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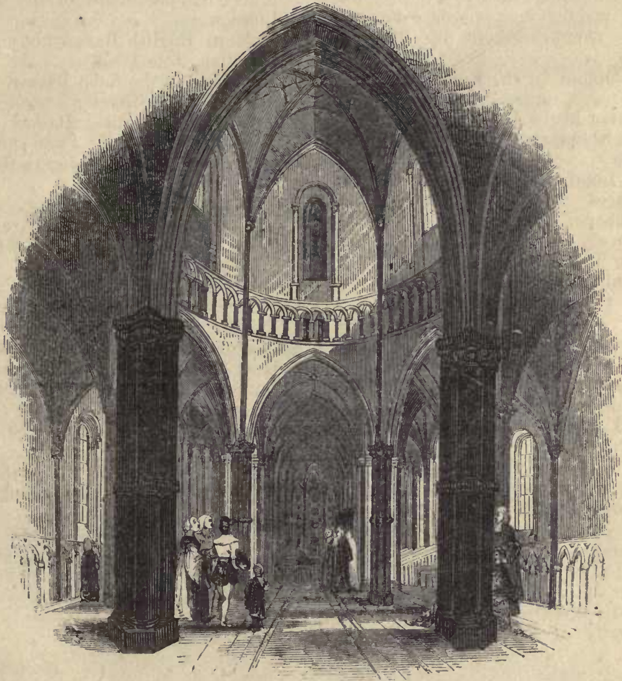
VOLUME V.



Interior of the Temple Church.

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## CH.—DOCTORS' COMMONS.

[illegible] mysterious places which one constantly hears of, without [illegible] clearly to understand, is that known by the [illegible] [illegible] Doctors' Commons. We are aware that it is a local[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] with wills, and something with matrimony—that [illegible] go there to get rid of unfaithful [illegible] wives of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] we believe, is about the extent of the general information [illegible] [illegible]. Many, no doubt, like ourselves [illegible] thrown a passing [illegible] [illegible] known gateway [illegible] the south-west corner of St. Paul's [illegible] [illegible] vague sentiment of curiosity and expectation, and have added [illegible] [illegible] to their slender stock of information by so doing. The most [illegible] [illegible] the board affixed to the wall of the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] stop and warning them against the blandishments of certain [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] one of the said offenders is sure to come up [illegible] [illegible] air of unconscious innocence to repeat the offence. [illegible] [illegible] their fellow-creatures is evidently a passion with the [illegible] [illegible] Commons, there is nothing they are not prepared to do for [illegible] [illegible] to relieve your failing sight by reading aloud the very [illegible] [illegible] Well, we have no cause to answer or to institute, [illegible]

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[Prerogative Will-Office.]

## CI.—DOCTORS' COMMONS.

AMONG those mysterious places which one constantly hears of, without being able very clearly to understand, is that known by the scarcely less mysterious appellation of Doctors' Commons. We are aware that it is a locality which has a great deal to do with wills, and something with matrimony—that husbands, for instance, go there to get rid of unfaithful wives—wives of unfaithful or cruel husbands; and that, we believe, is about the extent of the general information on the subject. Many, no doubt, like ourselves, have thrown a passing glance into that well-known gateway in the south-western corner of St. Paul's Churchyard, with a vague sentiment of curiosity and expectation, and have added as little as we have to their slender stock of information by so doing: the most noticeable feature being the board affixed to the wall by the "Lodge," calling on strangers to "stop," and warning them against the blandishments of certain porters; whilst, as an amusing commentary, one of the said offenders is sure to come up to you with a delightful air of unconscious innocence to repeat the offence. But the desire to serve their fellow-creatures is evidently a passion with the porters of Doctors' Commons: there is nothing they are not prepared to do for you, even if it be to offer to relieve your failing sight by reading aloud the very warning in question. Well, we have no cause to answer or to institute, so are in no

danger of being seduced into employing our volunteer guide's favourite proctor: but he shall lead us through these comparatively unknown regions. The word Lodge naturally makes us look for the edifice of which it is an appendage, and as we pass through the gateway a stately house, on the right of the small open square, presents itself, enclosed within lofty walls: but that, it appears, is the Dean of St. Paul's house. As we step into Carter Lane, we are reminded of the palace formerly standing here, called the Royal Wardrobe, and to which the widow of the Black Prince, the once "Fair Maid of Kent," was brought after the frightful scene in the Tower, in 1381, when the followers of Wat Tyler broke into it; murdered the chief men they found there, and treated her so rudely that she fell senseless; and here in the evening of the same day her son King Richard joined her. From Carter Lane a narrow passage leads us into Knight Rider Street, deriving its name from the circumstance, as our guide informs us, with a smile and a look which seem to express his wonder at his own learning, that the train of mounted knights used to pass through this street in the olden time on their way from the Tower to the tournaments in Smithfield. That fact having been duly impressed, he next points out to us the famous Heralds' College on Bennett's Hill; and, lastly, the inscription over a plain-looking building opposite, "the Prerogative Will Office"—one of the most interesting and important features of Doctors' Commons. Persons are passing rapidly in and out the narrow court, their bustle alone disturbing the marked quiet of the neighbourhood. At the end of the court we ascend a few steps and open a door, when the scene exhibited in the engraving at the head of this paper is before us. At first all seems hurry and confusion, or at least as if every one had a great deal of work to do, in a very insufficient space of time. Rapidly from the top to the bottom of the page run the fingers of the solicitors' clerks, as they turn over leaf after leaf of the bulky volumes they are examining at the desks in the centre, long practice having taught them to discover at a glance the object of their search; rapidly move to and fro those who are fetching from the shelves or carrying back to them the said volumes; rapidly glide the pens of the numerous copyists who are transcribing or making extracts from wills in all those little boxes along the sides of the room. But as we begin to look a little more closely into the densely packed occupants of the central space, we see persons whose air and manners exhibit a striking difference to those around them: there is no misunderstanding that they are neither solicitors nor solicitors' clerks acting for others, but parties whose own interests may be materially affected by the result of their search. Even that weather-beaten sailor just come in, whose face one would think proof against sensibility of any kind, reveals the anxiety of its owner. He has just returned probably from some long voyage, and one can fancy him to have come hither to see whether the relative, who, the newspapers have informed him, is dead, has left him, as he expected, the means of settling down quietly at home at Deptford, or Greenwich, or some other sailor's paradise. He steps up to the box here on our right hand, just by the entrance, pays his shilling, and gets a ticket, with a direction to the calendar where he is to search for the name of the deceased. He must surely be spelling every name in that page he has last turned over; aye, there it is; and he now hurries off, as directed, with the calendar, to the person pointed out to him as the clerk of searches. A

volume from one of the shelves is immediately laid before him, the place is found, and there lies the object of his hopes and fears—the eventful will. Line by line you can see his face grow darker and darker—a grim smile at last appears—he has not been forgotten—there is a ring perhaps—or five-pounds to buy one, or some such trifle: the book is hastily closed; and the sailor hurries back to his old privations and dangers, deprived of all that had so long helped him to pass through them with patience, if not cheerfulness. Here again is a picture of another kind: a lady, dressed in a style of the showiest extravagance, whose business is evidently of a more important kind than a mere search—an executrix probably—is just leaving the office, when at the door she is met by another lady, with so low a curtesy, and with such an expression of malice in the countenance, as at once tells the story confirmed by their respective appearances. The successful and the unsuccessful have met. The former, however, hurries away, or we should have a scene from nature, that Fielding or Molière might have been pleased to witness.

When we consider the immense amount of business transacted in this Court, we need not wonder at the bustle that prevails in a place of such limited dimensions. As the law at present stands, if a person die possessed of property lying entirely within the diocese where he died, probate or proof of the will is made or administration taken out before the Bishop or Ordinary of that diocese; but if there were goods and chattels only to the amount of 5*l*.* (in legal parlance, *bona notabilia*) within any other diocese, and which is generally the case, then the jurisdiction lies in the Prerogative Court of the Archbishop of the province, that is, either at York or at Doctors' Commons—the latter, we need hardly say, being the Court of the Archbishop of Canterbury. The two Prerogative Courts therefore engross the great proportion of the business of this kind through the country; for although the Ecclesiastical Courts have no power over the bequests of or succession to unmixed real property, if such were left, cases of that nature seldom or never occur. And, as between the two provinces, not only is that of Canterbury much more important and extensive, but since the introduction of the funding system, and the extensive diffusion of such property, nearly all wills of importance belonging even to the province of York are also proved in Doctor's Commons, on account of the rule of the Bank of England to acknowledge no probates of wills but from thence. To this cause, among others, may be attributed the striking fact that the business of this Court between the three years ending with 1789, and the three years ending with 1829, had been doubled. The number of wills proved in the latter period was about 6500, the number of administrations granted (that is, where no will had been left) about 3500; since then, we believe, the business has not materially increased. Of the vast number of persons affected, or at least interested in this business, we see, not only from the crowded room before us, but from the statement given in the Report of the Select Committee on the Admiralty and other Courts of Doctors' Commons in 1833, where it appears that in one year (1829) the number of searches amounted to nearly 30,000. In the same year extracts were taken from wills in 6414 cases. Should any of our readers wonder how this latter estimate is obtained, or why it should be necessary to employ the office clerks in so many

* Except in the Diocese of London, where the amount is 10*l*.

instances, if that be the explanation given, let him amuse himself by stepping into the office, and call for one of the great treasures of the place—nay, the greatest—Shakspere's will. As he gazes with reverential eyes on the writing that bequeathed the poet's property to his offspring, traced by the same fingers that from boyhood upwards had seldom touched paper but to bequeath wealth beyond all price to posterity,—as he pauses over even the most indifferent words, hoping to find some latent meaning, or turns with a feeling of heartfelt congratulation to the passage respecting Shakspere's wife, till of late so inexplicable, if not painful—now, through the recent discovery, so clear and satisfactory*—he will very likely feel an inclination to copy some remarkable phrase or sentence. But as he unwittingly takes out a pencil for that purpose, in the very sight of one of the officers passing at the time, who shall paint the horror that overspreads the countenance of the latter! A pencil in the hands of a stranger in the Prerogative Court!—it is well for the offender that Prerogative has grown comparatively mild and amiable of late centuries, or at least that its claws have been very closely pared, which comes to the same thing, for else there is no saying what might not be the consequence. In sober truth, there is something very ludicrous in the excessive jealousy shown in this matter. Sir W. Betham complained that they would not, even for genealogical purposes, allow a person to make a memorandum or list of wills from the *index*, much less from the office *copies* of wills; and, in consequence, one naturally wonders how much of this is proper and necessary for the safety of the documents, to prevent their being tampered with, and how much of it is produced by the contemplation of the profits made from the enforced employment of those busy gentlemen in the boxes. In other points the management of the office is admirable. Wills, of whatever date, are always to be found at half an hour's notice—generally a very few minutes suffice. They are kept (those only excepted which have come in recently, and have not passed through the preliminary processes of engrossing, registering, and calendaring,) in a fire-proof room called the Strong Room. The original wills begin with the date of 1483, the copies from 1383. The latter are on parchment, strongly bound with brass clasps, and so numerous as to fill with dingy-looking volumes every nook and corner of the public room, and also partially to occupy a room above stairs. We must add to this notice of the Office, that in country cases, when it is inconvenient for parties to come to London to be sworn, commissions are issued. The number of such commissions issued in one year (1832) was 4580, besides 300 special commissions for particular cases, such as of limited administrations, special probates of trust property, and the wills of married women.

But what, it may be and no doubt often is asked, is the meaning of the connection between the Church and wills,—the Archbishop of Canterbury and the goodly estate left by the retired cheesemonger who died last week? The answer is a somewhat startling one. Dr. Nicholl, in his recent speech in the House of Commons, referring to the testamentary causes, says, "These came under such jurisdiction at a period when the bishops and other clergy claimed the property of intestates to be applied to pious uses, without even being required to pay their debts. In the course of time this claim had been considerably limited, and

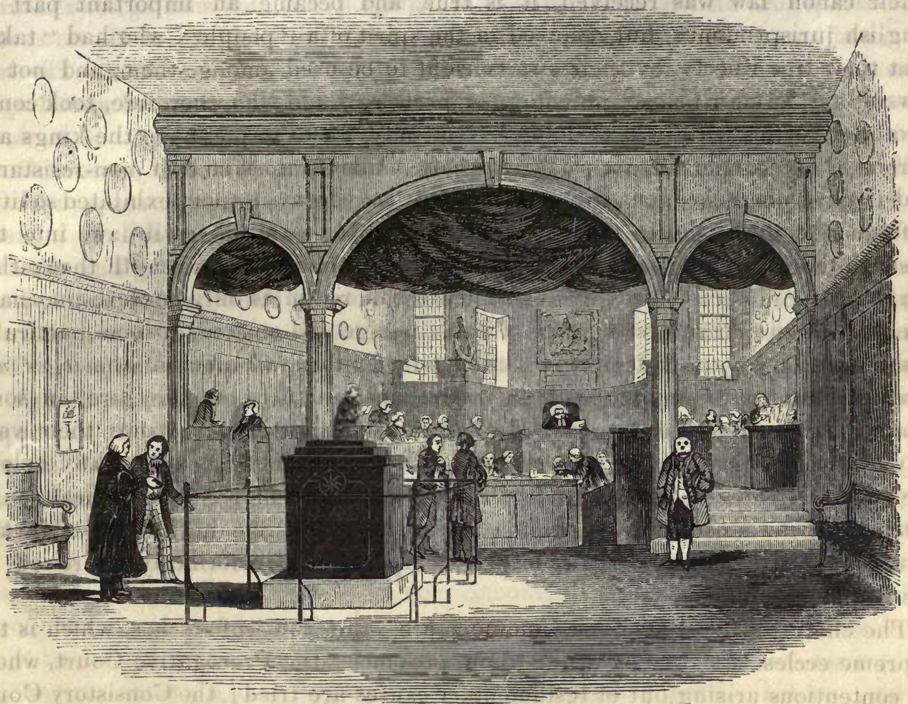
* See 'Pictorial Shakspere;' note on Postscript to 'Twelfth Night.'

the clergy were obliged to pay the debts of the intestate out of his property before any of it could be applied to pious uses. Subsequent restrictions had, however, required that the property of the intestate should be given to his widow and children; and afterwards it was enacted, that where such relations did not exist, the property should go to the next of kin, and, failing these, should go to the Crown.' So that, instead of being surprised that so much of our property should pass into the jurisdiction of the Church, we have reason rather to be thankful in many cases that it ever comes out again. As the ecclesiastical jurisdiction in testamentary causes is not an isolated feature of Doctors' Commons, but, on the contrary, both in its origin and history, intimately connected with the other Courts we are about to mention, and as so much of that jurisdiction is at this very moment passing away by the consent of the heads of the Church itself, we must enter a little more closely into the matter. All readers of history are familiar with the endeavours made by the priesthood in every country of Europe, after the complete establishment of Christianity, to obtain authority in temporal as well as in spiritual affairs; endeavours which were nowhere more characterised by greater pertinacity and boldness than in England, because nowhere more energetically resisted; and, though defeated in their grand object of reducing our sovereigns to a state of vassalage to the Pope, even if they could not get the sovereign power itself vested in ecclesiastics, as they did in some of the states of the great German confederation, yet, short of that, their influence could hardly have been much greater than it was in this country for some centuries. And it could not well be otherwise. Being the only large class of persons that could be deemed an instructed one, during the middle ages, power naturally flowed into their hands, and though used no doubt in the main more for the benefit of the people than it could have been if vested elsewhere, was, it is equally doubtless, perverted to their own selfish gratifications. Hence their enormous wealth, hence their countless privileges, by which they were enabled to avoid all the duties of citizenship, and obtain a thousand advantages which just citizenship cannot bestow; hence their castles and hosts of retainers; hence their full-blown pride and ambition. But the most striking evidence of their power, and, we must add, of their comparative fitness for power, is the existence among us to this hour of the canon law, which is simply a collection of the ordinances, decrees, decretal epistles, and bulls issued by the Popes or the councils of the Roman Catholic Church, and the general tendency of which was to establish the supremacy of the spiritual over the merely temporal authority. A new system of law thus sprung up by the side of the Civil or Roman law, with which it became gradually connected. The earliest English Ecclesiastical Courts appear to have been established by the Conqueror William, and at the same time the Bishops were forbidden thenceforth to sit, as they had been accustomed, in the civil courts of the country, with laymen. By the time of Henry II. we read of the Courts of the Archbishop, Bishop, and Archdeacon. It was a critical period in the history of the Church. The struggle for supremacy began in the reign of William, and was for a great length of time hotly continued. To a certain extent the Ecclesiastics were successful. They established the partial authority of the canon law in their own courts, and they managed to introduce the civil law into the ordinary tribunals. But that was all. As regards their chief object, spiritual supremacy, they failed.

Their canon law was received, it is true, and became an important part of English jurisprudence, but received in the spirit of a "people" who had "taken it at their free liberty, by their own consent to be used among them, and not as laws of any foreign prince, potentate, or prelate,"* and who, therefore, took considerable liberties with it in so doing. Not only, for example, have the kings and barons of our earlier history steadily opposed all its doctrines of non-resistance and passive obedience, but the most eminent lawyers at all times exhibited so little deference for its authority, that it gradually sank, with the civil law, into the position described by Blackstone, who observes, "that all the strength that either the papal or imperial laws have obtained in this realm, is only because they have been admitted and received by immemorial usage and custom, in some particular cases, and some particular courts; and then they form a branch of the *leges non scriptæ* (unwritten laws), or customary laws; or else because they are, in some other cases, introduced by consent of parliament, and then they owe their validity to the *leges scriptæ,* or statute law." To the former class essentially belong the courts of Doctors' Commons, and all the numerous minor ecclesiastical courts through the country—which are at once the chief remains of the civil and canon laws among us, and of the mighty temporal power formerly exercised by the church.

The chief courts of Doctors' Commons are—the Court of Arches, which is the supreme ecclesiastical court of the whole province; the Prerogative Court, where all contentions arising out of testamentary causes are tried; the Consistory Court of the Bishop of London, which only differs from the other consistory courts throughout the country in its importance as including the metropolis in its sphere of operations; and the Court of Admiralty, which seems, at the first glance, oddly enough situated among such neighbours. All these hold their sittings in the Common Hall of the College, towards which we now direct our steps. We have not far to go. Some fifty yards or so up the street, we pass through an unpretending-looking gateway, and find ourselves in a square, surrounded on three sides with good old handsome houses, each door bearing the name of 'Dr.' —— some one, names mostly familiar to the public in connection with the reports of trials in Doctors' Commons; whilst in front is the entrance to the Hall, which projects into the square from the left, forming a portion of its fourth side. Without any architectural pretension, this is a handsome and exceedingly comfortable court. The dark polished wainscot reaching so high up the walls, whilst above are the richly-emblazoned coats of arms of all the Doctors for a century or two past; the fire burning so cheerily, this winter's day, in the stove in the centre; the picturesque dresses of the unengaged advocates in their scarlet and ermine, and of the proctors in their ermine and black, lounging about it; the peculiar arrangement of the business part of the Court, with its raised galleries on each side, for the opposing advocates; the absence of prisoner's dock or jury-box—nay, even of a public, of which we do not see a solitary representative—altogether impress the stranger with a sense of agreeable novelty. As to the business going on, it is a sitting of the Court of Arches; and the cause one of the least interesting of the subjects that come before this Court, which include, as in Chaucer's time, cases—

* Preamble to Statute 25 Hen. VIII.



[Hall of Doctors' Commons.]

'Of defamation, and avouterie,
Of church reves, and of testaments,
Of contracts, and lack of sacraments,
Of usure and simony also:"

besides those of sacrilege, blasphemy, apostacy from Christianity, adultery, partial or entire divorce, incest, solicitations of chastity, and a variety of others connected chiefly with the discipline of the Church, its buildings, and its officers: a formidable list of offences, when the Church was strong enough to enforce its powers, and, in case of conviction, to punish offenders with the infliction of fines and penances, or the more awful doom of excommunication. Almost the only criminal cases now brought before the ecclesiastical courts throughout England are those for defamation, generally of female character, and for brawling and smiting in churches, or places attached, as vestries. Penance for defamation, though almost banished from the supreme courts here, is still in practice, it appears, in the country. In connection with the dioceses of Exeter, Salisbury, and Norwich we read, in the Report of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners on the Ecclesiastical Courts, in 1832 (the Report on which the measures now pending are based) of cases of this kind;—but the ridicule and excitement caused by the appearance, in open church, of offenders in their white sheets, has caused the penance to be privately performed. The general method seems to be that described by Mr. John Kitson, the "Joint Principal Registrar" of Norwich: the defamer makes retractation in church, "in the presence of the complainant and six or eight of her friends." The nature of the business in the Court of Arches may be best shown by the brief summary given in the Report, for three years—1827, 1828, and 1829. There were twenty-one matrimo-

nial causes: one of defamation, four of brawling, five church-smiting, one church-rate, one legacy, one tithes, four correction—total, thirty-eight; of these, seventeen were appeals from other courts and twenty-one original suits. The last arise from the Court having original jurisdiction in certain cases, and assuming it in others, at the request of the inferior courts. The great majority of cases, it will be seen, are matrimonial. Dr. Nicholl "conceived that the jurisdiction in matrimonial contracts was given to ecclesiastical courts partly in consequence of the fact that marriage, at that period, was regarded as a sacrament, and partly because the marriage law was chiefly founded on the canon law." The peculiar mode of procedure in this Court (and it is the same in the others) demands some notice. At the commencement of a suit a proctor is employed, who obtains a citation, calling upon the party, whether defendant or offender, to appear. This citation is served by one whom Chaucer has made an old acquaintance, though he now appears under a new name. He is no longer the Sumpnour, but the Apparitor. And we may pause a moment to observe that this change is but the slightest of the many this character has undergone. In the very commonplace but, no doubt, respectable person, who now executes the high behests of the Church, who would look for the successor of him whose portrait is given in Chaucer's matchless collection?—

> "A Sumpnour was there with us in that place,
> That had a fire-red cherubinnes face;
> * * * * *
> With scalled* browes black, and pilled† beard,
> Of his viságe children were sore afeard.
> There n' as quicksílver, litarge, ne brimstóne,
> Boras, ceruse, ne oil of tartar none,
> Ne ointement that woulde cleanse or bite,
> That him might helpen of his whelkes‡ white,
> Ne of the knobbes sitting on his cheeks.
> Well lov'd he garlic, onions, and leeks;
> And for to drink strong wine as red as blood,
> Then would he speak, and cry as he were wood.§
> And when that he well drunken had the wine,
> Then would he speaken no word but Latíne,
> A fewe termes could he, two or three
> That he had learned out of some decree."

Alas! the sources of all these generous tastes, good living, and of so much personal beauty, are gone; he is no longer allowed to seek out, as of old, cases for punishment, with the agreeable alternative of showing a world of kindly feeling and mercy, when melted into compassion by—the proper reasons. From being, as he was, the dread and curse of the community, he has, it must be owned, sunk into melancholy insignificance. Well, the citation served, and the party appearing (if not, he is declared in contempt, which is, even now, a really serious piece of business), a war of allegations and counter-allegations commences; then witnesses are examined, each alone by the examiner, on oath, on a set of questions as well calculated as so vicious a system can admit for the eliciting of the truth; and then the opposing advocates finally appear in Court, each armed with his formidable mass of papers, from which he lays the case before the Court, selecting such evidence as he pleases. Of course his sins, whether of

* *Scalled*—scurfy. † *Pilled*—bald, or scanty.
‡ *Whelkes*—probably some corrupt humour breaking out on the face. § *Wood*—mad.

omission or commission, are pointed out by the advocate in the gallery opposite, and thus the judge, who is busy making notes the whole time, obtains as complete a view of the case as is possible where the witnesses do not appear in Court to give their evidence publicly, when there may be those present who could detect any falsehood, and where they are free from the grand test of all truth—cross-examination. Yet there should be something good in this mode of examining witnesses, when we find the Bank solicitor, Mr. J. W. Freshfield, making the following statement to the commissioners:—

"My opinion is, that *vivâ voce* examination is the very worst method; that the examination in the Court of Chancery [where distinct but unalterable questions are put] is defective in an inferior degree; and that the examination in the Ecclesiastical Court is the most perfect: speaking of my own experience upon that subject, I think that in *vivâ voce* examination it is not the question what is the truth, but how much of the truth shall be allowed to be elicited: it is a question who is to be the examiner, and what will be the state of the nerves of the individual who is to be examined." He adds, that whilst a violent man with good nerve often becomes a partisan from the personal and annoying character of his examination, and says more than he knows—timid men, on the contrary, either give their evidence very insufficiently, or stay away altogether. Being asked whether he has ever known an instance of an honest witness being kept back from examination in the prudent management of a cause, he replied, "Many instances; I have known it done at considerable peril. I have had to tender, or not to tender, in my own discretion, men of the highest honour, upon whose veracity I would pledge my life; but have decided against their production, on account of the anxiety I have felt as to what might be the effect of placing them in the witness-box"*

On the other hand, another highly respectable solicitor, Mr. T. Hamilton, says he knows of a case in which "the plaintiff lost a valuable property from nothing in the world else but because the interrogatories were previously formed; the material witness was the solicitor to the defendant, and it was impossible to get out the whole facts on cross-interrogatories so prepared."† The truth lies, it is tolerably evident, between the two: to our mind there can be no question of the value, nay, the indispensableness of cross-examination in courts of justice; the problem, therefore, to solve is, how the rude, frequently brutal conduct of counsel is to be restrained, and a witness's feelings and character spared the outrages too frequently committed on both without the slightest provocation, with no other object indeed than a reckless determination to misrepresent or to lessen the value of his evidence, simply because it is unfavourable. Mr. Freshfield's statement at all events demands consideration, and, if possible, remedy. Surely the Judges themselves ought to have the power to repress all that tends to the obstruction of justice, even though it be done on the plea of the advancement of justice; and might lay down a few simple, well-considered rules for counsel, and enforce their observance.

With the growth of the canon law there grew up also in connection with it a race of judges, commentators, and practitioners, at first distinct from the analogous body of persons belonging to the civil law, but gradually becoming even more closely connected with them than the laws themselves, until at last there

* Report on Eccles. Courts, p. 38. † Ibid. p. 46.

remained, in England at least, but one body, the existing Doctors of Civil Law, who alone have the right of practising as advocates of Doctors' Commons. The period of the junction of the students in both laws seems to be the Reformation; before that event degrees were as common in the canon as in the civil law, many persons indeed taking both; but in the 27th of Henry VIII. that monarch prohibited the University of Cambridge, and probably of Oxford also, from having lectures or granting degrees in the canon law. The practice of the supreme Ecclesiastical Courts must, therefore, have necessarily fallen into the hands of the doctors of civil law. The founder of what we now call Doctors' Commons was, according to Maitland, "Dr. Henry Harvey, doctor of the civil and canon law, and master of Trinity Hall in Cambridge, a prebendary of Ely, and dean (or judge) of the Arches; a reverend, learned, and good man," who purchased a house here for the doctors to live in, in *common* together, hence the name. This house was burnt down in the Great Fire, and the present building erected on the site by the members. The doctors, we may observe, still dine together in a room adjoining the Court, on every court day. The admission of doctors to practice as advocates is a stately piece of ceremony, the new member being led up the Court by two senior advocates, with the mace borne in front, and there being much low bowing and reading of Latin speeches. The number of advocates at present, we believe, is twenty-six; the difference in the dress that we perceive among them marks them respectively as Cambridge and Oxford men. The proctors, who are in effect the solicitors of Doctors' Commons, are also admitted with ceremonials, and have to exhibit their attainments in a similar manner. Every pains are taken to ensure their respectability. When articled, at or after the age of fourteen, they must present a certificate from the schoolmaster as to their progress in classical learning; they are then articled for seven years, and a considerable fee is given to the proctors, and as only the senior proctors are allowed to take such clerks, and to have but two at the same time, a considerable amount of experience and knowledge of the laws and customs of Doctors' Commons is ensured. Finally, they can only be admitted to practise as proctors by presenting a certificate signed by three advocates and three proctors, stating their fitness. Yet, with all this precaution, there appears to be something more than suspicion on the minds of some of the respectable witnesses examined by the commissioners, that there are those among them who—to alter an old phrase—go the way of all lawyers.

One of the legal beauties of the Ecclesiastical Courts' system is that of appeal; a system certainly unique for the admirable skill with which it cherishes the pettiest and weakest cases till they grow into importance and respectability, raising them gradually, a step at a time, till the litigating combatants, instead of having their own little town or village coterie for spectators, look around with amazement at their own grandeur, from the elevation of a supreme metropolitan court. Mark the advancing stages which a case may have to, and often does, pass through. First, there are spread through the country two or three hundred minor courts, essentially the same in all cases, though bearing a variety of appellations, as peculiars of various descriptions, royal courts, archi-episcopal, episcopal, decanal, sub-decanal, prebendal, rectorial, vicarial, and a few manorial courts having similar jurisdiction. This is the base of the edifice, and in one of these we will suppose a case arises, is heard, and decided, and, being unsatisfactory to

one of the parties, is appealed against. This takes us to the first step upwards—the courts of the archdeacons and others in every diocese, where the case is again heard, decided, and appealed against. Of course poor men who cannot afford to go on appealing against what they may believe to be an unjust decision, may stop where they please. Far is it, we are sure, from the minds of all parties concerned to wish any poor man to involve himself in expenses that—he cannot pay. Next we ascend to the Consistorial Courts, one in each diocese, where the whole process of hearing, deciding, and appealing from, proceeds with delightful regularity and steadiness of purpose. The third step is the Chancellor's Court;—the fourth the metropolitan, say the Court of Arches, and here at least one would suppose there would be a final pause. By no means, if the losing party have still hopes of a different decision, or hopes of his adversary's purse or patience failing. An appeal still lies from the Court of Arches to the Privy Council at present, formerly to the Court of Delegates at Doctors' Commons, now abolished. That we may not be supposed to have exaggerated—here are two illustrations: "There was a case," says Dr. Nicholls, "in which the cause had originally commenced in the Archdeacon's Court at Totness, and thence there had been an appeal to the Court at Exeter, thence to the Arches, and thence to the Delegates; after all, the question at issue having been simply, which of two persons had the right of hanging his hat on a particular peg." The other is of a sadder cast, and calculated to arouse a just indignation. Our authority is Mr. S. W. Sweet,* who states—"In one instance, many years since, a suit was instituted, which I thought produced a great deal of inconvenience and distress: it was the case of a person of the name of Russell, whose wife was supposed to have had her character impugned at Yarmouth by a Mr. Bentham. He had no remedy at law for the attack upon the lady's character, and a suit for defamation was instituted in the Commons. It was supposed the suit would be attended with very little expense, but I believe in the end it greatly contributed to ruin the party who instituted it; I think he said his proctor's bill would be 700*l.* It went through several courts, and ultimately, I believe [according the decision or agreement] each party paid his own costs." It appears from the evidence subsequently given by the proctor, that he very humanely declined pressing for payment, and never was paid; and yet the case, through the continued anxiety and loss of time incurred for six or seven years (for the suit lasted that time), mainly contributed, it appears, to the party's ruin.

Abuses of this kind, with a host of others, it is the object of the bill before Parliament, introduced by Dr. Nicholl, to sweep away; and a most gratifying evidence of the change that has come over the episcopal spirit is to be found in the fact, that, effectually as it accomplishes these purposes, great as the sacrifice thereby made by some of the heads of the Church (one sinecure place, in the gift of the Archbishop of Canterbury, that is to be abolished, is worth 9000*l.* a year), it is to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners of 1832, among whom were the said Archbishop and six Bishops, that we owe the excellent measure of reform we are about to describe. But we must first notice, that, in addition to the evils of a multiplicity of appeals, and those arising from the variety of cases before mentioned in which the Church has temporal jurisdiction, and is in consequence frequently made the instrument of petty malice and bad feeling, there is one evil

* Report on Eccles. Courts, p. 17.

of still greater magnitude than either:—owing to the number of minor courts in which a will may be proved, it is almost impossible to know where to look for any but a very recent one. And now for the remedy. Dr. Nicholl proposes to divide the exclusively spiritual matters—such as the correction of clerks, and Church discipline generally—from those which are exclusively temporal, or of a mixed nature; the former to be left to the Bishops in their diocesan courts (all minor courts being abolished), with appeals, first to the Archbishop, and subsequently to the Privy Council,—thus "recognising, even in ecclesiastical matters, the principle, that over all causes .... her Majesty's was, in these her dominions, supreme authority;" and the latter to be handed over to a new court, to be called her Majesty's Court of Arches, with a Judge called, as at present, the Dean of the Arches, but appointed by the Queen, like the other Judges, instead of by the Archbishop of Canterbury. The advocates and proctors will of course practise in such new Court, as they do now in the old. The Court is to have no power to pronounce spiritual censures, consequently all those very peculiar causes before enumerated will be abolished, except such as may still be commenced in this Court, and in it only, with the object of asserting or of ascertaining a civil right. Tithe, and all matters pertaining thereto, are transferred to the jurisdiction of the general Courts of Law at Westminster. Lastly, the new Court will have the sole jurisdiction over all testamentary causes throughout the country, both as a court of trial for causes arising out of such matters, and as a Court of Registry for the entire kingdom, as all wills are to be proved in it, all administrations granted by it. This most important and valuable reform is enhanced by the care with which the inconveniences that might have attached to such a system have been anticipated and prevented. The present registry in every diocese is to be henceforth a branch registry of the Court of Arches, where all wills of persons dying possessed of personal property below 300*l.* may be proved, to save the expense and inconvenience attending journeys to London; and then the whole system is perfected by the cross transmission of all copies of wills proved—on the one hand, from each registry to the Court of Arches; on the other, from the Court of Arches (of wills below 300*l.*) to each registry: so that at the branches there will be a complete registry for small wills, and at the chief Court for wills of every class. The country proctors are probably the only persons injured by the measure, and that injury is lessened by the opening of the new London Court to such of them as may think proper to practise there for the future. In the procedure of this Court great improvements are to be introduced: *vivâ voce* evidence may be received in Court, at the discretion of the Judge; and, in certain cases, there may be a trial by jury. Such is a brief outline of the measure now before Parliament.

There is one other Court of Doctors' Commons yet to be mentioned—the High Court of Admiralty. How this came to be joined to the Ecclesiastical Courts we do not find anywhere stated, but it arose most probably from the circumstances before pointed out—the connection between the civil and canon laws: as the Arches and other Courts have been chiefly governed by the one, so has the Admiralty by the other. Its jurisdiction is divided into two parts—that of the Instance Court, and that of the Prize Court. The Prize Court evidently applies but to a state of war, when all naval captures pass through it. Its "end," says Lord Mansfield, in one of his tersest passages, "is to suspend the property till

condemnation; to punish every sort of misbehaviour in the captors; to restore instantly, if, upon the most summary examination, there does not appear sufficient ground; to condemn finally, if the goods really are prize, against everybody, giving everybody a fair opportunity of being heard."* The Instance Court has a criminal and civil jurisdiction. To the former belong piracy, and other indictable offences committed on the high seas, which are now tried at the Old Bailey; to the latter, all the cases which form the ordinary business of the Court, such as suits arising from ships running foul of each other, disputes about seamen's wages, bottomry, and salvage—that is, the allowance due to those who have saved or recovered ships, or property in ships, from maritime dangers. The position of the Judge of the Admiralty is a peculiar one: in peace having little to do—in war, all but overwhelmed: it is also in the highest degree onerous. Peace or war may continually depend upon his decisions in matters where foreign nations are concerned; for instance, "in cases of embargoes, and the provisional detention of vessels: in such cases an incautious decision might involve the country in war." † Nay, at the present moment that very question is in agitation (and may again come before the Court through some sudden, possibly accidental, circumstance), which formed so important a feature in the last war with America—the right of search; for, unfortunately, Sir John Nicholl's remark, that "the decisions of the great mind (Lord Stowell's) at the head of the Admiralty Court at that time have pretty much settled these questions to the satisfaction of the whole world,"‡ appears just now to be anything but correct. Yet if any one mind in such a position could have settled that or any still weightier question, it would have been the admirable Judge referred to, who sat in this Court through the most eventful period of the last great war, in the course of which he had to deal with almost every question of international law; but to him might be applied Shakspere's well-known passage on Henry V.:—

> "Turn him to any cause of policy,
> The Gordian knot of it he will unloose,
> Familiar as his garter:"

And the proof of it is the statement made by Sir Herbert Jenner, and other distinguished persons, in the highest degree calculated to form a correct opinion, that Lord Stowell's decisions at that period have since formed a code of international law, almost universally recognised. The amount of his labours was no less remarkable than its character. In one year (1806) he pronounced 2206 decrees. It can be hardly expected that to such praise there should be anything remarkable to add, and yet there is. Lord Stowell's style is a study not alone for his legal brethren of all classes, many of whom, it must be acknowledged, sadly need such a proof of the possibility of being at once learned and intelligible, but for all who can enjoy genuine and racy English. Looking over Haggart's reports of his decisions, we were struck by the case he gives of the ship 'Minerva;' and though many might be found better calculated to illustrate the qualities of Lord Stowell's matter and manner, it is not without value in those points, as well as being in itself interesting. Sailors are "the favourites of the law," says Lord

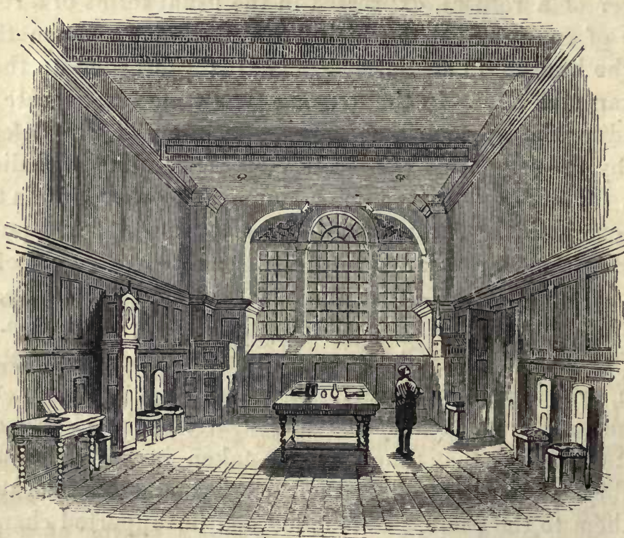
* Douglas's Reports, p. 572.
† Sir Herbert Jenner's Evidence. Report on Admiralty Courts, 1833, p. 36.
‡ Report, 1833, p. 20.

