmanship, and lived luxuriously when trade was good. A vivid picture

is painted of the Bohemian side of London life, created by a group of Elizabethan poets and pamphleteers, Marlowe, Kyd, Greene, Nash and Peele, "all of whom lived that starveling life whose chief features were the garret, the tavern, the sponging-house and the stews, and whose end was as the guttering of a farthing candle." Gabriel Harvey, of Saffron Walden, a Cambridge Don at whom Robert Greene had scoffed, as he did at Shakespeare, asks about his foe: "Who in London hath not heard of his dissolute and licentious living; his villainous cogging and foisting; his continual shifting of lodgings; his beggarly departing in every hostess' debt; his infamous resorting to the Bankside, Shoreditch, Southwark and other filthy haunts; his obscure lurking in basest corners; his impudent pamphleting, fantastical interluding and desperate libelling . . . Most unhappy M. Greene!"

It is well to be reminded that the country was at the very door of every Londoner in Shakespeare's day or even when Milton lived in Aldersgate or Petty France. Five minutes from Cornhill Conduit and he was in Moorfields and the lanes and hedgerows of Finsbury, while St. Giles' and St. Martin's were literally in the fields. There is still a great deal of gossip about Stuart life in London to be gleaned from the plays, the pamphlets, the "characters," and the gossip of the newspapers or the coffee houses. Boswell, Garrick, Johnson and Lamb naturally figure in the story, which concludes with a grim picture of clean but unimaginative housing at Plaistow, where, as in other cities, the townsmen have shown the mettle of their pavements.

MIDDLESEX, to celebrate the Jubilee of the County Council in 1939, was compiled by C. W. Radcliffe, and gives a very full picture of the county from every angle. It explains the historical development of Middlesex from the earliest times, the chief persons of historic interest, houses and churches of importance and the local administration of justice. The county services are fully discussed in relation to finance, education, health in its widest sense, roads and bridges, streams and drainage, and open spaces.

The eight years that have elapsed since this very attractive, well-illustrated book was first produced, have brought fresh powers to the county authorities with regard to open spaces, building and education. There are 11 important industrial areas within the county, as well as a long wide stretch of green belt, and so much has population increased that seven Middlesex boroughs are demanding the formation of a satellite town into which to decant their population. There is hardly any reference to aviation, and now Heathrow and Northolt between them provide for European and world transport from London Airport, and Hendon Aerodrome is too small to be of much service today.

GEORGIAN LONDON. By John Summerson. (Pleiades Books, 21s.)

There need never be a pause in the writing of books about London, and one to discuss the development of the City and its immediate suburbs during the 18th and early 19th centuries was much needed. John Summerson has certainly done his task with great skill, and its publication at a time when so many schemes for dealing with London are in the air will enable us to see one or two fine pieces of good town planning and test our new schemes by a judicious comparison.

Perhaps the best pieces of planning were those carried out by the Adam

brothers and Robert William Chambers soon after George III came to the throne. It was a sad day when so much of the Adelphi was removed, that magnificent series of buildings, erected about 1768 on piers and arches of solid masonry on a three-acre site overlooking the river. The original Adelphi was built out of a fund of £200,000 raised by a lottery, and it was perhaps the best known of all the brothers Adam's designs. But we still have Kenwood in Hampstead, the Scottish House in Whitehall, and the screen in front of the Admiralty on the same side of the street. Sir William Chambers was responsible for designing the new Somerset House after the old palace of the Protector and of the Queens of England was pulled down in 1775. For many years the Royal Society, the Society of Antiquaries and the Royal Academy had their headquarters there, until they all moved westwards to Burlington House. The terrace on the south side of the building was designed, like the Adelphi block of the Adams brothers, in anticipation of the long-projected plan for a Thames embankment.

It is difficult to recall what some parts of Georgian London were like now that Aldwych and Kingsway have swept away Holywell and Wych Streets, with the gloomy purlieus and fetid slums behind them, and all the squalor of three centuries. These streets, narrow as they were, recalled the atmosphere of Gay's *Trivia*, but the Strand has gained in space and dignity more than it has lost in picturesqueness. Another aspect of Georgian London occurs in the fine piece of real town planning from the Park which was rescued from St. John's Wood, down Regent's Street to Piccadilly and on to Carlton Terrace and St. James's Park. John Nash has suffered hardly from restorers and from the blitz. There is a very strong feeling abroad that his terraces in Regent's Park must be restored. Here is what John Summerson has to say about them: "They are dream palaces, full of grandiose, romantic ideas such as an architect might scribble in a holiday sketch book. Seen at a distance, framed in green tracery, perhaps in the kind light of late autumn, they suggest architectural glories which make Greenwich tame and Hampton Court provincial. Carved pediments, rich in allegory, top the trees; massive pavilions, standing forward like the *corps de garde* of Baroque chateaux, are linked to the main structures by triumphal arches or columnar screens; each terrace stretches its length in all the pride of unconfined symmetry. It is magnificent."

I suppose that the younger generation has grown used to the new Regent's Street, but some of the elders still regret the very comprehensive rehabilitation that took place before and after the First World War. There are in the new Regent Street some amazing buildings, and we "creep about between these Brobdingnagian structures, and wonder at their Van Dyke-like proportions." But we may well feel sorry at the loss of Nash's gracious curve and his quadrant, and wonder whether we have not exchanged a street of quiet distinction for "something very large and very expensive; just a little ostentatious, and not a little vulgar." This was Beresford Chancellor's conclusion, but I daresay we have grown so used to the New Regent Street by now that we have almost forgotten the old.

Buckingham Palace is another of Nash's designs, built on the site of old Buckingham House, which was settled by George IV on Queen Charlotte in lieu of old Somerset House. In the old House all the royal children were born, and it was not until 1825 that George IV had Buckingham House taken

down. It was at first proposed to give the rebuilding to Sir John Soame (1755-1837), designer of the Bank of England, Belgrave Place, Dulwich Gallery, the old Treasury (soon rebuilt by Sir Charles Barry) and founder of the Soane Museum, of which John Summerson is curator. But the splendid plan which Soane had made was ignored, and Nash's plan was slow and unsatisfactory. This was perhaps due to a mere juggle on the part of William IV and Nash, pretending to repair the old palace and really building a new one. Nash's conduct was severely criticised and the task was given to Edward Blore, who finished the palace in time for Queen Victoria to enter it on 13th July, 1837.

This book is an important contribution to the history of London and should be of great value to those who are responsible for its repair and reconstruction.

HOW SHOULD WE REBUILD LONDON? By C. B. Purdom. (J. M. Dent and Sons, 15s.)

The author brings to his important survey valuable experience gained over thirty years by writing on *The Garden City*, *Satellite Towns*, and *Britain's Cities To-morrow*. His text seems clear and it demands healthy and spacious homes for the masses of the people. "Palaces are for the glory of princes," he writes, "parliaments for national glory, churches for the glory of God, and factories for meat and drink, but homes are for the common man, who is the image of God, and for whose sake every function of the city is called into existence."

The problems which we are facing today are not new ones, but they are on a bigger scale than ever before. Early in the 17th century Inigo Jones was laying out fields for the Russells, Earl of Bedford, and this was continued for nearly 200 years; after the Restoration, St. James's Square was a region of homes for the nobility, while the first of jerry-builders on a large scale was Dr. Nicholas Barbon. Slums sprang up on a terribly large scale, and the divergence between the West End of luxury and the East End of squalor became more and more marked. One wonders whether the plan of a group of "precincts" is not the solution. The author claims that the Inns of Court, Charterhouse and the admired London squares owe their quality to the fact that they are groups of buildings treated as a unit. If there is no sense of unity and civic co-ordination, architecture, however good, can only be freakish, that is violently out of relation with its surroundings. A striking example is provided in the sad havoc a single owner's whim wrought to the amenities of Carlton Terrace.

The half satirical, half constructive drawings which are printed at the beginning of each chapter have an especial interest, as they are the last work of "Batt," Oswald Barrett, who died on the North-West Frontier of India from illness contracted there while on service in 1945. They express his love for his native city, and his hopes of what a future London ought to be. Author and artist start with the question: "What is London?" And, after a discussion on the historic development of the City and its suburbs, the conclusion is that London is a place which one can love, but of which it is difficult to be proud. However much reduction in population is possible, London must remain a population of several millions, and more and better houses are needed at once to replace slums, semi-slums and bombed homes, and to provide dwellings for those who have never yet enjoyed a home of their

own. Whether these homes are to be houses or flats, what is the minimum requirement per person, the elimination of land speculation, are among the problems to be faced. The comparative efficiency of such bodies as the London and Middlesex County Councils, the Metropolitan Water Board, the Port of London Authority and the London Passenger Transport Board show that enterprise on a large scale can be both effective and economic. Shops, offices and markets, industrial centres, factories, the disposal of sewage, the provision of gas, water and electricity, places for relaxation, churches, hospitals and schools—all these are things which are of supreme importance, and most of them have been dealt with in a half-hearted haphazard way.

It is remarkable that the river, which was in older times, when there was some danger attached to its use, a real highway, should almost have ceased to function as a place of recreation and pleasure except on the day of the Boat Race. London is fairly rich in open spaces, but so often the best laid-out areas with the largest private gardens are also best served with parks. Hyde Park, Kensington Gardens, St. James's Park and the Green Park are a cogent comment on the promise that to them that have shall be given.

Any discussion of London must lead up to the problems of traffic, of roads, footpaths, by-passes, of trains above and below ground, and of the ultimate association of the con-urbation of London and the aeroplane.

The Tube Railways are, on the whole, a success; but the viaduct across Ludgate Hill, the ten great railway termini in London, and the hopeless planning chaos of railways just south of London Bridge show that no central plan has ever been envisaged. *Queues for travellers, and strap-hanging* morning and evening call for immediate action.

The author does not think that there is much prospect of recovering the village communities that existed once in Knightsbridge, Kensington, Paddington, Highbury, Stockwell, Clapham and a hundred others, but here he may be wrong, especially if the long view can be taken of the problem, and the churches, women's institutes, youth centres, schools and the like can be persuaded to give a lead. Can such a scheme as David Lilienthal's Tennessee Valley experiment be tried in London? It is certainly worth while discussing.

Some of the most important features of this stimulating book occur in the Appendices, Notes and lists of books written on the subject.

There are problems enough and to spare, and they can really be answered only by the young. London must be rebuilt and reorganised for the benefit of the average man and woman and child and not mainly for the rich. There must be an end of the "inhumanity of miles of miserable streets, set off by the barbarous commercialism of main thoroughfares." London can be rebuilt grandly. "It can be a great and marvellous place to live in, with space and flowers and air. With everything that is necessary, it can be done, and it can be started now."

MY LORD MAYOR AND THE CITY OF LONDON. By William Kent and S. van Abbé, R.B.A., A.R.E. (Herbert Jenkins, 10s. 6d.)

This is a book of which Londoners may well be proud; for it tells in prose and picture the history and traditions of that most interesting of figures, the head for a year of the greatest capital city of yesterday, even if not of to-day or to-morrow. It has a magnificent dust cover, showing the Lord Mayor, St. Paul's, the Monument and the City's arms and motto; eight more pictures

in colour, and over fifty in line; and we get a clear notion of the Lord Mayor's election, the pageantry of the annual show, his many duties, his official home at the Mansion House, largely built with fines levied on Dissenters, the Guildhall, so badly damaged in the "blitz," and stories of famous Mayors and Lord Mayors of the past. It was under King John that London's Portreeve became a Mayor, and in Tudor times that he earned fresh dignity as a Lord Mayor. A well-known mayor was Walworth, who struck down "a man of much higher nature, and a much braver spirit," in the person of Wat Tyler. Richard Whittington, whose "stone" is still to be seen on Highgate Hill, is perhaps the most famous of them all, but the names of Boleine and Colet, Pennington and Reynardson will not easily be forgotten. Several Lord Mayors died of gaol fever, hence the sprinkling of the Old Bailey dock with herbs. Amongst them was Sir Thomas Abney, Lord Mayor in 1700, whose name is immortalised in the Abbey Park Cemetery. In his house, as we hear from this spirited narrative, "for the last thirty-six years of his life, Isaac Watts, the preacher and hymn-writer, was an honoured guest." The house was demolished a century ago, but Watts' study chair, given him by Abney, is among the treasured possessions of our Honorary Editor. John Wilkes, commemorated in Ludgate Circus, was Lord Mayor in 1774, and there is a drawing of his medal, with Wilkes in his S.S. collar on one side and a jackboot on the other. An incident that naturally interests our readers is the annual visit of the Lord Mayor to the Stow service at the Church of St. Andrew Undershaft, and the ceremony of the quill pen. The Lord Mayor has a very busy, expensive year of office, and one of them gave as the necessary qualification for the post, "First, an iron constitution; secondly, an iron constitution; and, of course, a bottomless purse."

SOME OLD-TIME "FRIENDS" OF ST. ANDREW UNDERSHAFT. By Rev. Sir Henry L. L. Denny, Bart., M.A.

This is a welcome story of the association of the Denny family with Stow's Church during many generations, starting as far back as 1310. It gives a microcosm of London life under ten Sovereigns and 175 Mayors and Lord Mayors. An early Denny was knighted at Carcassone; another overlapped Chaucer in London; a third fought at Agincourt and was associated with Whittington; others had their tombs mentioned by John Stow. A Henry Denny was Archbishop of Canterbury in 1501-3, and Sir Anthony was one of the earliest pupils at Colet's St. Paul's School. Sir Francis Walsingham, famous as an Elizabethan statesman, was a Denny on his mother's side. The Rector of Kipling's Burwash has good reason to be proud of his ancestry.

THE BOMBED BUILDINGS OF BRITAIN, edited by J. M. Richards, with notes by John Summerson. (Architectural Press, 25s. net.)

An earlier edition of this book was published in 1942, and reprinted the next year. It gave a clear account of the damage done by the great "blitz" of 1940-41. This enlarged volume gives what must be an almost complete story of all the main architectural damage done during the whole six years of war, and it includes all the big towns as well as London, and many small ones. Most of the buildings damaged are also given in their original state, and in the case of London these engravings are taken from Maitland, Shepherd and

Partington's books published in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. A personal note was struck for me by the inclusion of a picture of the damage done to the little village of Sturry, next door to Fordwick, on the Stour in Kent, which "typifies the beauty of Kentish vernacular architecture, with its high average standard of design and craftsmanship." More than half the book's 200 quarto pages deal with places outside London; but the pages devoted to London give a very full story of the damage done, and there are over 180 pictures to illustrate it. To choose just a few striking examples from a tragically long list one might instance Pagani's Restaurant, The Times Building in Printing House Square, Burlington Arcade, Bayswater Road, Guildford Street, Suffolk Street, Finsbury and Mecklenburg Squares, Dr. Fothergill's house in Harpur Street; St. Faith's Church in Stoke Newington; St. John's, Red Lion Square; St. Mary's, Islington; St. John's, Horsleydown. These are among the less well-known examples; and the many famous City Churches and Companies' Halls, the Inns of Court, the Abbey and St. Paul's are well illustrated. But it is a grim business, and no wonder that Londoners who know their city and loved it hardly dare, sometimes, to go down some unfrequented street for fear of discovering destruction of which they were unaware. No wonder, too, that this magnificently produced book is in what is really its third edition.

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1925. Bell, Alfred Graham, I.S.O., B.Sc., F.G.S., 34, Sherard Road, Eltham, S.E.9.
1922. \*Bell, A. Stanley, London House, 5, New London Street, Crutched Friars, E.C.3; and 40, Buckingham Mansions, West End Lane, N.W.6.
1925. Bell, Mrs. Florence Lilian, 34, Sherard Road, Eltham, S.E.9.

1914. Bermondsey Public Libraries (The Librarian),  
Spa Road, Bermondsey, S.E.16.
1906. \*Bernays, Albert Evan, M.A.,
1919. Bevan, Stanley Charles Henry, 114, Stafford  
Court, Kensington, W.8.
1927. Bingham, Maurice W., 62, New Broad Street,  
E.C.2; and 119, Banstead Road South,  
Sutton.
1920. Birkbeck College (The Librarian), Bream's Build-  
ings, E.C.4.
1898. Birmingham Public Libraries (The City Librar-  
ian), Birmingham.
1912. Bishopsgate Institute (The Librarian), Bishops-  
gate, E.C.2.
1928. Blackwood, William Blackwood, M.R.I.A.I., 3,  
Maid-of-Honour Row, Richmond, Surrey.
1921. Blake, Alfred H., M.A., F.R.Hist.S., F.R.G.S.,  
Authors' Club, 2, Whitehall Court, S.W.1.
1913. Boulter, Charles B., 26, Divinity Road, Oxford.
1930. Braun, Major Hugh Stanley, F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A.,  
53, Alexandra Road, N.W.8.
1937. Bray, Francis E., Woodham Grange, Horsell,  
Woking.
1926. Brett-James, Major Norman G., M.A., B.Litt.,  
F.S.A. (*V.P., Chairman, Hon. Editor*), Ridge-  
way, Elstree, Herts.
1931. Brooke, Mrs. Doris Lascelles Brooke, Oakside,  
Harrow-on-the-Hill.
1926. Brown, Arthur, 64, Sancroft Road, Eastbourne,  
Sussex.
1912. \*Brown, George Bridgmore, Paymaster Com-  
mander, M.B.E., R.D., R.N.R. (*Trustee*),  
9, All Saints' Road, St. Annes-on-Sea, Lancs ;  
and Mines Department.
1923. \*Brown, Mrs. Susan, 9, All Saints' Road, St.  
Annes-on-Sea, Lancs.
1922. \*Brunwin, George Eustace, Haverings, Rayne,  
Braintree, Essex.
1938. Burr, Philip S.,
1938. Burr, Mrs. Phyllis,

1938. Burrough, Mrs. Frank T., Copperhurst, The Avenue, Cheam, Surrey.
1928. Butler, Mrs. Kate, 7, Leinster Road, Muswell Hill, N.10.
1926. Butler, Theobald R. Fitzwalter, M.A. (Oxon.), 1, Hare Court, Temple, E.C.4.
1936. Cameron, Jessie, B.A., F.R.Hist.S., 101, Keyes House, Dolphin Square, S.W.1.
1916. \*Cater, William Alexander, F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S., Hill House, Billericay, Essex.
1924. \*Chamberlain, John Alfred, 27, Gilkes Crescent, S.E.21; and 3, Essex Court, Temple, E.C.4.
1933. Chapman, Mrs. Mary E. P., The Hatch, Linksway, Northwood.
1933. Chapman, Walter Harvey, The Hatch, Linksway, Northwood.
1922. Chelsea Public Library (The Librarian and Clerk), Manresa Road, S.W.3.
1933. Chiosso, H. E., A.C.A. (*Hon. Photographer*), Flat 9, 23, Alexandra Road, Southport, Lancs.
1920. Chiswick Public Library (*The Librarian*), Duke's Avenue, Chiswick, W.4.
1929. Coleborn, Miss Ida Blanche, c/o Miss Madge Coleborn, 2, Caithness Drive, Wallasey, Cheshire.
1905. Coleman, E. P., Ashburton, Montserrat Road, Putney, S.W.15.
1906. Collingridge, Geo. Rooke, 70, Queen Victoria Street, E.C.4; and 35, Canfield Gardens, Hampstead, N.W.6.
1927. Dabbs, Albert C., F.S.A., 5, Wild Hatch, Hampstead Garden Suburb, N.W.11.
1927. \*Darlington, Hayward R., J.P., F.S.A., Park House, Potters Bar.
1934. Davenport, P. Chesney, Oak Tree Close, Stanmore.
1933. Denoon, D. G.,
1937. Dixon, Miss Louisa M., Redcot, Wellington Road, Bromley, Kent.
1917. \*Dove, Miss Ada M., Corner Cottage, Hadley Green, Barnet, Herts.

1921. Dove, Mrs. Ada Sophia, Corner Cottage, Hadley Green, Barnet, Herts.
1926. \*Dove, Arthur Norman, "Newlands," Oakleigh Park South, N.20.
1933. \*Dove, Miss Hilda Constance, Corner Cottage, Hadley Green, Barnet, Herts.
1926. \*Dove, Col. William Watkins, F.S.A., Cloudesley Works, Cloudesley Place, Islington, N.1.
1921. \*Edwards, John James, 28, Sackville Street, Piccadilly, W.1.
1933. Edwards, Lewis, M.A., 31, Queen's Court, Queensway, W.2.
1920. Edwards, Thomas John, 27, Lydon Road, Clapham Common, S.W.4.
1935. Epps, Miss Theresa D., 11, Orange Street, W.C.2.
1933. Falkner, V. M., B.Sc. (Eng.) London, D.I.C., A.M.I.Mech.E., 63, Elmfield Avenue, Teddington.
1933. Fendick, T. Gordon, M.A., LL.B. (Cantab.), Daneholme, Ickenham.
1938. Fletcher, Eric G. M., LL.D., L.C.C., 9, Robin Grove, N.6.
1917. \*Forward, Arthur, 6, Marlborough Court, The Drive, Hove, Sussex.
1920. Foyle, Gilbert S., 121, Charing Cross Road, W.C.2.
1891. \*Freshfield, Edwin H., LL.D., F.S.A. (*V.P.*), Beech House, Wray Lane, Reigate.
1922. Fulham Public Libraries (The Librarian), 598, Fulham Road, S.W.6.
1924. Gait, Harry Joslin,
1936. Garner, Willoughby, M.B.E., "Woodcote," 22, Somerset Road, Ealing, W.13.
1937. Gerred, Charles H., B.A., 1, Fircroft Road, S.W.17.
1941. Gilliland, Mrs. Pearl M., 66, Twyford Avenue, West Acton, W.3.
1911. †Goss, Charles W. F., F.S.A. (*V.P.*, *Deputy Chairman and Trustee*), "Childs," Kevingtown, near St. Mary Cray, Kent.

1943. Greene, Mrs. A. E., 116, Westcombe Park Road, Blackheath, S.E.3.
1942. †Gritten, A. J., A.L.A., (*Hon. Librarian*), Bishopsgate Institute, Bishopsgate, E.C.2.
1938. Groves, Herbert G. S., P.A.S.I., 6, Bruce Grove, Tottenham, N.17.
1911. Guildhall Library (*The Librarian*), Guildhall, London, E.C.2.
1919. \*Guimaraens, Arthur John Christopher, 16, Princeton Street, Holborn, W.C.1.
1931. Hales, John Francis, M.A., 1, Oppidans Road, N.W.3.
1900. Hammersmith Public Libraries (*The Librarian*), Brook Green Road, W.6.
1914. Harvard College Library, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A., per Edwd. G. Allen & Son, Ltd., 12 & 14, Grape Street, Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C.2.
1928. \*Haward, Frederick N., A.M.I.E.E., 10, Waldeck Road, Ealing, W.13.
1905. \*Hayes, Reginald, M.D., 93, Cornwall Gardens, Queen's Gate, S.W.7.
1912. \*Headley-Ell, Mrs. Mary G., 73, Marquess Road, Canonbury, N.1.
1931. †Henderson, Arthur Edward, F.R.I.B.A., R.B.A., F.S.A., The Rosery, Hophurst Hill, Crawley Down, Sussex.
1931. Henderson, T. A. N., F.S.A. (*Hon. Treasurer*), 127, Leigham Court Road, S.W.16.
1929. Hendon Public Library (*The Chief Librarian*), Central Library, The Burroughs, N.W.4.
1937. Heston and Isleworth Public Libraries (*The Borough Librarian*), Treaty Road, Hounslow.
1929. Heydeman, Major H., M.C., F.R.G.S., 18, Steeles Road, Hampstead, N.W.3.
1930. Hodgson, Ernest, 85, Cannon Street, E.C.4.
1939. Hornsey Public Libraries (*The Borough Librarian*), Central Library, Tottenham Lane, N.8.
1932. Hugo, Wilfred T., 104, Divinity Road, Oxford.
1937. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California, U.S.A.

1926. Institute of Historical Research (The Secretary),  
University of London, Tavistock House  
South, Tavistock Square, W.C.1.
1934. Jarvis, R. C., 31, Hitherfield Road, Streatham,  
S.W.16.
1938. Jordan, Miss Lydia M., 17, Hanworth Road,  
Feltham, Middlesex.
1937. Josling, Walter, 113, Prince's Avenue, Palmer's  
Green, N.13.
1917. Kensington Public Libraries (The Chief Librarian),  
Central Library, Kensington High  
Street, W.8.
1930. Kent, William R. G., 44, Trouville Road,  
Clapham, S.W.4.
1913. \*Knight, A. Charles, C.C., J.P., F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S.,  
75, Cannon Street, E.C.4.
1937. Lavender, Reginald T., 56, Woodfield Avenue,  
Streatham, S.W.16.
1937. Layers, Henry, O.B.E., 61, Blenheim Terrace,  
N.W.8.
1922. \*Le Mare, Aubrey Frederick, 56, Overton Drive,  
Wanstead, E.11.
1929. London County Council, Members' Library  
(The Librarian), County Hall, Westminster  
Bridge, S.E.1.
1929. †Lovell, Percy W., B.A., A.R.I.B.A., F.S.A. (*V.P.*),  
27, East Avenue, Leicester.
1924. McArthur, Allen Gordon, M.A., J.P., 28, Linden  
Gardens, W.2.
1943. McAuliffe, Mrs. Margaret, 167, Green Lane,  
Chislehurst.
1944. McMurray, William, 410, Upper Richmond Road,  
Putney, S.W.15.
1926. McShane, Herbert F., 48a, Putney Hill, S.W.15.
1934. Mann, Mrs. C. H., White Cottage, Fetcham Park,  
Leatherhead, Surrey.
1934. Mann, J. H., 22, Colebrooke Avenue, West Ealing,  
W.13.
1922. Manning, Miss Clara, 33, Hollycroft Avenue,  
Hampstead, N.W.3.

1938. Mansfield, Herbert W., F.Z.S., Botolph Farm, Botolph Claydon, Bletchley, Bucks.
1926. \*Marcham, Frank, c/o Barclays Bank, Ltd., 233, Woodhouse Road, Friern Barnet, N.12.
1925. Marcham, W. McBeath, 22, Warwick Road, New Barnet, Barnet, Herts.
1922. Maxwell-Lyte, Arthur, M.A., 59, Harcourt Terrace, S.W.10.
- 1920 †Maxwell-Lyte, Major John Maxwell, F.R.G.S., F.R.H.S., Carmichael Cottage, Mount Hermon Road, Woking, Surrey.
1937. Middlesex County Libraries (The County Librarian), Hanworth Road, Hounslow.
1939. Mullard, Mrs. Emmie G. W., The Pantiles Cottage, Englefield Green, Egham, Surrey.
1936. \*Nathan of Churt, Col. The Rt. Hon. Lord, 35, Wilton Crescent, S.W.1; and 1 and 2, Finsbury Square, E.C.2.
1904. \*Nicholl, Anthony, F.R.G.S., The Knoll, Jackson's Lane, Billericay, Essex.
1931. Nichols, John F., M.C., M.A., Ph.D., F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S. (*V.P.*), 15, Minster Road, Godalming, Surrey.
1904. \*Oke, Alfred W., B.A., LL.M., F.S.A., F.R.G.S., F.L.S. (*V.P.*), 32, Denmark Villas, Hove, Sussex.
1938. Paddington Public Libraries (The Librarian), Public Library, Porchester Road, W.2.
1933. Page, George E., 76, Muswell Road, Muswell Hill, N.10.
1918. Parker, Mrs. Bertha H., 253, Old Brompton Road, S.W.5.
1943. Parsons, Miss Frieda Amelia, 32, Carmel Court, King's Drive, Wembley Park, Middlesex.
1906. Peabody Institute of Baltimore, U.S.A., per Edward G. Allen & Son, Ltd., 12 and 14, Grape Street, Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C.2.
1936. Peel, Miss Margaret L. M., 64A, Green Lane, Northwood.

1931. †Peers, Sir Charles Reed, C.B.E., M.A., F.B.A.,  
F.R.I.B.A., F.S.A., (*V.P.*), Chiselhampton  
House, Stadhampton, Oxon.
1938. Perrott, Rev. A. Donaldson, M.A.
1933. Phillips, H. C. B., 9, Old Square, Lincoln's Inn,  
W.C.2.
1938. Player, Mrs. Mary, The Cot, 18, Park Avenue,  
Finchley, N.3.
1943. Public Record Office, Chancery Lane, W.C.2.
1930. \*Quarrell, William James Chance, M.A., 5,  
Barton Street, Westminster, S.W.1.
1920. \*Rann, Ernest H., 13, The Avenue, Muswell Hill,  
N.10.
1930. Rann, Mrs. Lottie, 13, The Avenue, Muswell  
Hill, N.10.
1938. Raybould, Miss Margaret W., 36, Parklands Court,  
Great West Road, Hounslow, Middlesex.
1927. Richardson-Eyre, Rev. John, M.A.
1938. Richmond, Miss Harriet G.
1930. Ridley, Charles, 21, Duppas Hill Road, Croydon.
1933. Roberts, Arthur T. C., Inigo Place, 31, Bedford  
Street, Strand, W.C.2; and "Hendra," 36,  
Alexander Road, Windsor.
1936. Robinson, H. Herbert, Hawthornedene, Night-  
ingale Road, Rickmansworth, Herts.
1926. Rogers, Kenneth, O.B.E., M.D. (Lond.), M.R.C.S.,  
"Namouna," 25, West Cliff Road, Bourne-  
mouth.
1925. \*Roskell, Robert Nicholas, 1, Elm Park Gardens,  
Chelsea, S.W.3.
1920. Rowe, Lieut.-Col. W. H. Cecil, C.B.E.
1926. \*Sims, Herbert Sewell, M.B., B.Ch., Wimpole,  
Green Lanes, Palmer's Green, N.13.
1877. Sion College Library (The Secretary), Victoria  
Embankment, E.C.4.
1932. Smith, E. E. F., 49, Mayford Road, Wandsworth  
Common, S.W.12.
1931. †Smith, Reginald A., B.A., F.S.A., British  
Museum, W.C.1.