Stowell, in the judgment we are about to quote, " on account of their imbecility, and placed particularly under its protection:" the judgment in the 'Minerva' suit is a practical exemplification of this rule. It appears "the crew of the 'Minerva' had been engaged on a contract to go from London to New South Wales, and India, *or elsewhere,* and to return to a port in Europe." The words marked in Italics were said by the crew to have been subsequently added, who, in consequence, eventually left the vessel, and on their return were refused the wages they conceived themselves entitled to. The rest of their curious history Lord Stowell himself relates:—"Now upon this balance of evidence, as I have intimated, I strongly incline to hold, that these words did not compose any part of the text of the original contract; but if they did, I have no hesitation in asserting, that they are not to be taken in that indefinite latitude in which they are expressed: they are no description of a voyage; they are an unlimited description of the navigable globe; and are not to be admitted as a universal *alibi* for the whole world, including the most remote and even pestilential shores, indefinite otherwise both in space and time: they must receive a reasonable construction—a construction which I readily admit must be, to a certain extent, conformable to the necessities of commerce; for I hope that few men's minds are more remote than mine from a wish to encourage any wayward opposition in seamen to those necessities, or to the fair and indispensable indulgence which such necessities require; for no class of men is more interested in supporting the maritime commerce of the country than these persons themselves: but the entire disadvantage must not be thrown upon them; the owners must make their sacrifices as well as the mariners. . . . . . I come now to the evidence of other material facts. On landing the cargo at Port Jackson, the crew, as I have already observed, expressed their extreme disappointment at the change made in their destination [which they had just learned], in breach of the articles which they had subscribed. They are threatened by the Captain, who is certainly a person of lofty prerogative notions, who claims the right to carry them, and says he can and will carry them, wherever he pleases, even to hell itself, a very favourite place of consignment in his judgment. The only choice presented to these men was between a prison and a continuance in the ship; for such is the law and justice of that country, that it seems no other option is allowed to a seaman: whether he quit his ship for a just cause or none at all—that is never subject of inquiry. In the choice of things, they elect the ship, reserving to themselves, as they had an undoubted right to do, their demand for legal redress in the justice of their country, for such it appears was the general theme of conversation amongst them. They remained on board, performing their duty; and even if this had not been a compelled preference, it would not have deprived them of that resort. The articles were violated and remained so, though they elected, under all circumstances, to remain in the ship under the forced deviation. A voyage was commenced upon, a course of experiments to procure a cargo. From Port Jackson they proceeded in search of a cargo to New Zealand, where not a man ventured to land for fear of being made a meal's meat of by the cannibal inhabitants, as they were represented to be. From hence they take an enormous flight to Valparaiso, in the South Seas, where they take on board what the Master will not allow to be a cargo, but only part of a cargo; and the ship then proceeds to Lima, where nothing is done, and thence

a fresh flight to Otaheite, at neither of which places does this voyage of experiment afford any articles of cargo. From this last place the Master bends his course back to Sidney Cove, and after selling the partial cargo taken in at Valparaiso, and receiving payment for the same, they then procured a cargo, which they carried to Calcutta, for which place they ought to have proceeded originally. They landed the cargo, and were occupied in taking on board a cargo for England, the men all this time, with all apparent diligence and alacrity, discharging their duty. On two Sundays, days usually of repose and indulgence, they were employed; yet no necessity is shown for denying the usual remission of labour. It is also stated, that on the third Sunday they had hoped to obtain the usual indulgence. On that morning, however, at a very early hour, a great quantity of hides having been brought to the ship, they set to work at five o'clock in the morning, to obtain the indulgence of going on shore in the afternoon, and finished their stowage of hides by one o'clock, and then sat down to dinner in that warm climate, solacing themselves with the prospect of obtaining the long-expected indulgence of going on shore; but instead, they were informed that they must go to work in the afternoon of the same day wherein they had worked so many hours, to stow the hides more completely, which they had put into the hold with so much labour during six hours of the morning. They requested the indulgence which they had promised themselves, upon the faith of the usual practice and of their meritorious exertions in the morning, and applied to the Captain personally and respectfully for that purpose; but received the usual answer of a refusal, expressed in the usual terms of a reference to the favourite place of consignment to which I have alluded. Upon this refusal of the Captain, who himself immediately afterwards proceeded to the shore, they followed his example. . . . . In the evening they stated their case to the Town Serjeant, including the great original grievance, of an entire defeazance of the ship's articles by the compelled ramble to New Zealand and the distant ports of the South Sea. The Magistrates issue a summons to the Captain to appear and answer to the complaint. After consultations both private and public with the Captain, the Magistrates appear to act upon the same principle of law as that which prevails at Sidney Cove—that when a seaman quits a ship, he is only to make his election between the ship and the House of Correction. The sailors unwillingly repair to their ship, but are absolutely refused admittance by order of the Captain, which amounts nearly to a dismissal, and they return to the shore, where they are committed by the magistrates to the House of Correction for 25 days; at the end of that time they are taken in the police boat and put on board the ship, when they collect their clothes and hammocks, which they carry off with them to the shore. Unfounded and unsupported charges of having stolen the ship's hammocks are dismissed by the magistrates, as is likewise another equally unsupported charge of having neglected to clear the hawser, a duty which had never been imposed upon them. The mariners' case ends with their acceptance, after a month's interval, of stations on board another ship about to proceed for England, at nearly a double rate of wages to that which they would have been entitled to if they had continued on boad the 'Minerva.'" Our space will not allow us to transcribe any of the kindly and philosophical remarks with which the judgment is studded, we can only give the conclusion:—"Upon

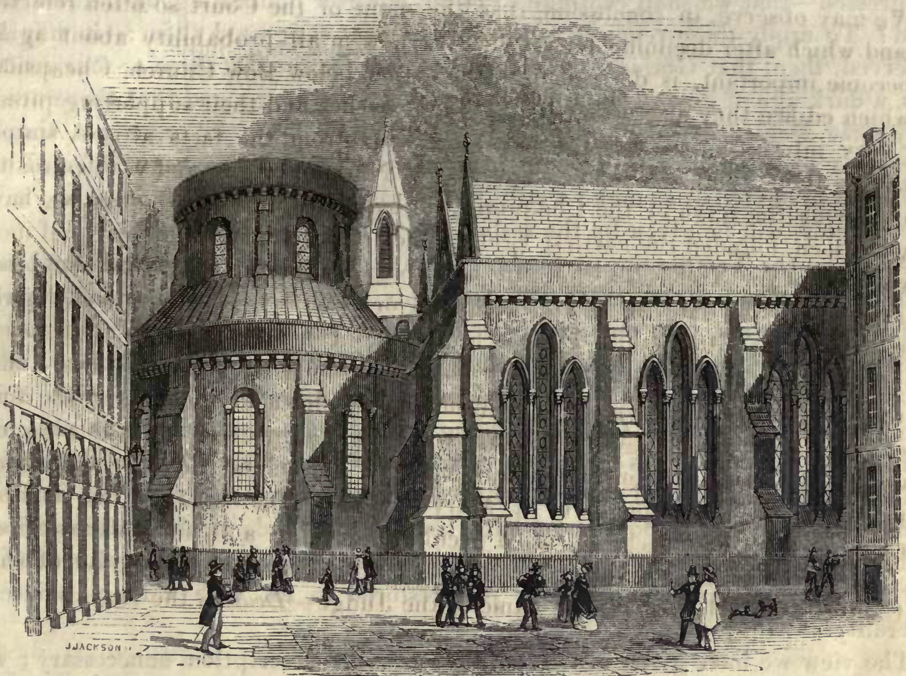
the whole, I do with satisfaction of mind pronounce for the wages and the expenses." *

We may observe, in conclusion, that the name of the Court so often referred to, and which after declining for centuries is now in all probability about again to become important, is derived from the *arches* below Bow Church, Cheapside, to which edifice they also give name. These arches and their supporting pillars are very interesting to the antiquary, not only from the facts already stated, but from their great antiquity. They are of Norman origin, and were probably built during the reign of the Conqueror, perhaps by himself, who, as we have already seen, founded the earliest Ecclesiastical Courts in this country, and most likely that of the Arches, as being the Archbishop's, first of all. Stow could find no evidence of the date of its establishment, or when it first sat at Bow Church; but there seems little doubt that it is coeval, or nearly so, with the ancient arches, and has never been removed from their vicinity till our own times. The Court of Arches was occasionally held here even down to the year 1825, if not later, in the part that now forms the vestry, the subject of the following engraving. The original connection between the Church and the Court we presume to be this:—the parish of St. Mary-le-Bow is the chief of the thirteen parishes in the City which are called peculiars, forming a Deanery exempt from the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London, and attached to that of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Hence also the name of the Judge—*Dean* of the Arches.



[Vestry-room, formerly Court of Arches, St. Mary-le-Bow.]

* Haggart's Reports of Cases determined in the High Court of Admiralty, vol. i. p. 347.




[The Temple Church from the South.]

# CII.—THE TEMPLE CHURCH. No. II.

## ITS RESTORATION.

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One of the most curious and interesting facts in the history of the human mind is the peculiar mode of its progression :—its alternating rise and fall—the preliminary retreat before every great advance, as if to derive fresh strength and impetus for the spring. And whatever the path, this characteristic still presents itself. In religion, Pagan Rome did not change to Christian Rome, and the worship of the One God, till the believers in a multitude of deities had passed through the worse state of practical disbelief in any : in philosophy or morality, the Divine voice that taught the essence of both, in the words "Love one another," was first heard, and received into men's hearts, at a time when the Grecian and Roman conquerors, by their vast organized systems of slaughter, devastation, and pillage, had well nigh banished the very ideas of humanity and justice from the world, and made philosophy a by-word of scorn : in science, literature, and art—the great ones of antiquity found fitting successors in such men as (to refer only to our own country) Roger Bacon and Chaucer—the artists of their temples in the artists of our early ecclesiastical churches, but what a

mighty and almost unfathomable gulf divided them—the dark ages, as we call a long period—centuries in which the light was certainly not that of noon-day. Yet, with all this, who doubts that progression is Nature's law—that we have progressed—that we shall continue so to do, however undulating or indirect the road? To apply these remarks to the subject that suggested them:—it may be observed, then, that Gothic architecture has had, for the last three or four centuries, a dark age of its own, from which it is now emerging; and that there needs only some decided impulse to be given to the public taste, in order not simply to restore what has been, but, in accordance with the law we have referred to, probably to enable us to make a still farther advance. Such an impulse, it is not unlikely, will be given by the restoration of the Temple Church.

And why the Temple in particular? it may be asked: the grand combinations of nave and aisles, choir and transepts, chapels and porches, lofty spires and mighty towers, into one magnificent whole, are already familiar to us in connection with our cathedrals: has the Temple Church anything to offer at once superior to these, and new? Certainly not: the answer is, that, for the first time, we see in it what a Gothic building really was—a structure as pre-eminent for its rich harmonies of colour as for its beauty of architectural detail and grandeur of architectural design. Let those who have not seen the Temple think what such decorations must have been in the hands of the authors of our cathedrals to be worthy of both, and they will scarcely overrate the value of what the Benchers of the Temple have just restored to us, with a truly princely liberality.

The view we have given of the exterior renders description unnecessary; we will therefore only remark how strikingly accordant is its character with the character of its founders; who, accustomed to the union of fortress and church in the East, where it was most necessary that they should be at all times prepared to defend themselves from the Saracens, seem to have been unable or unwilling to lose the same associations, even when at home among their own Christian countrymen. Perhaps, too, there may have been a little pride in the matter: they were not disinclined to remind those countrymen of what they had done, and were, at the period of the erection, still doing for the cause of Christ, as they deemed it. To examine the eastern front, the only front the church possesses, the spectator must pass round the pile of buildings that is seen in our engraving thrusting itself upon the oblong portion and obstructing the view. Before we leave the exterior, we must notice the differences of style which prevail in the Rotunda and the Chancel—differences which are connected with a feature of the Temple Church that makes it one of the most interesting and valuable structures we possess, apart from any other attractions. "No building in existence," says Mr. Cottingham, "so completely develops the gradual and delicate advance of the pointed style over the Norman as this church, being commenced in the latter, and finished in the highest perfection of the former:" already, in this exterior, and more particularly in the comparative lightness of those Norman windows, we can trace one of the stages of the advance. We now descend the steps of the porch, that strange, low, shut-in corner which forms the principal entrance—grown, however, larger-looking of late; and the deeply recessed, broad, semicircular Norman doorway is before us, with its foliated

capitals and other carved ornaments, exhibiting another stage in the architectural progress. Most elaborately rich and beautiful it is, too, with its numerous pillars below, and circular wreaths above, its sculptured heads and half figures, where, mingled together, we see kings and queens, and pious monks at prayer. It is often thought, by those best qualified to appreciate the spirit in which our ecclesiastical artists worked, that in all they did there was a higher object than that of merely fulfilling the ordinary requisitions of art, even though that were so admirably accomplished. What, for instance, can be finer than the entrance through this low and comparatively dark porch into the light and airy upward sweep of the Rotunda, with the vista opening beyond through the chancel? How it in every way enhances them, and more particularly in size, the precise feature which it was most desirable to enhance.* But was this all? Had not the architect a still greater design in view when he built this lowly porch? did he not desire to suggest that lowliness of spirit with which man should enter the house of his Maker—was it not an emphatic direction to the haughty and stiff-necked, the ambitious and the powerful, that they were all as nothing here—that they must *stoop in spirit* as they passed through this gateway? Above all, was it not to remind them to whom all the splendour beyond was dedicated—that the lofty arches and fretted roof were His, not theirs—that if their hearts swelled, it should be with penitence, and hope, and reverential love, not with vain self-gratulation?

But it is time we enter; and as we do so, we may notice, in passing, with what admirable judgment the transition from the dull commonplace buildings of the neighbourhood, up to the scene of consummate splendour that surrounds the altar at the distant extremity, and which is already attracting our eyes towards it, has been managed: first, there is the richly-sculptured, but uncoloured and therefore quiet-looking gateway; next comes the Round, with the black marble pillars relieved against the light colour of the surrounding walls, the single painted window facing us as we look upwards, and the various-coloured roof with its light blue cinquefoils spotting the delicate ground all over it, the deep red borders following and marking the airy play of the groinings, and the central ornament with its large blue flowers and gilded boss set in a circular frame-work of decoration; lastly, there is the view onward into the chancel, where the roof, thrown into such fine perspective, draws the eye unresistingly along a maze of the most delicately beautiful but glowing hues, which seem, at every fresh crossing of the arches, to grow more and more intense: it is hard to resist the impulse of at once stepping forward and throwing one's self into it, to luxuriate heart and soul on so novel and captivating a scene; but it is better to proceed regularly: we will first examine what is immediately about us. We are in the far-famed Round, and shall find it no difficult matter to pause awhile.

In our former paper on the Temple Church † we gave an engraving of the valuable and well-known effigies preserved in it. These had become so greatly injured by time, neglect, and by attentions of a kind infinitely worse than neglect,

* Dimensions of the church: Rotunda, 58 feet in diameter; Chancel, 82 feet in length, 58 in width, 37 in height.

† No. LXX., 'The Temple Church: its History and Associations.'

that all their minute and beautiful details of sculpture and costume were lost; and they were also extensively mutilated and fractured; in consequence, it was difficult to determine what could be done with them in the recent restoration. It was painful to see them in so unworthy a state, and at the same time it was feared they were too far gone for any process of re-edification. Mr. Edward Richardson, however, a sculptor, undertook to experimentalize on the worst—and perhaps originally the most beautiful of the figures: the one here on the right, nearest the central walk, of the second pair. Setting out with the principle of adhering rigidly to the idea of restoration of that which could be proved to have existed—not of making what he might fancy ought to have existed—he determined, as he has kindly explained to us, to remove no portion of the surface, however isolated or small, except in extreme cases of necessity, and that he would supply none of the missing parts except on the most precise authority drawn from the effigies themselves: which he hoped to find. He set to work in the following manner:—First, with a finely-pointed tool he removed the crust of paint, whitewash, and dirt that enveloped the effigy, which in parts was a quarter of an inch thick; the tediousness of this operation may be judged when we state that the surface he was so careful not to injure was more like a honeycomb in many parts than any surface that had been originally smooth. He now found, as he had anticipated, ample evidence of the character of those little but valuable points of costume and expression which had been unintelligible before. The next thing was to secure the original surface from further decay (to which the exposure to air would have made it peculiarly liable), by forcing into the stone some chemical preparation, which hardened in the pores. All the minute holes were now stopped with a cement which perfectly imitated the material of the effigy; the artist, as he well expresses it, working in this manner from "surface to surface" over the whole. There remained but to add the missing portions, which, among others, included the lower part of the legs and feet: this was done in the same material as the effigy, and joined by the cement. The result may be told by the order issued by the Benchers to Mr. Richardson, to restore the whole of the effigies; or, still better, in the words of an eminent architect, who observed, when he beheld it in its present state, "The public will never believe that this has been a mere restoration."* Thus these effigies, which are the best authorities we possess for military costume from the reign of Stephen to that of Henry III.—which are as works of art so surprising, that one of our greatest sculptors said the other day he could not understand how they could have been executed in that period—and which, lastly, are so interesting in their connection with the early history of the building, and with that greater history in which some of them at least figured so conspicuously, are restored to us in their habits as they lived: for there is no doubt whatever that such representations were accurately imitated from the countenance, figure, and garb of the originals. One only exception has to be made—absence of colour. It was discovered in the process of restoration, that the figures had been all more or less painted; some only slightly, so as to relieve the sculpture, but one of them, the effigy of William Pembroke the younger, was richly coloured throughout, having a surcoat of

* Mr. Richardson is preparing for publication elaborate drawings of the effigies in their restored state.

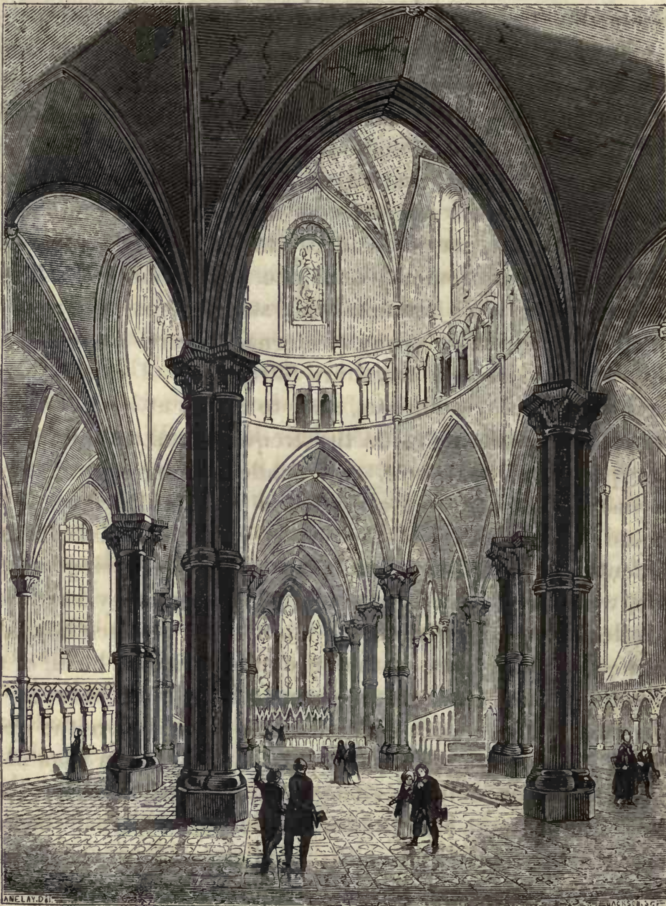
crimson, armour of gold, and a cushion or pillow enamelled with glass. The effigies, when first placed in the church, lay side by side in one broad row across the central avenue, their heads towards the east, as was proved by the interesting discovery of the coffins in the recent excavations. These were eight in number; six of them lead, the others stone of immense size. There was a beautiful carved cross on one of the latter. Other discoveries, not without interest, were made at the same time. In noticing the history of Geoffrey de Magnaville, in our former paper, we stated that, on account of his dying excommunicated, the Templars, who attended him on his death-bed, not daring to bury him in consecrated ground, hung his coffin on a tree in their garden till absolution was obtained, and then buried him in the porch before the western door; and there he was recently found; for there can be no doubt that one of the two broken sarcophagi discovered beneath the pavement of the porch was his. Fragments of a third sarcophagus were also discovered just within the doorway crossing beneath the walk of the aisle. The arrangement of the effigies was a matter of much consideration and experiment before their present position was decided on. They now lie four on each side the central avenue, and parallel with it, in a double line; those on the right being, first, William Marshall, the younger, sheathing his sword, one of the bold barons who made John alternately shiver with fear and burn with rage; then, by his side beyond him, his great father, the Protector Pembroke, his sword piercing the head of the animal at his feet. Passing on to the second pair, foremost is the exceedingly graceful but unknown figure before mentioned, on which the restoring process was first tried; and the second, another son of Pembroke's, Gilbert Marshall, in the act of drawing his sword. The probable feeling of the artist in this gesture is very beautiful. His father and his brother were men who had performed great things, and it is easy to see that their respective gestures are meant to signify as much; but Gilbert, when on the eve of going to the Holy Land, was killed by the accident of his being thrown by a runaway horse at a tournament in 1241, which he himself instituted in defiance of the mandates of Henry III.: the sculptor, therefore, desired to show what he would have done but for his premature decease. Of the four corresponding figures on the left three are unknown, and the fourth is that of De Magnaville, the burly warrior in front of the western pair. The remaining effigy, an exquisitely beautiful work, is that of Lord de Ros, another of the barons to whom we owe Magna Charta: this lies on the extreme right against the wall of the aisle, but in the same central line of the church as the other figures, whilst in a corresponding position on the extreme left is the coped stone shown in the engraving before referred to.

Let us now step from the central to the side walks, or, rather, from the Round into the lower-roofed aisle which surrounds it, and, having marked the stately marble pillars which rise at intervals to support the groined roof with its gilded bosses; the stone seat on which these pillars are based, and which runs along the bottom of the wall throughout the entire church (no doubt the only seat to be found here in olden times); having admired the low but richly-sculptured arcade also rising from the seat, and stamping lightness and beauty on the wall above, where the pointed arches, and pillars with Norman capitals to support them,

show once more the progress of the struggle between the styles, and the approaching victory of the former; then the heads which decorate this arcade:—but here, as the eye runs along the row, it is at once arrested by the startling countenances which meet its glance, and by the endless variety that they exhibit. Again and again do we perambulate the entire circle of the aisle, for they also accompany it the whole distance, to gaze upon those novel, expressive, and powerfully characteristic faces. Setting out from the doorway along the left aisle, we presently come to one (the seventh) that, once beheld, is never to be forgotten: anything so intensely full of agony, so ghastly in its horror, we never beheld. Then, to notice only the more remarkable of those countenances which pass before our eyes, we have those of a pale student; a female of distorted beauty; a cynic full of suffering, but expressing at the same time his marvellous contempt for it; a head on which an animal has fastened and is tearing the ear; a jester; numerous serio-comic indescribables one after another; a fine placid philosopher, with a look, however, of earnest surprise; horned and demoniac grotesques; and against the wall of the archway leading into the left aisle of the chancel, a female with the most touching expression of grief and utter desolation conceivable; you feel the tears are falling, though you do not see them: it is evidently a mother enduring some more than mortal anguish. Such is the left half-circle of this wondrous sculpturesque phantasmagoria. Crossing to the right, and so back again along that half-circle to the door, we find a striking and unsatisfactory change. The heads have in numerous instances little of the peculiar qualities of those we have noticed; a circumstance partly explained by the modern interpolations visible at a glance among them, and still more by the answers given to our inquiries on the subjects of these heads. It appears that at the time of an earlier repair of the Round (1825—1827) many of the heads were greatly decayed, and here and there some entirely missing. It is worthy of notice how the restorers of that day acted in comparison with the restorers of this. First, an able mechanic, but without the slightest pretension to artistical skill and knowledge, was set to work on the heads of the side last mentioned, and they were copied as we now see them. Some little attention had probably been called to the subject in the mean time, and the consequence was, that the restoration of those on the opposite or north side was conducted with greater care, but still it was thought quite unnecessary that a sculptor should touch them. That done, of course the old heads seemed to the parties of no further use, so they went off to the builder's yard, bad, good, and indifferent, and were there used—will it be believed?—as cart-wheel crutches; that is, to put under the wheels occasionally to prevent their slipping backwards. Such was the result of the inquiries made after them during the recent restoration of the Church! And now as to the general idea of the sculptor in these heads. It is impossible to go carefully through those on the north side without perceiving that, with but few exceptions, they all express an idea of pain, varying from the lowest animal manifestations up to the highest and most intellectual. On the south side, on the contrary, the predominant expression is placid or serene; and those of a different character, which are of original design, were probably removed from the opposite side, and the very ones substituted from this side, which there form so marked and corresponding an excep-

tion to their neighbours. But many of these are evidently *not* of original design, but copied, in ignorance not merely of the sculptor's object, which might have been excusable enough, but in opposition to the manifest rule that all the heads should be different. Thus, in the centre of the north side, are three heads—a queen, some merry personage, and then a king. The expression of the king's countenance is very fine, and in harmony with the gloomy character of his numerous companions; whilst his queen's, on the contrary, has almost a simper upon it. Crossing to exactly the opposite spot on the south side, we find a precisely similar group, only that both king and queen are here accordant and serene—evidently showing, apart from the similarity of the queenly faces, that the other queen has been copied from this, to fill up a vacant space, which the *restorer* knew not how else to fill. And what is the idea that we think these heads were intended to convey, and which, if perfect, and arranged as we believe them to have been, they would now convey to every one?—It is that of Purgatory on the one side, and the relief from it, by the prayers and intercessions of the Church, on the other. It may be thought some corroboration of this supposition to point out that the lofty corbel heads, one on each side the wall of the entrances into the aisles of the chancel, which are original, are so decidedly and carefully contrasted as to make it certain the sculptor had some idea of the kind indicated. The peace that passes all understanding is as unmistakably stamped on the head on one side of the arch, as the unendurable agony of eternal torture is on that on the other. In both arches the condemned faces are Saracenic: of course mere Purgatory was not enough for them. A curious, and, to artists at least, an interesting discovery, looked at in connection with the frequent custom of the Greeks even in the purest period of sculpture, was made during the restoration: some of the heads just mentioned had glass beads inserted for eyes. We may observe, in concluding our notice of the heads in the Rotunda, that the best of them are evidently bad copies of masterly originals—giving us the character and expression, which could not be well missed, though they have no doubt been sufficiently adulterated, and giving us no more. We may see how much we have lost in the exchange by a glance at the only other original head, of the beautiful little seraph with flowing hair, on the corner of the wall between the Rotunda and the south aisle. This was discovered but a week before the opening of the church. Traces of colour are still perceptible; and we learn from Mr. Richardson that the cheeks had been delicately tinged with the natural hue, the lips with vermilion, the pupil of the eye with blue, whilst the hair had been gilded. It was, as usual, thickly encrusted with layer upon layer of paint, dirt, and whitewash, so thickly indeed as to have escaped discovery till the period mentioned. But such was the state of the building generally only two short years ago. As we now turn from one beautiful and stately object to another, with a growing sense of delight, to see how the parts and the whole mutually harmonise with and enhance each other, it is difficult to recall the medley scene they have displaced. The painted window above was not then in existence, and that exceedingly elegant sculptured wheel-window over the entrance was closed up; the roof was flat, and the groining of the aisles was concealed in whitewash; every marble pillar (then unknown to be marble) the same; monumental barbarisms of the worst periods of English sculpture (now happily removed to the triforium above) were let

into the very body of the pillars, and also encumbered the arches; the noble threefold entrance, from the Round to the chancel, instead of enhancing—by the momentary interruption of the view, and by the new combinations at the same time formed—the superior architectural beauty we are approaching, as at present, was most carefully hidden by a glass screen extending right across; and above, in the central archway, was the organ revelling in classical decorations; lastly, the very bases of the pillars in the chancel were entirely hidden by the great pews, and the pavement of the church throughout was considerably higher than the original



[The Temple Church from the Entrance.]

level. On examination of the pillars in the Round, when they had been cleaned, it was found that they were so decayed that new ones were indispensable; and great as the expense necessarily was, the Benchers determined to make no unworthy shifts, but to replace them as they ought to be replaced. Accordingly a person was sent to Purbeck to make arrangements for the opening once more of its celebrated quarries. This little circumstance shows the spirit in which the

Benchers undertook and carried on their task. As to the pavement, it was found, on digging down to the original level, that it had been formerly tessellated; and, in consequence, we have got rid of the staple ornament for modern churches, when we wanted to make them very fine, as at St. Paul's—the black and white checquer—and have obtained this warm and beautiful surface instead, formed of encaustic tiles. The ground is a dark-red or chocolate, but so elaborately covered with the amber or yellowish ornaments, as to make the latter the prevailing hue. The patterns form, first, divisions of various breadth (the widest in the centre of the central avenue), extending, side by side, from the entrance-door to the farthest end of the chancel: within each division there is no alteration of pattern, but the divisions themselves, as compared with each other, present considerable differences. The two most striking are those next to the broad central one, where, as we pace along, we have the lamb on one side of us, and the winged horse on the other—the emblems of the two Societies to which the church belongs. The former is founded on the device of St. John; the latter, it is supposed, on the interesting story related in a former paper, of the poverty of the Knight Templars at the outset of their career, when two knights rode one horse. Among the other ornaments of the pavement are a profusion of linked-tailed animals in heraldic postures: lions, cocks, and foxes; tigers, with something very like mail upon their shoulders; basilisks, and other grotesques. There are also copies of designs of Anglo-Saxon origin—as figures playing musical instruments; and one illustrative of the story of Edward the Confessor—the Evangelist John and the ring—a design which at once tells us from whence the materials for the pavement have been borrowed, namely, the Chapter House, Westminster Abbey. The pavement formed by the tiles is as strong and imperishable as it is beautiful. The tiles are perforated all over with small holes on the under side, consequently when they are laid on the cement prepared to receive them, and pressed down, the latter rises into these perforations, and, hardening there, binds the whole indissolubly together.

It is a remarkable and somewhat happy coincidence, although one that does not seem to have been yet noticed, that the revival of the art of decorating our public buildings should have been begun in that very church where it is highly probable the art may have been first witnessed in all its splendour in England, but which, at all events, was founded by men who were among the introducers of that art into this country. When the Crusaders returned from the Holy Land, we know that they brought with them a confirmed taste for Eastern magnificence. "Barbaric pearl and gold" had not been showered before their eyes in vain; and among the Crusaders, the Knights Templars, rude as was the simplicity in which they delighted at the outset of their career, great as was their then contempt for luxury and wealth, very much altered their minds, to say the least of it, after a few visits to the Holy Land. To this circumstance doubtless may be attributed the Eastern character of the decorations of the period, as on the dome here above us, for instance.* Our ecclesiastics, being at perfect liberty to hang

* It may be observed here, once for all, that the decorations throughout the church are strictly in accordance with the period of the erection.

up, as in yonder archway, a Saracenic head or two *in terrorem* to all infidels, and as a kind of preliminary counterbalance, would no doubt accept, and turn to their own purposes, and, we must own, we think very sensibly, whatever infidel genius might have sent them across the seas. They who knew so well the effect of appealing to man's entire rather than to his partial nature only were not likely to reject any means that offered. From the moment he entered the sacred building, they took possession at once of his eye, ear, heart, and mind; and no wonder that afterwards they could turn him towards what point they pleased of the theological heaven. Of course this was a glorious field for abuses, and abuses sprung up with a strength and luxuriance that not only overpowered the flowers Art had strewed abroad, but almost concealed the goodly temple of Religion itself. Then it was that the early Church reformers arose in their strength, one by one. The "sour" Puritans, as in our one-sided vision we call them, because, seeing the Herculean task before them, they went to their work with the hands and heart of a Hercules, cutting away, might and main, on all sides; marking every step with their blood, as they waged unequal war with the multitudes ready to defend what they sought to destroy, but still pressing on till the whole—confession and indulgence, bulls, pardons, and relics, or by whatever name the noxious growths were known—were rooted up;—and with them the flowers went too. Well, we have at last a pure soil to raise them upon once more; for the successors of the Puritans (a thousand times worse than them, for they debased art, whilst the others at worst only kept it in abeyance) have gone into the same final receptacle of all error—oblivion. And so, commending the fine passage here following, from the writings of an eminent Protestant divine, to the consideration of those, if there are any such, who still doubt the value, in a spiritual sense, of such exhibitions as the Temple Church now affords, we shall proceed forward into the scene that for the last hour has been drawing our eyes, at intervals, most wistfully towards it. Bishop Horne says, "We cannot by our gifts profit the Almighty, but we may honour him, and profit ourselves; for, while man is man, religion, like man, must have a body and a soul: it must be external as well as internal; and the two parts, in both cases, will ever have a mutual influence upon each other. The senses and the imagination must have a considerable share in public worship; and devotion will accordingly be depressed or heightened by the mean, sordid, and dispiriting, or the fair, splendid, and cheerful appearance of the objects around us."

We could hardly suggest a better way of preventing the imagination of a reader from conceiving the true character and effect of the oblong portion of the Temple Church than by giving a careful and accurate architectural description, the process would be so unlike that which informs the spectator who is on the spot. The view impressed at once upon the eye of the latter is what is desiderated for the former—is what words of the most general, rapid, and suggestive character can very inadequately convey—and is what systematic description cannot give at all. We need hardly, therefore, say we shall not attempt the latter course; and as to the alternative, we cannot but feel how such glowing and various beauty as that before us becomes chilled in the very attempt to resolve it into words. Yet, if the imagination can be stirred

by external influences, it should be, indeed, active here. As we enter, let us step into the corner on the right. The first impression is of a mingled nature: a sense of the stateliest architectural magnificence, supporting and enveloped by the richest and most playful combinations of fairy-like beauty of decoration, each lending to each its own characteristics in the making of so harmonious a whole. Thus, the marble pillars, of a dark rich hue, beautifully veined, seem to flow rather than to tower upwards to meet the gay but delicate arabesqued roof, until, above the capitals, they suddenly expand their groins like so many embracing arms all over it, receiving at the same time from the roof a sprinkling of its own rich store of hues. See, too, how those magnificent arches, spanning so airily the wide space from pillar to pillar, and viewed from hence under so many combinations of near and remote—aisle, centre and aisle—those Atlases of the structure, see how content they are to serve as frameworks for the pictures seen through and above them, and, like all true strength, to look only the more graceful in their strength for the flowery chains which have been twined around them. The entire architecture of the Church, indeed, which is esteemed "decidedly the most exquisite specimen of pointed architecture existing," seems to give one the idea of its having thrown off the air of antiquity which time has not unnaturally imparted to it, and to start into a second youth, lustrous with all those peculiar graces which youth alone possesses. The lancet windows of the opposite side, beautiful alike in themselves and in relation to the architecture around, but undecorated, alone fail to add their tones to the general glow of splendour; though they still look so beautiful that one could fancy they borrowed a reflection from the latter; and, as we turn to the perfect blaze of colours and gilding at the east end of the chancel, it might be supposed that the wealth that would have been reasonably sufficient for the whole of the windows, has been concentrated in those three at the sides of and above the altar. In examining the smaller parts of which this sumptuous whole is composed, the attention again is naturally attracted first to the ceiling, as was no doubt the case originally; for, in taking down the plaster and paint covering, not only were traces of decorative painting found, but also rich ornaments worked in gold and silver. The chief objects which stand out from the elaborate but everywhere light and graceful arabesques are the small circular compartments scattered over the entire roof, one in each of the natural divisions formed by the groins, and containing alternately the lamb on a red ground and the flying horse on a blue. These are varied in the aisle, where we see the banner half black and half white, "because they [the Templars] were and showed themselves wholly white and fair towards the Christians, but black and terrible to them that were miscreants,"* and with the letters B E A V S E A N, for Beauseant, their equally dreaded war-cry. This banner was changed in the reign of Stephen for the red Maltese-like cross on a white ground, which forms another of the devices; and a third is copied from the seal of Milo de Stapleton, a member of the order, which still exists in the British Museum, attached to a charter of the date of 1320: this represents the cross of

* Favyne (Theatre of Honour); referred to in Mr. Willement's account, in 'The Temple Church,' by William Burge, Esq.