1909. \*Spurrell, Charles, F.R.C.S., Fro Wen, Carmarthen, South Wales.
1938. Stead, John, M.A., 34, St. John's Park, Blackheath, S.E.3.
1935. Stedman, Miss P. M., Flat 2, 23, Alexandra Road, Southport, Lancs.
1924. Stoke Newington Public Library (The Librarian), Church Street, Stoke Newington, N.16.
1937. Strafford, Right Hon. The Earl of, J.P. (*President*), Wrotham Park, Barnet, Herts.
1925. Stratton, Mrs. Florence M., 37, Ferncroft Avenue, Hampstead, N.W.3.
1933. Stretton, Miss Grace, M.A.
1937. *Sunday Express*, Fleet Street, E.C.4 (Miss Constance Waller).
1910. Sutton, George Frederick M.A., F.S.A., Leather-sellers' Hall, St. Helen's Place, E.C.3.
1936. Sweet, Miss Agnes H., 83, Western Road, Romford.
1938. Tatham, Miss Mary I., 46, Graham Terrace, Sloane Square, S.W.1.
1931. Taylor, F. Coston, M.A., A.M.I.C.E., 14, Elvaston Place, S.W.7.
1922. Taylor, Francis Robert, L.R.I.B.A. (*Acting Hon. Secretary and Hon. Director of Meetings*), 12, Pleydell Avenue, Stamford Brook, W.6.
1933. Taylor, Miss S. May, Medomsley, Sidcup, Kent.
1935. Tottenham Public Libraries (The Librarian), High Road, Tottenham, N.17.
1936. Twickenham Public Library (The Librarian), Garfield Road, Twickenham.
1921. University College, London (The Librarian), Gower Street, W.C.1.
1942. University of London Library, The Librarian, Bloomsbury, W.C.1.
1933. University of Minnesota Library, Minneapolis, Minn., U.S.A.
1943. Vickery, Frederick Charles, 7, Pasture Road, North Wembley, Middlesex.

1931. †Waddington, Quintin, Little Ash, Ditchling, Sussex; and Guildhall Museum.
1919. Wagner, William George, 12, North Common Road, Ealing, W.5; and 13, Emmet Street, Limehouse, E.14.
1910. \*Walker, Allen S. (*V.P.*), Authors' Club, 2, Whitehall Court, S.W.1.
1939. Ward, F. Donal, 33, Lansdowne Road, W.11.
1874. Washington Congress Library, Washington, U.S.A., per Edward G. Allen & Son, Ltd., 12 & 14, Grape Street, Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C. 2.
1937. Watson, Henry J., 4, Elsievene Road, Winchmore Hill, N.21.
1914. Westminster Public Library (The Librarian), Great Smith Street, Westminster, S.W.1.
1933. Wheatley, William, M.A. (Oxon.), A.I.C., 4, Castle Gate, Richmond, Surrey.
1937. †Wheeler, R. E. Mortimer, Brigadier, M.C., M.A., D.Litt., V.P.S.A. (*V.P.*), Lancaster House, S.W.1.
1943. Whiston, John Whalley, Telecommunications Department, Telephone Branch, G.P.O., St. Martins le Grand, E.C.1.
1937. Whitehorn, Mrs. E. L., 321, Brownhill Road, Catford, S.E.6.
1905. Willesden Public Libraries (The Chief Librarian), Willesden Green, N.W.10.
1922. \*Williams, William James, 25, St. Matthew's Road, Brixton, S.W.2.
1925. Wilson, Miss Annie M. Stephanie, 43, Ravenscourt Park Mansions, W.6.
1935. Worthington, Charles E., L.R.I.B.A., M.I. Struct.E., 196, Palace Chambers, Bridge Street, S.W.1.
1913. Yale University Library, New Haven, Connecticut, U.S.A., per Edward G. Allen & Son, Ltd., 12 & 14, Grape Street, Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C.2.

## SCHOOL MEMBERS.

1937. Camden School for Girls (Miss A. G. Harris),  
Prince of Wales Road, N.W.5.
1937. Davenant Foundation School (The Headmaster),  
179, Whitechapel Road, E.1.
1937. Edmonton County School (The Headmaster),  
Cambridge Road, Enfield.
1937. Hornsey County School (The Secretary, His-  
torical Society), at Girls' High School, North  
Brink, Wisbech, Cambs.
1937. Lady Eleanor Holles School (The Headmistress),  
Hanworth Road, Hampton, Middlesex.
1937. Merchant Taylors' School (The Headmaster),  
Sandy Lodge, Northwood, Middlesex.
1937. Townfield Council Senior Girls School (The Head-  
mistress), Hayes, Middlesex.

LIST OF SOCIETIES AND INSTITUTIONS IN UNION FOR  
INTERCHANGE OF PUBLICATIONS, ETC.

BRISTOL AND GLOUCESTERSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.  
BUCKINGHAMSHIRE ARCHITECTURAL AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.  
CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.  
CARDIFF NATURALISTS' SOCIETY.  
CARMARTHENSHIRE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.  
CUMBERLAND AND WESTMORLAND ANTIQUARIAN AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL  
SOCIETY.  
DERBYSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY.  
EAST HERTS. ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.  
ECCLESIOLOGICAL SOCIETY.  
ESSEX ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY  
ESSEX FIELD CLUB.  
HISTORIC SOCIETY OF LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE.  
KENT ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.  
PREHISTORIC SOCIETY.  
ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY, Dublin.  
SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, WASHINGTON, U.S.A.  
SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE.  
SOCIETY OF GENEALOGISTS.  
SOMERSETSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY.  
SUFFOLK INSTITUTE OF ARCHÆOLOGY.  
SURREY ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.  
SUSSEX ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.  
SUSSEX RECORDS SOCIETY.  
UNIVERSITY OF LONDON, COURTAULD INSTITUTE OF ART.

The following Libraries receive a copy of each publication:—

British Museum.	Dublin (Trinity College).
Bodleian, Oxford.	National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
Cambridge University.	National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth.

## REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31st DECEMBER, 1942

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The EIGHTY-FOURTH ANNUAL REPORT for the year ended 31st December, 1939, was submitted at the Annual General Meeting held on the 24th February, 1940. On this occasion, the Reference Library of the Bishopsgate Institute and the Society's Library were arranged for inspection by members and friends.

An interesting visit was held on Saturday, the 9th March, 1940, to the Stationers Hall, by kind permission of The Stationers and Newspapers Company, at which Sidney Hodgson, Esq., gave a most interesting address on the History of the Company and Hall.

On Saturday, the 12th April, in conjunction with the Ecclesiological Society, a visit took place to Westminster Cathedral when Captain N. K. Bell kindly acted as *guide to the party*.

On Saturday, the 18th May, the Church of St. Andrew Undershaft was visited at which J. W. Bloe, Esq., O.B.E., F.S.A., gave an interesting description of the Church and its monuments. The Right Rev. Guy Vernon Smith, M.C., M.A., Lord Bishop of Willesden, Rector of the Church, received the party and provided tea for them.

On Wednesday, the 22nd May, at 12 noon, the Annual John Stow Commemoration Service was held at the Church of St. Andrew Undershaft, when the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs attended. The Lesson was read by Payr. Cdr. G. Bridgmore Brown, M.B.E., R.D., R.N.R., and the Address was given by the Rector, The Right Rev. Guy Vernon Smith, M.C., M.A., Lord Bishop of Willesden. The Lord Mayor followed the usual custom of placing a new quill pen in the hand of the effigy.

On Saturday the 15th June, Sir John Soane's House and Museum were visited and the Curator, Arthur Bolton, Esq., gave an appreciative account of the Museum and its exhibits.

On Saturday, the 6th July, a visit was arranged to the Roman Wall and Bastion at the General Post Office, but owing to war conditions was postponed until better times prevail.

On Saturday, the 21st September, a party of members met at Ealing Town Hall, where Willoughby Garner, Esq., M.B.E., member of our Society and Mayor of Ealing, at this time received us, proceeding then to Pitzhanger Manor, utilized as the Ealing Public Library. On this occasion, Sir Montagu Sharpe, our late respected President, was with us. St. Mary, the Parish Church of Ealing, was then visited.

On Saturday, the 19th October, a visit was paid to St. John's Church, Red Lion Square, Holborn, the Rector receiving the party.

The meetings arranged for after that date to the end of February, 1941, were held in abeyance, owing to War conditions prevailing in London at this time by enemy action.

The John Stow Commemoration Services were continued at the Church of St. Andrew Undershaft, the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs attending. The Lord Mayor on each occasion placed a new quill pen in the hand of the effigy. At the service held on Wednesday, the 18th June, 1941, at 12 noon, Walter G. Bell, F.S.A., F.R.A.S., Chairman of Council of the Society, read the Lesson and the Address was given by the Rector, Right Rev. Henry Montgomery-Campbell, M.C., M.A., Lord Bishop of Willesden. At the service held on Wednesday, the 10th June, 1942, at 12 noon, A. T. C. Roberts, Esq., Hon. Secretary, read the Lesson and the Address was given by the Rev. Canon Don, D.D., Rector of St. Margarets, Westminster, Chaplain to the King, Chaplain to the Speaker of the House of Commons.

It was not until an Annual Meeting, held at St. Martin's School of Art, Charing Cross Road, on the 24th April, 1943, that the Activities of the Society, necessarily limited, were resumed, the report of which will be given in the Annual Report to be presented at the Annual General Meeting on the 26th February, 1944.

FINANCE.—In view of the restricted activities of the Society during the 1940 to 1942 period no attempt was made to press members for payment of outstanding subscriptions; however the Hon. Treasurer is proud to be able to report that the majority of members continued to pay their subscriptions and that the number of resignations was small.

It was decided at the Annual General Meeting held on the 24th April, 1943, that the annual subscription should be reduced from 21s. to 10s. 6d. for the duration of the war, this reduction to be retrospective from 1940. Should any member however prefer to assist the Society by continuing payment of the 21s. subscription this would be accepted with the Council's grateful thanks. A notice explaining these facts has been sent to all members, together with a statement showing the individual member's own subscription position. The result was a very satisfactory response in the payment of outstanding subscriptions. It must be realised, however, that this reduced subscription cannot be permanent as the Society's income would not be enough to meet its liabilities when full activities are resumed.

It is hoped to issue a part of the Society's *Transactions* this year which will sadly deplete the Bank Balance. The Hon. Treasurer would greatly appreciate the prompt payment of subscriptions, all of which become due on the first day of January every year. Payment without reminder would save the Society pounds in both postage and stationery.

A Balance Sheet and Statement of Accounts covering the years from 1940 to 1943 inclusive will be presented to the Annual General Meeting to be held on the 26th February, 1944.

N. G. BRETT-JAMES, *Chairman*.

FRANCIS R. TAYLOR, *Acting Hon. Secretary*.



### PRIZE ESSAY FUND.

	£	s.	d.
To Balance brought forward from 1939 .. ..	1	18	2
" Donation from the late Sir Montague Sharpe ..	2	0	0
	£3	18	2
By Balance carried forward to 1944 .. ..	3	18	2
	£3	18	2

### PUBLICATIONS ACCOUNT.

	£	s.	d.
To Balance brought forward from 1939 .. ..	24	16	4
" Interest on Investments and Deposit Account ..	44	12	3
" Sale of Publications .. ..	5	11	0
" Donations .. ..	11	1	0
" Transfers from General Account .. ..	110	0	0
	£196	0	7
By Printing <i>Transactions</i> , N.S., Vol. VIII, Part 2 ..	89	15	4
" Balance carried forward to 1944 .. ..	106	5	3
	£196	0	7

Dr.

## BALANCE SHEET as at 31st December, 1943

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LIABILITIES.		ASSETS	
£	s. d.	£	s. d.
To Provision for printing <i>Transactions</i> , N.S., Vol. VIII, Part 3 .. .. .	100 0 0	By Investments— £840 3s. 5d. 2½% Consols (at 79½).. .. .	667 18 8
" Provision for printing <i>Transactions</i> , N.S., Vol. VIII, Part 4, and Index .. .. .	120 0 0	" Cash Balances at Martins Bank, Ltd.—	
" Subscriptions paid in advance for—		General Current Account ..	25 19 4
1944 .. .. .	27 16 6	Deposit Account .. .. .	65 0 0
1945 .. .. .	25 4 0	Publications Account .. .. .	106 5 3
1946 .. .. .	15 4 6		197 4 7
1947 .. .. .	14 14 0	" Stock of Publications } Not valued.	
1948 .. .. .	10 6	" Library	
1949 .. .. .	10 6		
" Proportion of Life Compositions held for Investment .. .. .	84 0 0		
" Credit Balance of Excavation Fund .. .. .	23 12 6		
" Credit Balance of Prize Essay Fund .. .. .	67 7 11		
" Balance in favour of the Society .. .. .	3 18 2		
	466 4 8		
	<u>£865 3 3</u>		<u>£865 3 3</u>

T. A. N. HENDERSON, *Honorary Treasurer.*  
20th January, 1944.

Subject to audit at a later date.

# London and Middlesex Archæological Society.

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ESTABLISHED IN 1855.

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## LIST OF MEMBERS.

1945.

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\* *This sign indicates a Life Member.*

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*It will be appreciated if members can supply the omitted addresses to the Hon. Secretary.*

---

1935. Allen, Lt.-Col. Lewis A., D.S.O., Royal Automobile Club, S.W.1.
1936. Andrews, John, J.P., Halden House, High Halden, Ashford, Kent.
1937. Angus, Edgar Percy, 40, Wilbury Crescent, Hove, Sussex.
1933. Bard, David G., 53, Park View, Hastings.
1937. Bard, Mrs. Sarah Ann, 53, Park View, Hastings.
1945. Barron, Mrs. Hilda, 36, Brook Green, W.6.
1943. Bateman, Miss Edna Lucy, "Satwarpe," Straight Road, Old Windsor, Berks.
1914. Battersea Public Library (The Librarian), 265, Lavender Hill, S.W.11.
1943. Beer, F. Tidbury, F.R.S.A., The Dower House, Moor Park, Farnham, Surrey.
1925. Bell, Alfred Graham, I.S.O., B.Sc., F.G.S., 34, Sherard Road, Eltham, S.E.9.
1922. \*Bell, A. Stanley, London House, 5, New London Street, Crutched Friars, E.C.3; and 40, Buckingham Mansions, West End Lane, N.W.6.
1925. Bell, Mrs. Florence Lilian, 34, Sherard Road, Eltham, S.E.9.
1914. Bermondsey Public Libraries (The Librarian), Spa Road, Bermondsey, S.E.16.
1906. \*Bernays, Albert Evan, M.A.,
1919. Bevan, Stanley Charles Henry, 114, Stafford Court, Kensington, W.8.

1927. Bingham, Maurice W., 62, New Broad Street, E.C.2; and 119, Banstead Road South, Sutton.
1920. Birkbeck College (The Librarian), Bream's Buildings, E.C.4.
1898. Birmingham Public Libraries (The City Librarian), Birmingham.
1912. Bishopsgate Institute (The Librarian), Bishops-gate, E.C.2.
1928. Blackwood, William Blackwood, M.R.I.A.I., 3, Maid-of-Honour Row, Richmond, Surrey.
1913. Boulter, Charles B., 4, Crane Court, Fleet Street, E.C.4.
1930. Braun, Major Hugh Stanley, F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A., c/o C. R. E. (Works), Malta.
1937. Bray, Francis E., Woodham Grange, Horsell, Woking.
1926. Brett-James, Major Norman G., M.A., B.Litt., F.S.A. (*V.P., Chairman, Hon. Editor*), Ridgeway, Elstree, Herts.
1931. Brooke, Mrs. Doris Lascelles Brooke, Oakside, Harrow-on-the-Hill.
1926. Brown, Arthur, 64, Sancroft Road, Eastbourne, Sussex.
1945. \*Brown, Cecil, F.R.I.B.A., Orchard House Studio, Holywell Hill, St. Albans, Herts.
1912. \*Brown, George Bridgmore, Commander(S), M.B.E., R.D., R.N.R. (*Trustee Secretary*), 20, Heathdene Road, Wallington Surrey.
1923. \*Brown, Mrs. Susan, 20, Heathdene Road, Wallington, Surrey.
1922. \*Brunwin, George Eustace, Haverings, Rayne, Braintree, Essex.
1938. Burr, Philip S., Green Rigg, Friary Lane, Woodford Green, Essex.
1938. Burr, Mrs. Phyllis, Green Rigg, Friary Lane, Woodford Green, Essex.
1945. Butcher, Henry J., Selborne, Hadley Highstone, Barnet.

1928. Butler, Mrs. Kate, 7, Leinster Road, Muswell Hill, N.10.
1926. Butler, Theobald R. Fitzwalter, M.A. (Oxon.), 1, Hare Court, Temple, E.C.4.
1936. Cameron, Jessie, B.A., F.R.Hist.S., 101, Keyes House, Dolphin Square, S.W.1.
1924. \*Chamberlain, John Alfred, 27, Gilkes Crescent, S.E.21; and 3, Essex Court, Temple, E.C.4.
1933. Chapman, Mrs. Mary E. P., The Hatch, Linksway, Northwood.
1933. Chapman, Walter Harvey, The Hatch, Linksway, Northwood.
1922. Chelsea Public Library (The Librarian and Clerk), Manresa Road, S.W.3.
1933. Chiosso, H. E., A.C.A. (*Hon. Photographer*), Priory Hotel, Priory Row, Kew.
1920. Chiswick Public Library (The Librarian), Duke's Avenue, Chiswick, W.4.
1905. Coleman, E. P., Ashburton, Montserrat Road, Putney, S.W.15.
1906. Collingridge, Geo. Rooke, 70, Queen Victoria Street; and 35, Canfield Gardens, Hampstead, N.W.6.
1944. Cooper, Miss Ivy May, B.A., The Flat, Maidencombe Cross, Newton Abbot, South Devon.
1927. Dabbs, Albert C., F.S.A., Little Manor House, 24, High Street, Sevenoaks.
1927. \*Darlington, Hayward R., J.P., F.S.A., Park House, Potters Bar.
1934. Davenport, P. Chesney, Oak Tree Close, Stanmore.
1933. Denoon, D. G.,
1937. Dixon, Miss Louisa M., Redcot, Wellington Road, Bromley, Kent.
1917. \*Dove, Miss Ada M., Corner Cottage, Hadley Green, Barnet, Herts.
1921. Dove, Mrs. Ada Sophia, Corner Cottage, Hadley Green, Barnet, Herts.
1926. \*Dove, Arthur Norman, J.P., L.C.C., Cloudesley Place, Islington, N.1.

1933. \*Dove, Miss Hilda Constance, Corner Cottage, Hadley Green, Barnet, Herts.
1926. \*Dove, Col. William Watkins, F.S.A., Cloudesley Works, Cloudesley Place, Islington, N.1.
1921. \*Edwards, John James, 28, Sackville Street, Piccadilly, W.1.
1933. Edwards, Lewis, M.A., 31, Queen's Court, Queensway, W.2.
1920. Edwards, Thomas John, 27, Lydon Road, Clapham Common, S.W.4.
1945. Ellis, Mrs. Lucy B., M.A., 41, The Lawns, Blackheath, S.E.3.
1935. \*Epps, Miss Theresa D., 52, Scotts Lane, Shortlands, Kent.
1945. Eyres, Miss Winifred, B.Sc. (Econ.), F.N.G.A., L.G.S.M., Tigh Beag, 70, Vine Lane, Hillingdon, Mddsx.
1933. Falkner, V. M., B.Sc. (Eng.) London, D.I.C., A.M.I.Mech.E., 63, Elmfield Avenue, Teddington.
1933. Fendick, T. Gordon, M.A., LL.B. (Cantab.), Daneholme, Ickenham.
1938. Fletcher, Eric G. M., LL.D., L.C.C., 9, Robin Grove, N.6.
1917. \*Forward, Arthur, 6, Marlborough Court, The Drive, Hove, Sussex.
1920. Foyle, Gilbert S., 121, Charing Cross Road, W.C.2.
1945. Fraser, Harry, 7, Eddiscombe Road, Fulham, S.W.6.
1891. \*Freshfield, Edwin H., LL.D., F.S.A. (V.P.), Beech House, Wray Lane, Reigate.
1922. Fulham Public Libraries (The Librarian), 598, Fulham Road, S.W.6.
1924. Gait, Harry Joslin, c/o Westminster Bank, Wandsworth, S.W.
1936. Garner, Willoughby, M.B.E., "Woodcote," 22, Somerset Road, Ealing, W.13.
1937. Gerred, Charles H., B.A., 1, Fircroft Road, S.W.17.

1941. Gilliland, Mrs. Pearl M., 66, Twyford Avenue, West Acton, W.3.
1911. †Goss, Charles W. F., F.S.A. (*V.P.*, *Deputy Chairman* and *Trustee*), "Childs," Kevingtown, near St. Mary Cray, Kent.
1943. Greene, Mrs. G. E., 116, Westcombe Park Road, Blackheath, S.E.3.
1941. †Gritten, A. J., A.L.A., (*Hon. Librarian*), Bishopsgate Institute, Bishopsgate, E.C.2.
1938. Groves, Herbert G. S., P.A.S.I., 6, Bruce Grove, Tottenham, N.17.
1911. Guildhall Library (The Librarian), Guildhall, London, E.C.2.
1919. \*Guimaraens, Arthur John Christopher, 16, Princeton Street, Holborn, W.C.1.
1931. Hales, John Francis, M.A., 1, Oppidans Road, N.W.3.
1900. Hammersmith Public Libraries (The Librarian), Brook Green Road, W.6.
1914. Harvard College Library, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A., per Edwd. G. Allen & Son, Ltd., 12 & 14, Grape Street, Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C.2.
1945. Harvey, Miss D. E., B.Sc., F.R.G.S., 33, De Vere Gardens, W.8.
1928. \*Haward, Frederick N., A.M.I.E.E., 10, Waldeck Road, Ealing, W.13.
1905. \*Hayes, Reginald, M.D., 93, Cornwall Gardens, Queen's Gate, S.W.7.
1912. \*Headley-Ell, Mrs. Mary G., 73, Marquess Road, Canonbury, N.1.
1931. †Henderson, Arthur Edward, F.R.I.B.A., R.B.A., F.S.A., The Rosery, Hophurst Hill, Crawley Down, Sussex.
1931. Henderson, T. A. N., F.S.A. (*Hon. Treasurer*), 127, Leigham Court Road, S.W.16.
1929. Hendon Public Library (The Chief Librarian), Central Library, The Burroughs, N.W.4.
1937. Heston and Isleworth Public Libraries (The Borough Librarian), Treaty Road, Hounslow.

1929. Heydeman, Major H., M.C., F.R.G.S., 18, Steeles Road, Hampstead, N.W.3.
1939. Hornsey Public Libraries (The Borough Librarian), Central Library, Tottenham Lane, N.8.
1932. Hugo, Wilfred T., 104, Divinity Road, Oxford.
1937. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California, U.S.A.
1926. Institute of Historical Research (The Secretary), University of London, Tavistock House South, Tavistock Square, W.C.1.
1944. \*Islington Borough Public Libraries (Chief Librarian), Central Library, 68, Holloway Road, N.7.
1944. Ivatts, Miss D., 74, Frankfurt Road, Herne Hill, S.E.24.
1945. Jarvis, Mrs. Mary, 31, Hitherfield Road, Streatham, S.W.16.
1934. Jarvis, R. C., 31, Hitherfield Road, Streatham, S.W.16.
1937. Josling, Walter, 113, Prince's Avenue, Palmer's Green, N.13.
1917. Kensington Public Libraries (The Chief Librarian), Central Library, Kensington High Street, W.8.
1930. Kent, William R. G., 71, Union Road, Clapham, S.W.4.
1913. \*Knight, A. Charles, C.C., J.P., F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S., 75, Cannon Street, E.C.4.
1937. Lavender, Reginald T., 56, Woodfield Avenue, Streatham, S.W.16.
1937. Lavers, Henry, O.B.E., 61, Blenheim Terrace, N.W.8.
1922. \*Le Mare, Aubrey Frederick, 56, Overton Drive, Wanstead, E.11.
1929. London County Council, Members' Library (The Librarian), County Hall, Westminster Bridge, S.E.1.
1924. McArthur, Allen Gordon, M.A., J.P., 28, Linden Gardens, W.2.

1943. McAuliffe, Mrs. Margaret, 167, Green Lane, Chislehurst.
1944. McMurray, William, 410, Upper Richmond Road, Putney, S.W.15.
1926. McShane, Herbert F., 48a, Putney Hill, S.W.15.
1934. Mann, J. H., 22, Colebrooke Avenue, West Ealing, W.13.
1922. Manning, Miss Clara, 33, Hollycroft Avenue, Hampstead, N.W.3.
1938. Mansfield, Herbert W., F.Z.S., Friar's Crag, King's Road, Orpington, Kent.
1925. Marcham, W. McBeath, 22, Warwick Road, New Barnet, Barnet, Herts.
1922. Maxwell-Lyte, Arthur, M.A., Garth, Hartfield, Sussex.
- 1920 †Maxwell-Lyte, Major John Maxwell, F.R.G.S., F.R.H.S., Carmichael Cottage, Mount Hermon Road, Woking, Surrey.
1944. Maynard, John Henry, J.P., 39, Corringham Road, N.W.11.
1937. Middlesex County Libraries (The County Librarian), Hanworth Road, Hounslow.
1939. Mullard, Mrs. Emmie G. W., The Pantiles Cottage, Englefield Green, Egham, Surrey.
1936. \*Nathan of Churt, Col. The Rt. Hon. Lord, 35, Wilton Crescent, S.W.1; 20, Cophthall Avenue, E.C.2.
1904. \*Nicholl, Anthony, F.R.G.S., The Knoll, Jackson's Lane, Billericay, Essex.
1931. Nichols, John F., M.C., M.A., Ph.D., F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S. (V.P.), 15, Minster Road, Godalming, Surrey.
1938. Paddington Public Libraries (The Librarian), Public Library, Porchester Road, W.2.
1933. Page, George E., 76, Muswell Road, Muswell Hill, N.10.
1918. Parker, Mrs. Bertha H., 253, Old Brompton Road, S.W.5.
1943. Parsons, Miss Frieda Amelia, c/o Barclay's Bank, Ltd., 126, Bishopsgate, E.C.2.

1906. Peabody Institute of Baltimore, U.S.A., per Edward G. Allen & Son, Ltd., 12 and 14, Grape Street, Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C.2.
1936. Peel, Miss Margaret L. M., 64A, Green Lane, Northwood.
1931. †Peers, Sir Charles Reed, C.B.E., M.A., F.B.A., F.R.I.B.A., F.S.A., (*V.P.*), Chiselhampton House, Stadhampton, Oxon.
1933. Phillips, H. C. B., 9, Old Square, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.2.
1938. Player, Mrs. Mary, The Cot, 18, Park Avenue, Finchley, N.3.
1943. Public Record Office, Chancery Lane, W.C.2.
1930. \*Quarrell, William James Chance, M.A., 5, Barton Street, Westminster, S.W.1.
1920. \*Rann, Ernest H., 77, Alexandra Park Road, Muswell Hill, N.10.
1930. Rann, Mrs. Lottie, 77, Alexandra Park Road, Muswell Hill, N.10.
1938. Raybould, Miss Margaret W., 36, Parklands Court, Great West Road, Hounslow, Middlesex.
1927. Richardson-Eyre, Rev. John, M.A.
1930. Ridley, Charles, 21, Duppas Hill Road, Croydon.
1933. Roberts, Arthur T. C., Inigo Place, 31, Bedford Street, Strand, W.C.2; and "Hendra," 36, Alexander Road, Windsor.
1936. Robinson, H. Herbert, Hawthorndene, Nightingale Road, Rickmansworth, Herts.
1926. Rogers, Kenneth, O.B.E., M.D. (Lond.), M.R.C.S., "Namouna," 25, West Cliff Road, Bournemouth.
1925. \*Roskell, Robert Nicholas, 1, Elm Park Gardens, Chelsea, S.W.3.
1945. Rubinstein, Stanley J., Savage Club, Carlton House Terrace, W.1.
1944. Rushforth, Francis McNeil, 21, Florence Road, Ealing, W.5.
1945. Sharp, Miss Hilda, Pepys Cottage, Wood Street, High Barnet, Herts.