Christ raised above the crescent of the Saracen, with a star on each side. As we now move on towards the painted windows of the east end, we perceive, among other interesting minutiæ, the pious inscriptions, in Latin and in antique characters, that every here and there decorate and inform the wall with their stern threatenings to the wicked, their sweet and elevating consolations to the weary and heavily laden, their admonitions to all to remember the uses of the glorious structure—the end of all the solemn pomp around. That long inscription commencing in the north-west corner against the entrance to the aisle, and running all down that side, across the east end, then again along here at our back, till it finishes on the wall of the entrance archway close to the spot from which it started, is the 'Te Deum.' Drawing still nearer to the western extremity, is it fancy only that suggests the sense of growing richness—an effect as though the whole compartment beyond the two last pillars was lit up by some peculiar but unseen radiance? The general character of the decoration evidently has not changed. As we look, however, upon the roof attentively, we perceive that, whilst with the most subtle art the eye has not been warned of any sudden or striking alteration, the whole has been altered, the hues have grown deeper—the arabesques more elaborate—the whole more superb : yet still as remote as ever from garish or unseemly display : as fitting a prelude to the gorgeous eastern windows that illumine the compartment, as they are both suitable accessories of the altar beneath—resplendent in burnished gold—exquisite alike in its architecture and sculpture; whilst all—roof, windows, and altar, form most appropriately in every sense the culminating point of beauty of the Temple Church; the grand close of the beautiful vista through which we have advanced. The central or chief window is most rich in its storied panes, containing, as it does, a numerous series of designs from the life of Christ, conspicuous among which appears the Crucifixion. The variety and sumptuousness of the details are beyond description. Over all the immense space occupied by the window, you can scarcely find one piece of unbroken colour two inches square : how great then the artistical skill that can combine such minute fragments into so splendid a work; and, one would suppose, how tedious the process! Here we must venture to suggest a fault, or what appears to us to be one, and we find that others have also noticed it. The prevailing colours are blue and ruby, with—less prominently—green. It is, we believe, generally admitted that one of the principles of the ancient artists was vivid distinctness of colour : here, on the contrary, the blue and red mingle into something very like purple. This is less perceptible in the two side windows, and not at all in the one in the centre of the church facing the organ-loft. We have heard that this is owing to the use of a particular kind of red in the first, and which was not used in the last. This window is, in consequence, more brilliant-looking and pure in its masses of colour; and though these are confined to the figures of the angels playing antique musical instruments, one in each side-light, and three in the middle one, the remainder of its ornaments consisting chiefly of mere dark pencilled scrolls, covering the entire surface, yet so striking is the contrast, so chaste and beautiful the result, that if we were asked whether it be really true that the Art so long lost is reviving among us, we should desire to give no better answer than a reference to this window. But, hark! there wanted

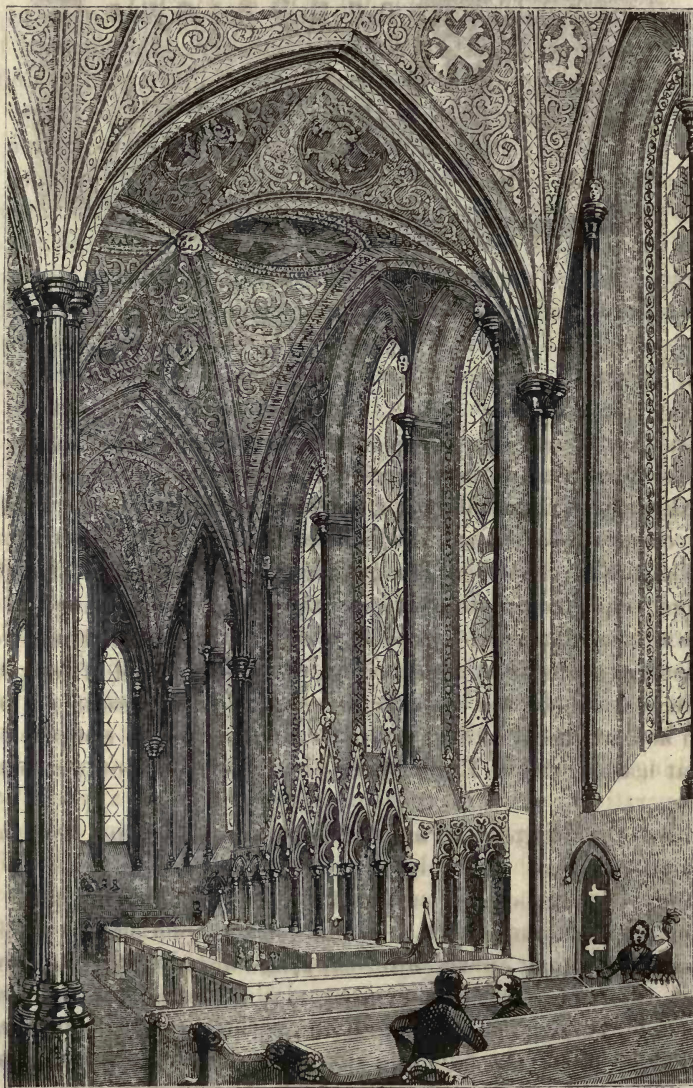
but one influence to complete the spell that seems to possess this place, and all who enter, and it comes. A few preluding notes, the first big drops as it were of rain amid sunshine, and out bursts the divine tempest of harmony from the mighty organ. Roof, walls, windows disappear; the Temple is for the moment nothing—we are borne up by the magnificent volume of sound, the willing sport of the elements, tossed to and fro. But divine is the power that moves—the voice so potent to stir stirs not idly; from the glorious turmoil steals out the lowest and gentlest of tones; you would catch it—you listen, and lo! its whisper is already ascending from your heart. But alas! some visitor, deaf to the "concord of sweet sounds," recalls us to earth, to reflect how near we had been to heaven. "O, the power of church music!" And thankful may we be that in this, as well as in the other arrangements, the Benchers of the Temple are actuated by the right feeling, as they are gratifying that feeling by a judicious liberality. The choir, consisting of fourteen voices (six men and eight boys), is to be permanent, and brought as speedily as possible to a high state of excellence. The organ, it is generally known, is one of the finest in this country, and has an amusing history attached to it. About the end of the reign of Charles II. the Societies determined on the erection of an organ; the two great builders of that time were Schmidt, or Father Smith (for—the correct appellation being too hard, we presume, for English ears—so he was called), and Harris. Of course they were rivals; and as each desired to have confided to him the erection of an organ which was to be supreme in its excellence, and as each was supported by numerous patrons and partisans, the Benchers were somewhat puzzled how to decide. Their solution of the problem was worthy of the acknowledged acumen of the profession. They proposed to the candidates that each should erect an organ in the church, and that they would then keep the best. The proposal was accepted, and in nine months two organs appeared in the Temple. Did any of our readers ever witness the débût of two rival prima donnas at an opera—the crowded tiers upon tiers of faces, the eager anticipation, the excitement, the applause replying to applause? Some such scene, modified only by the peculiarity of the place, appears to have attended the débût of the two organs. First, Blow and Purcell performed on appointed days on Father Smith's great work. The getting such coadjutors must have rather startled Harris; but there was still Mons. Lully, and he did full justice to his organ. Which was best? The Smithians unanimously agreed Smith's; the opposite party remained in opposition, and equally single-minded. Month after month the competition continued, for the space of a year, when Harris challenged Smith to make certain new reed stops within a fixed period, and then renew the trial. This was done, and to the delight of everybody. But a choice was more difficult than ever. Each was evidently the best organ in the world except the other. The matter began to grow serious. Violence and bad feeling broke out, and the consequences to the candidates became in many ways so injurious, that they are said to have been "just not ruined." Lord Chief-Justice Jefferies was at last empowered to decide, and we have now before us the organ he favoured —Smith's! We have already mentioned the former position of this instrument, its present one was only adopted after a long and anxious deliberation, in which gentlemen of no less importance than Messrs. Etty, Sidney Smirke, Cottingham,

Blore, Willement, and Savage took part; and, certainly, the decision is not unworthy of the collective wisdom. It now stands in a chamber built behind, and rather larger in every way than the central window on the northern side; an arrangement that left the noble view unobstructed which we have shown in a previous page, and which required no other adaptation of the window than the mere removal of the glass, and the walls of division between the lights. The classicalities have been ruthlessly swept away, and you now see its gilded and gaily-decorated pipes rising majestically upwards towards the Gothic pinnacles which crown it, rich in fretwork, and beautifully relieved against the painted roof of the light chamber behind. In a little vestry-room beneath are the bust of Lord Thurlow, who was buried in the Temple vaults, and the tablet of Oliver Goldsmith, who was buried in the churchyard. The last was set up at the expense of the Benchers, a few years ago, as graceful and honourable, as it was, of course, a spontaneous acknowledgment of the poet's burial in their precincts. These, with other memorials, will be shortly removed into the gallery surrounding the upper part of the Round, where Plowden, the eminent lawyer, lies in effigy beneath a semi-circular canopy—one of those heavy masses of stone, paint, and gilding, obelisks, death's heads and flowers, that so delighted our Elizabethan forefathers, accompanied by various others of the same kind. At the back of the seats occupied during service by the Benchers' ladies, on a black stone against the wall, we read the inscription—Joannes Seldenvs—a name that needs little comment. "He was," says Wood ('Athenæ'), "a great philologist, antiquary, herald, linguist, statesman, and what not!" He died in 1654. Of the remaining details of the church, we can only enumerate the carved benches, with their endless variety of heads, animals, and of flowers and fruit, copies from similar works preserved in our cathedrals; the sumptuous accessories of the altar, as the crimson velvet cloth with its gold embroidery; the ambry and piscina discovered on the removal of the "right wainscot" that formerly covered the lower part of the wall; the arch with the effigy of the bishop beneath it who is mentioned in our former paper, in the south-east corner; the penitential cell, also there referred to, which is on the side of the circular stairs leading up to the Triforium, in the wall of the archways between the Rotunda and chancel; and lastly, the portraits of the kings which decorate the upper part of these arches, namely—Henry I., Stephen, Henry II., Richard I., John, and Henry III., monarchs who were all, more or less, benefactors to the Temple; with the reign of the first of whom the order started into existence, and with the last, virtually terminated. Henry's successor, Edward I., gave unequivocal evidence of his desire to help himself to a little of the Templars' wealth, instead of conferring some of his own on them; and *his* successor suppressed them, A.D. 1308. We must add, that those who would know to whom we are indebted for the painted windows throughout the church, the roof, and, indeed, the decorations generally, will see in the northern window of the three at the east end, if they look carefully, the following words: "*Willement hoc opus fecit.*" The chief architectural works were commenced from the plan and under the superintendence of Mr. Savage, and (through some private differences) completed by Mr. Decimus Burton and Mr. Sidney Smirke. The carvings are by Mr. Nash. Already the public are

admitted freely on the afternoons of Sunday, and it is not improbable that, eventually, daily service will be performed here, which, of course, would be also open to them.

Reverting to the topic of our introductory remarks—progress, and the probable effect of the present restoration—whither may we hope its influence will guide us? The state of our cathedrals will at once occur to every one: what a world of whitewash is there not to be removed, what exquisite chapels and chapter houses to be restored, even in a mere architectural sense—witness the disgraceful state of the chapter-house of Westminster Abbey, for instance; what piles of monuments to be carried up into the Triforiums, before even the peculiar features of the Temple restoration—the decorative—are begun. But, supposing all this accomplished, are we to rest there? Let us answer the question by imagining, for a moment, what might be done within some given period, under favourable circumstances. To begin with the Temple. Whilst we may be certain that we have by no means reached the pinnacle of mere decorative splendour allowed by the severest taste, we have yet to call to our aid in such structures the highest artists—more particularly the sacred painter, with his solemn frescoes from Holy Writ, to which all other decorations should be but the mere adjuncts. The stranger wandering from such a building as this will find it stands not alone; that Art has asserted and established its universality. If he walks into the hall of the neighbouring University (we beg the reader still to accompany us in imagination), he finds a series of grand designs illustrative of the objects of the institution; he sees Theology, Jurisprudence, and Philosophy, each surrounded by her disciples—the messengers unto the world of all that the world has most reason to cherish. From the University to the Gallery of Art; with its long external range of statues of the great masters whose works are within, with its exquisite pediment, showing all the processes of sculpture, from the modelling of the clay and the hewing of the marble, up to the last touching of the finished production. Within he finds the accumulated stores, arranged with the most consummate skill, every work carefully placed, so as to be well lighted, and beautifully relieved against the back or surrounding walls—he finds the whole informed by one harmonious spirit—above all, he finds that each department reveals its own artistical history, from the earliest to the present time, by the quality and sequence of the works. Looking still farther, he perceives that, from the prince to the peasant, there is a comparatively universal sense of enjoyment in and appreciation of these things. Whilst the King, if he has a palace to build, says to the architect, "Build me a palace, in which nothing within or without shall be of transient fashion or interest; a palace for my posterity, and my people, as well as my self," and obtains accordingly such a work as has seldom or never before been seen, the people on their parts are stopping here in crowds, parents with their children, soldiers, mechanics, young and old, to examine the paintings of the public arcade, as they pass through it on their ordinary business; works by the rising painters of the day, the men of young but acknowledged genius, who are preparing themselves for the highest demands that can be made upon them, in this series, illustrating all the great events of the national history. Again——"But," interrupts a reader," you do not mean seriously to intimate

that all this is practicable, or at least within the next half-dozen centuries?—It is a mere dream." Very possibly. The ideas, so hastily suggested here, may be too gigantic for accomplishment in the great capital of the great British Empire; not the less, however, has all that we have described, and a thousand times more than could be gathered from our remarks, been done in the capital of the little kingdom of Bavaria, and in twenty years! All honour to the poet-king, Ludwig the First, and to the artists with whom he feels honoured in connecting his name.



[The Western Window, Altar, &c, Temple Church.]

[Procession of Placards.]

## CIII.—ADVERTISEMENTS.

Among what may be called the open-air Exhibitions of London—the collections of works of art gratuitously exposed to public view—there are none more interesting than the "External Paper-hangers' Stations." The windows of the printshops—especially of those in which caricatures are exhibited—have great attractions, doubtless: but there is a grandeur and boldness in the *chefs-d'œuvre* of the stations, which completely eclipses them. The engravings in the print-shop windows have contracted a good deal of that mincing elaborateness of finish which characterizes what may be called the Annuals' School of Art; those which we see at the stations, on the contrary, have all the boldness, if not much of the imagination and artistical skill of Salvator Rosa, and may compete the palm in roughness, at least, with the Elgin Marbles in their present weather-worn condition.

The stations of the External Paper-hangers are numerous, but rather ephemeral in their existence, and migratory in their propensities. It requires no great previous preparation, or expenditure of capital to establish one. Any dead wall, or any casing of boards around a public monument or public dwelling in the process of erection, on which the cabalistic words "Bill-Stickers, beware!" or "Stick no Bills!" have not been traced, may be, without more ado converted into a place of exhibition. And the assiduity with which the "Hanging Committee" of the great metropolis adorn the brick or wooden structure with a fresh supply of artistical gems every morning is amazing.

The boarded fence at the top of the stairs leading down to the steam-boat station at the north-end of Waterloo Bridge, the dead wall beside the English Opera House in North Wellington Street, the houses condemned to have the "improvements" driven through where Newport Street abuts upon St. Martin's Lane,

the enclosure round the Nelson's Monument in Trafalgar Square, the enclosure of the space on the west side of St. James's Street, where the Junior United Service Club House is about to be erected, are at present the most fashionable and conspicuous of these exhibitions at the "West End." The purlieus of the new Royal Exchange are most in vogue in the City, but the rapid progress of the buildings threatens ere long to force the exhibiters to seek a new locality.

The attractive character of the objects exhibited at these places sufficiently accounts for the crowds of lounging amateurs which may at almost every hour of the day be found congregated around them. There are colossal specimens of typography, in juxtaposition with which the puny letters of our pages would look like a snug citizen's box placed beside the pyramids of Egypt. There are rainbow-hued placards, vying in gorgeous extravagance of colour with Turner's last new picture. There are tables of contents of all the weekly newspapers, often more piquant and alluring than the actual newspapers themselves, these annunciatory placards not unfrequently bearing the same relation to the journals that the tempting skins of Dead-Sea fruits have been said to bear to their dry, choking substance: or, to adopt a more domestic simile, that the portraits outside of wild-beast caravans do to the beasts within. Then there are pictures of pens, gigantic as the plumes in the casque of the Castle of Otranto, held in hands as huge as that which was seen on the banisters of the said castle; spectacles of enormous size, fit to grace the eyes of an ogre; Irishmen dancing under the influence of Guinness's Dublin Stout or Beamish's Cork Particular; ladies in riding habits and gentlemen in walking dresses of incredible cheapness; prize oxen, whose very appearance is enough to satiate the appetite for ever. Lastly, there are "Bills o' the Play," lettered and hieroglyphical, and it is hard to say which is the most enticing. One of the former tells us that "Love" has just returned from America, and will "perform" alternately at the Strand Theatre and Crosby Hall "during the whole of Lent." This announcement, by the association of ideas, reminds one that St. Valentine's is just past, and Byron's 'Beppo' is still in existence. But the Pictorial Bills o' the Play bring before our startled eyes a "Domestic Tale," in the shape of one man shooting another on the quarter-deck of a vessel in flames, off the coast of Van Diemen's Land, with emigrants and convicts of all shapes and sizes crowded on the shore; or the grand fight between grenadiers and Jacobite conspirators, in the "Miser's Daughter;" or "Jack Ketch," caught on his own scaffold; or a view of the "tremendous Khyber Pass," as it may be seen nightly at the Queen's Theatre, with Lady Sale at the top of it brandishing a pistol in either hand, beneath the cocked and levelled terrors of which a row of turbaned Orientals kneel on either side of the heroine. And here we may pause to remark, how hopeful must be the attempt to extract the true history of ancient Greece out of its epic poets and dramatists, when modern playwrights are seen to take such liberties with the veracious chronicles of contemporary newspapers.

It becomes philosophical historians to penetrate beneath the mere shows and external surfaces of things. The works of Phidias and Michael Angelo were not simply meant to be pleasing to look upon—they were intended to be agents in exciting and keeping up devotional feelings. And in like manner the gaudy ornaments with which our External Paper-hangers adorn their stations have a

utility of their own, and are meant (this is noted for the information of posterity, for the living generation know it well enough) to serve the purposes of advertising for the interests of individuals, as well as of amusing the public at large.

A strange chapter in the history of man might be written on the subject of Advertisements. They became necessary as soon as any tribe became numerous enough for any one member of it to be hid in a crowd. The heralds of whom we read in Homer were the first "advertising mediums," and in remote country towns the class still exists in the shape of town drummers and town bellmen, employed to proclaim orally to the citizens all impending auctions, and many perpetrated larcenies, with losings and findings of every possible category. Manuscript placards seem to have been next in order: some fossilized specimens of them have been preserved on the walls of Pompeii, under the showers of moistened ashes with which that town was potted for the inspection of posterity. Of this system of advertising existing samples may occasionally be seen in rural districts, where manuscript announcements of hay crops for sale and farms to let are from time tc time stuck up on the gates of the churchyard; or even in the suburbs of the metropolis, in the guise of exhortations to purchase "Warren's Blacking," or try somebody's "Gout and Rheumatic Oil." The invention of printing naturally caused printed placards and posting bills in a great measure to supersede the written ones; with the increased circulation of newspapers the practice gained ground of making them the vehicle of advertisements; and finally all sorts of periodicals, and even books published once for all, have been made to carry along with them a prefix or an appendix of these useful announcements.

With every increase in the multiplicity of industrial avocations, and in the density of population, increases the necessity of devising new vehicles of advertisements, and alluring forms for them. In order to live, a man must get employment; in order to get employment, his existence and his talents must be known; and, in proportion to the numbers by whom he is surrounded must be his efforts to distinguish himself among the crowd. In a company of half-a-dozen, the man who is an inch taller than his fellows is distinguished by this slight difference; but, in a congregation of ten thousand, it requires the stature of the Irish giant to make a man conspicuous. It might easily be imagined, therefore, even though the proofs were not before our eyes, to what a degree of refined perfection the art of advertising has been carried in our crammed and busy London. There are advertisements direct and indirect, explicit and by innuendo; there is the newspaper advertisement, the placard, and the hand-bill; there is the advertisement literary and the advertisement pictorial; there is the advertisement in the form of a review or of a newspaper paragraph; there is the advertisement (most frequently of some milliner, or tailor, or jeweller, or confectioner) lurking in the pages of a fashionable novel. Some people write books merely to let the world in general, or at least those who have official appointments to bestow, know that they are there, and, in trading phrase, "open to an engagement." Nay, some there are who, by constantly forcing their personal presence on public notice, convert themselves into ambulatory placards, making their lives, not what the sentimentalist calls "one long-drawn sigh," but one incessantly repeated and wearisome advertisement.

It would be equally futile and tedious to attempt to enumerate and classify all the vehicles of advertisements, and all the forms which advertisements assume in London in the present high and palmy state of the art of advertising. It will suffice to run over a few of the most striking and characteristic in a cursory manner. The appearance of the external paper-hangers' stations has already been described. The external paper-hangers themselves are a peculiar race; well known by sight from their fustian jackets with immense pockets, their tin paste-boxes suspended by a strap, their placard-pouches, their thin rods of office, with cross-staff at the extremity, formed to join into each other and extend to a length capable of reaching the loftiest elevations at which their posting-bills are legible. A corporate body they are, with consuetudinary bye-laws of their own, which have given rise to frequent litigations in the police courts. The sage judges of these tribunals have found ere now the title of an external paper-hanger to his station as puzzling as that of a sweeper to his crossing. Then there seems to be a kind of apprenticeship known amongst them, though, from several recent cases at Bow Street, there is room to doubt whether the rights and duties of master and 'prentice have hitherto been defined with sufficient precision. The period for which a placard must be exposed to public view before it is lawful to cover it over with a new one is a nice question, but seems settled with tolerable certainty. And, to the honour of London external paper-hangers be it said, that there is rarely found (even at the exciting period of an election) among them that disregard of professional etiquette, or rather honour, which leads the mere bill-sticker of the provinces to cover over the posting-bills of a rival before the latter have well dried on the wall. Great judgment is required, and its possession probably is the best mark of distinction between the real artist and the mere mechanical external paper-hanger, in selecting the proper exposures (to borrow a phrase from horticulture) for bills. Some there are whose broad and popular character laughs out with most felicitous effect from the most conspicuous points—others, calculated for a sort of private publicity, ought to be affixed in out-of-the-way nooks and corners, retired but not unseen, provoking curiosity the more from the very circumstance of their being only half seen, each a semi-reducta Venus. The profession of an external paper-hanger, it will be seen, requires intellect as well as taste—it is rather superior to that of an upholsterer, and rather inferior to that of an artist: in regard to the degree of tact and talent required to exercise it with effect, the profession is as nearly as possible on a level with the Hanging Committee of the Royal Academy, and the spirit which animates the two bodies seems as similar as their occupations.

Another class of advertising agents is more completely distinct from the external paper-hangers than cursory observers would suppose—the bill-distributers. The point of precedence is not very satisfactorily adjusted between the two sets of functionaries. The bill-sticker (we beg pardon for using the almost obsolete and less euphonious name, but really its new substitute is too lengthy), with his tin paste-box and wallet of placards, has a more bulky presence—occupies a larger space in the world's eye—and the official appearance of his bunch of rods adds to the illusion. He is apt to swagger on the strength of this when he passes the mere bill-distributer. On the other hand, there can be no doubt that the bill-distributer regards his calling as more private, less ostentatious—in short,

more gentlemanlike than that of the bill-sticker. "Any man," said an eminent member of the profession, with whom we had once the honour to argue the question, "any man can stick a bill upon a wall, but to insinuate one gracefully and irresistibly into the hands of a lady or gentleman, is only for one who, to natural genius, adds long experience." In short (for his harangue was somewhat of the longest), it was clear our friend conceived his profession to stand in the same relation to that of a bill-sticker that the butler out of livery does to the footman in it. And, in corroboration of his views, it must be admitted that there is an air of faded gentility about many of the bill-distributers of the metropolis. There is one of them in particular, whose most frequent station is in front of Burlington House, whose whole outward man and manner resemble so closely those of a popular member of Parliament—the same flourishing whiskers, the same gracious bend of his slim person—that, in St. Stephen's, one could fancy the bill-distributer had just emerged into better circumstances; or, in Piccadilly, that the bill-framer had met with a reverse of fortune. It may be observed here that bill-distributers may be classified as permanent and occasional. The permanent are those who, like the gentleman last alluded to, have a station to which they repair day after day: the occasional are those who, on the occurrence of a public meeting at Exeter Hall, or on a court-day at the India House, or any similar occasions when men congregate in numbers, are placed at the door with hand-bills—most frequently advertisements of unsaleable periodicals—to stuff them into the hands of all who enter.

Peripatetic placards are comparatively a recent invention. The first form they assumed was that of a standard-bearer, with his placard extended like the Roman vexillum at the top of a long pole. Next came a heraldio anomaly, with placards hanging down before and behind like a herald's tabard: Boz has somewhere likened this phenomenon to a sandwich—a piece of human flesh between two slices of pasteboard. When these innovations had ceased to be novelties, and, consequently, to attract observation, some brilliant genius conceived the idea of reviving their declining powers by the simple process of multiplication. This was no more than applying to the streets a principle which had already succeeded on the stage. An eminent playwright—the story is some hundred years old—finding a widow and orphan had proved highly effective in the tragedy of a rival dramatist, improved upon the hint by introducing a widow with two orphans, but was trumped in turn by a third, who introduced a widower with six small motherless children. The multiplication of pole-bearers answered admirably for a time, but it also has been rather too frequently repeated. Of late the practice has, in a great measure, been restricted to a weekly newspaper of enormous size and enormous circulation, which seems to have discovered that the public could only be made aware of the great number of copies it purchased by this mode of chronicling the intelligence.

To peripatetic placards succeeded the vehicular. The first of these were simple enough—almost as rude as the cart of Thespis could well be supposed to be. A last relic of this simple generation still performs its circuits, warning, in homely and affectionate fashion, "Maids and bachelors"—"when they marry"—to "purchase their bedding" at an establishment where they are sure to get it cheap and good. Alas, in the ancient time, when we were married, there were no

such kind advisers to save young folks from being taken in in this important article of domestic economy! The first attempt at something finer than the lumbering machines alluded to was a colossal hat, mounted upon springs like a gig (that badge of the "respectable"), which may still be remembered—perhaps

still be seen—dashing down Regent Street at the heels of a spirited horse, with the hatmaker's name in large letters on the outside, whereas small human hats have in general only the hat-wearer's name in small letters on the inside. Then came an undescribable column mounted, like the tower of Juggernaut, upon the body of a car—a hybrid between an Egyptian obelisk and the ball-surmounted column of an English country-gentleman's gate. It bore an inscription in honour of "washable wigs" and their cheapness. The rude structure of boards stuck round with placards has of late given way to natty vans, varnished like coaches, and decorated with emblematic paintings. The first of these that met our eye had emblazoned on its stern an orange sky bedropped with Cupids or cherubs, and beneath the roseate festoon of these tiny combinations of human heads and duck-wings an energetic Fame puffing lustily at a trumpet. Below this allegorical device was attached—on the occasion when we had the honour to make the acquaintance of this vehicle—a placard displaying in large letters the name of "the monster murderer, Daniel Good." There was an apotheosis! The luxury of vehicular advertisements continues to increase with a steady rapidity that might appal the soul of an admirer of sumptuary laws. No further gone than last week did we encounter a structure not unlike the iron monument reared in the neighbourhood of Berlin to the memory of the heroes of the war of independence. It was the same complication of arched Gothic niches and pinnacles; but in the niches, instead of the effigies of mailed warriors, stood stuffed-out dresses, such as are worn by the fashionables of the day. The figures were life-like in every respect, except that all of them wanted heads. By some internal clock-work the structure was made to revolve on its axis as the car on which it was erected whirled along. It was a masterpiece of incongruity—blending in its forms Gothic romance with modern tailorism; in its suggestive associations the proud monument reared by a nation to its deliverers from foreign tyranny, with

the processions of victims of the guillotine in the maddest moment of France's blood-drunken revolution. The genius of Absurdity presided over the concoction, and hailed it as worthy to be called her own *chef-d'œuvre,* and as the *ne plus ultra* of the efforts of human insignificance to attract notice in a crowd.

The advertisements to which we have hitherto been referring only encounter the Londoner when he ventures out into the streets. They jostle him in the crowd, as any other casual stranger might do. They are at best mere chance acquaintances: even "the old familiar faces" among them do not intrude upon our domestic privacy. When we shut our street-doors we shut them out. But there is a class of advertisements which follow us to our homes—sit beside us in our easy chairs—whisper to us at the breakfast-table—are regular and cherished visitants—the advertisements which crowd the columns of a newspaper. Newspaper advertisements are to newspaper news what autobiography is to the narrative of a man's life told by another. The paragraphs tell us about men's sayings and doings: the advertisements *are* their sayings and doings. There is a dramatic interest about the advertising columns which belongs to no other department of a newspaper. They tell us what men are busy about, how they feel, what they think, what they want. As we con them over in the pages of the 'Times' or 'Chronicle,' we have the whole busy ant-hill of London life exposed to our view. The journals we have named do more for us, without asking us to leave the fireside, than the Devil on Two Sticks could do for Don Cleofas after he had whisked him up to the steeple, and without the trouble of untiling all the houses "as you would take the crust off a pie."

It is not to matters of business alone, as the amateur in advertisements well knows, that these announcements are confined. Many of them have such a suggestive mystery about them, that they almost deserve a place in the "Romance of Real Life." In corroboration of this we take up a file of the 'Times,' and open at random, turning to the top of the second column of the first page, the locality most affected by this class. There is an imploring pathos about the very first that meets our eyes, that might suggest matter for at least three chapters of a modern novel:—"F. T. W. is *most urgently intreated* to communicate his address to his friend J. C., before *finally determining upon so rash a course of conduct* as that mentioned in his letter of yesterday. *All may and will be arranged.* The address, if communicated, will be considered confidential." Still more heart-rending are the images conjured up by the address upon which we stumble next:—"To A. M. Your brother *implores* that you will immediately return home, and every arrangement will be made for your comfort; or write me, and relieve the dreadful distress in which our parents are at your absence." The next strikes the note of generous enthusiasm:—"Grant. Received 5*l.* 6*s.*, with thanks and admiration for the rare probity exhibited." The superhuman virtue which could resist the temptation to pocket 5*l.* 6*s.* called for no less. What next? A laconic and perfectly intelligible hint:—"P. is informed that E. P. is very short of money. Pray WRITE SOON." Would that all our duns would adopt this delicate method of reminding us of their claims. All the world knows what *a* gentleman means; but perhaps few are aware that *the* gentleman visited London in the year of grace 1841 (for from the records of that year are we now culling):—"If the cab-driver who brought THE GENTLEMAN from Little

Queen Street this morning to ——— ———, St. James's, will bring the blue great-coat, he will receive ten shillings reward." The next is of a gayer cast; it may have been an advertisement of Tittlebat Titmouse, Esq., in his jolly days:—"Ten shillings Reward. Lost on Friday night last, A RHINOCEROS WALKING-CANE, gold mounting, with initials T. T., supposed to have been left at the Cider Cellar, Maiden Lane. Apply at the St. Albans Hotel, Charles Street, St. James's." This comes of young gentlemen's larking, and sitting late at the Cider Cellar, which, by the way, is a cellar no longer, having been promoted to the ground floor. *Paulo majora canamus!* here comes emphasis and delicate embarrassment enough for three whole volumes:—"To the philanthropic and affluent. A young and protectionless orphan lady of respectability is in most imminent need of two hundred pounds to preserve her from utter and irretrievable ruin, arising mainly in a well-meant but improvident bill of acceptance, that from miscalculation of means in timeliness she has been unable to meet, and whereby legal process has just issued against her, involving a recherché limning property, of a far greater, and to three hundred pounds insured amount. In the forlorn yet fervid hope of such her twofold critically fearful case attracting the eye of some benevolent personage, forthwith disposed to inquire into it, and, on the proof, humanely to step forward to her rescue, both herein and for affording her a gratuitous asylum till the advanced spring, at least, when such property could be made best convertible, this advertisement, by an incompetent but anxious well-wisher, in appreciation of her great amiability, wonted high principle, domestic, and on every hand exemplary worth, is inserted."

How easily might a practised story-composer manufacture a domestic tale out of these materials, gleaned in a cursory glance of a few minutes! He might paint, with Dutch fidelity, the bitter as causeless squabbles of relatives; might intersperse the graver chapters with pictures of life about town, as witnessed by the hero of the "rhinoceros-cane" in his nocturnal perambulations; and what a splendid heroine, ready-made to his hand, in the fair one who could inspire the prose Pindaric just quoted! It seems to have become a received law that there must be some love in a novel, and even this we may find in the rich mine we are now excavating; for in these days of publicity and gigantic combinations, even 'The Times' has been enlisted under the banners of Cupid, and made occasionally the means "to waft a sigh from Indus to the Pole." We open upon chance; and lo! at the head of the aforesaid second column of the first page—"Why does Frederic come no more to St. John's Wood?" The song says—

> "At the Baron of Mowbray's gate was seen
> A page with a courser black;
> Then out came a Knight of a gallant mien
> And he leapt on the courser's back;
> His heart was light and his armour bright,
> And he sung this merry lay—
> 'O ladies! beware of a brave young man,
> He loves and he rides away.'
> A Lady looked over the castle wall
> When she heard the Knight thus sing,
> And when she heard the words he let fall,
> Her hands she began to wring:" &c.

Now this was very natural, for in those days there were no newspapers. But had 'The Times' then existed, the woeful lady of the ballad need not have been reduced to unavailing hand-wringing: she would immediately have inserted, in the advertising columns of his newspaper—"Why does the knight of a gallant mien come no more to the Baron of Mowbray's castle?" Every morning daily, as he took his breakfast, would he be reminded of his offence. Afraid to touch the harassing monitor, his matutinal meal would lose more than half its relish. No place of refuge could he fly to where the wailings of his mistress could not follow him. They would be heard in the coffee-room, they would penetrate even into the asylum of the club. A spell would be upon him, rendering life miserable till he knelt for mercy at the feet of his mistress again. The fair dames of romance could only stab, poison, or betake themselves to sorcery, but our forlorn ones can advertise their lovers as "stolen or strayed."

The following advertisement, which appeared in the 'Chronicle' of the present year, not long after St. Valentine's, may also have reference to the tender passion; the hero of it might serve for the loutish lover so frequently introduced as a foil to the serious and elegant inamorato of a tale: "If the author of the lines, of which the following is a skeleton of the first stanza, will communicate with the person to whom they were recently addressed, which is earnestly desired, the result cannot but be gratifying to both parties:—

"C—l! * * * * * meet
You * * * * * * me
And * * * * * * eye
You * * * * * * by
As * * * * * * Old Woman."

The rhyme is somewhat peculiar. The mystery of this advertisement is easily solved. The Police Reports noticed, a few days before its publication, that a gentleman had appeared at one of the offices in high dudgeon because, on applying at the Post Office to have the postage of a Valentine returned, he was politely informed, "that it was the practice to return the postage of all anonymous letters—except Valentines." Doubtless, the communication which was to be in its result "gratifying to both parties," was a mere bait to catch the offender who had mulcted the angry gentleman in twopence; and if the sweet youth was caught, it needs no spirit of divination to tell that assuredly he tasted of cudgel.

Matrimonial advertisements are at a discount, but a class which still retain a *soupçon* of matrimonial speculation continue to haunt the newspapers. Here is a specimen:—"A Lady *in her thirty-third year* wishes to meet with a situation as Companion to a Lady, *or to superintend the domestic concerns of a Widower.* She has been accustomed to good society, and can give unexceptionable references. *As a comfortable home is the principal object, a moderate salary will suffice.*" For "thirty-third" read "thirty-eighth." It is a buxom widow, who wishes to secure a good house over her head, with a chance of becoming its mistress. If her appearance please the honest man who accepts her services, he had best go to church with her at once, for "to this complexion it must come at last." Perhaps, however, he would prefer to mate himself with the "Respectable Widow" in the next column, who is "fully competent to superintend the household affairs of a Single Gentleman, or a Mercantile Establishment;" or, better

still, a female "of high respectability and of the Established Church," who "would be found invaluable where children have been recently deprived of maternal care; and, *being clever in millinery and dress-making*, would take them under her entire care." Yet something more than being clever in millinery and dress-making is sometimes thought necessary to qualify for the charge of children; so perhaps the widower might prefer sending his daughters to the innumerable admirable seminaries of education where young ladies are taught—"French, Italian, and German; English Composition; Mathematics, Political Economy, and Chemistry; the use of the Globes; Calisthenics (and single-stick?); Drawing, Entomology and Botany.—N.B. Latin and Greek, if required;" and where, in addition to all this cramming, "the Diet is unlimited!" Our British fair do not lavish all their attentions on the other sex—they have some sympathy left for their own:—"Two Ladies, residing within a few miles of town, wish to receive a Lady suffering under Mental Imbecility. While every attention would be paid to her health, it would be their study to promote the comfort and amusement of the patient, as far as circumstances might allow. *The use of a carriage* is required," whether *the patient* be able to use it or not. The benevolent and disinterested attention to the comfort of utter strangers, implied in the advertisement of the ladies under consideration, is not confined to the breasts of the softer sex. Here is a male philanthropist, who, unable to find occupants enough for his roomy benevolence, steps from the circle of his acquaintance into the regions of the unknown, and volunteers his services to all and any persons:—"Any Gentleman desirous of engaging in *an easy and agreeable profession* will have an opportunity that offers—provided he has 1000*l.* to employ as capital." Indeed, in these days, when, according to some statesmen, the whole country is labouring under a plethora of capital, it is astonishing to see how many humane individuals advertise their services to bleed the patients.

All classes of readers find advertisements suited to their different tastes. To literary men, aldermen, and other sedentary and masticating characters, of a dyspeptical tendency, the medical advertisements are irresistible. One learned practitioner proclaims—"No more gout, no more rheumatism!" Another, borrowing a metaphor from the worshipful fraternity of bum-bailiffs, talks of "Bleeding arrested;" we have "Ringworm cured by a Lady," and "Toothache cured by a Clergyman of the Church of England."* "Parr's Life Pills" may be such in reality as well in name; but "Cockle's Antibilious Pills" are certainly a passport to immortality, for the learned vender of them enumerates among his active and influential patrons several whom the ill-informed public had long numbered with the dead. Young men turn with interest to the advertisements of the theatres and other places of public entertainment: these are generally well classified, but to this praise there is one exception. An ingenious clergyman who takes for his texts—not passages from the Scriptures, but—the most recent topics of the day, and preaches upon the themes of journals in a style quite as entertaining, duly advertizes in the course of each week the topics he is to discuss on the following Sunday. It is rather hard upon this gentleman that

* Speaking of toothache, some may have an interest in knowing that—"*A lady*, having discovered an invaluable article for the toothache, now submits it to the public as unequalled, *it not requiring any application to the teeth*, or producing the slightest inconvenience."

neither the 'Times' nor the 'Chronicle' will place his advertisements among those which immediately precede the "leading article"—that being evidently their proper place, say between the announcement of the "Dissolving Views" of the Polytechnic exhibition, and that of the Zoological collection at the English Opera House. On a theme so copious one might run on for ever: but, before drawing bridle, let us, at least, give immortality to an advertisement which must speak trumpet-tongued to every warlike and patriotic soul:—

"Aux Etats Foibles, voisins, d'aucune puissance dominante aggressive, l'inventeur propose l'emploi de son arme nouvelle, nommée par lui, Le Pacificateur, qui par son pouvoir destructif enorme contre les masses, egalisera les forces les plus disparates, et entre les mains d' un peuple rendra nuls les attentats d'un étranger sur leur independance nationale. Lès agens pleinments autorisés peuvent s'addresser à Mons. Charles Toplis, Poultry, London."

What a crow from the Poultry! What a huge turkeycock gobble! This is "man-traps and spring-guns" on a magnificent scale, set to guard kingdoms instead of cabbage-gardens. The terrific emanation shakes all our nerves, and forces us to seek refuge from the stormy passions of the present, amid the silence and repose of the dead and buried past.

Not, however, before we have paid a hasty but heart-felt tribute to the greatest master of the advertising art in ancient or modern times—the illustrious George Robins. We are obliged to stick him in here, because, as is generally the case with original genius, he fits into none of our categories. His advertisements are calculated alike for the posting-bill, the distributary bill, and the newspaper, and look equally well in all. Typographical they are, and yet the types assume, in them, a pictorial character. No man ever made his letters speak like George Robins. His style is his own: to speak in the language of the turf, one could imagine he had been "got by Burke out of Malaprop." He has carried the eloquence of advertising far beyond all his predecessors. And, as was the case with his great precursors in eloquence, Demosthenes and Chatham, his "copia fandi" has raised him to great charges—to be Chancellor of the Exchequer to the Drury Lane renters, and founder of a colony at the Cape of Good Hope, the annals of which he is writing in his own advertisements.

The art and science of advertising even in London did not reach the state of perfection in which we find it all at once. Enough has been said to show that even the young among the present generation may have noted a progressive improvement. But our forefathers, though not quite equal to us, were, after all, pretty fellows in their way; they understood something about advertising too, as we shall soon be able to convince our readers. The perishable placards and posting-bills of the ancients are gone—they have perished, like the frescoes of Leonardo da Vinci—but the domesticated advertisements of the newspaper have been stored up in libraries for the inspection of the curious. There are at this moment lying on our table some stray journals and Gazettes of the good days of Queen Anne and the two first Georges, and a complete set of the 'Tatler' in the folio half-sheets in which it first appeared, with all the real advertisements—we do not mean Steele's parodies upon them; and, examining those archives carefully, we are sometimes almost tempted to give the palm to the advertisers of that remote era. The art of advertising is perhaps in our days more uni-

versally known and practised—there are no such crude, unlicked lumps of advertisements as there were in A.D. 1711; but, again, there is scarcely the same racy originality. The advertisers of those days were the Shaksperes of this department of literature: those of the present time can rarely be estimated above the contributors to the annuals.

*Place aux dames!* There are plenty of wealthy and titled dames in our day who like to see their benevolence blazoned abroad by the advertised lists of subscribers to charities: but, apart from the spice of romance in its story, the following advertisement by the Duchess of Buckingham, in 1734, combining a skilful blazonry of her own humanity with a caution against over-drawing on her bank of benevolence, throws their timid, indirect self-praise at second-hand entirely into the shade:—"Last Tuesday evening, a female child, of about three weeks old, was left in a basket at the door of Buckingham House. The servants would have carried it into the park, but the case being some time after made known to the Duchess, who was told it was too late to send to the overseers of the parish, and that the child must perish with cold without speedy relief, her grace was touched with compassion, and ordered it to be taken care of. The person who left the letter in the basket is desired, by a penny-post letter, to inform whether the child has been baptized; because, if not, her grace will take care to have it done; and likewise to procure a nurse for it. Her grace doth not propose that this instance of her tenderness should encourage any further presents of this nature, because such future attempts will prove fruitless." These were the days in which 'The History of a Foundling' might have been read.

Even the reverend orator who advertises that the newest and most fashionable topics are discussed every Sunday from his pulpit had a prototype in those days, and one of much more daring genius—the Reverend Orator Henley. Here is one of that grave divine's announcements for 1726:—"On Sunday, July 31, the Theological Lectures of the Oratory begin in the French Chapel in Newport Market, on the most curious subjects in divinity. They will be after the manner and of the extent of the Academical Lectures. The first will be on the Liturgy of the Oratory, without derogating from any other, at half an hour after three in the afternoon. Service and sermon in the morning will be at half an hour after ten. The subjects will be always new, and treated in the most natural manner. On Wednesday next, at five in the evening, will be an Academical Lecture on Education, ancient and modern. The chairs that were forced back last Sunday by the crowd, if they would be pleased to come a very little sooner, would find the passage easy. As the town is pleased to approve of this undertaking, and the institutor neither does nor will act nor say anything in it that is contrary to the laws of God and his country, he depends on the protection of both, and despises malice and calumny." The advertisement of November, 1728, is still more daringly eccentric:—"At the Oratory in Newport Market, to-morrow, at half an hour after ten, the sermon will be on the Witch of Endor. At half an hour after five the Theological Lecture will be on the conversion and original of the Scottish nation, and of the Picts and Caledonians; St. Andrew's relicks and panegyrick, and the character and mission of the Apostles. On Wednesday, at six or near the matter, take your chance, will be a medley oration on the history, merits, and praise of Confusion and of Confounders in the road and out of the

way. On Friday, will be that on Dr. Faustus and Fortunatus, and Conjuration; after each the Climax of the Times, Nos. 23 and 24.—N.B. Whenever the prices of the seats are occasionally raised in the week-days notice of it will be given in the prints. An account of the performances of the Oratory from the first, to August last, is published, with the Discourse on Nonsense; and if any bishop, clergyman, or other subject of his Majesty, or any foreign prince or state can, at my years, and in my circumstances and opportunities, without the least assistance or any partner in the world, parallel the study, choice, variety, and discharge of the said performances of the Oratory by his own or any others, I engage forthwith to quit the said Oratory.—J. Henley."

Medical quackery was in full blossom at the beginning of last century. In 1700 we are informed:—"At the Angel and Crown, in Basing Lane, lives J. Pechey, a graduate in the University of Oxford, and of many years standing in the College of Physicians, London; where all sick people that come to him may have, *for sixpence,* a faithful account of their diseases, and plain directions for diet and other things they can prepare themselves; and such as have occasion for medicines may have them of him at reasonable rates, without paying anything for advice; and he will visit any sick person in London or the liberties thereof, in the day-time, *for two shillings and sixpence,* and anywhere within the bills of mortality for *five shillings;* and if he be called by any person as he passes by in any of these places, he will require but one shilling for advice." This excellently graduated tariff of charges might be recommended to the consideration of the faculty at large. Dr. Herwig's announcement is more artistically put together than Dr. Pechey's:—"Whereas, it has been industriously reported that Dr. Herwig, *who cures madness and most distempers by sympathy,* has left England and returned to Germany: this is to give notice, that he lives at the same place, viz., at Mr. Gagelman's, in Suffolk Street, Charing Cross, about the middle of the street, over against the green balcony." Lest, however, the superiority of Dr. Herwig in the science of humbug should be attributed to his foreign birth, we quote from the advertisements in the 'Tatler,' August 24 to 26, 1710, the advertisement of an indigenous quack:—"Whereas J. Moore, at the Pestle and Mortar, in Abchurch Lane, London, having had some extraordinary business which called me into the country for these five or six weeks last past, and finding I have been very much wanted in my absence, by the multitude of people which came to inquire for me; these are to inform them that I am returned, and am to be consulted with at my house as formerly." This class of practitioners employed largely the services of the industrious fraternity of bill-distributers—as, indeed, they are still their principal patrons. Malcolm, in 'Anecdotes of the Manners and Customs of London during the Eighteenth Century,' has preserved rather an ingenious bill which men were engaged to thrust into the hands of passengers:—"Your old friend Dr. Case desires you not to forget him, *although he has left the common way of bills.*"

Some of the nostrums of these gentlemen must have been rather agreeable to the taste. The following appears frequently in the 'Tatler:'—"The famous chymical quintessence of Bohea tea and cocoa-nuts together, wherein the volatile salt, oil, and spirit of them both are chymically extracted and united, and in which all the virtues of both tea and nut are essentially inherent, and is really a plea-

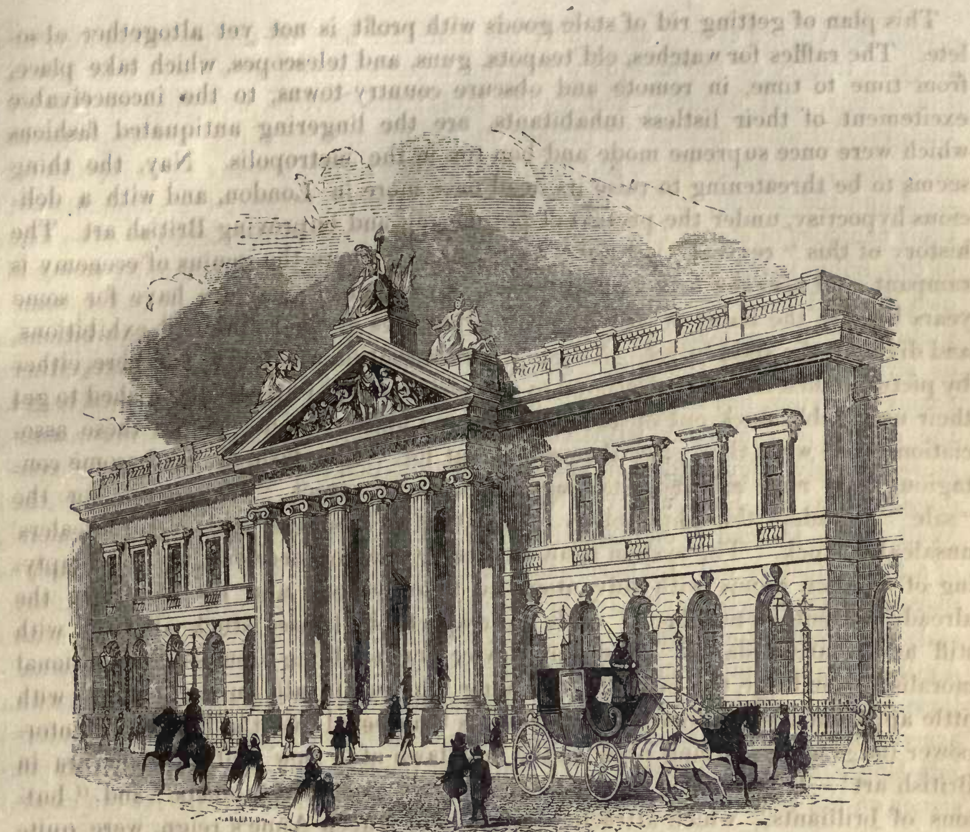
sant refreshing preparation, found, upon experience, to be the highest restorative that either food or physic affords; for, by it, all consumptive habits, decays of nature, inward wastings, thin or emaciated constitutions, coughs, asthmas, phthysics, loss of appetite, &c., are to a miracle retrieved, and the body, blood, and spirits powerfully corroborated and restored. A few drops of it in a dish of Bohea tea or chocolate is the most desirable breakfast or supper, and outvies for virtue or nourishment twenty dishes without it, as those who have taken it will find, and scarce ever live without it." Still more toothsome must have been the "nectar and ambrosia" of Mr. Baker, bookseller, at Mercer's Chapel, "prepared from the richest spices, herbs, and flowers, and done with rich French brandy." This compound, "when originally invented, was designed only for ladies' closets, to entertain visitors with, and for gentlemen's private drinking, *being much used that way*," but, zeal for the public, and the diffusion of useful knowledge, stimulated Mr. Baker, the bookseller, to "offer it with twopenny dram-glasses, which are sold inclosed in gilt frames, by the gallon, quart, or two-shilling bottles." As to cosmetics and perfumes, the advertising columns of the newspapers of Queen Anne's reign bloom with immortal youth, and are redolent of "spicy gales from Araby the blest."

Unchanged, unchangeable is quackery of all sorts. But here is an advertisement from the 'Tatler' (April, 1710), which, like the Duchess of Buckingham's foundling, carries us back into a state of society which has passed away:—"This is to give notice, that Luke Clark, and William Clark, his brother, both middle-sized men, brown complexions and brown wigs, went, as it appears by their pocket-books, on the 18th of March last from London to Kingston; but, upon examination, do not own what business they had there, nor where they were on the 19th, 20th, and 21st of the same month; but say, that on the 22nd they came from London and got to Lincoln on the 23rd, and from thence to Castor, and so to Whitegift Ferry; and on the 24th they came to Northcave, in the East Riding of Yorkshire, and remaining there two or three days, without any appearance of business, were there seized by the constable; and, for want of sureties for their good behaviour, by a justice of peace were committed to York Castle. There were found upon them four pistols of different sizes, charged, with more bullets and powder ready made up in papers; also two old black velvet masks, and several fir matches dipped in brimstone. Their horses seem to have been bred horses: the one being a large sorrel gelding, blind of the near eye, his near fore-foot and further hind-foot white, which they say they bought at the Greyhound, at Hyde Park Corner, on the 17th of March last; the other, a brown gelding, thought to be dim-sighted in both eyes, a little white on three feet: they say they bought him in Smithfield the same day, and saw him booked in the market-book. One of them had a grey riding-coat and straight-bodied coat, both with black buttons; the other's riding-coat was something lighter. If these men have done any robberies, or done anything contrary to law, it is desired that notice thereof may be given within a reasonable time to Mr. Mace, in York, clerk of the peace for the East Riding of Yorkshire, or else these men will be discharged, being as yet only committed for want of sureties for their good behaviour."

Perhaps the most curious feature of the advertising columns of the 'Tatler' is

the immense number of private lotteries, announced under the convenient name of sales, in the latter part of 1710. Dipping into "the file," upon chance, we find in the number for September 21-23:—"Mr. Stockton's sale of jewels, plate, &c., to be drawn in the great room at the Duke of Marlborough's Head, on Michaelmas-day, by parish boys and out of wheels." "Mrs. Honeyman, milliner, in Hungerford Street; her *twelvepenny* sale of goods is put off till the 29th inst." "Mr. Guthridge's *sixpenny* sale of goods, at the toy-shop over against Norfolk Street in the Strand, continues." "Mrs. Help's sale of goods, consisting of plate of considerable value, being near full, is to be drawn on Tuesday sevennight at the stone-cutter's in Downing Street;" and "Mr. William Morris's proposals for several prizes; 2500 tickets, in which there are 177 prizes, the highest 100*l.*, the lowest 11*s.*, and 13 blanks to a prize; *half-a-crown* the ticket." This is rather below than above the average quantity of such advertisements in a number of the 'Tatler' about that time. The temptations held out to gamblers in this small way were varied in the extreme. One advertisement "gives notice that Mr. Peters' sale of houses in Glouster Street, of 1000*l.*, for half-a-crown, will be drawn within a fortnight at farthest." Another runs thus:—"Tickets for the house on Blackheath, &c., to begin on Thursday the 7th September next, at the Bowling-green House on the said heath, where the sale is to be; at 2*s.* 6*d.* per ticket; the highest prize 220*l.*, the lowest 10*s.* Note, the house is let at 14*l.* 10*s.* per an., and but one guinea per an. ground-rent, the title clear and indisputable." The price of tickets for "Mrs. Symonds' sale of a japanned cabinet and weighty plate, in which there is but 11 blanks to a prize," was 5*s.* each. Mr. William Morris, mentioned above, risked for his 2*s.* 6*d.* tickets "a fine diamond cross, set transparent, with a button all brilliants, plate, atlasses on silk, six silk nightgowns, and several other valuable things." At Mrs. Mortly's India House, at the Two Green Canisters, on the pavement in St. Martin's Lane, were to be had "all sorts of Indian goods, lacquered ware, China fans, screens, pictures, &c., with hollands, muslins, cambrics, fine embroidered and plain short aprons, and divers other things, to be disposed of for blank lottery tickets, at 7*l.* each, and the goods as cheap as for specie. These were the "great goes," but for persons of less ample purses there were "sales" for which the tickets cost 1*s.*, 6*d.*, 3*d.*, and even as low as 2*d.* "Mrs. Painer's threepenny sale of goods is to be drawn on Tuesday next, the 15th inst., at the Queen's Head in Monmouth Street, Soho. There are some tickets yet to be disposed of there, and at her own lodgings, a clockmaker's, over-against Dean's Court in Dean's Street, St. Anne's; at Mrs. Williams', at Charing Cross, chandler; and at the combmaker's in New Street, Covent Garden." These disguised gambling-houses germinated and multiplied in every court and blind alley of London, and the prices of the tickets were adapted to the pockets of all classes, from the duchess to the cinder-wench, as the temptations were also suited to the tastes of each. This was the great school of "mutual instruction," in which the citizens of the metropolis of Great Britain trained themselves to act worthily the parts they performed in the years of the Great South Sea Bubble, that colossal specimen of self-swindling by a nation, compared with which our paltry modern attempts—our Poyais kingdoms, Peruvian mining-companies, joint-stock companies, of all shapes, colours, and sizes, dwarf and dwindle into insignificance.

This plan of getting rid of stale goods with profit is not yet altogether obsolete. The raffles for watches, old teapots, guns, and telescopes, which take place, from time to time, in remote and obscure country-towns, to the inconceivable excitement of their listless inhabitants, are the lingering antiquated fashions which were once supreme mode and bon-ton in the metropolis. Nay, the thing seems to be threatening to raise its head once more in London, and with a delicious hypocrisy, under the pretext of patronising and improving British art. The history of this "revival" is brief. In Scotland—where the genius of economy is rampant, and also the love of patronising, a number of amateurs have for some years been in the habit of clubbing to buy pictures at the Edinburgh exhibitions, and dividing the spoil by lot. An imitative association was set on foot here, either by picture-fanciers who had a mind to get pictures, or by artists who wished to get their unsaleable stock out of their studios—no matter which. So far these associations were what they gave themselves out for. The fashion has become contagious, and now we find, starting up in every street, "little-goes" for the "sale" (to adopt the phraseology of 1710) of printsellers' and picture-dealers' unsaleable stock. The system is an admirable one for accelerating the emptying of lumber rooms with advantage to their owners, and for increasing the already portentous number of walls in respectable houses stuck all over with stiff and glaring daubs. And this device for enabling demure conventional moralists to indulge the taste for gambling inherent in all human beings, with little apparent risk or breach of decorum, is trumpeted with the hundred Stentor-power lungs of the puffing press as the day-dawn of a new and brilliant era in British art! The truth is, that the "teapots," "japanned cabinets," and "buttons of brilliants," which attracted the gulls of Queen Anne's reign, were quite as much entitled to the epithet—"works of art," as the pieces of plastered canvas vended by means of the London little-goes of the present day.



[East India House.]

# CIV.—THE EAST INDIA HOUSE.

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If the East India House only arrests the *eye* of the passenger, there is nothing in the building itself particularly calculated to make him pause in the midst of the busy thoroughfare of Leadenhall Street; but if he be gifted with the divine faculty of accurately delineating and colouring abstractions, then, indeed, it yields to none in the interest of the associations which cluster thick around it. It has been said of Burke, by a very brilliant writer of the present day, that so vivid was his imagination on whatever related to India, especially as to the country and people, that they had become as familiar to him as the objects which lay on the road between Beaconsfield and St. James's. "All India was present to the eye of his mind, from the hall where suitors laid gold and perfumes at the feet of sovereigns, to the wild moor where the gipsy-camp was pitched—from the bazaars, humming like bee-hives with the crowd of buyers and sellers, to the jungle where the lonely courier shakes his bunch of iron rings to scare away the hyænas. The burning sun; the strange vegetation of the palm and cocoa-tree; the rice-field and the tank; the huge trees, older than the Mogul empire, under

which the village crowds assemble; the thatched roof of the peasant's hut, and the rich tracery of the mosque where the imaum prayed with his face to Mecca; the drums, and banners, and gaudy idols; the devotee swinging in the air; the graceful maiden, with the pitcher on her head, descending the steps to the river side; the black faces, the long beards, the yellow streaks of sect; the turbans and the flowing robes; the spears and the silver maces; the elephants with their canopies of state; the gorgeous palankin of the prince, and the close litter of the noble lady—all these things were to him as the objects amidst which his own life had been passed." * If such should be the rich, varied, and animated picture which the imaginative eye suddenly conjures up in the not very spacious or striking part of the great eastern thoroughfare in which the India House comes into view, not less glowing are the historical recollections which attach to the edifice in connexion with Anglo-Indian power. History presents nothing more strongly calculated to impress the imagination than the progress of English dominion in the East under Clive and Warren Hastings, and Cornwallis and Wellesley. Instead of clerks and mercantile agents living within the precincts of a fort or factory only by permission of the native rulers, who regarded them as mere pedlers, Englishmen have become the administrators of the judicial, financial, and diplomatic business of a great country,—of provinces comprising above a million square miles and a population exceeding one hundred and twenty millions,—states which yield taxes to the amount of 17,000,000*l.* and maintain an army of four hundred thousand men. All the business of government has passed into English hands. There is still a Nabob of the Carnatic, but he is a British pensioner on the revenues of the land which his ancestors once ruled. At the capital of the Nizam a British resident, the representative of the East India Company, is the real sovereign. There is still a Mogul who plays the sovereign, but the substance of his power has passed away. Youths from Haileybury College, and from the military school at Addiscombe, rising by regular gradations, have succeeded to the power once wielded by the Mahommedan conquerors of Hindostan, and which they exercise in a manner far more beneficial to the people. They are carefully educated for judicial, financial, diplomatic, and military offices, and are expected to be versed in the language of the people of whose welfare they are to be the guardians. This is a noble field for talent and ambition. When we first attempted to share with the Portuguese and Dutch in the commerce of the East, the qualifications required were but little higher than are now esteemed necessary in a custom-house officer of the lowest class. A turbulent youth was sent out to die of a fever, or to make his fortune. The salaries were so low that it was impossible to live upon them, and all sorts of irregular and unscrupulous practices were connived at, which saved the pockets of the adventurers at home at the expense of the native interests. The writer already quoted shows the present and former state of official servants in India. "At present," he says, "a writer enters the service young; he climbs slowly; he is rather fortunate if, at forty-five, he can return to his country with an annuity of a thousand a-year, and with savings amounting to thirty thousand pounds. A great quantity of wealth is made by

* 'Edinburgh Review,' No. 142, Article on Lord Clive.

English functionaries in India; but no single functionary makes a very large fortune, and what is made is slowly, hardly, and honestly earned. Only four or five high political offices are reserved for public men from England. The residencies, the secretaryships, the seats in the boards of revenue and in the Sudder courts are all filled by men who have given the best years of life to the service of the Company; nor can any talents, however splendid, nor any connexions, however powerful, obtain those lucrative posts for any person who has not entered by the regular door and mounted by the regular gradations. Seventy years ago much less money was brought home than in our time, but it was divided among a very much smaller number of persons, and immense sums were often accumulated in a few months. Any Englishman, whatever his age, might hope to be one of the lucky emigrants." A new class of men sprung up at this period, to whom the appellation of 'Nabobs' was given: the ephemeral literature of that day is filled with the popular conceptions of the character, and the nabob is usually represented as "a man with an immense fortune, a tawny complexion, a bad liver, and a worse heart." The public mind for thirty years was filled with impressions of their wealth and supposed crimes.

The progress of good government is nowhere more evident at the present time than in the administration of India. Even if the misgovernment now existed by which individuals could amass immense wealth, other circumstances would be entirely wanting to render the retired Indian a veritable Nabob of the old school, as he exists, somewhat caricatured of course, in the play and novel of seventy years ago. At that period the voyage to or from India was seldom accomplished in less than six months, and often occupied a much longer time: a year and a half was calculated as the average period between the dispatch of a report from Calcutta and the receipt of the adjudication thereon by the Directors in Leadenhall Street. Slow, tedious, uncertain, and unfrequent as was the intercourse of the servants of the East India Company with the mind of England in those days, what could be expected but that it should produce strong effects on those who went out in youth and spent thirty years of their life in India, and that at their return they should exhibit some rich peculiarities of character, easily assailable by the light shafts of ridicule, if not open to the violent attacks of those who suspected them of dark crimes committed in their distant pro-consulships while amassing their wealth? Even Warren Hastings, so consummate a politician in India, was at fault when he had to deal with party interests and feelings at home: he had lost that fine and delicate appreciation of things which is gained by observation from day to day. Steam navigation has done and will do much to elevate the character and objects of our Indian policy, and to imbue its functionaries with more enlarged views of their duties; for rapidity and certainty of communication is gradually bringing the eyes of the people upon this distant part of our empire. Steam has placed Bombay within five weeks' distance of London,* and the seat of the supreme government in India has been reached in six weeks from the seat of the imperial government. Private intercourse is rapidly increasing in consequence of these great improvements. Before the

* In August, 1841, the London mail reached Bombay in thirty-one days and five hours.

establishment of lines of steam-communication with India in 1836, the number of letters annually received and dispatched from the several presidencies and from Ceylon was 300,000. In 1840, the number had risen to 616,796, and to 840,070 in 1841. The number of newspapers sent from India to Europe in 1841 was about 80,000; and 250,000 were sent to India; and in 1842 it is believed that 400,000 were sent both ways, each cover being counted as one, though it might contain several newspapers. A man in the jungles may now be as well informed on the leading topics of the day in England, as if he were the daily frequenter of a news-room here. The peculiarities which seemed unavoidable at one period have scarcely ground now on which to take root.

It was in the reign of Queen Elizabeth that the capture of a Portuguese ship laden with gold, pearls, spices, silks, and ivory called forth a body of merchant adventurers, who subscribed a fund amounting to something above 30,000*l.*, and petitioned Her Majesty for a warrant to fit out three ships, the liberty of exporting bullion (then deemed wealth, instead of its representative), and a charter of incorporation excluding from the trade all parties not licensed by themselves. While the discussions were pending the petitioners stated, in reply to an application from the government, who wished to employ Sir Edward Michelbourne on the expedition, that they were resolved "not to employ any gentleman in any place of charge," and requested "that they may be allowed to sort theire business with men of their own qualitye, lest the suspicion of the employment of gentlemen being taken hold uppon by the generalitie do dryve a great number of the adventurers to withdraw their contributions." A Charter was granted on the last day of the sixteenth century to George, Earl of Cumberland, and 215 knights, aldermen, and merchants, under the title of the "Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies," with exclusive liberty of trading for fifteen years, and a promise of renewal at the end of that term, if the plan should be found "not prejudicial or hurtful to this our realm." A century later the English had made such little progress in India, in comparison with the Portuguese, that, in 1698, it was compulsory on the ministers and schoolmasters sent to the English establishments in India to learn the Portuguese language.

The exclusive Charter of Queen Elizabeth was not at first respected by her successor, who, in 1604, issued a licence to Sir Edward Michelbourne and other persons to trade to the East, but he was subsequently persuaded to adopt a different policy; and on the 31st of May, 1609, he renewed the Company's Charter "for ever," but providing that it might be recalled on three years' notice being given, with some additional privileges, which encouraged the Company to build the largest merchant-ship that England had hitherto possessed: she was named the 'Trades Encrease,' and measured eleven hundred tons: at her launch the King and several of the nobility dined on board, and were served entirely upon china-ware, which was then a very costly rarity, and appropriate to the destination of the vessel. The direction of the Company was put under twenty-four committees; the word committee signifying then, as we believe it does still in Scotland, a person to whom any matter is intrusted. It was at first hardly a Company: each adventure was managed by associations of individual members

on their own account, acting generally according to their own pleasure, but conforming to certain established regulations made for the benefit of the whole body. But in 1612, after twelve voyages had been made to the East Indies, the whole capital subscribed, amounting to 429,000*l.*, was united, the management of the business was committed to a few principal parties, and the great body maintained such a general control as in recent times has been exercised by the Court of Proprietors. During the whole of the century the history of the Company is chiefly a narrative of mercantile transactions, but somewhat more interesting than those of our days from their adventurous character, and diversified by the accounts of quarrels, battles, and occasional treaties with the Portuguese and Dutch, who were very unwilling to admit a commercial rival.

Turning to the London history of the Company, we find the seventeenth century marked by several events which deserve to be briefly noticed as illustrative of the times. In 1623, just before the departure of a fleet for India, the Duke of Buckingham, then Lord High-Admiral, extorted the sum of 10,000*l.* before he would allow it to sail: the bribe was given to avoid a claim for droits of Admiralty on prize-money alleged to have been obtained at Ormuz and other places. A like sum was demanded for the King, but it does not appear to have been paid. In 1635 Charles I. granted to Captain John Weddell and others a licence to trade for five years: the inducement to this violation of the Charter was probably the share which the King was to receive of the profits. In 1640 Charles I. being in want of money, bought upon credit the whole stock of pepper in the Company's warehouses, amounting to 607,522 lbs., and sold it again for ready money at a lower price. Four bonds were given to the Company for the amount, payable at intervals of six months, but none of them were paid. In 1642 13,000*l.* was remitted of the duties owing by the Company, but the remaining sum of about 50,000*l.* was never received. In 1655 the Republican Government threw the trade to India entirely open. The experiment of a free trade was not fairly tried, as the Company was reinstated in its monopoly only two years afterwards. In 1661 Charles II. granted the Company a new Charter, conferring larger privileges—the power of making peace and war. The year 1667-8 is the first in which tea became an article of the Company's trade. The agents were desired to send home " 100 lb. weight of the best tey that you can gett." In 1836 the quantity of tea consumed in the United Kingdom amounted to fifty million pounds within a fraction—the duty on which was 4,674,535*l.*, or more than one-twelfth of the whole revenue. In this same year 1667-8 the Company dispatched sixteen ships to India with the largest investment which had yet been sent out, the value of bullion and stock being 245,000*l.* In 1681 the Spitalfields weavers, thinking themselves injured by the importation of wrought silks, chintzes, and calicoes from India, riotously assembled about the India House, using violent threats against the directors.

From 1690 to 1693 a dispute existed as to whether the right of conferring a Charter for exclusive privileges of trade devolved upon the Sovereign or the Parliament. In the former year the House of Commons decided the question in their own favour, and addressed the King upon the subject, but in 1693 the King granted a new Charter for twenty-one years, upon which the House again

affirmed its right, and not only passed a resolution to that effect, but directed an inquiry into the circumstances attending the renewal, when it was ascertained that it had been procured by a distribution of 90,000*l.* to some of the highest officers in the State. Sir Thomas Cooke, a member, and governor of the Company, was committed to the Tower for refusing to answer the questions put to him; and the Duke of Leeds, who filled the office of President of the Council, was impeached on a charge of having received a bribe of 5000*l.* Further exposures were put a stop to by the prorogation of Parliament. Five years afterwards, in 1698, without much show of reason or justice, the Old Company, which had now been in existence nearly a century, was dissolved, three years being allowed for winding up its business. A New Company, incorporated by the name of the "English Company," was invested with the privileges of exclusive trade. The members composing the new body had outbid the older one by offering to lend the Government a larger sum of money. In 1700 the Old Company obtained an act authorising them to trade under the Charter of the New Company. The existence of two trading bodies led to disputes and rivalry, which benefited neither, and exposed them both to the tyranny of the native princes. The capital of the English Company was absorbed by the loan which it had made to Government as a bonus for its privileges, but the older body naturally profited from the greater experience of its members. In 1702 an act was passed for uniting the two Companies, which was completely effected in 1708, seven years having been allowed to make the preparatory arrangements. The united bodies were entitled "The United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies," a title which was borne until the abolition of its trading privileges in 1834. The exclusive privileges of the Company were successively renewed in 1712, 1730, 1744, 1781, 1793, and 1813. Very important changes were made on the renewal of the Charter in 1781. The Government stipulated that all dispatches for India should be communicated to the Cabinet before being sent off; and they obtained a decisive voice in questions of peace and war. This was a prelude to the establishment of the Board of Control in 1784, by which, in everything but patronage and trade, the Court of Directors were rendered subordinate to the Government. In 1794 a slight infringement was made on the Company's Charter by a clause enabling private merchants to export goods to or from India in the Company's ships, according to a rate of freight fixed by act of Parliament, the Company being required to furnish shipping to the amount of three thousand tons annually to the private traders. In 1813 the rights of the private traders were still further extended. In the twenty years from 1813 to 1833, the value of goods exported by the private trade increased from about one million sterling per annum to three and a-half millions, a much larger amount than had ever been exported by the Company.

In 1833 the act was passed by which the Company is now governed. This act has made greater changes in the state of affairs than all the former ones. It continues the government of India in the hands of the Company until 1854, but takes away the China monopoly and all trading whatever. As the proprietors were no longer a body of merchants, their name was necessarily changed, and it was enacted that "The East India Company" should be their future appella-

tion. Their warehouses, and the greatest part of their property, were directed to be sold: the dividend was to be 10½ per cent., chargeable on the revenues of India, and redeemable by Parliament after the year 1874. The amount of dividends guaranteed by the act is 630,000*l.*, being 10½ per cent. on a nominal capital of 6,000,000*l.* The real capital of the Company in 1832 was estimated at upwards of 21,000,000*l.*, including cash, goods, buildings, and 1,294,768*l.* as the estimated value of the East India House and the Company's warehouses, the prime cost of the latter having been 1,100,000*l.* The act directs that accounts of the Company's revenues, expenditure, and debts are to be laid before Parliament every year in May; also lists of their establishments, with salaries and allowances paid on all accounts. Englishmen were allowed to purchase lands and to reside in all parts of India, with some exceptions, which were removed in 1837. These, and several other enactments relating to India only, have altered in a great measure the character of the Company.