1926. \*Sims, Herbert Sewell, M.B., B.Ch., Wimpole, Green Lanes, Palmer's Green, N.13.
1877. Sion College Library (The Secretary), Victoria Embankment, E.C.4.
1932. Smith, E. E. F., 49, Mayford Road, Wandsworth Common, S.W.12.
1931. †Smith, Reginald A., B.A., F.S.A., British Museum, W.C.1.
1909. \*Spurrell, Charles, F.R.C.S., Fro Wen, Carmarthen, South Wales.
1938. Stead, John, M.A., 34, St. John's Park, Blackheath, S.E.3.
1935. Stedman, Miss P. M., The Priory, Priory Road, Kew Gardens, Surrey.
1945. Stevenson, Mrs. Dorothy, 4, The Woodlands, Beulah Hill, S.E.19.
1945. Stevenson, Douglas A., B.A., Ontario House, 13, Charles II Street, S.W.1.
1924. Stoke Newington Public Library (The Librarian), Church Street, Stoke Newington, N.16.
1937. Strafford, Right Hon. The Earl of, J.P. (*President*), Wrotham Park, Barnet, Herts.
1937. *Sunday Express*, Fleet Street, E.C.4 (Miss Constance Waller).
1931. Taylor, F. Coston, M.A., A.M.I.C.E., 14, Elvaston Place, S.W.7.
1922. Taylor, Francis Robert, L.R.I.B.A. (*Hon. Director of Meetings*), 12, Pleydell Avenue, Stamford Brook, W.6.
1933. Taylor, Miss S. May, Medomsley, Sidcup, Kent.
1945. Thomas, Basil I., 8, Walpole Street, S.W.3.
1945. Thomas, Miss Esther M., The Priory, Kew Green.
1935. Tottenham Public Libraries (The Librarian), High Road, Tottenham, N.17.
1945. Toufar, Frank A., Kinnoull, Gregories Road, Beaconsfield, Bucks.
1936. Twickenham Public Library (The Librarian), Garfield Road, Twickenham.
1921. University College, London (The Librarian), Gower Street, W.C.1.

1942. University of London Library, The Librarian, Bloomsbury, W.C.1.
1933. University of Minnesota Library, Minneapolis, Minn., U.S.A.
1943. Vickery, Frederick Charles, 12, Midholm, Barn Hill, Wembley Park, Middlesex.
1931. †Waddington, Quintin, Little Ash, Ditchling, Sussex; and Guildhall Museum.
1919. Wagner, William George, 12, North Common Road, Ealing, W.5.
1910. \*Walker, Allen S. (*V.P.*), Authors' Club, 2, Whitehall Court, S.W.1.
1939. Ward, F. Donal, 33, Lansdowne Road, W.11.
1874. Washington Congress Library, Washington, U.S.A., per Edward G. Allen & Son, Ltd., 12 & 14, Grape Street, Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C. 2.
1937. Watson, Henry J., 4, Elsiedene Road, Winchmore Hill, N.21.
1914. Westminster Public Libraries (The City Librarian), St. Martin's Street, W.C.2.
1933. Wheatley, William, M.A. (Oxon.), A.R.I.C., 4, Castle Gate, Richmond, Surrey.
1937. †Wheeler, R. E. Mortimer, Brigadier, M.C., M.A., D.Litt., V.P.S.A. (*V.P.*), Lancaster House, S.W.1.
1943. Whiston, John Whalley, Telecommunications Department, Telephone Branch, G.P.O., St. Martins le Grand, E.C.1.
1937. Whitehorn, Mrs. E. L., 321, Brownhill Road, Catford, S.E.6.
1905. Willesden Public Libraries (The Chief Librarian), Willesden Green, N.W.10.
1922. \*Williams, William James, 25, St. Matthew's Road, Brixton, S.W.2.
1925. Wilson, Miss Annie M. Stephanie, 43, Ravenscourt Park Mansions, W.6.
1935. Worthington, Charles E., L.R.I.B.A., M.I. Struct.E., 196, Palace Chambers, Bridge Street, S.W.1.

1913. Yale University Library, New Haven, Connecticut, U.S.A., per Edward G. Allen & Son, Ltd., 12 & 14, Grape Street, Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C.2.

## SCHOOL MEMBERS.

1937. Camden School for Girls (Miss A. G. Harris), Prince of Wales Road, N.W.5.  
 1937. Davenant Foundation School (The Headmaster), 179, Whitechapel Road, E.1.  
 1937. Edmonton County School (The Headmaster), Cambridge Road, Enfield.  
 1937. Hornsey County School (The Secretary, Historical Society), at Girls' High School, North Brink, Wisbech, Cambs.  
 1937. Lady Eleanor Holles School (The Headmistress), Hanworth Road, Hampton, Middlesex.  
 1937. Merchant Taylors' School (The Headmaster), Sandy Lodge, Northwood, Middlesex.  
 1937. Townfield Council Senior Girls School (The Headmistress), Hayes, Middlesex.

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 CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.  
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 ESSEX ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.  
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 HISTORIC SOCIETY OF LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE.  
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SOCIETY OF GENEALOGISTS.  
SOMERSETSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY.  
SUFFOLK INSTITUTE OF ARCHÆOLOGY.  
SURREY ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.  
SUSSEX ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.  
SUSSEX RECORDS SOCIETY.  
UNIVERSITY OF LONDON, COURTAULD INSTITUTE OF ART.

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British Museum.	Dublin (Trinity College).
Bodleian, Oxford.	National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
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## REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31st DECEMBER, 1944

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THE COUNCIL, in presenting its *EIGHTY-NINTH ANNUAL REPORT*, covering the year 1944, is able to record an interesting series of visits and meetings, despite war-time curtailment of activities. One visit, to Dr. Johnson's House, Gough Square in August, had unfortunately to be abandoned because of enemy action. Those held were:—

26th February. ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING. After the Minutes of the previous meeting had been passed, all the Officers were re-elected, and the Members of Council elected were: Stanley H. Bevan, Maurice W. Bingham, Major Hugh S. Braun, F.S.A., Albert C. Dabbs, F.S.A., Col. W. W. Dove, F.S.A., H. F. McShane, W. McBeath Marcham, Ernest H. Rann, the Rt. Hon. Lord Nathan of Churt, and Q. Waddington. The Chairman referred to the Society's loss by the deaths of Miss Jeffries Davis, M.A., F.S.A. (a Vice-President) and Major Richard Rigg, O.B.E., T.D., J.P., F.S.A. (a Trustee), and the Members stood in silence.

27th May. HENDON, under the expert guidance of Major Brett-James, Chairman of Council. St. Mary's Church, its monuments, and nearby places of interest were visited, but the ancient Norman font was hidden under sandbags placed for its protection.

9th June. STOW COMMEMORATION SERVICE at St. Andrew Undershaft, Leadenhall Street. The Lord Mayor and Sheriffs attended. The Service was conducted by the Rector, the Bishop Suffragan of Kensington, the Lesson was read by William Wheatley, M.A., A.R.I.C., and the Address given by the Rev. E. C. Rich, M.A., Vicar of Chiswick Parish Church (since appointed a Residentiary Canon and Director of Education in the

Diocese of Peterborough). A new quill pen was placed in the hand of Stow's effigy as usual.

10th June. ALL HALLOWS, TWICKENHAM. The Vicar, the Rev. G. H. A. Charles, welcomed the party, and referred to the utilisation in this church of fittings from the demolished Wren church of All Hallows, Lombard Street, including the organ, on which he played. Mr. J. W. Bloe, M.B.E., F.S.A. gave some interesting facts about these fittings.

15th July. HAMPTON COURT PALACE conducted by Mr. Edward Yates, F.S.A., who gave a most interesting account of the two periods of architecture exemplified in the Palace.

16th September. ST. NICHOLAS, CHISWICK. The plate, registers, churchwardens' accounts and other interesting documents were seen, and Mr. Francis R. Taylor, the Hon. Director of Meetings, gave an account, gathered from original sources, of the old and the new churches. The party also inspected some of the interesting houses nearby.

14th October. Paper on the COUNTY BOUNDARY BETWEEN MIDDLESEX AND HERTFORDSHIRE by Major N. G. Brett-James, Chairman of Council. The boundary follows the line of Grimm's Dyke. Reference was also made to the other antiquities along this "frontier," and to a Royal Observer Corps Post on the site of Penniwells.

18th November. HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT conducted by the Rt. Hon. Lord Nathan of Churt. Lord Nathan's explanations of the various buildings of the Palace of Westminster, and of the traditions of the Lords and the Commons were of exceptional interest.

9th December. Paper illustrated by lantern slides on the STORY OF ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL by Mr. Edgar P. Angus. Mr. Angus gave many interesting facts concerning both Wren's Cathedral and the Cathedral which preceded it and was destroyed by the Great Fire in 1666.

The Council desires to record its grateful thanks to all those who conducted visits or read papers, as well as to Mr. A. J. Gritten for his assistance with the lantern at illustrated lectures.

The Council also wishes to express its warm appreciation of the tireless efforts of Mr. Francis R. Taylor in carrying on the Secretary's duties, in addition to those of Director of Meetings, during the Hon. Secretary's continued absence from London, and of the good work of Mr. T. A. N. Henderson in the office of Honorary Treasurer.

Finally, the Council feels that the marked change in the general situation during 1944 represents a definite step forward towards the day when the Society can resume its normal activities in full. To do so at the earliest possible moment consistent with the national interest will be as much the aim of the Council as it must assuredly be the general hope and desire of the Members.

On behalf of the Council,

N. G. BRETT-JAMES, *Chairman*.

FRANCIS R. TAYLOR, *Acting Hon. Secretary*.



## PUBLICATIONS ACCOUNT

To Balance brought forward .. .. .	£	s. d.
" Interest on Investment and Deposit Account .. .. .	106	5 3
" Balance carried forward .. .. .	10	16 6
	£117	1 9

By Printing <i>Transactions</i> , N.S. Vol. VIII, Pt. 3 .. .. .	£	s. d.
" Balance carried forward .. .. .	103	9 11
	£117	1 9

## BALANCE SHEET as at 31st December, 1944

LIABILITIES.		£	s.	d.
To Provision for printing <i>Transactions</i> , N.S. Vol. VIII, Pt. 4 and Index .. .. .		120	0	0
" Subscriptions paid in advance .. .. .		49	7	0
" Proportion of Life Compositions held for investment .. .. .		42	10	6
" Excavation Fund .. .. .		67	7	11
" Prize Essay Fund .. .. .		3	18	2
" Balance in favour of the Society .. .. .		496	2	1
		£779	5	8

ASSETS.		£	s.	d.
By Investment: £840 3s. 5d. 2½% Consols at 82 .. .. .		688	18	10
" Balance at Bankers:—				
General Current Account .. .. .		11	15	0
Deposit Account .. .. .		65	0	0
Publications Account .. .. .		13	11	10
" Stock of Publications } Not valued.				
" Library				90 6 10
		£779	5	8

T. A. N. HENDERSON, *Honorary Treasurer.*  
7th January, 1945.

Audited and found correct,

WM. WHEATLEY, *Honorary Auditor.*  
6th March, 1945.

NOTE.—The Accounts for 1940, 1941, 1942 and 1943 published in the last Part have since been audited and found correct.

# London and Middlesex Archæological Society.

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ESTABLISHED IN 1855.

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**Honorary Photographer.**

H. E. CHIOSSO

**Honorary Secretary.**

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R. C. JARVIS  
MRS. S. BROWN

**Offices of the Society.**

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

## LIST OF MEMBERS.

*Corrected to 31st December, 1947**\* This sign indicates a Life Member.**† This sign indicates an Honorary Member.*

- 
1946. Adshead, Harold E. V., 82, Wynchgate, Southgate, N.14.
1935. Allen, Lt.-Col. Lewis A., D.S.O., Royal Automobile Club, S.W.1.
1936. Andrews, John, J.P., Halden House, High Halden, Ashford, Kent.
1937. Angus, Edgar Percy, 40, Wilbury Crescent, Hove, Sussex.
1947. Archdall, Miss Rosemary, 10, Craven Hill, W.2.
1933. Bard, David G., 53, Park View, Hastings.
1937. Bard, Mrs. Sarah Ann, 53, Park View, Hastings.
1947. Bark, Geoffrey M., M.A., LL.B., F.S.A., 15a, Load Street, Bewdley, Worcs.
1945. Barron, Mrs. Oswald, 36, Brook Green, W.6.
1943. Bateman, Miss Edna Lucy, "Satwarpe," Straight Road, Old Windsor, Berks.
1914. Battersea Public Library (The Librarian), 265, Lavender Hill, S.W.11.
1925. Bell, Alfred Graham, I.S.O., B.Sc., F.G.S., 34, Sherard Road, Eltham, S.E.9.
1922. \*Bell, A. Stanley, London House, 5, New London Street, Crutched Friars, E.C.3; and 40, Buckingham Mansions, West End Lane, N.W.6.
1925. Bell, Mrs. Florence Lilian, 34, Sherard Road, Eltham, S.E.9.
1947. Bentley, Gerald, 37, Queen's Avenue, Muswell Hill, N.10.
1914. Bermondsey Public Libraries (The Librarian), Spa Road, Bermondsey, S.E.16.
1906. \*Bernays, Albert Evan, M.A., 15, Petersham Road, Richmond.

1946. Betts, John, *City Press*, 70, Queen Victoria Street, E.C.4.
1919. Bevan, Stanley Charles Henry, 114, Stafford Court, Kensington, W.8.
1927. Bingham, Maurice W., 62, New Broad Street, E.C.2; and 8, Fitzmary Avenue, Margate, Kent.
1920. Birkbeck College (The Librarian), Bream's Buildings, E.C.4.
1898. Birmingham Public Libraries (The City Librarian), Ratcliff Place, Birmingham.
1912. Bishopsgate Institute (The Librarian), Bishopsgate, E.C.2.
1928. Blackwood, William Blackwood, M.R.I.A.I., 3, Maid-of-Honour Row, Richmond, Surrey.
1913. Boulter, Charles B., 4, Crane Court, Fleet Street, E.C.4.
1930. Braun, Hugh Stanley, F.R.I.B.A., F.S.A., 49, Harrington Gardens, S.W.7.
1937. Bray, Francis E., Woodham Grange, Horsell, Woking.
1926. Brett-James, Major Norman G., M.A., B.Litt., F.S.A. (*V.P., Chairman, Hon. Editor*), Ridgeway, Elstree, Herts.
1926. †Brown, Arthur, 64, Sancroft Road, Eastbourne, Sussex.
1945. \*Brown, Cecil, Orchard House Studio, Holywell Hill, St. Albans, Herts.
1912. \*Brown, George Bridgmore, Commander(S), M.B.E., R.D., R.N.R. (*Trustee Secretary*), 20, Heathdene Road, Wallington Surrey.
1923. \*Brown, Mrs. Susan, 20, Heathdene Road, Wallington, Surrey.
1922. \*Brunwin, George Eustace, Haverings, Rayne, Braintree, Essex.
1938. Burr, Philip S., Green Rigg, Friary Lane, Woodford Green, Essex.
1938. Burr, Mrs. Phyllis, Green Rigg, Friary Lane, Woodford Green, Essex.