For some time after the English began to trade to the East, no footing was obtained on the Continent of India. The first factory was at Bantam, in Java, which was established in 1602; a few years afterwards there were factories in Siam; and in 1612, after many attempts, a firman was obtained from the Great Mogul allowing certain privileges at Surat, which was a long time the head of all our trade in India. This firman was granted, or at least accelerated, by the success of the English in four naval fights with the Portuguese, whom the natives had believed to be invincible. In the same year the English received several commercial privileges from the Sultan of Achin, in Sumatra, who requested in return that two English ladies might be sent to him, to add to the number of his wives! In the following year they established a factory at Firando, in Japan; and by 1615 the number of factories in the East amounted to nineteen. In 1618 the Company placed agents at Gombroon in Persia, and Mocha in Arabia. In 1639 they received from the native chief of the territory around Madras power to exercise judicial authority over the inhabitants of that place, and to erect a fort there. This was Fort St. George; it was the first establishment possessed in India that was destined to become a place of importance: it was raised to the rank of a Presidency in 1653. The first footing in Bengal, the source of all the subsequent power of England in India, was obtained in 1652. The immediate means of this privilege are curious. In the year 1645 a daughter of Shah Jehan, the Great Mogul, had been severely burnt, and an express was sent to Surat to procure an English surgeon. A Mr. Broughton was sent, who cured the princess and attained to great favour at court: from Delhi he passed into the service of Prince Shujah, with whom he resided when the prince entered upon the Governorship of Bengal, and Mr. Broughton's influence there obtained for his countrymen the privilege of trading custom-free, which was confirmed by a firman of Aurungzebe in 1680. Bombay, which had been ceded by Portugal to Charles II. as part of the marriage portion of the Princess Catherine, was made over by him to the Company in 1668. Calcutta was founded in 1692 on the site of a village named Govindpore, and the possession received an important increase in 1717, when the Mogul granted a patent enabling the English to purchase thirty-seven towns in the vicinity. This accession was obtained by the

influence of another surgeon, a Mr. Hamilton, who had cured the Mogul of a dangerous disease. The system of uniting the separate factories under larger jurisdictions, named presidencies, was now fully established: Madras had been the eastern presidency from the middle of the century to 1682, when Bengal was separated; and Surat had held supremacy over the western coast from 1660 until 1687, when Bombay was made the head of all the establishments in India. By the end of the century the three presidencies, Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, were distinguished as they still are, with the exception that Bengal was not then the seat of the Supreme Government, a distinction which was given to it by an Act passed in 1773, when Warren Hastings was made Governor-General.

The Home Government of the Company consists of, 1st. The Court of Proprietors, or General Court; 2nd. The Court of Directors, selected from the proprietors; and 3rd. The Board of Commissioners, usually called the Board of Control, nominated by the Sovereign.

The Court of Proprietors, or General Court, as its name imports, is composed of the owners of India Stock. It appears that, in the seventeenth century, every stockholder had a voice in the distribution of the funds of the Company: the act of 1693 provided that no person should vote in the General Courts who had less than 1000*l.* of stock, and that larger owners should have as many votes as they held thousands; but that no person should have more than ten votes. The qualification for one vote was, by the act of 13th April, 1689, lowered to 500*l.*, and the number of votes limited to five, which was the number allowed to a holder of 4000*l.* stock. By the act of 5th September, 1698, every owner of 500*l.* stock was allowed one vote, and the greatest owners had no more. By the law now in force, which was made in 1773, the possession of 1000*l.* gives one vote, although persons having only 500*l.* may be present at the Court: 3000*l.* entitles the owner to two votes, 6000*l.* to three, and 10,000*l.* to four votes. All persons whatever may be members of this Court, male or female, Englishman or foreigner, Christian or unbeliever. The Court of Proprietors elects the Court of Directors, frames bye-laws, declares the dividend, controls grants of money exceeding 600*l.*, and additions to salaries above 200*l.* It would appear that the executive power of this Court, having been delegated to the Court of Directors, may be considered as extinct; at all events it never now interferes with acts of government, although instances have formerly occurred where acts of the Court of Directors have been revised by it. Its functions in fact are deliberative: they are like those of influential public meetings in the English constitution, and its resolutions are supposed to be respectfully attended to by the Directors, and even by the Legislature. It is always called together to discuss any proceedings in Parliament likely to affect the interests of the Company. It may, at any time, call for copies of public documents to be placed before the body for deliberation and discussion; and is empowered to confer a public mark of approbation, pecuniary or otherwise, on any individual whose services may appear to merit the distinction, subject however to the approbation of the Board of Control, in cases where the sum shall exceed 600*l.*

The meetings of this Court have much the appearance of those of the House of Commons, and its discussions are conducted by nearly the same rules.

The Chairman of the Court of Directors presides ex-officio, and questions are put through him as through the Speaker. There is occasionally a display of eloquence which would not disgrace the Senate, though more frequently perhaps the matters debated are hardly of sufficient general interest to produce so much excitement. Amendments are proposed, adjournments are moved, the previous question is put, the Court rings with cries of "Hear, hear," "Oh, oh!" &c. &c., and a tedious speaker is coughed down as effectually as he would be on the floor of the House of Commons. At the conclusion of a debate the question is often decided by a show of hands; but if any Proprietor doubts the result, he may call for a division, when tellers are appointed, and the Court divides accordingly. In especial cases any nine members may call for an appeal to the general body of Proprietors, to whom timely notice is sent, and the vote is by ballot. The meetings always take place at twelve o'clock, and generally close at dusk: in cases of great interest they are much later, and in a recent instance the debate continued until two o'clock in the following morning. The number of members of the Court of Proprietors, in 1843, is 1880, of whom 333 have two votes, 64 three, and 44 four votes. In 1825 there were 2003 proprietors. In 1773, when all owners of stock amounting to 500*l.* had each one vote, and none had a plurality, the number of proprietors was 2153, of whom 812 held stock to the amount of more than 1000*l.* each. The interest taken by the public in Indian affairs was much greater then than is the case at present, and the proceedings of the Court of Proprietors, as described by one who has made the affairs of India his study, were "stormy and even riotous—the debates indecently virulent." He adds:—"All the turbulence of a Westminster election, all the trickery and corruption of a Grampound election, disgraced the proceedings of this assembly on questions of the most solemn importance. Fictitious votes were manufactured on a gigantic scale."* It is said that during Clive's visit to his native country, in 1763, he laid out a hundred thousand pounds in the purchase of India stock, which he then divided among nominal proprietors whom he brought down at every discussion; and other wealthy persons did the same, though not to an equal extent. The whole of the Directors were at this period appointed annually. At present each Director is elected for four years, and six retire yearly, and are not re-eligible until they have been a year out of office. The chairman and deputy-chairman are elected annually, and generally the deputy becomes chairman after being a year in the deputy-chair. They are the organs of the Court, and conduct all communication requiring a personal intercourse with the Ministry and Board of Commissioners. It is believed that by far the greater share of the labour of the Court falls on the chairs; and that, great as is the patronage connected with the offices, they are by no means objects of ambition to the majority of the members.

The functions of the Court of Directors pertain to all matters relating to India, both at home and abroad; subject to the control of the Board of Commissioners, and, in some cases, to the concurrence of the Court of Proprietors, with the exception always of such high political matters as require secrecy, which

* 'Edinburgh Review,' No. 142.

are referred to a select committee of their body. This Court has the power to nominate the Governors of all the Presidencies, subject to the approval of the Crown. They have also the patronage of all other appointments, without control from the Board. The Committee of Secrecy, first appointed in 1784, consists of three members of the Court, who receive the directions of the Board on subjects connected with peace, war, or negotiations with other powers, and send dispatches to India under their directions, without communication with the rest of the Court. This Committee also receive dispatches from India sent in the Secret department, and communicate them immediately to the Board. The duties of the Court of Directors are extensive, and for their ready dispatch it is divided into three Committees, whose departments are indicated by their appellations:—the Finance and Home Committee; the Political and Military Committee; and the Revenue, Judicial, and Legislative Committee.

The Board of Control, whose proper designation is "the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India," was established by the Act of 1784. The Board is nominated by the sovereign: it consists of an unlimited * number of members, all of whom, except two, must be of the Privy Council, and must include the two principal Secretaries of State and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Practically, all the Commissioners are honorary, except three, who alone are paid. All the members of the Board vacate office upon changes of ministry, but the unpaid ones are often re-appointed. The Board receive from the Court, and may confirm, alter, or disallow all minutes, orders, and dispatches; they may not only keep back dispatches prepared by the Court, but may compel the Court to send others prepared without the Court's concurrence. They have access to all books, papers, and documents in the East India House, and may call for accounts on any subject. They communicate with the Secret Committee, and direct it to send secret dispatches to India, the responsibility resting with the Board. In fact, since the abolition of the trade, with which the Board had nothing to do, the Court of Directors must be considered simply as the instrument of the Board.

The routine of business as transacted between the Court and Board is simple. On the receipt of a dispatch from India, it is referred to the Committee in whose province it lies, and from it to the proper department; the chief of which causes a draught of a reply to be made under his superintendence, which he first submits to the Chairs; the Chairman brings the draught before the Committee, by whom it is considered and approved, or revised, and then laid before the Court. The draught is there discussed, and, when approved, sent to the Board. If the Board approve the draught, it is returned, and dispatched forthwith by the Court: if altered, the alterations may become a subject of correspondence and remonstrance with the Board, with whom, however, the final decision lies. If the Chairs judge that any serious discussion is likely to arise upon any dispatch, they make, unofficially, a previous communication to the Board, and the matter is discussed before it is laid before the Court.

Since the functions of the Company have become wholly political, the esta-

* They were limited to six by the Act of 1784, but this clause was repealed in 1793.

blishment at the East India House is necessarily much reduced from what it was when, in addition to other duties, it had the direction and control of commercial concerns which required the constant employment of nearly four thousand men in its warehouses. Before the closing of its trade the number of clerks of all grades was above four hundred.* This number was not more than was really necessary. The duties of no public office in England can give a fair notion of what was required at the East India House, from the circumstance that the latter was a compendium of all the offices of government, including a department for the transfer of stock; and was in addition a great mercantile establishment. The departments were necessarily numerous. The military department superintended the recruiting for the Indian army, the embarkation of troops for India, the management of military stores, &c. There was a shipping department and master-attendant's office, whose functions are obvious from their appellations: an auditor's office to conduct all financial matters relative to India—a sort of Indian exchequer. The examiner's office managed the great political concerns of the Company. There were an accountant's office, a transfer office, a treasury, to investigate all matters relating to bills and certificates granted in India, China, or elsewhere on the Company, and to compare advices with bills when presented; to prepare estimates and statements of stock, &c. for the Lords of the Treasury, the Parliament, and the Courts; to conduct all business relating to the sale and transfer of stock; to provide for the payment of dividends and of interest on bonds, to negotiate loans, to purchase bullion, and to manage sales of specie from India or China. The office of buying and warehouses managed the whole of the trade, both export and import: its functions were to prepare orders for India and China produce so as to suit the home markets, and to provide goods here for sale in India and China; to superintend the purchase and export of military stores, and to manage the business of fifteen warehouses, employing nearly four thousand men, and in the article tea alone containing often fifty millions pounds weight (above 22,000 tons!) The Committee, of which this was the chief office, had also the superintendence of the sales. The value of goods sold in the year 1834-5 amounted to 5,089,77*l.* Those of tea were the most extensive, and they are yet remembered with a sort of dread by all who had anything to do with them. They were held only four times a-year—in March, June, September, and December; and the quantity disposed of at each sale was in consequence very large, amounting on many recent occasions to 8½ millions of pounds, and sometimes much higher: they lasted several days, and it is within our recollection that 1,200,000 lbs. have been sold in one day. The only buyers were the tea-brokers, composed of about thirty firms: each broker was attended by the tea-dealers who engaged his services, and who communicated their wishes by nods and winks. In order to facilitate the sale of such large quantities, it was the practice to put up all the teas of one quality before proceeding to those of another; and to permit each bidder to proceed without much interruption so long as he confined his biddings to the variation of a farthing for what was technically

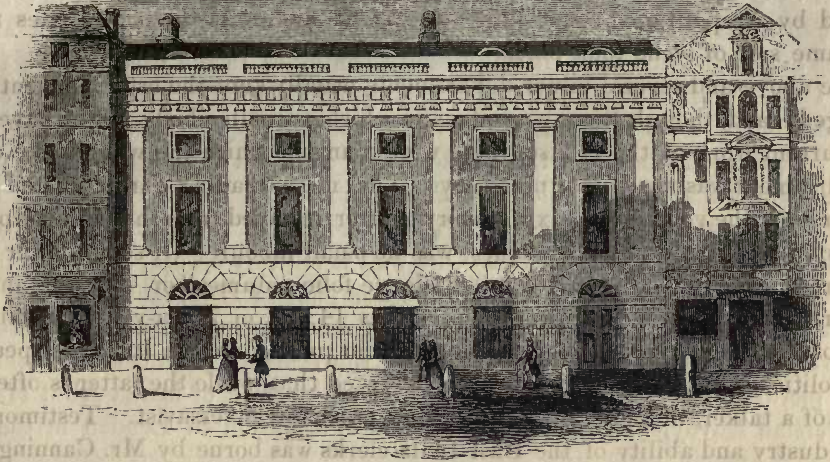
* A parliamentary document of 1835 gives the number of persons in the home establishment at 494, at salaries amounting to 134,451*l.* This includes door-porters, fire-lighters, watchmen, messengers, &c. The number of clerks now in the House is about 150.

called the upper and under lot; but as soon as he began to waver, or that it appeared safe to advance another farthing, the uproar became quite frightful to one unaccustomed to it. It often amounted to a howling and yelling which might have put to shame an O. P. row, and, although thick walls intervened, it frequently was heard by the frequenters of Leadenhall Market. All this uproar, which would induce a stranger to anticipate a dreadful onslaught, was usually quelled by the finger of the chairman pointing to the next buyer, whose biddings would be allowed to go on with comparative quietness, but was sure to be succeeded by a repetition of the same noise as at first. At the indigo sales much the same sort of scene took place.

The above and several minor departments usually kept the establishment fully engaged; and, though there were days in which a smaller body might have done the current work of the House, there were many in which the whole force of the establishment was absolutely necessary. The mere reading through, and commenting on, the voluminous explanatory matter received from the Indian Governments, in addition to the dispatches, was no small labour. Of such matter there were received, from 1793 to 1813, 9094 large folio volumes, or 433 per annum; and from that year to 1829 the number was 14,414, or 776 a-year. Facility in composition is as necessary a qualification in public men in India, as speaking to a politician at home; and it has been observed that, while the latter is often too much of a talker, in India he is rather too much of an essayist. Testimony to the industry and ability of the East India clerks was borne by Mr. Canning, in a debate on the 14th March, 1822. This statesman, who had been several years President of the Board of Commissioners, said, "He had seen a military dispatch accompanied with 199 papers, containing altogether 13,511 pages; another, a judicial dispatch, with an appendage of 1937 pages; and a dispatch on the revenue, with no fewer than 2588 pages by its side. Much credit was due to the servants of the East India Company. The papers received from them were drawn up with a degree of accuracy and talent that would do credit to any office in the State. The Board could not, with all the talents and industry of the President, the Commissioners, or their tried Secretary, have transacted the business devolved upon it, without the talents and industry with which that business was prepared for them at the India House."

We shall conclude with a description of the East India House. It does not appear to be ascertained where the Company first transacted their business, but the tradition of the House is, that it was in the great room of 'The Nag's Head Inn,' opposite Bishopsgate Church, where there is now a Quakers' Meeting House. The maps of London, constructed soon after the great fire, place the India House in Leadenhall Street, on a part of its present site. It is probably the house, of which an unique plate is preserved in the British Museum, surmounted by a huge, square-built mariner, and two thick dolphins. In the Indenture of Conveyance of the Dead Stock of the Companies, dated 22nd July, 1702, we find that Sir William Craven, of Kensington, in the year 1701, leased to the Company his large house in Leadenhall Street, and a tenement in Lime Street, for twenty-one years, at 100*l.* a-year. Upon the site of this house what is called the old East India House was built in 1726; and several portions of this old

House yet remain, although the present front, and great part of the house, were added, in 1799, by Mr. Jupp.



[Old East India House, 1726.]

The façade of the existing building is 200 feet in length, and is of stone. The portico is composed of six large Ionic fluted columns on a raised basement, and it gives an air of much magnificence to the whole, although the closeness of the street makes it somewhat gloomy. The pediment is an emblematic sculpture by Bacon, representing the Commerce of the East protected by the King of Great Britain, who stands in the centre of a number of figures, holding a shield stretched over them. On the apex of the pediment stands a statue of Britannia: Asia, seated upon a dromedary, is at the left corner; and Europe, on horseback, at the right.

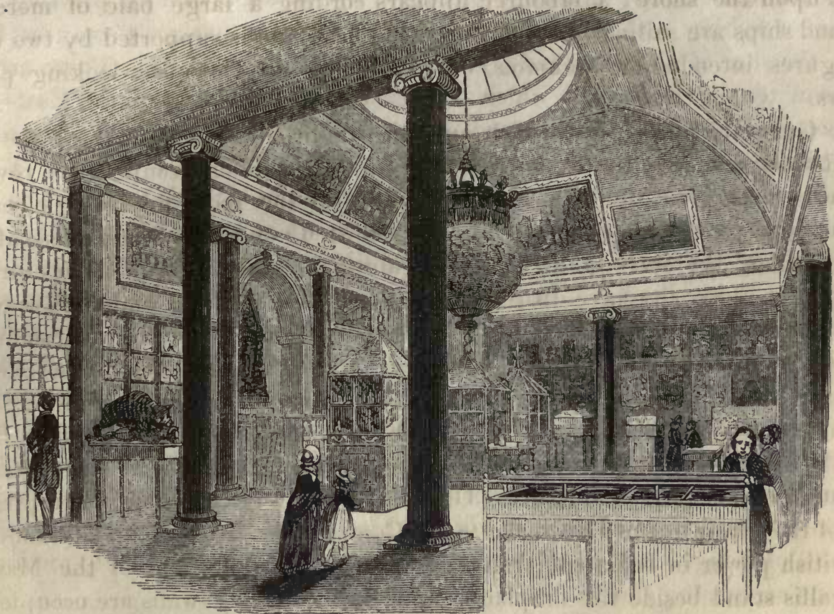
The ground-floor is chiefly occupied by court and committee rooms, and by the Directors' private rooms. The Court of Directors occupy what is usually termed the 'Court Room,' while that in which the Court of Proprietors assemble is called the 'General Court Room.' The Court Room is said to be an exact cube of 30 feet: it is splendidly ornamented by gilding and by large looking-glasses; and the effect of its too great height is much diminished by the position of the windows near the ceiling. Six pictures hang from the cornice, representing the three Presidencies, the Cape, St. Helena, and Tellichery. A fine piece of sculpture, in white marble, is fixed over the chimney: Britannia is seated on a globe by the seashore, receiving homage from three female figures, intended for Asia, Africa, and India. Asia offers spices with her right hand, and with her left leads a camel; India presents a large box of jewels, which she holds half open; and Africa rests her hand upon the head of a lion. The Thames, as a river-god,

stands upon the shore; a labourer appears cording a large bale of merchandise, and ships are sailing in the distance. The whole is supported by two caryatid figures, intended for brahmins, but really fine old European-looking philosophers.

The General Court Room, which until the abolition of the trade was the Old Sale Room, is close to the Court Room. Its east side is occupied by rows of seats which rise from the floor near the middle of the room towards the ceiling, backed by a gallery where the public are admitted: on the floor are the seats for the chairman, secretary, and clerks. Against the west wall, in niches, are six statues of persons who have distinguished themselves in the Company's service: Lord Clive, Warren Hastings, and the Marquis Cornwallis occupy those on the left, and Sir Eyre Coote, General Lawrance, and Sir George Pococke those on the right. It is understood that the statue of the Marquis Wellesley will be placed in the vacant space in the middle. The Finance and Home Committee Room is the best room in the house, with the exception of the Court Rooms, and is decorated with some good pictures. One wall is entirely occupied by a representation of the grant of the Dewannee to the Company in 1765, the foundation of all the British power in India; portraits of Warren Hastings and of the Marquis Cornwallis stand beside the fireplace; and the remaining walls are occupied by other pictures, among which may be noticed the portrait of Mirza Abul Hassan, the Persian Envoy, who excited a good deal of attention in London in the year 1809.

The upper part of the house contains the principal offices and the Library and Museum. In the former is perhaps the most splendid collection of Oriental MSS. in Europe, and, in addition, a copy of almost every printed work relating to Asia: to this, of course, the public is not admitted; but any student, properly recommended, is allowed the most liberal access to all parts of it. We may instance, as worthy of all imitation, where buildings contain articles of value, that large tanks, always full of water, stand upon the roof of the building, and that pipes, with stop-cocks, extend from them to all parts of the house, so arranged that, in case of fire, any of the watchmen connected with the establishment can at once deluge that part with water enough to repel any apprehension of its spreading beyond the spot.

The opening of the Museum at the India House to the public once a-week, on Saturdays, from eleven to three, is a creditable act of liberality on the part of the Directors. The rooms appropriated to this purpose are not a continuous suite, but a passage leading from one suite to another contains paintings, prints, and drawings, illustrative of Indian scenery and buildings; also models of a Chinese war-junk, a Sumatran proa, together with a few objects of natural history, as remarkable specimens of bamboo, &c. This passage leads to three small side-rooms, the first of which contains a Burmese musical instrument, shaped somewhat like a boat, and having a vertical range of nearly horizontal strings, which were probably played by means of a plectrum, or wooden peg. Opposite is a case illustrative of the state of the useful arts in India, containing models of looms, ploughs, mills, smiths' bellows, coaches and other vehicles, windlass, pestle and mortar, &c. This room also contains specimens illustrating



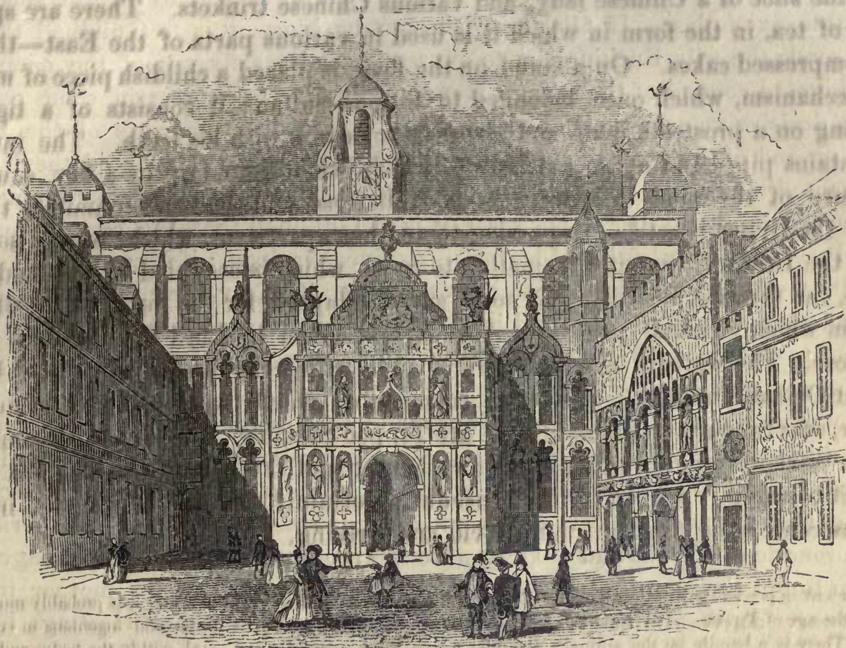
[The Museum.]

the manufacturing processes of Oriental nations, with some objects of natural history. The next room is wholly devoted to natural history. In the third room there is another curious Burmese musical instrument, consisting of twenty-three flattish pieces of wood, from ten to fifteen inches in length, and about an inch and a half in width: these bars are strung together so as to yield dull and subdued musical notes when struck with a cork hammer; and their sizes are so adjusted as to furnish tones forming about three octaves in the diatonic scale. At the end of the corridor is a tolerably large room, containing a number of glass cases filled with specimens of Asiatic natural history. There are Indian, Siamese, and Javanese birds, Sumatran and Indian mammalia, besides butterflies, moths, beetles, and shells. In another room are sabres, daggers, hunting-knives, pipes, bowls, models of musical instruments, serving to illustrate some of the usages of the inhabitants of Java and Sumatra. The Library, in another part of the building, is also partly appropriated as a Museum. The Oriental curiosities in this department comprise, among other things, specimens of painted tiles, such as are used in the East for walls, floors, ceilings, &c., Bhuddist idols, some of white marble, others of dark stones, and some of wood. There are many other objects connected with the religion of Bhudda, as parts of shrines and thrones, on which processions and inscriptions are sculptured, and a large dark-coloured idol represents one of the Bhuddic divinities. In the centre of this room are three cases containing very elaborate models of Chinese villas, made of ivory, mother-of-pearl, and other costly materials; and from the ceiling is suspended a large and highly-decorated Chinese lantern, made of thin sheets of horn.

There are a few glass cases, which contain various objects worthy of notice. There is an abacus, or Chinese counting-machine, Chinese implements and ma-

terials for writing, for drawing, for engraving on wood, and for printing; also Chinese weighing and measuring machines, a Chinese mariner's compass, Sycee silver, the shoe of a Chinese lady, and various Chinese trinkets. There are specimens of tea, in the form in which it is used in various parts of the East—that is, in compressed cakes. On a stand, on the floor, is placed a childish piece of musical mechanism, which once belonged to Tippoo Sultan: it consists of a tiger trampling on a prostrate man, and about to seize him with his teeth. The interior contains pipes and other mechanism, which, when wound up by a key, cause the figure of the man to utter sounds of distress, and the tiger to imitate the roar of the living beast.* In passing to another apartment, which forms also a part of the Library, we enter a small ante-room, which is occupied by a splendid howdah, or throne, part of it of solid silver, adapted for the back of an elephant, in which Oriental princes travel: it was taken by Lord Combermere at Bhurtpore. The walls of this room are covered with weapons and arms used by different Oriental nations. The next room, filled chiefly with books, contains, however, several curious objects: here are Tippoo Sultan's 'Register of Dreams,' with the interpretation of them in his own hand; and the Korán which he was in the habit of using. A visit to this Museum is certainly calculated to render impressions concerning the East more vivid and striking.

* See the cut in preceding page.—The construction of the whole machine is very rude, and it is probably much older than the age of Tippoo. The machinery, though not of neat workmanship, is simple and ingenious in contrivance. There is a handle on the animal's shoulder which turns a spindle and crank within the body, and is made to appear as one of the black stripes of the skin. To this crank is fastened a wire, which rises and falls by turning the crank: the wire passes down from the tiger between his fore-paws into the man's chest, where it works a pair of bellows, which forces the air through a pipe with a sort of whistle, terminating in the man's mouth. The pipe is covered by the man's hand; but at the moment when, by the action of the crank, the air is forced through the pipe, a string leading from the bellows pulls a small lever connected with the arm, which works on a hinge at the elbow; the arm rises in a manner which the artist intended to show supplication; the hand is lifted from the mouth, and a cry is heard: the cry is repeated as often as the handle is turned; and while this process is going on, an endless screw on the shaft turns a worm-wheel slowly round, which is furnished with four levers or wipers; each of these levers alternately lifts up another and larger pair of bellows in the head of the tiger. When by the action of one of these four levers the bellows are lifted up to their full height, the lever, in continuing to turn, passes by the bellows, and the upper board being loaded with a large piece of lead, falls down on a sudden and forces the air violently through two loud-toned pipes terminating in the animal's mouth, and differing by the interval of a fifth. This produces a harsh growl. The man in the meantime continues his screaming or whistling; and, after a dozen cries, the growl is repeated.



[Guildhall, about 1750.]

## CV.—HISTORICAL RECOLLECTIONS OF GUILDHALL.

It may appear at first glance a curious circumstance that the greatest events of which the edifice above-named has been the scene should be those which have had the least direct connection with its general objects or character. Instead of the election and banqueting of a Mayor, the repression of some new system of swindling ; or—what to some would seem to be almost synonymous—of some new proposition of municipal reform, each alike, figuratively speaking, stirring the very hair of civic heads with horror ; or, lastly, instead of an inquiry into some delectable police case, the principal matters that now agitate Guildhall, or draw public attention towards it,—we find here, in former times, sceptres changing hands, new religions proscribed, and their disciples sent to martyrdom, trials of men who would have revolutionised the state, and who might, by the least turn of Fortune's wheel in a different direction, have changed places in the court with those who sat there to decide upon their lives, or rather to destroy them in accordance with a previous decision—the more common state of things in our old crown prosecutions. But the connection of such events with Guildhall was not so remote, still less so accidental, as it seems. Without trenching upon the proper history of the latter, which belongs to another paper, we may here observe that when Guildhall was the concentrating point towards which, in all matters affecting the independence, prosperity, and government of London, the intellect, wealth,

and numerical strength of London generally systematically tended, it is evident that no place throughout England was so favourable for those royal and political manœuvres of which the historical recollections of Guildhall furnish such memorable examples. If Gloster wishes to be king, it is to Guildhall that he first sends the wily Buckingham to expressly ask the suffrages of the people: if the bigoted council of the savage Henry determine to express in some exceedingly decisive manner their abhorrence of the spreading doctrines of the Reformation, and of the error of supposing that because Henry favoured them when he wanted a new wife, that he still did so when unable to think of anything but his own painful and disgusting sores, it is at Guildhall that the chosen victim—a lady, young, beautiful, and learned—receives her doom: if Mary would damage the Protestant cause whilst trying Protestant traitors, or James, the Catholic, at a similar opportunity, Guildhall is still the favourite spot. Whatever the effect sought to be produced, it was well known that success in London was the grand preliminary to success elsewhere.

It was on Tuesday, the 24th of June, 1483, that the citizens were seen flocking from all parts towards the Guildhall, on some business of more than ordinary import. Edward IV. had died a few weeks before, and his son and successor was in the Tower, under the care of his uncle, the Protector, waiting the period of his coronation. Doubt and anxiety were in every face. The suspicious eagerness shown to get the youthful Duke of York from the hands of his mother in the Sanctuary at Westminster, the almost inexplicable death of Hastings in the Tower, the severe penance inflicted on Jane Shore, the late King's favourite mistress, and the sermon which followed that exhibition on the same day, the preceding Sunday, at Paul's Cross, where the popular preacher, Dr. Shaw, spoke in direct terms of the illegitimacy of the young Princes, and of the right nobleness of their uncle, all produced a growing sense of alarm as to the future intentions of the principal actor, Gloster. As they now entered the hall, and pressed closer and closer to the hustings, to hear the Duke of Buckingham, who stepped forth to address them, surrounded by many lords, knights, and citizens, it was not long before those intentions, startling as they were, became sufficiently manifest. "The deep revolving, witty Buckingham" seems to have surpassed himself that day, in the exhibition of his characteristic subtlety and address. Commencing with a theme which found a deep response in the indignant bosoms of his listeners, the tyrannies and extortions of the late King (which the Londoners had especial reason to remember), he gradually led them to the consideration of another feature of Edward's character, his amours, which had, no doubt, caused many a heart-burning in the City domestic circles, and thence by an easy transition to his illegitimacy; Buckingham alleging that the late King was not the son of the Duke of York, and that Richard was. To give confidence to the citizens, he added that the Lords and Commons had sworn never to submit to a bastard, and called upon them accordingly to acknowledge the Protector as King. The answer was—dead silence. The confident orator and bold politician was for a moment "marvellously abashed," and calling the Mayor aside, with others who were aware of his objects, and had endeavoured to prepare the way for them, inquired "What meaneth this that the people be so still?" "Sir," replied the Mayor, "perchance they perceive [understand] you not well." "That we shall

amend," said Buckingham; and "therewith, somewhat louder, rehearsed the same matter again, in other order and other words, so well and ornately, and nevertheless so evidently and plain, with voice, gesture, and countenance so comely and so convenient, that every man much marvelled that heard him; and thought that they never heard in their lives so evil a tale so well told. But were it for wonder or fear, or that each looked that other should speak first, not one word was there answered of all the people that stood before; but all were as still as the midnight, not so much rouning [speaking privately] among them, by which they might seem once to commune what was best to do. When the Mayor saw this, he, with other partners of the council, drew about the Duke, and said that the people had not been accustomed there to be spoken to but by the Recorder, which is the mouth of the City, and haply to him they will answer. With that the Recorder, called Thomas Fitzwilliam, a sad man and an honest, which was but newly come to the office, and never had spoken to the people before, and loth was with that matter to begin, notwithstanding thereunto commanded by the Mayor, made rehearsal to the commons of that which the Duke had twice purposed himself; but the Recorder so tempered his tale that he showed everything as the Duke's words were, and no part of his own; but all this no change made in the people, which alway after one stood as they had been amazed." Such a reception at the outset might have turned some men from their purpose altogether—not so Buckingham, who now, after another brief converse with the Mayor, assumed a different tone and bearing. "Dear friends," said he to the citizens, "we come to move you to that thing which, peradventure, we so greatly needed not, but that the lords of this realm and commons of other parts might have sufficed, saying, such love we bear you, and so much set by you, that we would not gladly do without you that thing in which to be partners is your weal and honour, which, as to us seemeth, you see not or weigh not; wherefore we require you to give us an answer, one or other, whether ye be minded, as all the nobles of the realm be, to have this noble Prince, now Protector, to be your King?" It was scarcely possible to resist this appeal by absolute silence. So, "at these words, the people began to whisper among themselves secretly, that the voice was neither loud nor base, but like a swarm of bees, till at the last, at the nether end of the hall, a bushment of the Duke's servants, and one Nashfield, and others belonging to the Protector, with some prentices and lads that thrusted into the hall amongst the press, began suddenly, at men's backs, to cry out as loud as they could, 'King Richard! King Richard!' and then threw up their caps in token of joy, and they that stood before cast back their heads *marvelling thereat, but nothing they said.* And when the Duke and the Mayor saw this manner, they wisely turned it to their purpose, and said it was a goodly cry and a joyful to hear *every man with one voice,* and no man saying nay." This scene, so graphically described by Hall (from Sir T. More), would form one of the richest bits of comedy, were it not for the tragic associations which surround the whole. As it is, one can scarcely avoid enjoying the perplexity of Buckingham and the Mayor at the unaccountable and most vexatious silence, or the backward look of the people at the lads and others, who at last did shout, or without admiring the tact and impudence of Buckingham in acknowledging with a grave face, and in grateful words, the cry that was at once so goodly, joyful, and so very unani-

mous. It will be perceived how closely Shakspere has followed the account here transcribed, in the third act of his Richard III.; and as is usual with him, by so doing, made the passage scarcely less interesting, as illustrating him, than for its own historical value.

Passing from the craft and violence which formed the two steps to power during so many ages, and of which the incident narrated, with its well-known concomitants, furnishes a striking example, we find, but little more than half a century later, new trains of thought and action at work among men, high passions developed, struggles taking place for objects which by comparison make all the intrigues and feuds of rival and aspiring nobles appear contemptible, and maintained with a courage unknown to the days of chivalry. The Reformation came; and sufficiently terrible were its first effects. Division and strife extended throughout the land. By a kind of poetical justice, Henry himself, who drew the gospel light from Bullen's eyes, was fated in later years to see an emanation from that light come in a much less pleasing shape, namely, in the disputatious glances of his wife Catherine Parr, who, as he grew more helpless and impatient, ventured to engage in controversy with him, and had well nigh gone to the scaffold for so doing. And though she escaped, a victim was found sufficiently distinguished to gratify the inhuman and self-willed tyrant, who burned people not so much on account of their having any particular religion, as the daring to reject the one he proposed, or to keep it when accepted, if he altered his mind. This was Anne Askew, a young lady who had been seen very busy about court distributing tracts among the attendants of the Queen, and heard to speak vehemently against the Popish doctrine of transubstantiation. She was the daughter of Sir William Askew, of Kelsey, in Lincolnshire, and the wife of a neighbouring gentleman named Kyme, a violent Papist, who turned her out of doors when, after long study of the Bible, she became a Protestant. She then came to London to sue for a separation, and was favourably noticed, it is supposed, by the Queen, and certainly by the ladies of the court. But neither Henry nor his council, including such men as Bishop Bonner and the Chancellor Wriothesley, were to be quietly bearded thus. Anne Askew, as she called herself, was arrested, and carried before Bonner and others. Among the questions put to her was one by the Lord Mayor, inquiring whether the priest cannot make the body of Christ? Her reply was very striking: "I have read that God made man; but that man can make God I never yet read." However, some sort of recantation was obtained from her, probably through the natural and graceful timidity of her youth and sex overpowering for the moment, in the presence of so many learned and eminent men, the inherent strength of her convictions. Such triumphs, however, are of brief duration. Anne Askew was discharged, but quickly apprehended again, and, after examination by the Privy Council, committed to Newgate. Her next public appearance was at Guildhall, where she was condemned, with some more unfortunates, to death for heresy. And now this poor, solitary, but brave and self-possessed woman was subjected to treatment that makes one blush for human nature. The grand object of the Council was, it appears, to find what ladies of the court they could get into their toils, since the Queen herself had escaped them. So after a vain attempt made by Nicholas Shaxton, the former Bishop of Salisbury, to induce her to imitate his example, and save her life by

apostacy, for which attempt he got in answer the solemn assurance that it had been better for him if he had never been born, she was carried to the Tower, and examined as to her connexions at court. She denied that she had had any, but was told the King knew better; and then followed a question that shows the privations she had already been intentionally exposed to: How had she contrived to get food and comfort in prison if she had no powerful friends? "My maid," said Anne, "bemoaned my wretched condition to the apprentices in the street, and some of them sent me money, but I never knew their names." It was probably at this period of the examination that she was laid on the rack, and that Wriothesley and Rich, having both applied their own hands to the instrument, obtained an admission from her that a man in a blue coat had given her maid ten shillings, saying they came from Lady Hertford, and another time a man in a violet coat eight shillings from Lady Denny; but as to the truth of the statements she could say nothing, and constantly persevered in her assertion that she had not been supported by these or any of the Council. To the eternal honour of her sex, it is understood that no amount of anguish could wring anything more from her, and in consequence Henry and the Council were compelled to be content with the victim they had. So, whilst still unrecovered from the effects of the rack, she was hurried off to Smithfield on the 16th of July, 1546, and chained with three others to stakes. Near them was a pulpit, from which poor Shaxton, as if not already sufficiently humiliated, was chosen to preach. At the conclusion of his discourse, a pardon was exhibited for the whole if they would recant; but there was no such stuff in their thoughts: Anne Askew and her companions died as heroically as their own hearts could have ever desired they should die.

[Martyrdom of Anne Askew and others.]

After all, martyrdom, it must be acknowledged, is not a pleasant thing; and we need not wonder that, through the period extending from the reign of

Henry VIII. to that of James I., so many indications present themselves of Protestants and Catholics alike changing passive endurance for active warfare, and determining that it was as easy to run the risk of conviction for treason as for heresy, with a much greater probability of improving their position by success. As to each party, whether in power or not, applying its own dislike of the flames, its own sense of the monstrous injustice of such influences, its own knowledge of their inefficacy, to the case of the other, no such supposition seems to have been conceivable in the philosophy of the sixteenth century. So, burnings, plots, and insurrections follow each other in rapid succession through this terrible period, disturbing even the comparative repose of Elizabeth's brilliant reign. Two of the most striking of these events belong to the history of Guildhall—the one arising out of Sir Thomas Wyatt's attempt against the Catholic Mary, and the other from the Gunpowder Plot, destined to overthrow the Protestant James: each, we may add, forming one of the most interesting features of the altogether interesting history to which it belongs. Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, himself a Protestant, was the son of a zealous Papist, Sir George Throckmorton, who had refused to take the Oath of Supremacy, and been imprisoned in the Tower many years by Henry. On his release in 1543, Nicholas, his son, received the appointment of Sewer to the King, and, having accompanied the latter in the French expedition, was rewarded by a pension for his services. During the reign of Edward VI. he still further distinguished himself by his conduct at the battle of Pinkie (or Musselburgh), and rose still higher in kingly favour. Edward knighted him, received him into close personal intimacy, and, besides making him under-treasurer of the Mint, gave him some valuable manors. Everything, therefore, concurred to deepen the impression in favour of Protestantism made first on his mind, no doubt, by study and conviction. How little inclined Throckmorton was to interfere with the ordinary laws of legitimacy and succession to the crown under ordinary circumstances, may be inferred from his conduct at the commencement of Mary's reign. He was present at Greenwich when Edward died; and, although aware of the designs of the friends of Lady Jane Grey, towards whom, as a Protestant, his sympathies must have tended, yet he did not hesitate to depart immediately for London, and dispatch Mary's goldsmith to her with the intelligence of her accession. It is evident, therefore, that when, only a few months later, we find him on his trial for treason, he must, supposing the charge to have any truth in it, have experienced some great disappointment as to the policy he had hoped to have seen pursued, or some new event must have occurred utterly unlooked for, and most threatening to the Protestant interests. Such, no doubt, seemed, to a large portion of the nation, the marriage of Mary with Philip of Spain, one of the most inexorable bigots in religious matters that ever existed, and whose power seemed to be almost as ample to accomplish as his temper and fanaticism were prompt to instigate the destruction of the new faith wherever his influence might extend, and who did destroy it in the Spanish peninsula, however signal his failures elsewhere. One little incident tells volumes as to Philip's character. Whilst present at an *auto-da-fé*, when forty persons were marching in the horrible procession towards the stake, to which they had been sentenced by the Inquisition, one of the poor creatures called out as he passed the King for Mercy! mercy! "Perish thou, and all like

thee," was the reply: "if my own son were a heretic, I would deliver him to the flames." Such was the man whom the Protestants of England heard, with natural terror, was about to be connected by the closest ties to the country, and enabled to exercise the most direct influence on its government: for no man in his senses could place any reliance upon the promises of non-interference, non-innovation, &c., which were to be exacted as guarantees for the national freedom. If we add that the Catholics themselves, rising above the narrow views so common at the period, and looking at the alliance as Englishmen rather than as Catholics, disliked it, what must have been the feelings of their religious opponents? The answer is to be found in the insurrection which broke out within a few days after the intelligence of the conclusion of the treaty of marriage became generally known. Sir Thomas Carew took arms in Devonshire, and obtained possession of the castle and city of Exeter, whilst Sir Thomas Wyatt threatened from a still nearer locality, Kent. Their objects appear to have been very uncertain, even among themselves. There can be little doubt, however, that if they had succeeded, Mary would have been dethroned; for how else could they be sure they would not lose all they had gained, and probably their lives into the bargain? Equally doubtful does it seem as to the party who would have taken the vacant seat. If Elizabeth was concerned in the scheme, as it still seems very probable she was, there can be no doubt as to her views on the question: but, on the other hand, the movement seems rather to have inclined in favour of Lady Jane Grey; for, not only does the early attack on the Tower, where she had been confined from the time of her relatives' attempt to make her queen on the death of Edward, seem to intimate as much, but it is hardly to be conceived that, for any less personal advantage, the selfish and unprincipled Duke of Suffolk, Lady Jane Grey's father, just released from an apparently inevitable death on account of the said attempt, would have joined in a new one. Modern political tactics no doubt explain the whole. The parties acted together to meet the one evil which threatened all, leaving the after measures to be determined by chance, or by the intrigues, skill, and power of the individuals who might rise most prominently out of the combination, and turn the whole to their or their party's benefit. And if the most consummate tact and unfailing courage, joined to entire devotedness, could at such a crisis have secured the crown to Elizabeth, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton would have been the man to have accomplished that task. Attachment to her was, indeed, most probably the cause of the great prominence given to the trial of a man who had taken no public part whatever in the insurrection, and of the exceeding bitterness and zeal with which such charges as could be brought together against him were pressed. In the whole range of criminal proceedings, it would be difficult to find a more exciting trial than the one we are now about to describe, which commenced on the 17th of April, 1554, only six days after his friend Wyatt's execution. Our readers, in order to do justice to Throckmorton's wonderful eloquence, adroitness, and self-possession, must remember that a state trial had long been little else than a legal stepping-stone to the scaffold, and that now the appetite for blood was unusually sharpened by the imminent danger from which Mary had escaped. We must premise that it is to the dramatic character of the proceedings, as reported by Holinshed at great length, that the trial owes its chief attractions

for a reader, and therefore to abridge the more important passages would be to destroy their vital spirit. We must, then, transcribe such of these as our space will admit in their integrity, with the addition merely of a few brief connecting remarks. The roll of the judges on the bench shows the importance attached to the trial by the government, and, for any man but Throckmorton, the overwhelming amount of learning and intellect coming ready prepared to convict, not to try him. It comprised, besides Sir Thomas White (the lord mayor), the Earls of Shrewsbury and Derby, the Recorder and others,—the Lord Chief Justice Bromley; the Master of the Rolls, Sir N. Hare; a Judge of the Queen's Bench, Sir W. Portman; and a Judge of the Common Pleas, Sir E. Saunders; together with the two Serjeants, Stamford and Dyer; and the Attorney-General Griffin. At the very commencement of the trial, before pleading, Sir Nicholas endeavoured to make some observations, which were stopped as informal, but which led to a spirited discussion, that thus early showed the spirit of the prisoner, and gave promise of the unprecedented struggle that was about to take place. This stopped, a weightier matter was handled. After some little private whisperings between the Attorney-General and the Recorder as to the jurymen, who, it was feared, apparently, might not be packed with an eye to entire harmony of views, and a further whispering between the Attorney-General and Serjeant Dyer, the latter challenged two of their number, and when the prisoner asked the reason of the challenge, replied he did not need to show cause. "I trust," was the impetuous outburst of Sir Nicholas, "ye have not provided for me this day as formerly I knew a gentleman used, who stood in the same place and circumstances as I do. It chanced that one of the Judges being suspicious that the prisoner, by reason of the justice of his cause, was like to be acquitted, said to one of his brethren, when the jury appeared, 'I do not like this jury—they are not fit for our purpose—they seem to have too much compassion and charity to condemn the prisoner.' 'No, no,' said the other Judge, Cholmley by name [*the Recorder, then sitting on the bench*], 'I' ll warrant you they are fellows picked on purpose, and he shall drink of the same cup his fellows have done.' I was then a spectator of the pageant, as others are now of me; but now, woe is me! I am an actor in that woeful tragedy. Well, as for those and such others like them, the black ox hath lately trodden on some of their feet:* but my trust is, I shall not be so used." The very man, however, so appositely referred to—Cholmley—continuing to confer with the Attorney-General as to the jury, Sir Nicholas called out, "Ah, ah! Master Cholmley, will this foul packing never be left?"

"Why, what do I, I pray you, Master Throckmorton? I did nothing, I am sure. You do pick quarrels with me."

"Well, Master Cholmley, if you do well, it is better for you, God help you."

The jury were now sworn, and Sergeant Stamford stepped forward to state the case for the prosecution, when Sir Nicholas again interposed with a most impressive adjuration to the Sergeant not to exceed his office, and then the trial commenced. The charges in effect were that Throckmorton was a principal deviser, procurer, and contriver of the late rebellion, which was sought to be proved

* "In this expression Throckmorton probably refers to Cholmley, who had been imprisoned for some time on suspicion of favouring the Lady Jane Grey."—Note by the Editor of the 'Criminal Trials,' vol. i. p. 69.

by the written depositions and examinations of parties, mostly lying at the time under a danger similar to that of the prisoner, and some of whom, as Wyatt, had been executed; for such was the wretched state of the criminal law at the time. The chief allegations brought before the court in this way were, that Throckmorton had corresponded with Wyatt just before the insurrection; that he had engaged to accompany Courteney, Earl of Devonshire, into the west of England; that he had invited Carew and Wyatt to advance when they were in arms; and, above all, that he had conspired to kill the Queen with William Thomas, Sir Nicholas Arnold, and others. Passing over the long but every where interesting portion of the trial in which the first three points formed the subject of inquiry, and through which Sir Nicholas fought his way step by step, allowing no fact to be taken for more than its worth (we might almost say lessening its actual value), exposing every attempt to twist the law unduly against him, showing the valueless character of the evidence obtained from men who might think their own lives depended upon the success of their evidence against his; we pause awhile at the fourth, as the part best calculated to display the spirit of the two parties, and the general conduct of the trial. The examination of Sir Nicholas Arnold being read, which stated that Throckmorton told him that John Fitzwilliams was very much displeased with William Thomas, the Attorney-General remarked, alluding, we presume, to the general facts detailed in the examination, which Holinshed does not give, "Thus it appears that William Thomas devised that John Fitzwilliams should kill the Queen, and Throckmorton knew of it."

"I deny that I said any such thing to Sir Nicholas Arnold," replied the prisoner; "and though he is an honest man, he may either forget himself, or devise means how to rid himself of so weighty a burden as this is, for he is charged as principal: this I perceived when he charged me with his tale; and therefore I blame him the less for it, that he endeavours to clear himself, using me as witness, to lay the contrivance at the door of William Thomas. But truly I never said any such words to him; and the more fully to clear the matter, I saw John Fitzwilliams here just now, who can bear witness he never told me of any misunderstanding between them; and as I knew nothing at all of any misunderstanding, so I knew nothing of the cause. I desire, my lords, he may be called to swear what he can as to this affair." Then John Fitzwilliams drew to the bar, and offered to depose his knowledge of the matter in open court.

*Attorney-General.* "I pray you, my lords, suffer him not to be sworn, nor to speak; we have nothing to do with him."

*Sir Nicholas Throckmorton.* "Why should not he be suffered to tell the truth? and why are you not so willing to hear truth for me, as falsehood against me?"

*Sir N. Hare.* "Who called you hither, Fitzwilliams, or bid you speak? You are a very busy fellow."

*Sir Nicholas Throckmorton.* "I called him, and humbly desire he may speak and be heard as well as Vaughan [a witness, and the only one, who had been called personally against him], or else I am not indifferently used, especially as Mr. Attorney doth so press this matter against me."

*Sir R. Southwell.* "Go your way, Fitzwilliams, the court has nothing to do with you; peradventure you would not be so ready in a good cause."

And so John Fitzwilliams went out of the court, and was not suffered to speak.

It is probable, however, that this rejection of evidence affected the prisoner's interests with the jury at least as favourably as the evidence itself could have done if heard. And Throckmorton took care to press the consideration directly home to them. "Since," said he, "this gentleman's declaration may not be admitted, I hope you of the jury will take notice, that this was not for any thing he had to say against me, but, on the contrary, for fear he should speak for me. Now as to Master Arnold's deposition against me, I say, I did not tell him any such words; so that, if they were material, there is but his Yea and my Nay for them. But that the words may not be so much strained against me, I pray you, Mr. Attorney, why might I not have told Arnold that John Fitzwilliams was angry with William Thomas, and yet not know the cause of the anger? Who proves that I knew any thing of the design of William Thomas to kill the Queen? No man; for Arnold says not one word of it, but only that there was a difference between them; and to say that implies neither treason, nor any knowledge of treason. Is this all the evidence you have against me, in order to bring me within the compass of the indictment?"

*Serg. Stamford.* "Methinks those things which others have confessed, together with your own confession, will weigh shrewdly. But what have you to say as to the rising in Kent, and Wyatt's attempt against the Queen's royal person in her palace?"

*Chief Justice Bromley.* "Why do you not read to him Wyatt's accusation, which makes him a sharer in his treasons?"

*Sir R. Southwell.* "Wyatt has grievously accused you, and in many things which have been confirmed by others."

*Sir N. Throckmorton.* "Whatever Wyatt said of me in hopes to save his life, he unsaid it at his death; for, since I came into the hall, I heard one say, whom I do not know, that Wyatt on the scaffold cleared not only the Lady Elizabeth and the Earl of Devonshire, but also all the gentlemen in the Tower, saying none of them knew any thing of his commotion; of which number I take myself to be one."

*Sir N. Hare.* "Nevertheless, he said that all he had written and confessed before the Council was true."

*Sir N. Throckmorton.* "Nay, sir, by your patience, Wyatt did not say so: that was Master Doctor's addition."

*Sir R. Southwell.* "It seems you have good intelligence."

*Sir N. Throckmorton.* "Almighty God provided this revelation for me this very day, since I came hither; for I have been in close prison for eight-and-fifty days, where I could hear nothing but what the birds told me, who flew over my head."

The law of the lawyers fared no better in Throckmorton's grasp than their facts. After a rapid and masterly review of, and answer to, all that had been alleged against him, he took up new ground, namely, that according to the only two statutes in force against treasons, he could not, even if guilty, be attainted within the indictment. These statutes he now desired to be read.

*Chief Justice Bromley.* "No, there shall be no books brought at your desire: we know the law sufficiently without book."

*Sir N. Throckmorton.* "Do you bring me hither to try me by the law, and will not show me the law? What is your knowledge of the law to the satisfaction of

these men, who have my trial in hand. Pray, my lord, and my lords all, let the statutes be read, as well for the Queen as for me."

*Serg. Stamford.* "My Lord Chief Justice can tell what the law is, and will do it, if the jury are doubtful in any particular."

*Sir N. Throckmorton.* "You know it is but reasonable that I should know and hear the law by which I am to be judged; and forasmuch as the statute is in English, people of less learning than the judges can understand it, or how else should we know when we offend?"

*Sir N. Hare.* "You know not what is proper for your case, and therefore we must inform you. It is not our business to provide books for you; neither do we sit here to be taught by you: you should have been better informed of the law before you came hither." [Our readers will do well to keep this remark in view, in order properly to enjoy what follows.]

*Sir N. Throckmorton.* "Because I am ignorant I would learn, and therefore I have the more occasion to see the law, partly for the instruction of the jury, and partly for my own satisfaction; which methinks would be for the honour of the court. And now, if it please you, my Lord Chief Justice, I do principally direct my words to you. When the Queen was pleased to call you to that honourable office, I did learn of a great man, and one of her Majesty's Privy Council, that her Majesty, among other good instructions, charged and enjoined you to 'administer the law and justice impartially, and without respect of persons. And notwithstanding the old error among you, which did not admit any witness to speak, or any thing else to be heard, in favour of the adversary, where her Majesty was a party, it was her Highness's pleasure that whatever could be produced in favour of the subject should be admitted to be heard; and further, that you in a particular manner, and likewise all other judges, were not to consider that you sat in judgment otherwise for her Majesty than for her subjects.' Therefore this method of impartiality in your proceedings being principally enjoined by God's command, as I designed to have reminded you at first, if I could have had leave to do it, and the same being also given in command to you from the Queen's own mouth, I think you ought in justice to allow me to have the statutes openly read, and to reject nothing that could be spoken in my defence: in so doing, you shall approve yourselves worthy ministers of justice, and fit for so worthy a mistress."

*Chief Justice Bromley.* "You mistake the thing; the Queen said those words to Morgan, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas: but you have no reason to complain, for you have been suffered to speak as much as you pleased."

*Sir N. Hare.* "What would you do with the statute-book? The jury do not require it; they have heard the evidence, and they must upon their consciences try whether you are guilty or not; so that there is no need of the book; if they will not believe such clear evidence, then they know what they have to do."

*Sir R. Cholmley.* "You ought not to have any books read here at your appointment; for if any question arises in point of law, the judges are here to inform the court; and now you do but spend time."

*Attorney-General.* "My Lord Chief Justice, I pray you to sum up the evidence for the Queen; and give the charge to the jury; for the prisoner will keep you here all day."

*Chief Justice Bromley.* "How say you, have you any more to say for yourself?"

*Sir N. Throckmorton.* "You seem to give and offer me the law, but in very deed I have only the form and image of the law: nevertheless, since I cannot have the statutes read openly in the book, *I will, with your leave, guess at them* as well as I can; and I pray you to help me if I mistake, for it is long since I have seen them." He then went on to point out, reciting the passage in question *verbatim*, that the Statute of Repeal, made in the last Parliament, had referred all treasonable offences to the statute 25th Edw. III., the essential part of which he also correctly repeated, and that that required a man to be "attainted by open deed, by people of his condition;" he then, turning to the jury, continued: "Now, I pray you of the jury, who have my life in trial, mark well what things at this day are treasons; and how these treasons must be tried and detected; that is, by 'open deed,' which the law doth sometime call an *overt act.* And now I ask, beside my indictment, which is but matter alleged, where does the 'open deed' of my compassing and imagining the Queen's death appear? or where does any 'open deed' appear of my adhering to the Queen's enemies, giving them aid and comfort? or where does any 'open deed' appear of taking the Tower of London?"

*Chief Justice Bromley.* "Why do not you, who are the Queen's learned counsel, answer him? I think, Throckmorton, you need not to see the statutes, for you have them pretty perfectly." After this appeal, which one could almost fancy exhibited a latent sense of enjoyment on the part of the Chief Justice of the dilemma which seemed opening upon the lawyers, there ensued a long and spirited discussion on the meaning of the words of the statute, in which, to the evident mortification of the lawyers, the man who should have been "better informed" before he came there, disputed every point of law with such depth of legal learning as well as intellectual subtlety, that they were fain to bring the whole strength of the bench against him, with what success we must give one further illustration. As a closing proof that the law admitted of the conviction of traitors apart from the statute of Edward, and in answer to some case brought forward by the prisoner, which very strongly demanded an answer, the Lord Chief Justice stated that a man, in the time of Henry IV., was adjudged a traitor, and yet the fact did not come within the express words of the said statute. "I pray you, my Lord Chief Justice," was the instantaneous and crushing answer, "call to your good remembrance, that in the selfsame case of the Seal, Judge Spelman, a grave and well-learned man, since that time, would not condemn the offender, but censured the former judgment by your Lordship last cited, as *erroneous*." The Chief Justice was silenced, whilst Sergeant Stamford could not help remarking, in the bitterness of his spirit, "If I had thought you were so well furnished with book cases, I would have come better prepared for you." One other extract, a passage of the truest and perfectly unstudied eloquence, and we have done. Being about to offer another argument to answer the assumption, which the lawyers now returned to, as safer ground, that Wyatt's actions, taken in connexion with Throckmorton's presumed cognizance, proved the latter to be an adviser and procurer, Sergeant Stamford told him the Judges did not sit there to make disputations, but to declare the law; and one of those Judges (Hare) having confirmed the observation, by telling Throckmorton he had heard both the law and the reason, if he could but understand it, he cried out passionately, "Oh, merciful God! Oh, eternal Father! who seest all

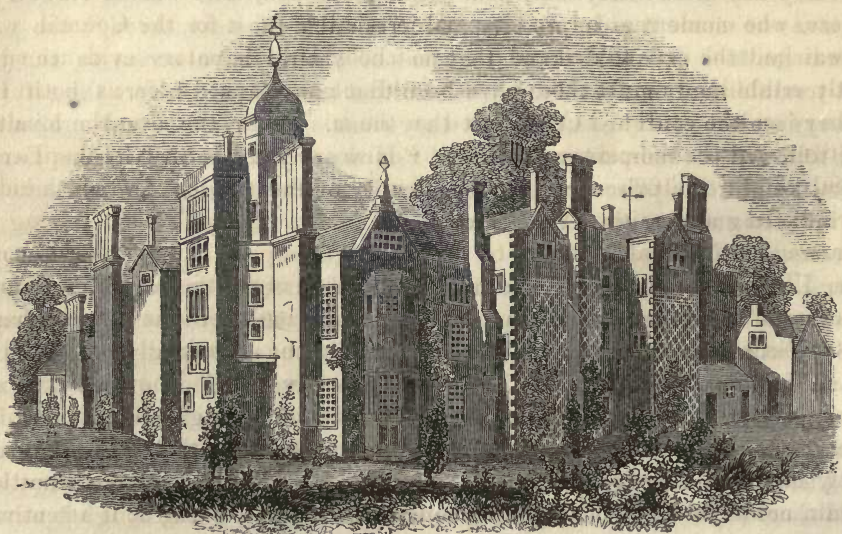
things, what manner of proceedings are these? To what purpose was the statute of repeal made in the last Parliament, where I heard some of you here present, and several others of the Queen's learned counsel, grievously inveigh against the cruel and bloody laws of Henry VIII., and some laws made in the late King's time? Some termed them Draco's laws, which were written in blood; others said they were more intolerable than any laws made by Dionysius or any other tyrant. In a word, as many men, so many bitter names and terms those laws. . . . . . . Let us now but look with impartial eyes, and consider thoroughly with ourselves, whether, as you, the Judges, handle the statute of Edward III., with your equity and constructions, we are not now in a much worse condition than when we were yoked with those cruel laws. Those laws, grievous and captious as they were, yet had the very property of laws, according to St. Paul's description, for they admonished us, and discovered our sins plainly to us, and when a man is warned he is half armed; but these laws, as they are handled, are very baits to catch us, and only prepared for that purpose; they are no laws at all: for at first sight they assure us that we are delivered from our old bondage, and live in more security; but when it pleases the higher powers to call any man's life and sayings in question, then there are such constructions, interpretations, and extensions reserved to the Judges and their equity, that the party tried, as I now am, will find himself in a much worse case than when those cruel laws were in force. But I require you, honest men, who are to try my life, to consider these things: it is clear these Judges are inclined rather to the times than to the truth; for their judgments are repugnant to the law, repugnant to their own principles, and repugnant to the opinions of their godly and learned predecessors."

After a summing up by the Judge, in which Sir Nicholas had to help his "bad memory" as to the answers given to the charges, and after a most solemn address to the jury by the latter, the case was left to them — the final judges, fortunately, of the matter, as they were the only ones in whom the prisoner could have had any hope from the commencement of the trial. As they were dismissed, Throckmorton, whom nothing escaped, who was as shrewd and sagacious one moment as impressive and irresistible the next, through the whole proceedings, took care to demand that no one should have access to the jury. What terrible hours must those have been that now elapsed before the return of the jury into the court!—but at last they came. After the usual preliminary form, followed the momentous question, "How say you? is Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, knight, the prisoner at the bar, guilty of the treason for which he has been indicted and arraigned? Yea or no?"

*Foreman.* "No."

The Lord Chief Justice would fain have frightened the jury into another verdict; and when that did not succeed, began to consult with the Commissioners, but Sir Nicholas gave them not a moment, steadily but respectfully reiterating his demand for his discharge; and at last it was given. Thus ended the most interesting trial perhaps on record, for the exhibition of intellectual power. The jury were not allowed to escape unpunished; imprisonment and fines fell heavily upon them, for daring to do what they had the absurdity to believe they were placed there to do—decide according to their conscience, even though it were in a State prosecution.

The trial of Garnet, before alluded to, though deeply interesting in itself, and still more important in a political sense than Throckmorton's, would read but flatly after the latter; the Jesuit, with all his double-dealing and wily caution, fell into a trap at which Throckmorton would have laughed. A brief record of the case, therefore, as a whole, will be at once more attractive and suitable to our remaining space. When the Gunpowder Plot first frightened the isle from its propriety, and alarmed James to that degree that the veritable explosion, had he escaped, could hardly have increased the consciousness of the wrongs he had done to the Catholics, and which they sought to avenge by so monstrous and wholesale an act of slaughter, coupled with the instincts of cruelty and destruction, which the weak so often exhibit after danger, seem to have wrought greatly upon his mind, and to have induced him not to remain content with the lives of the conspirators, and their aiders and abettors, taken though they were in a mode, and to an extent, that reduces the Government of the day to a level with the men it punished for barbarous inhumanity, but to strive also to fix upon the entire Catholic people the guilt of sharing in the conspiracy. Again and again, therefore, did the Commission examine Fawkes and his companions, with the usual accompaniment of examinations in those days—torture, aided by the searching minds of Popham, Coke, and Bacon; and at last sufficient matter was extorted, chiefly from Bates, Catesby's servant, to warrant the issue of a proclamation for the apprehension of three priests—Gerard, Greenway, and the Superior of the Jesuits in England, Garnet. The two former escaped to the Continent, whilst the latter, having sent a letter to the Lords of the Council, strongly asserting his innocence, disappeared, and for a long time baffled all attempts at discovery. At last, Humphrey Littleton, condemned to death at Worcester for harbouring two of the conspirators, in order to save his own life, told the sheriff that some Jesuits named in the proclamation were at Hendlip, a spacious mansion, about four miles from Worcester, which was only pulled down in the present century. It is to be regretted it is lost, not on



[Hendlip House, 1800.]

account of the interest attached to it by the romantic adventure we are about to mention, but as a specimen of the buildings of the age when concealment was too frequently necessary in order to escape from religious and political persecutions. "There is scarcely an apartment," says the author of the account of Worcestershire ('Beauties of England and Wales'), who describes it as he himself saw it, "that has not secret ways of going in or going out; some have back staircases concealed in the walls; others have places of retreat in their chimneys; some have trap-doors; and all present a picture of gloom, insecurity, and suspicion." Thither, on receiving Littleton's information, went Sir Henry Bromley of Holt Castle, with elaborate instructions from Lord Salisbury as to the modes of search he was to adopt. For some time Sir Henry was perfectly unsuccessful, and, as he says, "out of all hope of finding any man or any thing," until he discovered "a number of Popish trash" hid under boards in three or four several places, which stimulated him to continue a watch, and, at last, two unhappy men came forth "from hunger and cold," one of whom it was thought was Greenway. With fresh vigour was the search now prosecuted, and one of the men, on the eighth day, discovering an opening into a cell not previously known, there came forth two more persons, both Jesuits, and one of them the anxiously sought-for Garnet. He was immediately conveyed to the Tower, where he was examined almost daily for ten days, but without any conclusive proof being furnished of his own guilt, or the guilt of the others named in the proclamation. Especial reasons of state seem to have saved Garnet from the torture, but his servant Owen and the other two Jesuits, Oldcorne and Chambers (who with Garnet made the four found at Hendlip), were not only tortured, but one of them (Owen) with such infamous severity, that the unhappy man ripped up his own body with a table-knife to escape any further infliction. A new scheme was now tried, worthy of the institution from which it had probably been derived—the Spanish Inquisition—and Garnet was at once caught. He and Oldcorne were placed in adjoining cells, and informed by the keeper, under strong injunctions of secrecy, that, by opening a concealed door, they might confer together. And here every day or two they met, their whole conversation at the mercy of two listeners, who made regular written memorandums of it for the Council. And thus was laid the groundwork of the great body of criminatory evidence subsequently established against Garnet at Guildhall, where, in order, as both Lord Salisbury and Sir Edward Coke stated on the trial, to compliment the loyalty of the citizens by so exemplary a display of Popish treason, the trial took place, on the 28th of March, 1606; and ended in his conviction and execution, amidst a general feeling among the Catholics that he was a martyr. This feeling was still more strongly called forth by the strange imposture known as Garnet's Straw. The history given by the presumed author of the imposture, Wilkinson, states that a considerable quantity of dry straw having been cast into the basket with Garnet's head and quarters, at the execution, he standing near, found the straw in question thrown towards him—how, he knew not. "The straw," he continues, "I afterwards delivered to Mrs. N., a matron of singular Catholic piety, who enclosed it in a bottle, which being rather shorter than the straw, it became slightly bent. A few days afterwards, Mrs. N. showed the straw in the bottle to a certain noble person, her intimate acquaintance, who, looking at it attentively,

at length said, 'I can see nothing in it but a man's face.' Mrs. N. and myself being astonished at this unexpected declaration, again and again examined the ear of the straw, and distinctly perceived in it a human countenance," &c. The prodigy excited universal attention, and led at last to a very prevalent belief among the Catholics at home and abroad that a miracle had been vouchsafed to prove the Jesuit's innocence. At first the appearance of the face was very simple, but, gradually, to accommodate the increasing demands of wonder and superstitious belief, the whole expanded into an imposing-looking head, crowned and encircled by rays, with a cross on the forehead, and an anchor coming out of the ear at the sides. At last it engaged the attention of the Privy Council, who exposed the fraud, and then very wisely left the matter to drop gradually into oblivion. Of the other events in what we may call this episodical history of Guildhall, there are but two possessing any high claims to recollection—the trial of the poet Waller, in the period of the Commonwealth, which we can only thus briefly refer to, and that of the poet Surrey, in the reign of Henry VIII., which will be noticed elsewhere. The building itself belongs to the municipal government of London, which will form the subject of our next paper.

[Council Chamber, Guildhall.]

# CVI.—CIVIC GOVERNMENT.

ANTIQUARIES tell us that there was an ancient Saxon law—imposed probably by the rulers of that people after the conquest of this country, the better to keep its wild and conflicting elements in order—which ordained that every freeman of fourteen years old should find sureties to keep the peace; and that, in consequence, "certain neighbours, consisting of ten families, entered into an association, and became bound to each other to produce him who committed an offence, or to make satisfaction to the injured party. That they might the better do this, they raised a sum of money amongst themselves, which they put into a common stock, and when one of the pledges had committed an offence, and was fled, then the other nine made satisfaction out of this stock, by payment of money according to the offence. In the mean time, that they might the better identify each other, as well as ascertain whether any man was absent on unlawful business, they assembled at stated periods at a common table, where they ate and drank together."* This primitive custom, so simple and confined in its operations, was to beget mighty consequences in the hands of the amalgamated Anglo-Saxon people. We find its associating principle following them into the fortified places or burghs where they first assembled for the purposes of trade

* Johnson's Canons, Laws of Ina, transcribed from Herbert's 'Livery Companies,' vol. i. p. 3.

and commerce (the nuclei of our towns), and affording to them an infinitely safer defence against aggression than any fortifications could give, in the *Trade Guilds*. If, therefore, there be one of the great and still existing institutions of antiquity, possessing in its history matters of deeper interest and instruction than any other, it is that of our municipal government, whose very meeting-places constantly remind us by their designation what they were—the guild-halls, and what we owe to the system, which has, unfortunately, through causes into which it is not our province to enter, enjoyed of late years more of the popular contempt than of popular gratitude: a feeling which, if it promised to be permanent, might well excite the apprehension of the political philosopher as to the ultimate well-being of the country. All considerations, then, tend to invest the very word guildhall with a more than ordinary sense of the value of the associations that may belong to a name, and which is of course enhanced when it refers, not merely to a hall of a guild, but to the hall of the guilds generally of the metropolis, as in that we are about to notice in connection with Civic Government.

The building itself, as we now approach it from Cheapside, through King Street, appears no unapt type of the discordant associations that have grown up around the institution: the old hall, in the main, is there still, but with a new face, which shows how ludicrously inadequate were its builders to accomplish their apparent desire of restoring it in harmony with, but improving upon, the general structure; and they seem to have had some misgivings of the kind themselves; for they have so stopped short in the elevation, as to leave the dingy and supremely ugly brick walls, with their round-headed windows, added by their predecessors to the upper portion of the hall after the fire of London, obtrusively visible. It is possible that the "little college" which stood here prior to the year 1411, had been either in itself or in its predecessors founded by the Confessor, whose arms are yet visible in the porch; at the time mentioned, the present hall was begun by the corporation, Thomas Knowles being then Mayor. Among the modes adopted of obtaining the requisite monies, are some which, though common enough in connection with ecclesiastical structures, are remarkable as applied to a guildhall: Stow, whose authority is Fabyan, having remarked that the companies gave large benevolences towards the charges thereof, adds, "Also offences of men were pardoned for sums of money towards this work, extraordinary fees were raised, fines, amercements, and other things employed during seven years, with a [partial, probably is meant] continuation thereof three years more."* Even then the whole was not completed; a variety of miscellaneous items of a later date occur in connection with the edifice, such as that in 1422-3 the executors of Whittington gave 35*l*. towards the paving of the hall with Purbeck marble; about the same time was also erected the Mayor's Court, the Council Chamber, and the porch; in 1481, Sir William Harryot, Mayor, defrayed the expense of making and glazing two louvres in the roof of the hall; the kitchen was built by the "procurement" of Sir John Shaw, goldsmith and Mayor, about 1501; finally, tapestry, to hang in the Hall on principal days, was provided about the same time by Sir Nicholas Aldwyn, another Mayor. If we add to this, that a new council chamber was erected in 1614, that after the Great Fire the walls remained so comparatively uninjured, that only roofs and out-offices had to be rebuilt, and that it was towards the close of the last century

* 'Survey,' ed. 1633, p. 282.

that the "truly *Gothic* façade," as Brayley satirically calls it, using the word in its less usual but sufficiently evident acceptation, was built, we shall not need to dwell any longer on the general history of the erection. Before we enter the porch, we may cast a brief glance at the surrounding buildings. The one on the left is the Justice Room of Guildhall, where the ordinary magisterial business of that part of the City which lies west of King Street is conducted, under the superintendence of an Alderman; the other, or eastern portion, forming the business of the Justice Room at the Mansion House, where the Mayor presides. The building opposite, on the right, contains the Courts of Queen's Bench and Common Pleas, held, with the Court of Exchequer, at Guildhall three several days during each term, and on the next day but one after each term, from time immemorial. The City receives 3*s.* 6*d.* for each verdict given in these Courts, in payment for the use of the buildings provided; and there the connection ends at present, whatever may have been the case in former times, when the custom originated. In both courts the excessively naked and chilly aspect of the walls is somewhat relieved by the portraits of the judges, who, after the fire of London, sat at Clifford's Inn, to arrange all differences between landlord and tenant during the great business of rebuilding; and who thus, as Pennant observes, prevented the endless train of vexatious lawsuits which might have ensued, and been little less chargeable than the fire itself. We wonder whether the judges or the legislature will ever take it into their heads to give us the blessing of such courts of reconciliation and summary determination of differences without a preliminary fire! Sir Matthew Hale was the chief manager of the good work in question, which so won upon the City, that, after the affair was concluded, they determined to have the portraits of the whole of the judges painted and hung in their hall, as a permanent memorial of their gratitude. Lely was to have been the artist, but, being too great a man to wait upon the judges at their respective chambers, Michael Wright, a Scotchman, obtained the commission. He is the painter of a highly-esteemed portrait of Lacy, the actor, in three characters, preserved in the collection at Windsor. Sixty pounds each was his remuneration for the portraits at Guildhall, and it certainly seems as much as they were worth. On the site of these Law Courts, there was standing, till the year 1822, the chapel or college, shown in our engraving of the exterior of Guildhall, in the preceding number, which was built so early as 1299, and had, in its palmiest days, an establishment of a custos or warden, seven priests, three clerks, and four choristers. "Here used to be service once a week, and also at the election of the Mayor, and before the Mayor's feast, to deprecate indigestion and all plethoric evils"*—the chapel having been given by Edward VI. to the City at the dissolution of the college. Adjoining the chapel there had been, before Stow's time, "a fair and large library," belonging to the Guildhall and College, which that wholesale pillager, the Protector Somerset, laid his hands upon during the reign of the young Edward, on the plea of merely borrowing the books for a time. In consequence, till the present century, the citizens of London, in their corporate capacity, had scarcely a book in their possession; but in 1824, an annual grant of 200*l.*, and a preliminary one of 500*l.*, for the formation of a new library, was made; and

* Pennant, 'London,' ed. 1791, p. 415.

the collection, already rich in publications in civic topography and history, promises to become, in course of time, not unworthy of the body to which it belongs.