1945. Butcher, Henry J., Selborne, Hadley Highstone, Barnet.
1947. Butler, John L., 152, Cat Hill, East Barnet.
1928. Butler, Mrs. Kate, 7, Leinster Road, Muswell Hill, N.10.
1947. Butler, Mrs. Mary A., 152, Cat Hill, East Barnet.
1926. Butler, Theobald R. Fitzwalter, M.A. (Oxon.), 1, Hare Court, Temple, E.C.4.
1936. Cameron, Jessie, B.A., F.R.Hist.S., 902, Hood House, Dolphin Square, S.W.1.
1947. Carter, Harold H., A.M.I.Mech.E., 104, Dewsbury Road, Dollis Hill, N.W.10.
1924. \*Chamberlain, John Alfred, 27, Gilkes Crescent, S.E.21; and 3, Essex Court, Temple, E.C.4.
1947. Chambers, Wilfred J., 9, Gunterstone Road, W.14.
1922. Chelsea Public Library (The Librarian and Clerk), Manresa Road, S.W.3.
1933. Chiosso, H. E. (*Hon. Photographer*), Priory Hotel, Priory Road, Kew.
1920. Chiswick Public Library (The Librarian), Duke's Avenue, Chiswick, W.4.
1947. Collins, John P., F.J.I., Michaelmore, Pine Walk, Carshalton Beeches, Surrey.
1947. Cox, Archibald H., "Winsley," Bagley Close, West Drayton.
1927. Dabbs, Albert C., F.S.A., Little Manor House, 24, High Street, Sevenoaks.
1934. Davenport, P., "Chesney," Oak Tree Close, Stanmore.
1937. Dixon, Miss Louisa M., Redcot, 32, Wellington Road, Bromley, Kent.
1917. \*Dove, Miss Ada M., Corner Cottage, Hadley Green, Barnet, Herts.
1921. Dove, Mrs. Ada Sophia, Corner Cottage, Hadley Green, Barnet, Herts.
1926. \*Dove, Arthur Norman, J.P., L.C.C., Cloudesley Place, Islington, N.1.

1933. \*Dove, Miss Hilda Constance, Corner Cottage, Hadley Green, Barnet, Herts.
1926. \*Dove, Col. William Watkins, T.D., D.L., F.S.A., Cloudesley Place, Islington, N.1.
1947. Dowdell, Mrs. Edith M., 14, Mount Nod Road, S.W.16.
- 1946 Draper, Frederick W. M., M.A., Ph.D., *Lic-ess-Lettres*, 26, The Avenue, Muswell Hill, N.10.
1947. Edwards, George W., 20, Colyton Road, East Dulwich, S.E.22.
1921. \*Edwards, John James, 28, Sackville Street, Piccadilly, W.1.
1920. Edwards, Thomas John, 27, Lydon Road, Clapham Common, S.W.4.
1945. Ellis, Mrs. J. D., M.A., 41, The Lawns, Blackheath, S.E.3.
1935. \*Epps, Miss Theresa D., 52, Scotts Lane, Shortlands, Kent.
1945. Eyres, Miss Winifred, B.Sc. (Econ.), F.N.G.A., L.G.S.M., Tigh Beag, 70, Vine Lane, Hillingdon, Mddsx.
1933. Falkner, V. M., B.Sc. (Eng.) London, D.I.C., A.M.I.Mech.E., 63, Elmfield Avenue, Teddington.
1947. Farthing, Cecil H. J., B.A., F.S.A., 61, Egerton Gardens, S.W.3.
1933. Fendick, T. Gordon, M.A., LL.B. (Cantab.), Daneholme, Ickenham.
1938. Fletcher, Eric G. M., LL.D., L.C.C., 9, Robin Grove, N.6.
1917. \*Forward, Arthur, 6, Marlborough Court, The Drive, Hove, Sussex.
1920. Foyle, Gilbert S., 121, Charing Cross Road, W.C.2.
1945. Fraser, Harry, 7, Eddiscombe Road, Fulham, S.W.6.
1891. \*Freshfield, Edwin H., LL.D., F.S.A. (*V.P.*), Beech House, Wray Lane, Reigate.
1922. Fulham Public Libraries (The Librarian), 598, Fulham Road, S.W.6.

1947. Gabriel, Douglas B. G., B.A., 103, Sunnyfield, Mill Hill, N.W.7.
1924. Gait, Harry Joslin, c/o Westminster Bank, Wandsworth, S.W.
1936. Garner, Willoughby, M.B.E., "Woodcote," 22, Somerset Road, Ealing, W.13.
1937. Gerred, Charles H., B.A., 1, Fircroft Road, S.W.17.
1947. Gibbon, Oscar Rhys, 41, High Road, Bushey Heath, Herts.
1941. Gilliland, Mrs. Pearl M., 66, Twyford Avenue, West Acton, W.3.
1947. Gorsky, David, 60, Palace Gardens Terrace, W.8.
1947. Gowers, Robert W. C., B.A., Trent Park Training College, Barnet, Herts.
1947. Green, Miss R. A. M., 12, Avenue Mansions, Finchley Road, N.W.3.
1943. Greene, Mrs. G. E., 37, Westcombe Park Road, Blackheath, S.E.3.
1941. †Gritten, A. J., A.L.A., (*Hon. Librarian*), Bishopsgate Institute, Bishopsgate, E.C.2.
1938. Groves, Lt.-Col. Herbert G. S., P.A.S.I., 6, Bruce Grove, Tottenham, N.17.
1911. Guildhall Library (*The Librarian*), Guildhall, London, E.C.2.
1919. \*Guimaraens, Arthur John Christopher, 16, Princeton Street, Holborn, W.C.1.
1931. Hales, John Francis, M.A., 1, Oppidans Road, N.W.3.
1947. Hall, Mrs. Olive M., Kerricot, Betchworth, Surrey.
1900. Hammersmith Public Libraries (*The Librarian*), Brook Green Road, W.6.
1914. Harvard College Library, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A., per Edwd. G. Allen & Son, Ltd., 12 & 14, Grape Street, Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C.2.
1945. Harvey, Miss D. E., B.Sc., F.R.G.S., 33, De Vere Gardens, W.8.
1928. \*Haward, Frederick N., A.M.I.E.E., 10, Waldeck Road, Ealing, W.13.

1905. \*Hayes, Reginald, M.D., Courtlands, The Drive, Hove, Sussex.
1931. †Henderson, Arthur Edward, F.R.I.B.A., R.B.A., F.S.A., The Rosery, Hophurst Hill, Crawley Down, Sussex.
1931. Henderson, T. A. N., F.S.A. (*Hon. Treasurer*), 127, Leigham Court Road, S.W.16.
1929. Hendon Public Library (The Chief Librarian), Central Library, The Burroughs, N.W.4.
1937. Heston and Isleworth Public Libraries (The Borough Librarian), Treaty Road, Hounslow.
1939. Hornsey Public Libraries (The Borough Librarian), Central Library, Tottenham Lane, N.8.
1932. Hugo, Wilfred T., 104, Divinity Road, Oxford.
1937. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California, U.S.A.
1926. Institute of Historical Research (The Secretary), University of London, Tavistock House South, Tavistock Square, W.C.1.
1944. \*Islington Borough Public Libraries (Chief Librarian), Central Library, 68, Holloway Road, N.7.
1944. Ivatts, Miss D., 74, Frankfurt Road, Herne Hill, S.E.24.
1945. Jarvis, Mrs. Mary, 31, Hitherfield Road, Streatham, S.W.16.
1934. Jarvis, R. C., 31, Hitherfield Road, Streatham, S.W.16.
1947. Jones, David G., B.Sc., 16, Deauville Mansions, Elms Crescent, S.W.4.
1937. Josling, Walter, 113, Prince's Avenue, Palmer's Green, N.13.
1917. Kensington Public Libraries (The Chief Librarian), Central Library, Kensington High Street, W.8.
1930. Kent, William R. G., 71, Union Road, Clapham, S.W.4.
1947. Kitchener, Sydney W., 1, Shepherd's Hill, N.6.
1913. \*Knight, A. Charles, C.C., J.P., F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S., 75, Cannon Street, E.C.4.

1937. Lavender, Reginald T., 56, Woodfield Avenue, Streatham, S.W.16.
1937. Lavers, Henry, O.B.E., 61, Blenheim Terrace, N.W.8.
1947. Lawfield, Wilfred N., 20, Ferguson Avenue, Surbiton, Surrey.
1922. \*Le Mare, Aubrey Frederick, 56, Overton Drive, Wanstead, E.11.
1947. Liberty, Capt. William J., A.M.Inst.Gas Engrs., 238, Rosendale Road, Dulwich, S.E.21.
1929. London County Council, Members' Library (The Librarian), County Hall, Westminster Bridge, S.E.1.
1946. Lovell, Mrs. Laura M., M.B.E., 21, Southwood Court, Hampstead Garden Suburb, N.W.11.
1947. Maclagan, William D., 22, Hamilton Terrace, N.W.8.
1924. McArthur, Allen Gordon, M.A. (Cantab.), J.P., 28, Linden Gardens, W.2.
1943. McAuliffe, Mrs. Margaret, 167, Green Lane, Chislehurst.
1926. \*McShane, Herbert F., 48a, Putney Hill, S.W.15.
1946. Maguire, Major Leonard J., R.E., Vincent House, Pembridge Square, W.2.
1934. Mann, J. H., 22, Colebrooke Avenue, West Ealing, W.13.
1938. Mansfield, Herbert W., F.Z.S., Friar's Crag, King's Road, Orpington, Kent.
1925. Marcham, W. McBeath, 22, Warwick Road, New Barnet, Barnet, Herts.
- 1920 †Maxwell-Lyte, Major John Maxwell, F.R.G.S., F.R.H.S., Carmichael Cottage, Mount Hermon Road, Woking, Surrey.
1944. Maynard, John Henry, J.P., 39, Corringham Road, N.W.11.
1937. Middlesex County Libraries (The County Librarian), Hanworth Road, Hounslow.
1939. Mullard, Mrs. Emmie G. W., The Pantiles Cottage, Englefield Green, Egham, Surrey.

1936. \*Nathan of Churt, Col. The Rt. Hon. Lord  
(*President*), 35, Wilton Crescent, S.W.1;  
20, Cophall Avenue, E.C.2.
1904. \*Nicholl, Anthony, F.R.G.S., The Knoll, Jackson's  
Lane, Billericay, Essex.
1931. Nichols, John F., M.C., M.A., Ph.D., F.S.A.,  
F.R.Hist.S. (*V.P.*), 15, Minster Road,  
Godalming, Surrey.
1947. Ordnance Survey, Director of Establishment and  
Finance, Leatherhead Road, Chessington,  
Surrey.
1946. Owen, Thomas E., 5, Heath Close, Golders  
Green, N.W.11.
1938. Paddington Public Libraries (The Librarian),  
Public Library, Porchester Road, W.2.
1933. Page, George E., 76, Muswell Road, Muswell  
Hill, N.10.
1943. Parsons, Miss Frieda Amelia, c/o Barclay's Bank,  
Ltd., 126, Bishopsgate, E.C.2.
1906. Peabody Institute of Baltimore, U.S.A., per  
Edward G. Allen & Son, Ltd., 12 and 14,  
Grape Street, Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C.2.
1931. †Peers, Sir Charles Reed, C.B.E., M.A., F.B.A.,  
F.R.I.B.A., F.S.A., (*V.P.*), Chiselhampton  
House, Stadhampton, Oxon.
1947. Percival, Norman S., 8, Emperor's Gate, S.W.1.
1933. Phillips, H. C. B., 9, Old Square, Lincoln's Inn,  
W.C.2.
1947. Place, Miss Robin, B.A., 2, Mansfield Mews,  
Harley Street, W.1.
1938. Player, Mrs. Mary, The Cot, 18, Park Avenue,  
Finchley, N.3.
1943. Public Record Office, Chancery Lane, W.C.2.
1930. \*Quarrell, William James Chance, M.A., 5,  
Barton Street, Westminster, S.W.1.
1920. \*Rann, Ernest H., 13, The Avenue, Muswell Hill,  
N.10.
1930. Rann, Mrs. Lottie, 13, The Avenue, Muswell  
Hill, N.10.

1938. Raybould, Miss Margaret W., 36, Parklands Court, Great West Road, Hounslow, Middlesex.
1946. Reddaway, Major Thomas F., F.R.Hist.S., F.S.A., 19, Broadlands Road, Highgate, N.6.
1947. Robbins, Richard M., B.A., 64a, Longridge Road, S.W.5.
1936. Robinson, H. Herbert, Eversley, Nightingale Road, Rickmansworth, Herts.
1926. Rogers, Kenneth, O.B.E., M.D. (Lond.), M.R.C.S., "Namouna," 25, West Cliff Road, Bourne-mouth.
1925. \*Roskell, Robert Nicholas, 1, Elm Park Gardens, Chelsea, S.W.3.
1946. Rowbottom, Alan C., 7, Pickhurst Rise, West Wickham, Kent.
1945. Rubinstein, Stanley J., Savage Club, Carlton House Terrace, W.1.
1947. Shaw, Douglas Edward, 10, Craven Hill, W.2.
1926. \*Sims, Herbert Sewell, M.B., B.Ch., Wimpole, Green Lanes, Palmer's Green, N.13.
1877. Sion College Library (The Secretary), Victoria Embankment, E.C.4.
1932. Smith, Eric E. F., 49, Mayford Road, Wandsworth Common, S.W.12.
1909. \*Spurrell, Charles, F.R.C.S., Fro Wen, Carmarthen, South Wales.
1938. Stead, John, M.A., 34, St. John's Park, Blackheath, S.E.3.
1935. Stedman, Miss P. M., The Priory, Priory Road, Kew Gardens, Surrey.
1945. Stevenson, Mrs. Dorothy, c/o Lloyds and Nat. Prov. Foreign Bank, 71, Haymarket, S.W.1.
1924. Stoke Newington Public Library (The Librarian), Church Street, Stoke Newington, N.16.
1937. Strafford, Right Hon. The Earl of, J.P. (*President*), Wrotham Park, Barnet, Herts.
1937. *Sunday Express*, Fleet Street, E.C.4 (Miss Constance Waller).
1947. Tate, William E., B.Litt., R.R.Hist.S., c/o Schools Department, B.B.C., W.1.