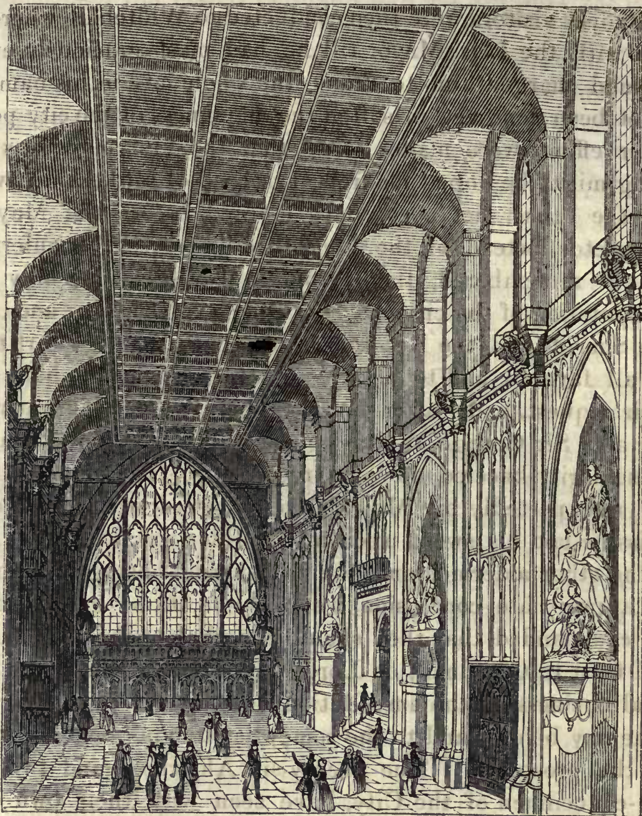
As we enter the porch the genuine architecture of the original structure strikes upon the eye with a sense of pleasurable surprise. Its arch within arch, its beautifully panelled walls, looking not unlike a range of closed-up Gothic windows, the pillars on the stone seat, and the numerous groins that spring from them intersecting the vaulted ceiling; and, lastly, the gilt bosses, so profusely scattered about, all seem to have remained untouched—certainly uninjured—from the days of their erection, during the reign of Bolingbroke. They are, however, the only things here unchanged. A citizen of that period would be a little puzzled, we suspect, to understand, for instance, the long bills which hang on each side of the doors leading from the porch into the hall, containing a list of the brokers authorised by the Mayor and Aldermen to exercise their vocation in the City: the funded system would certainly be too much for him. We enter the hall, and it does not need many glances to tell us that it has been a truly magnificent place, worthy of the extraordinary exertions made for its erection, and of the City—we might almost say, considering its national importance, of the empire, to which it belonged. Nay, it is magnificent still, in spite of the liberties that have been taken with it, such as closing up some of its windows with enormous piles of sculpture; and above all, in spite of the miserable modern upper story, with its vile windows, and of the flat roof, which has taken the place of the oaken and arched one, with its carved pendants, its picturesque combinations, and its rich masses of shade, such as we may be certain once rose from the tops of those clustered columns. But the vast dimensions (152 feet in length, 50 in breadth, and about 55 in height), the noble proportions, and the exquisite architecture are still there, and may possibly at no distant period lead to the restoration of the whole in a different spirit from that which at once mangled and burlesqued it, under the pretence of admiration, in the last century: already the restoring of the roof is talked of. The crypt below the Hall has been but little interfered with, and still shows the original design of the architect.

[The Crypt.]

The contents of the Hall are too well known to render any lengthened description necessary; we may therefore briefly observe, that they comprise in one department of art the monuments of the great men whom the City has delighted to honour, and in another the renowned giants Gog and Magog. Among the former is that of William Beckford, Esq., who so astonished George III. by addressing him against all courtly precedent, on receiving the unfavourable answer vouchsafed by the monarch to the Remonstrance of the City on the subject of Wilkes's election; and so delighted the citizens, that they caused this memorial to be erected after his death, which is said to have been accelerated by the excitement of the times acting upon ill health. The others are Lord Nelson's, the Right Hon. William Pitt's, and his father's, the Earl of Chatham; the last by Bacon, the only one that seems to us deserving even of criticism. Allan Cunningham says, an eminent artist remarked to him one day, "See, all is reeling—Chatham, the two ladies [Commerce and Manufacture], the lion, the boys, the cornucopia, and all the rest, have been tumbled out of a waggon from the top of the pyramid." There certainly never was, in the history of art, men capable of such great things making such melancholy mistakes as our modern sculptors in a large proportion of their more ambitious productions. The author of the strange jumble here so justly satirized is also the same man of whom Cowper no less justly says—

> "Bacon there
> Gives more than female beauty to a stone,
> And Chatham's eloquence to marble lips:"

referring, in the last line, either to the chief figure on this very monument, or to that on Bacon's other Pitt memorial in Westminster Abbey. The inscriptions on the monuments of Nelson and the two Pitts seem to have called forth the literary powers of our statesmen in a kind of rivalry: Burke wrote the Earl of Chatham's, Canning William Pitt's, and Sheridan Nelson's. The fine old crypt beneath the Hall, extending through its entire length, is in such excellent preservation that we cannot but regret some endeavour is not made to restore it to the light of day. As it is, what with the rise of the soil on the exterior, and the blocking up of windows, we can only dimly perceive through the gloaming the pillars and arches which divide it lengthwise into three aisles. Some of the uses of the great civic hall are well known. On the dais at the east end are erected the hustings for the parliamentary elections of the City of London. The Corporation banquets are also given here; and their history from the time Sir John Shaw—excellent man!—built the kitchen, in 1501, down to the visit of her present Majesty, would furnish rich materials for an essay on the art *and* science of good living, for that the latter is both, cooks and aldermen unanimously agree. The most magnificent of these feasts seems to have been that of 1814, after the overthrow of Napoleon, when the chief guests were the Prince Regent, the Emperor of Russia, and the King of Prussia, when the dinner was served entirely on plate, valued at above 200,000*l.*, when all the other arrangements were conducted on a correspondingly sumptuous scale, and when, in a word, the expenditure was estimated at 25,000*l.* On some occasions the Guildhall banquets have had an historical interest attached to them. A good dinner, it is well known, is often the readiest and most effectual way of opening an Englishman's heart. Charles I.,



[The Hall.]

acting upon this maxim, dined with the citizens just at that critical period of his history when a recourse to arms must have appeared to all thoughtful minds the only ultimate solution of the contest between him and the people. The long Parliament had met; Strafford had been arrested, tried, and executed: the city exhibiting its sentiments with regard to that nobleman, while his fate was yet undecided, by presenting a petition for justice against him, signed by 20,000 citizens. To arrest these and other similarly dangerous symptoms was, therefore, an object of the highest importance. The banquet took place on the very day of the king's return from Scotland, the 25th of November, 1641, the corporation having come out to meet him on the road. Its conduct was, of course, marked by every possible indication of external respect, and Charles took care to return their compliments in a truly royal manner. When the Lord Mayor, Recorder, and others met him, in the Kingsland road, with an address, he made a very gracious reply, in which he told them, that he had thought of one thing as a particular affection to them, which was the giving back unto the city that part of Londonderry (Ireland), which had been formerly evicted from them; and, in conclusion, he knighted both the Lord Mayor—Acton, and the Recorder. Then they all went on together in stately procession to Guildhall, where the dinner gave such high satisfaction to their Majesties (the Queen being also present) that, after it was over, Charles sent for Mr. John Pettus, a gentleman, says Maitland, of an ancient family in the

county of Suffolk, who had married the Lord Mayor's daughter, and knighted him too. The royal visitors were then conducted to Whitehall, where his Majesty could not part with the Lord Mayor till he had most graciously embraced and thanked him, and charged him to thank the whole city in his name. Whether enough had not been done yet to soften the harshness of the city politics, and in despair further efforts were made, or whether the first move was so successful that everything might be hoped for from a second of a like kind, we know not; but whatever the cause, not many days elapsed before the Mayor received a patent of baronetcy instead of the knighthood so recently conferred (he was a *new* Mayor, be it remembered, the 9th of November having only just passed); and when a deputation of the citizens, consisting of the Mayor and certain Aldermen, with the Sheriffs and the Recorder, went to Hampton Court to thank their Majesties for all favours, and to ask them to winter at Whitehall, &c., Charles agreed to their request, and "after his Majesty had ended his answer, and that Mr. Recorder and Sir George Whitmore had kissed his royal hand, the next alderman in seniority kneeled down to receive the like princely favour, when suddenly and unexpectedly his Majesty drew a sword, and instead of giving him his hand to kiss he laid his sword upon his shoulder and knighted him; the like he did to all the other aldermen and the two sheriffs, being in number seven;" whilst as an appropriate conclusion, we presume, to so much princely favour, "his Majesty commanded that they should dine before they left the court.*"

The annual feast in Guildhall, on Lord Mayor's Day, is but the suitable close to the general business of the installation of the new chief magistrate, which takes place the day before, and to the somewhat tedious honours involved in the pageantry of the procession. The twenty-six Aldermen, and two hundred and forty common-councilmen of the City, have seen with their own eyes that the existence of the Corporation has not been endangered by the bare presumption of any momentary lapse as to its possession of a head; in other words, they have seen the Lord Mayor elect and the Lord Mayor in possession sitting side by side, and then changing chairs; and the public have had their share of the enjoyment attached to the event, namely, the gilded coach and the men in armour; and now all parties, except the public, sit down comfortably to enjoy themselves after their toils, still further solaced by the fair faces and radiant eyes which glow and sparkle in every direction: the concentrated loveliness of the civic domestic world, which these occasions, with a few others of a more accidental character, as a fancy ball for the benefit of the Poles, alone adequately reveal to us. The election of the Mayor takes place on the preceding 29th of September, and the electors are the liverymen of the several companies met in Common Hall, as it is called. To these the crier reads a list of Aldermen, in the order of seniority, who have served as sheriff (who alone are eligible), and who have not already passed the chair of mayoralty. In ordinary cases the first two persons named are accepted, but the Livery, if it pleases, may depart from that order, or even select those in preference who have already been elected and served. If the decision of a show of hands be not accepted, a poll is taken, which lasts seven days. The two names finally determined upon are announced to the Mayor and Aldermen by the Common Sergeant; these also generally select the senior Alderman, but may

* Maitland, vol. i. p. 343-346.

reject him, as in a recent instance, for the other. The person elected then declares his acceptance of the office (rejection subjects him to a fine of 1000*l.*), and the Lord Mayor, Recorder, Sheriffs, and Common Sergeant, returning to the Hall, declare the result, and proclamation accordingly is made. There remains but to present him to the Lord Chancellor, in order to receive his assent on the part of the Crown to the election; to administer the usual oaths before the Mayor and Aldermen on the morning of the 8th, after which the proceedings before alluded to take place; and lastly, the presentation to the Barons of the Exchequer, when he is again sworn, a custom that is an interesting memento of the state of things after the Conquest, when the chief municipal officers were the parties appointed by the king as the instruments of his pecuniary exactions, and who, when, in lapse of time, again elected by their respective municipalities, were sworn to pay duly into the Exchequer the crown rent then accepted in lieu of the former uncertain and arbitrary imposts: London had two of these officers, called bailiffs, and paid 300*l.* yearly.

The mummeries and sensual enjoyments which seem to round in and to form so large a portion of London municipal life has had one bad effect, which is as much to be regretted for the sake of its chief officers themselves, as for the institution: they have turned aside the public attention, not merely from the capacities of the one, but have made it estimate very inaccurately the real nature and amount of the services performed by the other. Looking at it as a whole, it would be difficult to find a more arduous and responsible position than that of the mayoralty of London. Consider for a moment the Mayor's duties. He presides at the sittings of the Court of Aldermen, both in their own and in what is called the Lord Mayor's Court, at the Court of Common Council, and at the Common Hall. He is Judge of the Court of Hustings, which, however, does not make any extensive demands upon his time; a Judge of the Central Criminal Court, and the same of the London Sessions held at Guildhall. He is a justice of the peace for Southwark, where he usually opens the Sessions, and continues subsequently to preside. He is escheator in London and Southwark, when there is anything escheatable, not a matter now of very frequent occurrence. He is conservator of the Thames, an office that involves, among other duties, the holding eight courts within the year, and occasionally a ninth. He has to sign affidavits to notarial documents required for transmission to the colonies, to attend, when necessary, committees of the municipal body, and the meetings of the Sewage Commissioners, of which he is a member. Then, in matters of a more general nature, in which the City is concerned, or in which it feels interested, he is expected to take the lead, and in consequence is in continual communication with the Government; he presides at public meetings; distinguished foreigners have a kind of prescriptive claim on his attention and hospitality. He attends the Privy Council on the accession of a new sovereign; at coronations he is chief butler, and receives a golden cup as his fee. And as if his time were still insufficiently occupied with his own corporate business, and the things naturally growing out of it, other institutions look to him for assistance: he is a governor of Greenwich Hospital, governor of King's College, a trustee of St. Paul's, and connected with we know not how many other schools, hospitals, and public foundations. Lastly, not that the list is exhausted, but that our

space is, he sits *daily* in his own justice-room at the Mansion House, for scarcely less than four hours a day on the average. We are not aware how the mere enumeration of such an overwhelming amount of business as this may affect the fancy of the sportive wits who amuse themselves at the expense of the office and the officer, but we do know that the latter need desire no better revenge than to be allowed to catch one of these said gentlemen, and place him in the civic chair for a single week.

Yet it must be owned that some of the interest formerly attached to the Mayoralty, and most of the romance, have been lost. There are no opportunities now for the incipient Walworths to show their prowess; no government, be it Whig or Tory, thinks now of making the Lord Mayor an occasional inmate of the Tower, as a mode of drawing his attention, as a wealthy and benevolent citizen, to its financial necessities. The history of the Lord Mayors of London in the nineteenth century certainly looks rather insignificant beside the history of their predecessors some four or five centuries back. Take up any tolerably full index to a history of the metropolis, and mark the expressive items enumerated under the word Mayor. Here is Maitland's, which, beginning with the first chief magistrate (after the bailiffs), Henry Fitz-Alwin, 1189, and proceeding chronologically downwards, tells us that at one time the Mayor—submits to the king's mercy, at another—is arrested, and purchases his liberty at a dear rate—is committed to prison—is, with four of the aldermen, delivered up to the prince to be fleeced—is degraded—presented to the Constable of the Tower—again committed to prison—reprimanded by the privy council—flies with the other citizens—assaulted—fined; "warm work, my masters!" and this all in the first century and a half. The cause was, no doubt, to be found very much in the feelings and conduct of the Mayor and his brethren in those days; they were neither content, on the one hand, to help the monarch to *fleece* their fellow-citizens, nor would be fleeced themselves, without being *delivered up*, on the other. And, after all, one wonders why the monarch took so much trouble with men who were indignant at what he did rather than grateful for what he did not, but might have done; and seeing how much more easy it was to seize and take care of a charter than a mayor, how much more profitable its gracious restoration. Possibly the fact that the citizens of London could, if need were, use the arms with which they were then generally provided, may have had something to do with the matter, and rendered subtlety as necessary as force in dealing with them. Hence the interference of royalty in the earlier elections, and the variety of interesting events that sprang from this interference, among which is one that it is strange has not been more dwelt upon, from the high interest attached to an actor therein. It may surprise many to hear that one of the greatest of English poets, Chaucer, ought also to be looked upon as one of the most eminent on the roll of the civic illustrious: no portrait, no memorial of any kind, reminds you in Guildhall of his name, yet was he an exile in the cause of corporate freedom. Born in London, as he himself tells us, and feeling more kindly love "to that place than to any other in earth," he was not one to remain in inaction when its liberties were threatened with utter destruction by Richard II. Fortunately, we possess his own statement of what his views on this subject had been from an early period of his life. "In my youth," says the poet, "I was drawn to be assentant—and in my might

helping—to certain conjuracions [confederacies], and other great matters of ruling of citizens ; and thylke things being my drawers-in and exciters to these matters, were so painted and coloured, which at the prime face meseemed them noble and glorious to all the people. I then weening mickle merit [to] have deserved in furthering and maintenance of those things, busied and laboured with all my diligence, in working of thilke matters to the end. And truly to tell you the sooth, merought little of any hate of the mighty Senators* in thilke city, nor of commons' malice, for two skilles [reasons] : one was, I had comfort to be in such plight, that both profit were to me and to my friends; another was, for common profit in communalty is not, but [unless] peace and tranquillity with just governance proceedeth from thilke profit :" observations worthy of the author of the 'Canterbury Tales;' and presenting an interesting glimpse of the principles that guided the poet in action. Prior to the event we are about to notice, Richard had shown an almost open hostility towards the citizens, partly, it is said, on account of their manly remonstrances against the proceedings of his ministers, and partly from envy of their wealth. Accordingly, it appears, "he was accustomed," says Godwin, "when they had fallen under his displeasure, to oblige them to purchase his forgiveness with large contributions in money;" and he had also repeatedly imposed his own creature, Sir Nicholas Brember, as Mayor, upon them, in defiance of their wishes and rights. It may be here noticed that the City records show that, in former times, the election of the Mayor was claimed by some popular and large constituency, which, no doubt, was the entire body of citizens; we shall perceive, in Chaucer's own account of the matter, that this was an element of the struggle between Richard and the Londoners. Describing (in his appeal to the government from the Tower, from which the foregoing passage is taken) the arguments used by his associates to induce him to adopt the line of conduct which had brought him into so much misery, he says, "The things which, quod they, be for common advantage, may not stand, but [unless] we be executors of these matters, and authority of execution by *common election,* to us be delivered ; and that must enter by strength of your maintenance." Again, "The government," quod they, "of your city, left in the hands of tornencious [usurious or extortionate] citizens shall bring in pestilence and destruction to you, good men ; and therefore let us have the *common administration* to abate such evils." We have here still more clearly pointed out the motives that actuated Chaucer in engaging in the struggle between the King and the popular party in the City, and which rose to its climax in 1392; when the latter selected John of Northampton to be the candidate for the Mayoralty in opposition to Brember, and a most exciting contest ensued. Chaucer is supposed by Godwin to have had another motive besides his regard for the liberties of the City, namely, zeal for his patron, John of Gaunt, towards whose ruin, it seems, the proceedings of the Court were looked upon as the first step. Of the details of the struggle we know very little. Chaucer says of it, "And so, when it fell that *free election by great clamour of much people* [who], for great disease of government, so fervently stooden in their election [of their own candidate] that

* The Aldermen probably of that day ; a body that we find continually leaning towards royalty through the early struggles of the citizens against it.

they themselves submitted to every manner face [or, in other words, every imaginable disadvantage] rather than have suffered the manner and the rule of the hated governors, (notwithstanding that [they], in the contrary, held much common meiny [followers] that have no consideration but only to voluntary lusts without reason), then thilke governor [Brember] so forsaken," and fearing "his undoing for misrule in his time," endeavoured to hinder the election and procure a new one in favour of himself; and then burst out the insurrection, or in the poet's words, "mokyl roar areared." The result shows how deeply he was himself concerned. After the "roar" had been quelled by a large armed body, under Sir Robert Knolles, on the part of the king, and Sir Nicholas Brember once more unduly installed in the chair, proceedings commenced against the principal leaders of the defeated party. Of these we find only two names mentioned—John of Northampton's, who was committed to confinement in Corfe Castle, and thence removed to Carisbrook Castle whilst preparations for his trial were made, and Chaucer's, against whom similar process was commenced, but who, knowing the men with whom he had to deal, fled to Zealand. There he seems to have suffered much distress, and chiefly through the conduct of some of those with whom he had been connected in the business of the election. In 1386 he ventured to return to London, where he received a mark of the public approbation of his conduct by his being elected a member of parliament for Kent. It may have been this very election which determined the government not to overlook his former conduct, and so to get rid of a man whose abilities they must have dreaded; for it appears that he was arrested in the latter part of the same year, sent to the Tower, and deprived of the offices he held, namely, the Comptrollership of the Customs in the Port of London and the comptrollership of the small customs. Touchingly beautiful are his laments over his sad estate at this time. Having alluded to the delicious hours he was wont to spend enjoying the blissful seasons, and contrasted them with his penance in the dark prison, cut off from friendship and acquaintances, "forsaken of all that any word dare speak" for him, he continues: "Although I had little, in respect [comparison] among others great and worthy, yet had I a fair parcel, as methought for the time, in furthering of my sustenance; and had riches sufficient to waive need; and had dignity to be reverenced in worship; power methought that I had to keep from mine enemies; and meseemed to shine in glory of renown. Every one of those joys is turned into his contrary: for riches, now have I poverty; for dignity, now am I imprisoned: instead of power, wretchedness I suffer; and for glory of renown, I am now despised and fully hated." He was set at liberty in 1389, though not, it is said, until he had purchased freedom by dishonourable disclosures as to his former associates: the whole subject, however, is too much enveloped in mystery for us to venture on any unfavourable decision; we can only be sure of the important fact, that no one suffered in consequence of Chaucer's liberation.

Ascending the steps opposite the entrance into the Hall, which lead to the other parts of the building, we find the room known as the court of aldermen, having a rich and elaborate ceiling in stucco, divided into compartments, the principal of them containing paintings by Sir James Thornhill. The cornice of the room consists of a series of carved and painted arms of all the Mayors since

1780. The apartment, as its name tells us, is used for the sittings of the Court of Aldermen, who in judicial matters form the bench of magistrates for the metropolis, and in their more directly corporate capacity try the validity of ward elections and of claims to freedom, who admit and swear brokers, superintend prisons, order prosecutions, and perform a variety of other analogous duties: a descent, certainly, from the high position of the ancient eorculdmen, or superior Saxon nobility, from whom they derive their name and partly their functions. They were called "barons" down to the time of Henry I., if, as is probable, the latter term in the charter of that king refers to the Aldermen. A striking proof of the high rank and importance of the individuals so designated is to be found in the circumstance that the wards of London of which they were aldermen were, in some cases, at least, their own heritable property, and as such bought and sold, or transferred under particular circumstances. Thus the aldermanry of a ward was purchased, in 1279, by William Faryngdon, who gave it his own name, and in whose family it remained upwards of 80 years; and, in another case, the Knighten Guild having given the lands and soke of what is now called Portsoken ward to Trinity Priory, the Prior became, in consequence, Alderman, and so the matter remained in Stow's time, who beheld the Prior of his day riding in procession with the Mayor and Aldermen, only distinguished from them by wearing a purple instead of a scarlet gown. As to the present constitution of the body, it may be briefly described as follows: each of the twenty-six wards into which the city is divided elects one alderman, with the exception of Cripplegate-Within and Cripplegate-Without, which together send but one; add to these an alderman for Southwark, or, as it is sometimes called, Bridge Ward-Without, and we have the entire number of 26, including the Mayor. They are elected for life at ward-motes, by such householders as are at the same time freemen, and paying not less than 30*s.* per annum to the local taxes. The fine for the rejection of the office is 500*l.* Generally speaking, the aldermen consist of those persons who, as common-councilmen, have won the good opinions of their fellows, and who are presumed to be fitted for the higher offices to which they as aldermen are liable, the Shrievalty and the Mayoralty. Leaving the Court of Aldermen for the Council Chamber, towards which we now advance through an elegant corridor, we find ourselves surrounded by the chief artistical treasures of the Corporation. Before we notice these we may conclude our sketch of the component parts of the latter, with a few words on the Common Council and the general body from which they are chosen. The members of the Council are elected by the same class as the aldermen, but in very varying—and in comparison with the size and importance of the wards—inconsequential numbers. Bassishaw and Lime Street wards have the smallest representation,—4 members, and those of Farringdon-Within and Without the largest, namely 16 and 17. The entire number of the Council is 240. Their meetings are held under the presidency of the Lord Mayor; and the Aldermen have also the right of being present. The other chief officers of the municipality, as the Recorder, Chamberlain, Judges of the Sheriffs Courts, Common Sergeant, the four City Pleaders, Town Clerk, &c., &c., also attend. Of the functions of the Council it will be only necessary to observe, that it is the legislative body of the Corporation, and in that capacity enjoys an unusual degree of power, such as that of making important alterations in the constitution of the

latter, that it dispenses the funds, manages the landed property, has the care of the bridges and of the Thames Navigation, with many other powers and trusts. "In the earliest times," say the Corporation commissioners, the words *Commune Concilium* appear to have been applied sometimes to the whole body of citizens, sometimes to the Magistracy (that is, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen), or the Magistracy and Sheriffs. In the reign of Henry III. a Folkmote seems to have been summoned to meet the Magistracy three or four times in the year, and on special occasions."* We have already seen that the election of the Mayor was claimed by the citizens generally; and altogether it seems evident, that in the Saxon time the *folkmote*, as the meeting of the entire body of people in the open air was called, or the husting or common hall, when within-doors, exercised the most important functions of local government. And although these rights were placed in abeyance during the first shock of the Conquest, they were again claimed and made the subject of frequent struggles, similar to that in which Chaucer was engaged, as reviving peace and prosperity afforded opportunities.

From the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, we descend to the Livery and the freemen, from which, step by step, the former have risen. Until of late years, the only path to freedom was through the halls of the companies (the ancient guilds), and they, in effect, still form the true base of the civic structure. As we shall devote an early number to them, we need only here observe that the Livery, of whom we hear so much, are favoured portions of the general body of freemen in each company, who possess the right of electing the Mayor, Sheriffs, Chamberlain, and other municipal officers, who form, in a word, the Common Hall of the present day. Glancing back over the general features of the entire corporate body, the analogy frequently pointed out between the national and the civic parliament appears no idle dream, such as we may fancy to have visited the slumbers of some ambitious aldermanic brain, but strikingly true, clear, and interesting. We perceive an elective head, as the sovereign once was elective, a comparatively irresponsible, and at a certain period—when, indeed, the very same parties probably sat as barons in both parliaments—hereditary second estate, and a Commons representing, or professing to represent, the citizens or the people. To carry it still farther, as Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council sit in one chamber, so sat the component parts of the national parliament when it first began to assume its present form; as the parliamentary constituencies really form but a fraction of the people, so do the Livery stand towards the general body of the citizens. But the most interesting result of the comparison is one that, we suspect, does not altogether agree with the popular view of the subject—that the lesser apes the greater: when municipal government in England was in its freest, most energetic, and most flourishing condition, parliaments, in any just sense of the term as applicable to their existing constitutions and powers, were unknown. In short, of our original local government, "enough is discoverable to show most clearly that it had never been moulded by a central authority, but that, on the contrary, the central authority had been, as it were, built upon the broad basis of a free municipal organization."†

* Report, p. 35.

† Article, Boroughs of England and Wales, 'Penny Cyclopædia.

The scene of these united assemblages owes little of its interest to its beauty or splendour. One would think, from the dingy appearance of the crimson lining of the walls, and the paltry matting of the floor, that the place belonged to the poorest rather than to the richest of municipalities, did not the numerous, and in some instances well-known, works of art around the walls, chiefly the productions of corporate patronage, show that it possessed no stinted exchequer. The sculpture consists of a full-length white marble statue of George III., by Chantrey, placed in a niche of a bluish-grey colour at the back of the seat of mayoralty, and of some busts, one of them Granville Sharpe's, also by Chantrey, and one of Nelson, by the lady sculptor, the Hon. Mrs. Damer, who so worshipped its subject, that after the hero of the Nile had sat to her, she not only "loved to relate the conversations which she had with her 'Napoleon of the waves,' " but "it was one of her favourite ideas to form a little book of his sayings and remarks, for the use of her young relative, the son of Sir Alexander Johnston." * Among the pictures are Northcote's 'Death of Wat Tyler,' Copley's 'Siege of Gibraltar,' Opie's 'Murder of David Rizzio,' with some interesting portraits by Sir W. Beechey, Sir T. Lawrence, Copley, and Opie; of which Alderman Boydell's, by Beechey, may be particularised for the sake of the public-spirited man to whose generous and enlightened zeal art owes so much. One feature of the collection is curious—the number of representations connected with Gibraltar: there are no less than three 'Defences,' and all by "R. Paton, Esq."

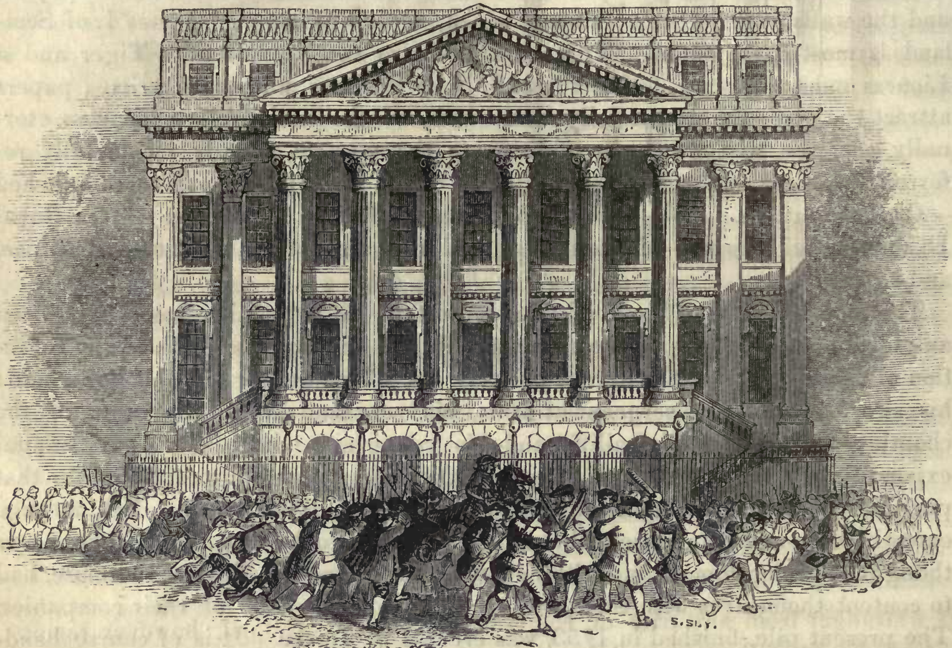
The other noticeable portions of Guildhall are the Old Court of King's Bench, the Chamberlain's Office, and the Waiting or Reading Room. In the first (where, among other pictures, is a pair of classical subjects—Minerva, by Westall, and Apollo washing his locks in the Castalian fountains, by Gavin Hamilton), the greater portion of the judicial business of the Corporation is carried on: that business, as a whole, comprising in its civil jurisdiction, first, the Court of Hustings, the supreme court of record in London, and which is frequently resorted to in outlawry and other cases where an expeditious judgment is desired; secondly, the Lord Mayor's Court, which has cognizance of all personal and mixed actions at common law, which is a court of equity, and also a criminal court in matters pertaining to the Customs of London; and thirdly, the Sheriff's Court, which has a common-law jurisdiction only: we may add that the jurisdiction of both courts is confined to the City and Liberties, or, in other words, to those portions of incorporated London, known respectively in corporate language as Within the walls, and Without. The criminal jurisdiction includes the London Sessions, held generally eight times a-year, with the Recorder as the acting Judge, for the trial of felonies, &c.; the Southwark Sessions, held in Southwark four times a-year; and the eight Courts of Conservancy of the River. Passing into the Chamberlain's Office, we find a portrait of Mr. Thomas Tomkins, by Reynolds; and if it be asked, who is Mr. Thomas Tomkins, we have only to say, in the words of the inscription on another great man—Look around! All these beautifully written and emblazoned duplicates of the honorary Freedoms and Thanks voted by the City, some sixty or more, we believe, in number, are the sole production of him, who, we regret to say, is the *late* Mr. Thomas Tomkins. The duties of the Chamberlain are numerous: among them, the

* Cunningham's 'British Sculptors,' p. 263.

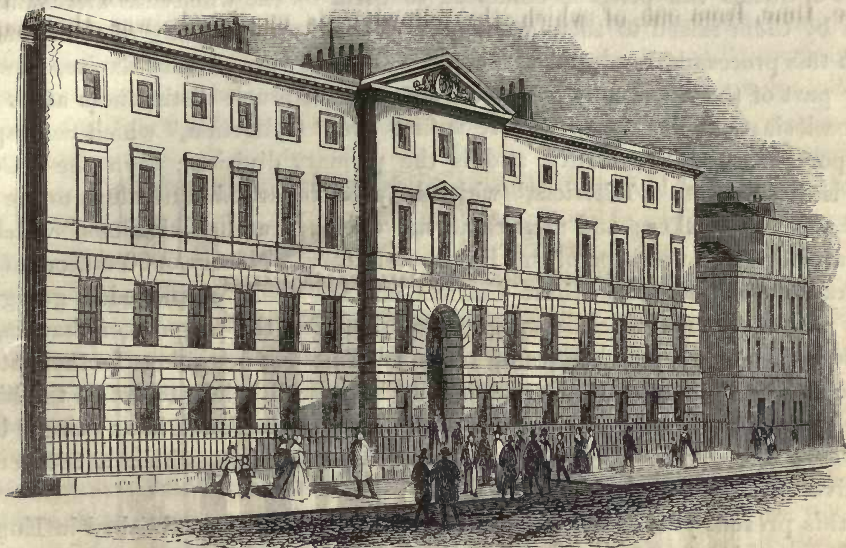
most worthy of mention, perhaps, are the admission, on oath, of freemen (till of late years averaging in number one thousand a-year); the determining quarrels between masters and apprentices (Hogarth's prints of the Idle and Industrious Apprentices are the first things you see within the door); and lastly, the Treasurership, in which department enormous sums of money pass through his hands. In 1832, the latest year for which we have any authenticated statement, the corporate receipts, derived chiefly from rents, dues, and market tolls, amounted to 160,193*l.* 11*s.* 8*d.*; and the expenditure to somewhat more. The Waiting Room is a small but comfortable apartment, with the table covered with newspapers, and the walls with pictures; among which, Opie's Murder of James I. of Scotland is most conspicuous. There are here also two Studies of a Tiger and a Lioness and her Young, by Northcote. Near the door, numerous written papers attract the eye—the useful daily memoranda of the multifarious business eternally going on, and which, in addition to the matters already incidentally referred to, point out one of the modes in which that business is accomplished—the Committees. We read of appointments for the Committee of the Royal Exchange—of Sewers—of Corn, Coal, and Finance—of Navigation—of Police, and so on.