1931. Taylor, F. Coston, M.A., A.M.I.C.E., F.S.A.,  
14, Elvaston Place, S.W.7.
1922. Taylor, Francis Robert, L.R.I.B.A. (*Hon. Director of Meetings*), 12, Pleydell Avenue, Stamford Brook, W.6.
1933. Taylor, Miss S. May, Medomsley, Sidcup, Kent.
1945. Thomas, Basil I., 8, Walpole Street, S.W.3.
1945. Thomas, Miss Esther M., The Priory, Kew Green.
1943. Tidbury-Beer, Sir Frederick, F.R.S.A., Pebble Strand, Cooden Beach, Sussex.
1946. Tingey, Arthur H., M.A., 23, Brean Down Avenue, Weston-super-Mare, Som.
1935. Tottenham Public Libraries (The Librarian), High Road, Tottenham, N.17.
1936. Twickenham Public Library (The Librarian), Garfield Road, Twickenham.
1921. University College, London (The Librarian), Gower Street, W.C.1.
1942. University of London Library, The Librarian, Bloomsbury, W.C.1.
1933. University of Minnesota Library, Minneapolis, Minn., U.S.A.
1943. Vickery, Frederick Charles, 12, Midholm, Barn Hill, Wembley Park, Middlesex.
1919. Wagner, William George, 12, North Common Road, Ealing, W.5.
1910. \*Walker, Allen S. (*V.P.*), Authors' Club, 2, Whitehall Court, S.W.1.
1946. Ward, Marcus, 33, Lansdowne Road, W.11.
1874. Washington Congress Library, Washington, U.S.A., per Edward G. Allen & Son, Ltd., 12 & 14, Grape Street, Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C. 2.
1937. Watson, Henry J., 44, Queens Road, Hertford.
1914. Westminster Public Libraries (The City Librarian), St. Martin's Street, W.C.2.
1933. Wheatley, William, M.A. (Oxon.), A.R.I.C., 4, Castle Gate, Richmond, Surrey.
1937. †Wheeler, R. E. Mortimer, M.C., M.A., D.Litt., F.S.A. (*V.P.*)

1943. Whiston, John Whalley, Telecommunications Department, Telephone Branch, G.P.O., St. Martins le Grand, E.C.1.
1946. Whitbread, John R., B.A., Albany Chambers, 86, Petty France, Westminster, S.W.1.
1937. Whitehorn, Mrs. E. L., 321, Brownhill Road, Catford, S.E.6.
1905. Willesden Public Libraries (The Chief Librarian), Willesden Green, N.W.10.
1947. Williams, Miss Nesta E., 21, Bertram Road, Hendon, N.W.4.
1922. \*Williams, William James, 25, St. Matthew's Road, Brixton, S.W.2.
1947. Williamson, Miss Blenda, 18, Lawn Avenue, W. Drayton.
1947. Wills, Miss Edith A., 152, Cavendish Avenue, Ealing, W.13.
1925. Wilson, Miss Annie M. Stephanie, 43, Ravenscourt Park Mansions, W.6.
1935. Worthington, Charles E., L.R.I.B.A., M.I. Struct.E., 196, Palace Chambers, Bridge Street, S.W.1.
1913. Yale University Library, New Haven, Connecticut, U.S.A., per Edward G. Allen & Son, Ltd., 12 & 14, Grape Street, Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C.2.

## SCHOOL MEMBERS.

1937. Davenant Foundation School (The Headmaster), 179, Whitechapel Road, E.1.
1937. Merchant Taylors' School (The Headmaster), Sandy Lodge, Northwood, Middlesex.
1947. The Hall School (The Headmaster), Crossfield Road, Hampstead, N.W.3.
1937. Townfield Council Senior Girls School (The Headmistress), Hayes, Middlesex.

LIST OF SOCIETIES AND INSTITUTIONS IN UNION FOR  
INTERCHANGE OF PUBLICATIONS, ETC.

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BRISTOL AND GLOUCESTERSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.  
 BRITISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.  
 BUCKINGHAMSHIRE ARCHITECTURAL AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.  
 CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.  
 CARDIFF NATURALISTS' SOCIETY.  
 CARMARTHENSHIRE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.  
 CUMBERLAND AND WESTMORLAND ANTIQUARIAN AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL  
 SOCIETY.  
 DERBYSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY.  
 EAST HERTS. ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.  
 ECCLESIOLOGICAL SOCIETY.  
 ESSEX ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY  
 ESSEX FIELD CLUB.  
 HISTORIC SOCIETY OF LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE.  
 KENT ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.  
 ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY, Dublin.  
 SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, WASHINGTON, U.S.A.  
 SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE.  
 SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES, LONDON.  
 SOCIETY OF GENEALOGISTS.  
 SOMERSETSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY.  
 SUFFOLK INSTITUTE OF ARCHÆOLOGY.  
 SURREY ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.  
 SUSSEX ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.  
 UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM, SCHOOL OF HISTORY.

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The following Libraries receive a copy of each publication:—

British Museum.	Dublin (Trinity College).
Bodleian, Oxford.	National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
Cambridge University.	National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth.

## REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31st DECEMBER, 1945

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IN presenting its NINETIETH ANNUAL REPORT covering the year 1945, the Council records with satisfaction that this report is written under conditions which, even if they cannot be called the piping times of peace, are decidedly more peaceful and more hopeful than the past six years, during which the Society has survived the black-out, bombing, restrictions on personal liberty and all the turmoil of a nation at war.

The Council closed its last annual report with the words: "the marked change in the general situation during 1944 represents a definite step forward towards the day when the Society can resume its normal activities in full. To do so at the earliest possible moment consistent with the national interest will be as much the aim of the Council as it must assuredly be the general hope and desire of the Members." During 1945 the Council has endeavoured to implement this promise, and believes that the Members will take pride in the progress that has been achieved.

Twelve General Meetings have been held, in addition to the Annual General Meeting. Visits were made to the Church of St. Bartholomew the Great; Southwark Cathedral under the guidance of the Rev. Canon T. P. Stevens; St. Albans (Summer Excursion); St. George's Chapel, Windsor, conducted by Mr. W. A. Forsyth; Bombed Churches of the City of London in association with the Friends of the City Churches; Houses of Parliament under the guidance of the Rt. Hon. Lord Nathan of Churt; and the usual Stow Commemoration Service was held at St. Andrew Undershaft.

The following papers were read at the Bishopsgate Institute, all except that of Major Brett-James being illustrated with lantern slides:—

*The City of London Brewery in Upper Thames Street,*  
by Mrs. L. B. Ellis, M.A.

*Mediaeval Buildings and our Early Architects,* by  
John H. Harvey.

*Historians of London*, by Major N. G. Brett-James, M.A., B.Litt., F.S.A.

*Pre-War Tower Hill to Temple Bar*, by Edward Yates, F.S.A.

*Some Architectural Examples in London*, by Francis R. Taylor, L.R.I.B.A.

Some of these papers will be printed in the *Transactions* which also contain brief accounts of the visits.

Seeing that the earlier meetings were held while most of the Bishopsgate Institute was still occupied by the Civil Defence authorities and the country was still on a war footing, and the later ones with the Institute restored to its normal functions but the country still struggling to resume its peace time habits, the attendances were very satisfactory. Owing to the continued restrictions on railway travel, it was impossible to arrange the summer excursion to a distant point which was a feature of the Society's pre-war programmes, but a half-day visit to St. Albans was substituted and proved very successful, despite the absence of many old friends.

The Council here places on record the Society's gratitude to all who read papers, conducted meetings or otherwise helped during a difficult period.

SOUTH-EASTERN UNION OF SCIENTIFIC SOCIETIES.—The Fiftieth Congress of the Union was held at Harpenden on 7th July, and there was a General Assembly at the Natural History Museum, South Kensington on 7th October, at which the Society was represented by Major N. G. Brett-James, when arrangements were made for the Jubilee Congress to be held at Tunbridge Wells from 9th to 13th July, 1946.

LIBRARY.—The Society's Library remained at the Bishopsgate Institute throughout the war in the care of Mr. Charles W. F. Goss and latterly of Mr. A. J. Gritten, and has fortunately come to no harm.

The exchange of transactions, journals, etc., with other societies in union has naturally been interrupted to some extent, but publications were received during the past year from the county societies of Cumberland and Westmorland, East Herts., Essex, Somerset and

Surrey; the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne; Prehistoric Society; Royal Irish Academy, and Smithsonian Institution, together with the Genealogists Magazine.

TRANSACTIONS.—It was planned to issue a Part of the *Transactions* during 1945, but there were unexpected difficulties and delays. It is now hoped that it will be published and in the hands of paid-up Members by the date of the Annual General Meeting.

The Council would like to take this opportunity of apologising for an unfortunate mistake in printing Part 3 of the Volume VIII (New Series), which was inadvertently paged from "1" onwards instead of continuing the pagination from Part 2. Accordingly a correction slip will be issued with the new part that is in the press, directing that Part 3 of Volume VIII is to be renumbered Part 1 of Volume IX, and the new Part will be Part 2 of Volume IX. Volume VIII will thus be complete in two parts only, for which an Index is being issued, and its relatively small size may perhaps stand as a reminder of an Honorary Editor's difficulties in time of war. That the Society has been able to continue publication of *Transactions* at all, even at irregular intervals, during the past six years, is no small tribute to him and to our printers, Messrs. Heffer and Sons, Ltd.

MEMBERSHIP.—In pre-war reports the Council gave a table from which the progress of the membership could be seen from year to year. This table cannot yet be reconstructed satisfactorily, but on 31st December, 1945, the Register of Members contained the names of 31 Life, 147 Annual, 8 Honorary and 7 School Members, making a total of 193, which compares with 232 at the end of 1938. The difference must be regarded as the loss of membership resulting from the dislocation of private and corporate activities during the war, and it calls for determined efforts to make good this loss. On the other hand, the accession of 31 new members between the outbreak of war and the end of 1945 was not bad.

It is hardly surprising that the Officers lost touch with some members during the war. Most of these have since been traced, but in the List of Members appearing

in the next Part of the *Transactions* there are still a few names without addresses, and if any Member can furnish a clue to a missing address the Council will be grateful if he will inform the Honorary Secretary.

**FINANCE.**—The financial position continues sound although it is not strong. The Publications Account is badly in need of more donations, in order to reduce the extent to which it needs to call upon the General Account, since the current funds in the latter will be fully required for general activities and expenses.

The Council has decided that the reduced rate of subscription accepted during the war shall terminate on 31st December, 1945; the Annual Subscription for 1946 returns, therefore, to One Guinea.

As a result of the splendid way in which the majority of the Members have continued to support the Society during the war years, it has been possible to set aside a sum which, with receipts from Life Compositions awaiting investment, has enabled the Society's invested funds to be increased by the purchase of £100 3 per cent. Savings Bonds.

During 1945 the Society's final claim for refundment of Income Tax was admitted and paid, and in future the Society will be entirely exempt from liability to Income Tax.

Despite these encouraging features, it must, nevertheless be stressed that lectures, visits and the publication of *Transactions* involve expenditure, that expenditure has to be met out of income, and that the mainstay of the Society's income is that derived from Annual Subscriptions, so that an increased income is most likely to be obtained by attracting more members and more Annual Subscriptions.

**OFFICERS.**—The Council is glad to have both the Honorary Secretary and the Honorary Treasurer back in their posts after absences due to war activities, and to know that they are doing their utmost to restore the Society's activities, membership and finances to their pre-war vigour. The Honorary Director of Meetings still labours with enthusiasm to provide an interesting

and enjoyable programme of meetings both indoor and outdoor, and the Honorary Librarian is indispensable with the lantern in addition to caring for the Library.

RECONSTRUCTION.—This is a word of which we have already heard a good deal and with which we are likely to become increasingly familiar in the coming years. There is much to be done in reconstructing parts of London, and the reconstruction is likely to afford many opportunities for archæological investigations of first importance. The Society and its members should seize these opportunities. To this end, we have much to do in making good war "casualties," restoring to their full vigour activities that have had to be restricted or suspended, and reasserting the position of authority and the prestige that the Society has gained during the past ninety years. A good deal of progress has already been made in a comparatively short time, but, however active and enthusiastic are its Officers, the life blood of a society such as ours is a large and active membership. The Council will do all it can, but in this field it is the general body of members who can themselves do most, by introducing the Society to their friends and inviting them to join. The Council hopes, therefore, that they will all bear this in mind during the coming year, so that it may be a record one for the election of new members.

On behalf of the Council.

N. G. BRETT-JAMES,

*Chairman.*

G. BRIDGMORE BROWN,

*Honorary Secretary.*

12th February, 1946.



Dr.

## PUBLICATIONS ACCOUNT

Cr.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Balance brought forward .. .. .	13	11	10	60	0	0
" Interest on Investments and Deposits Account .. .. .	16	1	6	..	..	..
" Donations .. .. .	2	12	10	..	..	..
" Sale of Publications .. .. .	4	0	0	..	..	..
" Refund of Income Tax .. .. .	61	8	1	..	..	..
	£97	14	3			

## BALANCE SHEET as at 31st December, 1945

## LIABILITIES

	£	s.	d.
To Provision for printing <i>Transactions</i> , New Series, Vol IX, Part 2 and Index to Vol. VIII .. .. .	120	0	0
" Subscriptions paid in advance .. .. .	33	1	0
" Excavation Fund .. .. .	67	7	11
" Prize Essay Fund .. .. .	3	18	2
" Balance in favour of the Society .. .. .	691	4	6
	£915	11	7

## ASSETS

	£	s.	d.
By Investments:—			
£840 3s. 5d. 2½% Consuls (at 92) .. .. .	772	19	4
£100 3% Saving Bonds .. .. .	100	0	0
	872	19	4
" Cash Balances at Martins Bank Ltd:—			
General Account .. .. .	4	18	0
Publications Account .. .. .	37	14	3
	42	12	3
" Stock of Publications } Not valued.			
" Library }			
	£915	11	7

T. A. N. HENDERSON, *Honorary Treasurer.*

16th January, 1946.

Audited and found correct,

R. C. JARVIS }  
S. BROWN } *Auditors.*

18th January, 1946.

## REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31st DECEMBER, 1946

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In its NINETY-FIRST ANNUAL REPORT covering the activities of the Society during the year 1946, the Council feels that it can record a year of steady progress.

Eleven General Meetings have been held, apart from the Annual General Meeting. They included visits to St. John's Gate, Clerkenwell, under the expert guidance of Mr. H. W. Fincham, an old friend to the Society; St. Mary's and All Hallows Churches, Twickenham; St. Mary's Church, Hayes; the Village of Hampton with Mr. Edward Yates; Southwark (a ramble round some by-ways with Mr. William Kent); St. Michael's, Cornhill and other City churches; while the Annual Stow Commemoration Service was held as usual at St. Andrew's Undershaft.

At the Bishopsgate Institute, papers were read by Mr. Edward Yates, F.S.A., on *London Ironwork*, and by Mr. William Kent on *Samuel Pepys and his London*, and a very successful Conversation and Exhibition was held at which Major N. G. Brett-James, B.Litt., F.S.A., gave an address on *The Relations between London and Middlesex*.

The partial restoration of reduced fare facilities on the railway did not include Saturdays and came too late to enable a Summer Whole-day Excursion to be arranged. A further attempt will be made to restore this much appreciated feature of the Society's programme next summer.

The Council wishes to record the Society's grateful thanks to those who read papers or otherwise helped the Honorary Director to arrange an excellent programme of meetings.

ROMAN AND MEDIAEVAL LONDON EXCAVATION COMMITTEE.—In September, 1946, on the initiative of the Society of Antiquaries, a meeting was held at the Mansion House, the Lord Mayor presiding, with the object of making arrangements to seize the present opportunity to examine bombed sites in the City of

London before they are covered by new buildings. Our Society was invited to send a representative to this meeting and Major Brett-James, Chairman of Council, attended. The meeting appointed a General Council, from which an Executive Committee was elected to direct excavations. The Honorary Secretary has since been appointed as the Society's representative on this important project, with Mr. F. C. Vickery as deputy.

NATIONAL REGISTER OF ARCHIVES.—The National Register of Archives is endeavouring to promote public meetings throughout the country with the object of starting and directing the search for, and the systematic reporting of collections of papers, and particularly those in private hands, which are of historical value, and the Registrar invited our Society to take the lead in calling such a meeting for the County of Middlesex. The Council willingly accepted this task, and has appointed a committee, consisting of Messrs. W. McBeath Marcham, Allen S. Walker, A. J. Gritten, J. E. Walker (Public Librarian, Hendon), and L. Harrod (Public Librarian, Islington), to prepare a list of invitations. It is hoped to arrange a meeting early in 1947.

LIBRARY.—The difficulties of printing and publishing are still very great, so it is not surprising that some of the societies in union for exchange of publications have not yet resumed the issue of their proceedings. Nevertheless, transactions, journals, etc., were received from the County societies of Buckinghamshire, Carmarthen, Cumberland and Westmorland, Derbyshire, Essex, Kent, Lancashire and Cheshire, Northumberland (Society of *Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne*), Somerset and Sussex; from the British Archæological Association, British Records Association, Prehistoric Society, Royal Irish Academy, and South-East Union of Scientific Societies.

Gifts for the Society's Library were received from Mr. R. M. La Porte-Payne and the Smithsonian Institution, U.S.A.

PUBLICATIONS.—Part 2 of Volume IX of the *Transactions*, which had been intended for issue during 1945 but was unavoidably delayed, was published early in 1946 and consisted of 100 + xix pages with 17 illustrations. In view of the difficulties already referred to,

the Society can justly take some pride in publishing this volume, and the Honorary Editor is to be warmly congratulated on a Part which is fully up to the Society's pre-war standard.

Early in the year, the Honorary Secretary received, through Major John F. Nichols, Vice-President of the Historical Association, a suggestion from Professor Hattersley of Pietermaritzburg that some account of the archæological and historical treasures that London had lost through enemy action would be of the greatest interest to Britons overseas, if not to those at home. The Society had already done something in this direction by publishing in its *Transactions* an article by the Honorary Editor on *The Bombed Buildings of London*. The suggestion was, however, mentioned to our Member, Mr. William Kent, who cordially welcomed it and has since produced *The Lost Treasures of London*, a book of some 180 pages with 7 street plans and 24 illustrations. The Council has arranged to purchase copies of this book for issue to Members, and though publication has been greatly delayed by recent events, it hopes that the issue will be made shortly. This will involve postponing to some extent the next Part of the *Transactions*, but the Council feels that all Members will be glad to secure Mr. Kent's book.

FINANCE.—With the resumption in 1946 of practically all the Society's normal activities, the Council decided that the Annual Subscription should revert to One Guinea. The issue of a single programme card for the year resulted in a considerable saving in both printing costs and postages, and little further expenditure was necessary for general printing and stationery as supplies had been built up in 1945. A final refund of Income Tax has been received from the Inland Revenue, and the Society is now free from all liability to Tax. A sum of £66 was transferred from General Account to Publications Account in order to meet the cost of printing and despatching the *Transactions*. The Honorary Treasurer has rightly pointed out that a full programme of meetings and the resumption of other activities on a pre-war scale means that certain charges must be incurred, and in order that the Society's income may provide a good working margin it is most desirable that the Society

should secure more Members. The Council would, therefore, once again appeal to the existing Members to do their part in increasing the Membership.

MEMBERSHIP.—The usual Membersip table can now be restored to this report:—

	Life	Annual	Hon.	Total
At 1st January, 1946 ..	31	154	8	193
Elected during 1946 ..		12	1	13
<hr/>				
Resigned, died, or otherwise removed from Register ..	31	166	9	206
	1	15	3	19
<hr/>				
At 31st December, 1946 ..	30	151	6	187

The losses by death include four which occurred in earlier years but were not brought to notice until 1946. A determined effort is needed to make good these losses and the "war casualties" mentioned in last year's report.

OBITUARY.—The Society suffered a grievous loss by the death, on 10th September, 1946, of Mr. Charles W. F. Goss, F.S.A. As Librarian of the Bishopsgate Institute, Mr. Goss was the Society's Honorary Librarian from 1911 to 1941, he acted for a time as Honorary Secretary, was a Trustee, and had been a Vice-President since 1928. At the Annual General Meeting in 1939, Mr. Goss was presented with the Society's Silver Medal in appreciation of his long and valued services. His last of many contributions to the *Transactions* was a *History of the Parish of St. Mary-the-Virgin, Alder-manbury*, published in Part 2 of Volume IX.

OFFICERS.—All the Officers have put forth special efforts to ensure the success of the Society's first full year of post-war activities, and the Council wishes to express its cordial appreciation of their good work, which merits the warmest thanks of the Members.

On behalf of the Council,

N. G. BRETT-JAMES,

*Chairman.*

G. BRIDGMORE BROWN,

*Honorary Secretary.*

28th February, 1947.

Dr.

ABSTRACT OF ACCOUNTS for the year 1946

Cr.

GENERAL ACCOUNT

RECEIPTS.		EXPENDITURE.	
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
To Balance brought forward .. .. .	4 18 0	By General Printing and Stationery .. .. .	4 11 4
" Annual Subscriptions for 1942-45 .. .. .	11 0 6	" Meetings .. .. .	3 0 0
" " for 1946 .. .. .	102 7 6	" Postages .. .. .	10 11 8
" " paid in advance .. .. .	8 18 0	" Rent, Bishopsgate Institute .. .. .	10 0 0
" School Membership Subscriptions .. .. .	1 11 6	" Library Insurance .. .. .	1 6 3
		" Photographs .. .. .	1 6 4
		" Stow Memorial Service .. .. .	3 13 0
		" Purchase Tax .. .. .	15 6
		" General Expenses .. .. .	5 0
		" Subscriptions to other societies .. .. .	6 4 6
		" Transfer to Publications Account .. .. .	66 0 0
		" Balance carried forward .. .. .	22 1 11
			<u>£128 15 6</u>
			<u>£128 15 6</u>

Dr.

## PUBLICATIONS ACCOUNT

Cr.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Balance brought forward	..	..	37 14 3	..	..	116 14 4
" Interest on Investments	..	..	23 1 8	..	..	2 12 6
" Sale of Publications	..	..	20 19 3	..	..	3 2 9
" Income Tax recovered (final)	..	..	2 12 6	..	..	27 18 1
" Transfer from General Account	..	..	66 0 0	..	..	
			<u>£150 7 8</u>			<u>£150 7 8</u>

## BALANCE SHEET as at 31st December, 1946

## LIABILITIES.

	£	s.	d.
To Provision for purchasing <i>Lost Treasures of London</i>	..	..	80 0 0
" Provision for printing <i>Transactions</i>	..	..	100 0 0
" Subscriptions paid in advance	..	..	8 18 0
" Excavation Fund	..	..	67 7 11
" Prize Essay Fund	..	..	3 18 2
" Balance in favour of the Society	..	..	729 7 8
			<u>£989 11 9</u>

## ASSETS

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
By Investments:—						
£840 3s. 5d. 2½% Consols (at 98½)	..	..	828 9 3			
£100 3% Savings Bonds (at 111½)	..	..	111 2 6			
" Cash Balances at Martins Bank Ltd:—				939 11 9		
General Account	..	..	22 1 11			
Publications Account	..	..	27 18 1			
" Stock of Publications				50 0 0		
" Library						
				<u>£989 11 9</u>		

T. A. N. HENDERSON, *Honorary Treasurer.*

23rd February, 1947.

Audited and found correct,

R. C. JARVIS  
S. BROWN

Auditors.

26th February, 1947.

# RULES

1. **TITLE.** The title of the Society shall be "THE LONDON AND MIDDLESEX ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY."

2. **OBJECTS.** The objects of the Society shall be:—

- (a) To collect and publish archæological information relating to the Cities of London and Westminster, and the Counties of London and Middlesex; including primeval antiquities; architecture—civil, ecclesiastical, and military; sculpture; works of art in metal and wood; paintings on walls, wood or glass; history and antiquities, comprising manors, manorial rights, privileges and customs; heraldry and genealogy; costume; numismatics; ecclesiastical endowments, and charitable foundations; records; and all other matters usually comprised under the head of Archæology.
- (b) To procure careful observation and preservation of antiquities discovered in the progress of works, such as excavations for railways, foundations for buildings, etc.
- (c) To make researches and excavations, and to encourage individuals and public bodies in making them, and to afford suggestions and co-operation.
- (d) To oppose and prevent, as far as may be practicable, any injuries with which historic buildings, monuments and ancient remains of every description may from time to time be threatened; and to acquire photographs, drawings, plans, and other documents of archæological interest.
- (e) To promote the practical study of archæology by the formation of a library, by visits to places of interest, the reading of papers, the delivery of lectures, and other means.

3. **MEMBERSHIP.** The Society shall consist of (a) Annual Members, including ladies and gentlemen, and institutions such as University, college and public libraries, etc.; (b) Life Members; (c) Honorary Members; and (d) School Members.

4. (a) The name of every person or institution desirous of being admitted an Annual Member, and the name of every person desirous of being admitted a Life Member, shall, on the written nomination of a member of the Society, be submitted to the Council for election.

(b) School Members shall be admitted only by invitation of the Council. At its discretion, the Council may invite a school having a well-established archæological or historical society to become a School Member, and on the acceptance of such invitation the name of the school shall hereupon be submitted to the Council for election.

5. (a) Each Annual Member shall pay an entrance fee of ten shillings, and an annual subscription of one guinea to be due on 1st January in each year, provided that the Council may in its discretion exempt an institution from the payment of the entrance fee.

(b) Each Life Member shall pay a sum of twelve guineas in lieu of such entrance fee and annual subscription. An Annual Member, after having paid ten consecutive annual subscriptions, may compound for life on payment of six guineas.

(c) Each School Member shall pay an annual subscription of one guinea to be due on 1st January in each year, without entrance fee.

(d) No election of a member shall be complete, nor shall a member be entitled to any of the privileges of membership until the entrance fee (if any) and the first year's subscription shall have been paid or compounded for; and unless these payments are made within one calendar month from the date of election such election may be declared void by the Council.

6. A member elected between the 30th September and 31st December shall not be liable for the current year's subscription, but shall, on election, pay the entrance fee (if any) and subscription for the following year.

7. No member whose subscription is in arrear shall be entitled to any privilege of membership; and when any member's subscription has been twelve months in arrear, the Council shall have the power to remove from the list the name of such member, whose membership shall thereupon cease.

8. Persons eminent for their literary works or scientific acquirements, or such other persons whom the Council deem fit, may be elected by the Council as Honorary Members of the Society.

9. Honorary Members shall have all the privileges of membership, but shall not be entitled to vote.

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

11. A member desiring to resign his membership of the Society must give notice in writing to the Honorary Secretary, and pay all subscriptions that may be due.

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

13. (a) Subject to Rule 7, Annual, Life and Honorary Members (including in the case of an institution the Librarian or Principal) shall be entitled to admission to all meetings of the Society; to the use of the Library subject to such regulations as the Council may make; and to one copy of the *Transactions* and one copy of any other publication issued by the Society during each year. The *Transactions* and other publications shall not be sent to any member whose subscription is in arrear.

(b) Subject to Rule 7, School Members shall be entitled to one copy of the *Transactions* and one copy of any other publication issued by the Society during the year for which the subscription has been paid; to the use of the Library as aforesaid; and one master or mistress of the school shall be entitled to admission at each meeting of the Society, but shall not be entitled to vote; further, at such meetings as the Council may deem suitable and of which notice shall be given the master or mistress may be accompanied by not more than two students of the school.

14. COUNCIL. (a) The affairs of the Society shall be conducted by a Council, consisting of not less than 12 nor more than 16 members, to be elected at the Annual General Meeting of the Society, and of the immediate Past President and the *ex-officio* members mentioned in Rule 20. Three shall form a quorum. The Council shall, at its first meeting following the Annual General Meeting, elect from its own number a Chairman and a Deputy Chairman.

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

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

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

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

18. The Council shall meet at least six times a year for the transaction of business connected with the management of the Society, and shall have power to make its own rules as to the time for and mode of summoning and conducting such meetings.

19. A report of the proceedings of the Society during the previous year, together with a list of members, shall be issued from time to time as the Council may direct.

20. OFFICERS. The President shall be elected at an Annual General Meeting, on the nomination of the Council, to hold office for not more than three years. Vice-Presidents, Trustees, an Honorary Treasurer, an Honorary Secretary or Secretaries, an Honorary Editor or Editors, an Honorary Librarian, an Honorary Photographer, and a Director of Meetings shall be elected for one year at each Annual General Meeting, on the nomination of the Council. Any vacancies that may occur during the year may be filled up by the Council. The above officers shall be *ex-officio* members of the Council.

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

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

23. The Council shall be empowered to appoint Local Secretaries in such places and under such conditions as may appear desirable. In addition the Council shall be empowered to appoint officers for the special purposes set forth in Rule 2 (a) to (e), the continuance of such appointments to be approved at the next ensuing Annual General Meeting.

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

25. Other General Meetings shall be held at times and places appointed by the Council, for the reading of papers, for visiting places of archaeological interest, and for other purposes relevant to the objects of the Society.

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

27. At every meeting of the Society, or of the Council (except as provided in Rules 9 and 13 (b)), the resolutions of the majority of those present and voting shall be binding. In the case of an equality of votes, the Chairman shall have a second, or casting, vote.

28. At all General Meetings of the Society five members present shall form a quorum.

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

30. At all General Meetings of the Society, the President of the Society, or in his absence the Chairman of the Council or Deputy Chairman, shall preside. In their absence, the senior Vice-President present shall take the chair. If none of these should be present, the chair shall be taken by such member of the Council as shall be elected by the meeting. If no member of the Council be present, a member of the Society may be elected to take the chair.

31. ACCOUNTS. An account of receipts and expenditure for the year ended on the 31st December preceding, together with a statement of liabilities and assets of the Society, duly certified by the Auditors, shall be submitted to each Annual General Meeting. Copies of these accounts shall be sent to members with the notice convening that meeting.

32. Three-fourths at least of the composition of each Life Member shall be invested in trustee securities, only the interest being available for current disbursements. No portion of the principal so invested shall be withdrawn except under authority of a resolution passed in accordance with Rule 27 at a General Meeting of the Society.

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

*Revised 24th February, 1939.*