The personal state of the head of so important an institution has always been an object of solicitude with the citizens. In his dignity they beheld the reflection of theirs. Hence the almost princely list of officers forming his household: his sword-bearer, his sergeant-at-arms, his sergeant-carver, sergeants of the chamber, his esquires, his bailiffs, and his young men: hence his heavy annual expenditure, which is expected to exceed the ordinary sum appropriated for that purpose, amounting to nearly 8000*l.*, by 3000*l.* or 4000*l.* more. Yet, strange enough, with such a household and such a sum to be expended, they never thought of giving him a house till the last century; and the Mayors, therefore, had to content themselves with their own, or to borrow the halls of their companies. The present pile, finished in 1753, was erected by Dance. It is of course handsomely fitted up, and the plate, used on all important occasions, is valued at above 20,000*l.* The Justice Room is immediately on the left of the chief entrance. A very interesting part of the business here is a remnant of a valuable old custom, which seems to show that the idea of a court of reconciliation is by no means a novelty in this country, though never fully developed. In this court private applications are continually made to the Mayor, for his advice and arbitration, and, we understand, with very beneficial results. The banquets which are here from time to time given, of a public character, as those to the chief members of the Government, or of a more private kind, as to the corporation, take place in the Egyptian Hall, an apartment of great size, with a detached range of large pillars, with gilded capitals, on each side, an ornamented roof in panels, and a throne for his lordship—the whole brilliantly illuminated by chandeliers. A long and very handsome corridor leads to the Hall, from which, near the centre, branch off the passages to the private apartments. As to the pictures, busts, and statues, which should give to all such mansions their principal charm, there is here a melancholy blank. What an opportunity for some new Boydell; what a rich gallery of civic historical portraiture might not be summoned at the call of the enchanter to people these now desolate walls. The

Mansion House itself, as a building only a century old, can hardly be expected to have much historical interest attached to it. The most important event its annals can yet boast is, perhaps, the Wilkes riots, of which, during the mayoralty of Wilkes's friend, Brass Crosby, the neighbourhood—as shown in the prints of the time, from one of which the following is engraved—was the frequent scene.




[The Mansion House, 1771.]



[Excise Office, Broad Street.]

# CVII.—THE EXCISE OFFICE.

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If a stranger from any part of England, Scotland, or Ireland, however remote, were to pause in the midst of Broad Street, and inquire to what purpose that large pile of building opposite to him were appropriated, he would, ten to one, on learning that it was the Excise Office, have a livelier idea of the operations of the Board of Revenue, which has its seat there, than the inhabitant of London, provided that neither had been brought into direct contact with its officers by the nature of his business. In the country the officer of Excise, or the exciseman, as we may more familiarly call him, is often seen hurrying through the same hamlets and pleasant lanes, often at untimely hours, on errands which seem half mysterious. In London nobody ever sees an exciseman, except those who are in the habit of receiving him as an official visitor, and to many the only representative of the existence of such a tax as the Excise is the great building in Broad Street. The forces by which it levies some millions a-year for the Exchequer are as invisible to them as the officers of another department—the Stamps. The Post Office sends forth its emissaries, every hour, through the streets of the metropolis, and there is now scarcely any person who has not the satisfaction of contributing at least a few pence annually to this department of the revenue; but it is only a limited number who personally have dealings with the Board of Stamps and Taxes, or with the Customs and Excise. The latter is by far the most pervading part of the taxing system, except the Post Office. One-half of the Customs'

duty of the United Kingdom is collected in the port of London, and two-thirds of it are obtained in the two ports of London and Liverpool. The great mass of inland dealers in articles of foreign produce, although they well know that by means of duties the price is enhanced to them by the wholesale merchant, and again by them raised to their customers, yet they see nothing of the agency by which this process is rendered necessary. In the case of the Excise, however, every part of the country is parcelled out with as much distinctness as its legal and ecclesiastical divisions. There is first the "Collection," which corresponds in importance with the county, and is the primary division; then the "Collection" is divided into "Districts," which may be regarded equivalent to the hundreds and wapentakes; and next come the "Rides" and "Divisions," which are the parishes and townships of the Excise territory. Nearly 5000 officers of various grades are stationed in these districts, and are busily employed in going over every part of the one which is assigned to them, for the purpose of charging the Excise duties on various classes of traders. But before going further into the nature and operations of the Excise, it may be as well briefly to notice the history of the system, more especially as this is not easily to be found in any single book; and where it is given, the facts are stated with a brevity which is not very instructive.

In this present year, 1843, duties of Excise have been established in England exactly a couple of centuries. Clarendon states that an attempt was made to introduce these duties in 1626; and Prynne gives the following account of the matter in a small tract published in 1654, entitled, "A Declaration and Protestation against the illegal and detestable, and oft-contemned new Tax and Extortion of Excise in general, and for Hops, a Native and uncertain commodity in particular." He states that, "Our late beheaded King Charles," by the advice of the Duke of Buckingham and other evil counsellors, granted a Commission under the Great Seal to thirty-three Lords and others of the Privy Council, to set on foot an Excise in England. The production of the Commission was moved for in Parliament, and on its being brought before the House, a debate took place, which ended in an unanimous vote as to the scheme being contrary to the Constitution. A conference with the Lords subsequently took place on the subject, in which Sir Edward Coke, on the part of the Commons, took a principal part. He described it as "Monstrum, horrendum, informe, ingens," descanting upon each of these strong terms; "Yet, blessed be God," he added, 'cui lumen ademptum,'—"whose eyes were pulled out by the Commons," which he hoped their Lordships would second before the monster was fully brought forth to consume and devour the nation. Eventually the King cancelled the Commission, and for a time the matter was dropped.

In 1641, when the struggle between the Parliament and the King was becoming one of life and death, and each party required all the means it could command to carry on the contest, the Parliament still set their faces against raising a revenue from Excise duties; and, in October, 1641, published a contradiction to the rumour that they intended to levy such duties. The entry on the Journals of the House, under this date, is as follows:—"The Commons House of Parliament, receiving information that divers public rumours and aspersions are by malignant persons cast upon this House, that they intend to assess every man's

pewter, and lay Excises upon that and other commodities, the said House, for their vindication, do declare that these rumours are false and scandalous; and forasmuch as those false rumours and scandals are raised by ill-affected persons, and tend much to the disservice of the Parliament, it is therefore ordered that the authors of these false, scandalous rumours shall be searched and enquired after, and apprehended and brought to this House to receive condign punishment." As their necessities became greater, however, they were obliged to resort to the much-condemned impost. On July 22, 1643, an ordinance of the Lords and Commons was issued for the speedy raising and levying of monies "by way of Excise, or new impost," for the maintenance of the forces raised by Parliament, "until it shall please Almighty God, in his mercy, to move the King's Majesty's heart to confide and concur with both his Houses of Parliament for the establishing of a blessed and lasting peace." It was further ordained, "for the better levying of the monies hereby to be raised, that an office from henceforth be erected and appointed in the City of London, to be called or known by the name of the Office of Excise, or new impost, whereof there shall be eight Commissioners to govern the same, and one of them to be treasurer, with several registrars, collectors, clerks, and other subordinate officers," as the Commissioners may determine. Of the eight Commissioners appointed, three were Aldermen of the City, and another was one of the Sheriffs of London. The office which they established was open from eight in the morning to eleven, and from two till five in the afternoon; and it was placed under the cognizance of a Committee of the Lords and Commons, appointed for advance of money, which sat at Haberdashers' Hall. The Commissioners of Excise were empowered to call in the aid of the trained bands, volunteers, or other forces, if necessary. The first articles in the list of duties were ale, beer, cider, and perry. The brewers were required to enter weekly, in the new office, the quantity of beer sold, the names of the buyers, and were not to deliver any beer without first obtaining a ticket from the new Excise Office. The duty on strong ale or beer, of the value of 8*s.* the barrel, was 2*s.* if sold to the retailers, and 1*s.* if for private use. Private families, who brewed, paid a duty also. An Excise duty was also imposed, at the same time, on wine and certain groceries, on wrought silks, furs, hats, lace, and one or two other articles. The Royalists at Oxford soon followed the example of the Parliament, and adopted the new system of taxation, but they also declared that it should only be continued during the war. Although the people of London were so favourable to the Parliament, the new Excise Duty created riots in London, and the populace burnt down the Excise House in Smithfield; and Pymm, who is called by Blackstone the father of the Excise, in a letter to Sir John Hotham, remarks, that it would "be necessary to use the people to it by little and little." The Parliament, however, went the length of subjecting meat and salt to the new tax, but they, some time afterwards, abolished it on these articles. A Declaration of Parliament was made in 1646, "upon occasion of tumults and great riots, which then, lately before, had happened, and were privily fomented in several parts of the kingdom against the receipts of the Excise;" and it was upon this occasion that they observed that as "this duty is by experience found to be the most easy and equal way, both in relation to the people and the public, so the Lords and Commons are resolved, through all opposition whatsoever, to insist upon the due collection thereof;" but they pro-

mise, when the peace of the kingdom is settled, to show "how much more ready they are to ease the people of this charge than they ever could be willing to impose the same." For the present the people were enjoined to pay the duties to officers appointed to receive the same in each hundred or wapentake; the civil force was called upon to assist them; and "Sir Thomas Fairfax, general of the whole forces of the kingdom, is hereby desired to order and enjoin all colonels, captains, officers, and soldiers, under his command, upon application made to them, speedily to suppress all such tumults, riots, and unlawful assemblies" as those which had called forth the Declaration. The opposition to the Excise does not appear to have diminished much by the repeal of the duty on salt and meat. There were still frequent riots, the people being very averse to await with patience the time for taking off the others, although the Parliament stated in their Declaration that they could not at present take off further duties, and that, "in consequence of the Excise being pledged for debts, they must require its payment." Allusion is then made to "malcontents," who gave out that the charge of collection was so great that "half the receipt and income were consumed upon officers." This the Lords and Commons deny, and "assure the kingdom that until the late obstructions and oppositions, the charge in collecting the Excise hath never amounted, upon the whole receipt, to full two shillings upon every twenty shillings received." They then point out the various important public objects to which the Excise revenue (1,334,532*l.*) had been applied, and "to no private use whatever;" while on the credit of this revenue various debts, they said, were pledged, "which must be discharged before this receipt can in justice or honour be laid down." In the party pamphlets of this period neither of the two great parties could fairly attempt to raise a popular clamour against its opponents on account of the Excise. It is true that, in the early part of his reign, Charles I. was compelled to abandon his Excise scheme, and in one of his declarations he charged Parliament with imposing odious excises upon their fellow-subjects; yet stern necessity obliged him to resort to them as well as the Parliament. Nevertheless the Royalist pamphlets endeavoured to show that the Excise was a scheme of the Republicans, and, like all other obnoxious taxes, it brought upon the Government for the time being, for whose use it was paid, a full share of odium. In 1649 a scurrilous pamphlet appeared, purporting to be written by 'Mary Stiff, charwoman,' entitled 'The Good Women's Cryes against the Excise on all their Commodities.' It is printed as prose, but written in doggrel rhyme, and in not very decent language, and sufficiently shows the nature of the popular outcry against the tax.

One of the earliest financial measures of the Government, after the Restoration, was the abolition of the Excise on all articles of consumption, except ale, beer, cyder, and perry, which produced a clear annual revenue of 666,383*l.* These duties were divided into two equal portions, called the Hereditary and the Temporary Excise. The first was granted to the Crown for ever, as a compensation for the abolition by act of Parliament of various feudal tenures,—as the court of wards, and purveyance, and other oppressive parts of the royal hereditary revenue. The other half was only granted for the life of the king. On the accession of James II., Parliament granted him for life the Temporary Excise, and increased it by additional duties on wines, vinegar, tobacco, and sugar, which,

however, were only retained for a short period. The Government of the Revolution would gladly have made itself popular by abolishing the more obnoxious of the Excise duties, but its necessities would not allow of such a course. The duty on glass and on malt was first imposed in William's reign, and the distilleries were subjected to Excise duties as well as the brewers. The salt duty was reimposed, and the duty on ale and beer increased, the latter producing an addition of 450,000*l.* a-year to the revenue. During the thirteen years of the reign of William III. the Excise duties averaged nearly a million a-year. The expensive wars of Anne's reign rendered it necessary still further to increase the number of articles subject to Excise, and duties were imposed on paper, stained-paper, and soap. This branch of revenue produced an average of 1,738,000*l.* during the twelve years of her reign. The produce of the Excise, during the peaceable reign of George I., averaged 2,340,000*l.* per annum, with no addition to the number of excisable articles, except a small duty on wrought plate.

The Excise still remained the most obnoxious branch of the public revenue. The laws for its protection were very severe, and no other tax so constantly and inconveniently interfered with the trading classes, or excited so wide-spread a prejudice; for the unpopularity of the duties on importation was chiefly confined to the towns on the coast, but the Excise laws were felt by persons in every corner of the country. It was a current opinion of the political writers of the day, in which Locke and Davenant had been deceived, that taxes of every description fell ultimately upon the land; and this is a point of importance in the consideration of Sir Robert Walpole's attempts to introduce his great scheme for extending the Excise. He had Land and Trade against him, and was baffled by the most violent and ignorant burst of popular clamour which it was ever the fate of a minister to encounter. A short notice of Walpole's scheme will not, perhaps, be unacceptable to those who take an interest in the history of finance; and the reception it met with is also exceedingly characteristic of the times. At that period the fiscal laws of the country were daily outraged in the most open and daring manner. The highwaymen, who pursued their occupation with impunity on all the roads leading to London, had their counterpart in the desperate class of men who carried on the trade of smugglers along the coast, murdering the officers of the revenue, setting fire to custom-houses, and riding in armed gangs of twenty or more, within half a dozen miles of London, on the banks of the Thames. A committee of the House of Commons, appointed in 1732 to inquire into the frauds and abuses committed in the Customs, and which did not complete its task, reported that since Christmas, 1723, a period of nine years, the smuggling of tea and brandy had been conducted openly and audaciously, that the number of custom-house officers beaten and abused amounted to 250, and six had been murdered. In the same period 251,320 lbs. of tea and 652,924 gallons of brandy had been seized and condemned, and upwards of 2000 persons prosecuted; and 229 boats and other vessels had been condemned. Owing either to the adroitness of the smugglers or the corruption of the revenue officers, only 2808 hogsheads of wine had been condemned in these nine years; but the number "run" in Hampshire, Dorsetshire, and Devonshire was 4738; and informations had been entered against 400 persons. The sense of honour amongst the mercantile classes of that day was at a low point. It was proved before the

committee in question that by perjury, forgery, and the grossest collusion, the revenue was frequently defrauded to the amount of a third of the duty on tobacco; and that in the port of London a loss of 100,000*l.* per annum was sustained by the dishonest manner in which the drawback on re-exportation was obtained, which in some cases exceeded the sum originally received by government. When Walpole introduced his plan, on the 15th of March, 1733, for the correction of these abuses, he held in his hand a book which had belonged to a tobacco-merchant in the City, shewing one of the modes of defrauding the government by collusion with officers of the revenue. False quantities were entered at the times of importation, and this column was covered by a slip of paper artfully pasted down, on which were written the real quantities. The import duties were paid on the first or false quantity, and the drawback obtained on the real quantity; and, of course, the one amount was larger than the other, and the government was defrauded to the extent of the difference. In the case which the minister quoted, the merchant obtained in each case a drawback to nearly twice the amount of what he had actually paid duty for upon importation. Another variety of fraud in the tobacco trade was that of receiving the drawback for exportation and then re-landing it. A great trade was carried on in this way with Guernsey, Jersey, the Isle of Man, and the ports of Dunkirk, Ostend, &c. Besides persons apparently respectable, and custom-house officers, who were engaged in plundering the revenue, watermen, lightermen, and City-porters called gangsmen, were equally active in "socking,"—a cant term then in use for stealing tobacco from ships in the river. This practice was discovered in 1728; and it appeared that fifty tons of tobacco had been "socked" on board ships and on the quays, and deposited in houses from London Bridge to Woolwich, in the course of one year. One hundred and fifty custom-house officers were dismissed for participating in these frauds, and several of them were prosecuted at the expense of government. In mentioning this circumstance, Walpole observed, "And it is not a little remarkable, when we recollect the professions of patriotism, virtue, and disinterestedness which are now so copiously poured forth, that not a single merchant, though the facts were so notorious and shameful, assisted the state, either by information or pecuniary exertion, to suppress the fraud or bring the delinquents to punishment."

The plan of the minister for the correction of these abuses was, to benefit the fair trader by putting down his unprincipled competitors, and to improve the revenue without the addition of new duties. Conceiving that the laws of the Customs were insufficient to prevent fraud, there being only one check—that at the time of importation—he proposed that tobacco should be subject to the laws of the Excise as well as those of the Customs. While the total duty would not be increased, the Customs duty was to be only three-farthings the pound, and he added:—"I propose for the future that all tobacco, after being weighed at the Custom-house, and charged with the said three-farthings per pound, shall be lodged in a warehouse or warehouses, to be appointed by the Commissioners of Excise, of which warehouse the merchant-importer shall have one lock and key, and the warehouse-keeper to be appointed by the said commissioners shall have another, that the tobacco may lie safe in that warehouse till the merchant finds a market for it, either for exportation or home consumption." If he sold for

exportation, the quantity, after being re-weighed, was discharged of the Customs duty of three-farthings; and if for home consumption, he paid also the same duty, and on delivering it to the buyer, an inland duty of fourpence to the proper officer appointed to receive the same. This is precisely, in in its main features, the admirable principle of the present warehousing system; but in vain did Sir Robert Walpole urge the merits of his plan, and plead for it "as a most innocent scheme, hurtful to none but smugglers and unfair traders." In vain did he assert and demonstrate, with great clearness, that his measure would increase the revenue, and "tend to make London a free port, and, by consequence, the market of the world." The alarm had been thoroughly sounded from one end of the country to the other, even before the minister brought forth his project; and when his intentions were only surmised the country was lashed into such a state of blind fury that it seemed to have lost its common sense on this occasion. Ballads were printed and sung about the streets, with a wood-cut of a dragon with several heads at the top. This monster drew a chariot, in which sat a portly person (Walpole), receiving large sums of gold which issued from one of the mouths of the beast. A tobacconist set up a new device on his paper, of three wooden shoes on a shield, with an exciseman and a grenadier, as supporters. According to the *Craftsman*,* the terms used in the game of Quadrille were changed, and to be "beested' was to be excised, while one sort of card was called the Projector (Walpole), and others, Commissioners; and so, it states, the humour ran through the town. The same violent partizan manufactured a story of a lady having been robbed of two guineas only out of ten, by a highwayman, whose politeness rather astonishing her, she had courage enough to express her surprise; on which he said, "Madam, I rob like a gentleman! I assure you I do not belong to the 'Projector;' I am none of his gang." On the 15th of March, when Walpole introduced his new measure, "not only the members solicited the attendance of their friends, but letters were delivered by the beadles and other officers in the parishes and wards of the city, to induce a numerous party to assemble at the doors and in the avenues to the House, in order to overawe the proceedings of the legislature."† Deputies from the provincial towns had been sent to London to oppose the measure, and the corporations throughout the country were very generally active for the same object. The newspapers of the day state, that on the 15th "a vast number of eminent merchants and traders appeared in the Court of Requests' lobby, and places contiguous to the House of Commons, to solicit against the excise." The debate was maintained with great spirit until two o'clock in the morning—an hour then very unusual, and on a division, there voted with the minister 266, against 205. As Sir Robert left the house some of the exasperated people outside attempted to do him some personal injury, but were prevented by the interference of his son, and his friend General Churchill. Several divisions took place in subsequent stages of the Bill, and the ministerial majority dwindled from 61 to 17. A private meeting was now summoned by Sir Robert of the principal members who had supported the Bill, at which he was urged to proceed with the measure,

* 'The Craftsman,' a weekly newspaper, commenced in 1727, as the organ of the country party. It was written with great spirit, and some of the opposition leaders occasionally contributed to it.

† Coxe's 'Life of Sir R. Walpole,' vol. iii. p. 81.

notwithstanding the violence of the opposition both from within and without. Walpole is reported to have said that, "in the present inflamed temper of the people the Act could not be carried into execution, without an armed force; and there will be an end of the liberty of England, if supplies are to be raised by the sword;" and he would, he said, resign rather than enforce taxes at the expense of blood. On the 11th of April, when the Bill stood for a second reading, he moved that it should be postponed to the 12th of June, or, in other words, he abandoned his scheme. The Wine Bill, a measure of similar character, was never brought in. No great national victory could be hailed with such exuberant triumph as that with which the country greeted the defeat of the minister's "monster project."

This defeat was celebrated in London the same evening by bonfires, illuminations, ringing of bells, and other public demonstrations of joy throughout the whole city: the Monument was illuminated. The demonstrations in the provinces were, if possible, still more fervent. The rejection of a great measure would now be known at such a place as Bristol by midnight, or within five hours after the event had been announced; but, in 1733, the news of the dropping of the tobacco bill was brought to that city by an express which arrived at eleven o'clock the following night. The merchants knocked at each other's doors to announce the good news; bonfires were lighted in the streets, one of large size opposite the Excise-office; at two in the morning the bells of the city-churches struck up a merry peal, and continued ringing all that day and even on the Saturday; barrels of ale were also given away in the streets; and two effigies were burnt, probably the one representing the prime minister and the other an exciseman. The "courier" for Liverpool with the good news passed through Coventry on Thursday, "when the joy that immediately appeared in every countenance was inexpressible, and demonstrated itself by ringing of bells, bonfires, and illuminations, with the sound of trumpets, drums, and French horns, *warming-pans*, and everything that could make a noise, while healths went briskly round to all the honest (?) gentlemen that were against the excise." At Liverpool, the day on which the news arrived (Friday, 13th April) was spent "in ringing of bells, wearing of gilt cockades on leaf tobacco, under which was written 'No Excise;' ships' colours were displayed, and those of the Exchange, and guns fired in honour of the glorious 204." Effigies were burnt both at Coventry and Liverpool. At Southampton, also, "*somebody* was carried round the town in effigy, and then thrown into the fire." At Chester, where messengers with the intelligence arrived on the 13th, there were lighted "the greatest number of bonfires ever known in the city:" one opposite the recorder's was kept in for five days. A great ball was given, and the Exchange was illuminated by 204 candles, being the number of the worthy gentlemen who had opposed the obnoxious measure. From Lewes, the *Craftsman* received a private letter which began by saying: "No news (newspapers, we suppose, are meant) come to this place, but we are glad to hear from private accounts that the old English spirit still appears for the preservation of our liberties and properties." At Rye, most probably a great stronghold of smugglers, "every one expressed an insuperable delight in being happily rescued from further excises and *wooden shoes*." At Cambridge there were great rejoicings, but Cambridge was far outshone by

Oxford. The rampant proceedings at the latter university on the defeat of the minister sufficiently indicate that political hatred of the most violent kind was the chief motive of the leaders of the opposition, and truly they had a superfluity of ignorance and prejudice at their command, such as does not often glad the feelings of political bigotry. At Oxford, says Archdeacon Coxe, in his 'Life of Walpole,' "the gownsmen joined and encouraged the mob, Jacobinical cries resounded through the town, and three days passed in this disgraceful manner before the Vice-chancellor and proctors could restore tranquillity."

Walpole remained undismayed amidst this political storm, and so far from being disgraced, as was fondly anticipated by his opponents, the king dismissed several persons who had deserted the ministerial ranks. The Earl of Chesterfield was deprived of the office of Lord Steward of the Household two days after the Excise-bill was abandoned, and his dismissal was followed by that of five other peers who held official situations. Lord Cobham and the Duke of Bolton were deprived of their regiments, and the friends of the minister were appointed to several of the vacant posts. The king's speech, on closing the session, alluded to "the wicked endeavours that have lately been made use of to inflame the minds of the people, and, by the most unjust misrepresentation, to raise tumults and disorders that almost threatened the peace of the kingdom." The extravagant ideas of liberty and of their own superiority over all other people which were entertained at this period by the English are quietly satirised by Goldsmith's 'Chinese Philosopher,' who listened to a conversation carried on between a debtor through the gate of his prison, a porter, and a soldier, the subject being an apprehended invasion from France. The prisoner feared that liberty, the Englishman's prerogative, would be endangered if the French were to conquer. The soldier with an oath exclaims that it would not so much be our liberties as our religion that would suffer, and the porter terms the French a pack of slaves fit only to carry burdens. Andrew Marvell, Blackstone, and Johnson were great vilifiers of the Excise. Marvell describes it as "a hateful tax;" Blackstone, writing in 1765, says that "from its first original to the present time its very name has been odious to the people of England," and the great lexicographer's definition is well known.* The Excise laws have been so injudiciously framed, and in many instances rendered so unnecessarily vexatious, that they have, in consequence, obtained more than their due share of the discredit which attaches generally to all taxes. Above six hundred acts of Parliament for enforcing Excise regulations are a trap to even the fairest trader; and, at the best, it is no light evil to conduct manufacturing processes under a system of interference and regulation enforced by heavy penalties. While the Commissioners of Excise Inquiry give some instances of the prejudicial effects of such a system, they also point out the manner in which they may be diminished.

The Gin Act of 1736, an unwise and futile attempt to put down intemperance by a tax intended to make that liquor too dear for the poor, who solely or chiefly

* Mr. Croker, in his variorum edition of Boswell, shows that there is very good ground for believing that Johnson's inveterate hatred of the Excise had its origin in a prosecution against his father for some breach of their laws. Hence the terms in which he speaks of a Commissioner of Excise in the 'Idler,' and the scurrilous definition in the Dictionary. The latter was actually submitted by the Commissioners to counsel for an opinion as to its libellous character.—See Croker's 'Boswell.'

used it, is, at least, an instructive chapter in the history of Excise laws. Sir Joseph Jekyll, the Master of the Rolls, was the author of this Act, which raised the duty on gin and other spirituous liquors to twenty shillings the gallon, and required that only licensed dealers paying fifty pounds per annum for a license should be allowed to retail spirits. "No man could," says Lord Cholmondeley, "no man would observe the law; and it gave such a turn to the spirit of the people, that no man could, with safety, venture to become an informer." The Jacobites endeavoured, as usual, to turn the discontent of the people at this measure to their own profit, and serious fears were for a time entertained of an insurrection of the populace of London. Sir Robert Walpole, writing to his brother Horace on the 30th September, 1736, gives an account of these machinations. "The scheme that was laid was, for all the distillers that were able, to give away gratis, to all that should ask for it, as much gin and strong waters as they should desire, and the great distillers were to supply all the retailers and small shops with as much as they should want, to be distributed and given away in like manner. The shops were to begin to be opened on Tuesday evening, the eve of Michaelmas Day, and to be continued and repeated on Wednesday night, that the mob, being made thus drunk, might be prepared and ready to commit any sort of mischief; and in order to this, anonymous letters were sent to the distillers and town retailers in all parts of the town, to instruct them and incite them to rise and join their friends and do as their neighbours did." Several of these letters were placed in the hands of the government by the officers of Excise. As a means of prevention troops were paraded in the several places where the mob were likely to assemble. What follows is taken from the newspapers of the day. On Tuesday a large party of the Life Guards and Horse Grenadiers remained all night under arms in Covent Garden, and troops were stationed at the house of Sir Joseph Jekyll, the author of the obnoxious bill. On Wednesday various parts of London and Westminster were patrolled by the troops. Several persons were taken into custody for shouting "No gin, no king," and many others were lying about the streets dead drunk with "taking leave of Geneva." The '*Craftsman*' of October 9th says, that "Mother Gin died very quietly;" but the real struggle against the law was of a nature not to be put down by an armed force, and in the above paper of the same day it is remarked, "but though the common people are deprived of gin, there are various drams invented and sold at the gin-shops in lieu thereof, as sangaree, tow-row, cyder boiled with Jamaica pepper, &c." At several brandy-shops in High Holborn, St. Giles's, Thieving Lane, Tothill Street, Rosemary Lane, Whitechapel, Shoreditch, the Mint, and Kent Street, drams were sold under the following names:—Sangaree, tow-row, cuckold's comfort, parliament-gin, make-shift, the last shift, the ladies' delight, the baulk, King Theodore, or Corsica, and cholic and gripe waters. People carried spirits about the streets for sale in barrows, baskets, litters, &c. The apothecaries were allowed to sell spirits to sick persons; and on the first Saturday after the new act came into operation, the newspapers state that "several apothecaries' shops had so large a call for gripe and cholic waters, &c., by the poor sort of people, the masters were obliged to employ an additional number of hands in serving them." A person in St. James's Market sold drams coloured red in

bottles, and a paper about them with the following directions:—"Take two or three spoonsful of this four or five times a-day, or as often as the fit takes you." In a number of the '*Old Whig*' for Nov. 4, when the Act had been in operation about a month, it is stated that, "since the suppression of gin, the coarse pieces of beef, &c. have sold much better at the several markets about town than before; the lower class of people, being deprived of that liquor, have now good stomachs;" and the writer observes that "this must make meat cheaper generally, for if the coarse pieces fetch a price, the best pieces must be lowered." Some temporary effect of this kind might be produced at first, but the evasion of the Act soon became so extensive as to render its restrictions worse than useless. The number of offenders against the law was so great, that there were presently a number of informers, in spite of the personal hazard attending the occupation. They were pelted in the streets, and one of them was actually murdered by the populace. The newspapers of October 23rd announced that several apothecaries and chemists had been convicted, and had paid the penalty of 100*l.* for evading the Act. According to Lord Cholmondeley's speech, it appears that even magistrates endangered their safety in the execution of this law; and between intimidation and the expenses of prosecution, it became a dead letter, while the people were more than ever addicted to the use of ardent spirits. Before the Act was put in force, eight of the justices at Hicks' Hall made a report, which showed that within Westminster, Holborn, the Tower and Finsbury divisions, exclusive of London and Southwark, there were 7044 houses and shops in which spirituous liquors were sold, and this they believed to be short of the true number: they computed that there were not fewer than 20,000 such houses within the bills of mortality. At present the number of gin-shops in the metropolis, taking its limits in their widest sense, is under 6000, though the population has increased threefold. In 1742 the Gin Act was modified, after six years of vexatious and unprofitable trial, during two years of which period 2000 persons were convicted of offences against the law.

Above half a century elapsed after the defeat of Sir Robert Walpole's Excise scheme before any minister ventured again to enter upon the consideration of new Excise duties. Two at least of Mr. Pitt's predecessors had been afraid of proposing any fresh taxes of this nature; but he successfully carried measures of the very same nature as those which Walpole was compelled to abandon. In 1784 he imposed an Excise duty on bricks, and several classes of traders were compelled to take out licences; and in 1786 he proposed to transfer the greater part of the duty on foreign wines from the Customs to the Excise, as a means of preventing extensive frauds upon the revenue: for even allowing the consumption to have been only equal to what it was in 1750, the revenue suffered an annual loss of 280,000*l.* Walpole's scheme relating to tobacco would have rendered necessary an "army" of 126 additional excisemen: Mr. Pitt's plan respecting the wine-duty required an addition of 167 officers to the Excise establishment. The wine-merchants of London and their brethren in the country represented the difficulty, if not the impossibility, of subjecting wine to the Excise laws, and the danger of extending those laws; but a great change had taken place in the public mind in the course of half a century, and the people remained per-

fectly quiescent. Six divisions took place on the bill, but the minority never exceeded 38. In order to put an end to the smuggling of tobacco, by which the revenue sustained a loss of 300,000*l.* a-year (out of 12 million lbs. consumed 5 millions were smuggled), the same minister proposed in 1789 to transfer the greater part of the duty from the Customs to the Excise, and, of course, to subject the manufacturer to the survey of the exciseman. On this occasion he alluded to the success of the transfer of duties in regard to wine; and although a few members expressed their disapprobation of the extension of the Excise system, the measure was carried through both Houses with great ease. In the following year a motion for the repeal of the Excise duty on tobacco was brought forward, and was supported by 147 votes; but it was resisted by the minister, who had a majority of 41. He showed that the change effected in the previous session was already benefitting the country at the rate of 300,000*l.* a-year.

Pitt could now carry any fiscal measures which he seriously thought necessary; and in 1793 not fewer than twenty-nine articles were subject to the Excise laws, and the gross amount of this branch of revenue was about ten millions and a half. In 1797 the number of officers employed in England was 4777. The highest amount which the Excise produced in any one year, for England, was 27,400,300*l.* in 1821; and the largest number of officers in this department, for the United Kingdom, was 7986 in 1815, their salaries amounting to 904,922*l.* Between 1824 and 1835 duties were transferred to the Customs, which yielded 11,238,300*l.* a-year, and others were entirely repealed, amounting to 6,782,000*l.*, making together 18,020,300*l.* The duty on several articles has also been reduced. The amount of duty paid into the chief office, in 1829, for the 'London Collection,' was 6,013,159*l.*, and in 1835 only 1,462,919*l.* In 1841 the gross Excise revenue for the United Kingdom was 15,477,674*l.*, and the charges of collection amounted to 1,047,360*l.*, or 6*l.* 15*s.* 3*d.* per cent. At present only ten articles are subject to the Excise Duty, namely, auctions, bricks, glass, hops, licences, malt, paper, soap, British spirits, and vinegar.

In 1835 the number of traders in England, Ireland, and Scotland, who were surveyed periodically by Excise officers, was 588,000, divided into five classes. Firstly, persons visited for the purpose of charging the "growing" duties, as maltsters, soap-makers, brick-makers, paper-makers, &c. Secondly, persons who paid a licence according to the extent of their business, as brewers and tobacconists. Thirdly, innkeepers and retailers of beer, and others who dealt in articles upon which an Excise duty was levied. Fourthly, persons who dealt in tea, coffee, pepper, tobacco, and other articles which paid Customs duties; and, lastly, there were others who paid no duty, but were subject to a cautionary survey—tallow-melters, for example, as a check upon soap-makers. The cost of these surveys amounted to 533,902*l.* for the English country Collections, and to 41,390*l.* for the London Collection. The duty on spirits in the London Collection amounted to 928,556*l.*, and on soap to 208,266*l.* The limits of the district in which the chief office is situated excludes parts of the metropolis, so that the above statements do not afford a correct notion of its relative importance. Some traders who live in London go out of London to pay their duties, those who

reside just beyond the extremity of Southwark paying at Greenwich in the Rochester Collection; and those in a part of St. Pancras parish are in the Hertford Collection, while a trader living near Croydon pays his duties in Broad Street. In 1835 three distilleries at Bromley, Whitechapel, and Thames Bank contributed 622,000*l.*, and two soap-manufacturers in the metropolitan district paid 150,000*l.*, but not all of them at the chief office. Since 1835 several of the surveys have been abolished either by acts of Parliament or by direction of the Treasury. Thus, above 310,000 dealers in tea, wine, tobacco, and brewers have been exempted from Excise control. The number of surveys in one year of tea, wine, and tobacco dealers was about fifteen millions; 1,657,959 permits were annually required before goods in certain quantities could leave their premises; and 778,988 stock-books were supplied to them to keep an account of their stock and sales. These administrative improvements are of real practical value, and the restrictions so long insisted upon are proved on the whole to have been useless.

We have now to speak of the establishment in Broad Street, which is charged with the collection and management of the Excise revenue. Before 1823 the Excise revenue in Scotland and Ireland was managed by separate boards, consisting all together of twelve commissioners, each board being independent of the English board. The business is now better conducted by seven instead of

[Hall of Excise Office.]

twenty-one commissioners. The Chairman has a salary of 2000*l.* a year; the Deputy-Chairman has 1500*l.*, and the other Commissioners have 1200*l.* per annum each. The Commissioners hold courts, and decide summarily in cases of infraction of the Excise laws. Formerly the Board never had any communication with traders, except by verbal messages through their officers, but since 1838 they have adopted the plan of giving written answers. The number

of persons employed at the chief office is about five hundred, who were principally distributed in the following departments, in 1835:—The 7 Commissioners, who constitute the Board; employed in the Secretary's office, 20 persons; in the Correspondents' office, 30; in the Solicitors', 24, the two latter offices having each subdivisions for the Scotch and Irish business. In the Accountants' office there were 72 persons, with similar subdivisions; in the Receiver-General's department, 112, and 34 in that of the Comptroller-General; 8 in the Auditor's office; 8 in the Security office; 10 in the Store office; 5 in the Diary office. The number of Surveying General Examiners was 112. Many important changes have taken place in the organization of the chief office since 1835. The departments of Account for England, Scotland, and Ireland have been consolidated; that of Comptroller of Cash has been abolished; the Comptroller-General and Auditor-General's department have been consolidated. The Excise Printing-office was abolished by authority of the Treasury in 1841; but a Distillery, for the re-distillation of smuggled foreign spirits, is still under the management of the chief office. In the first twenty years after the peace considerable reductions were made in the Excise Office, in consequence of duties being abolished. The number on the English establishment reduced in these twenty years was 847. The total repeal of the salt duty was followed by the reduction of 196 officers; salaries, 18,962*l.* By the repeal of the leather duty 30 officers were reduced, salaries 3362*l.*; by the repeal of the beer duty 228 officers, salaries 24,045*l.*; of the duty on printed cottons by the reduction of 148 officers, salaries 15,064*l.*; and the reduction of the duty on candles was followed by a reduction of 207 officers, whose salaries amounted to 22,690*l.* In 1797 the Excise establishment was considered to be in so efficient a state, and so well managed, that Mr. Pitt pointed it out as a model for other public departments.

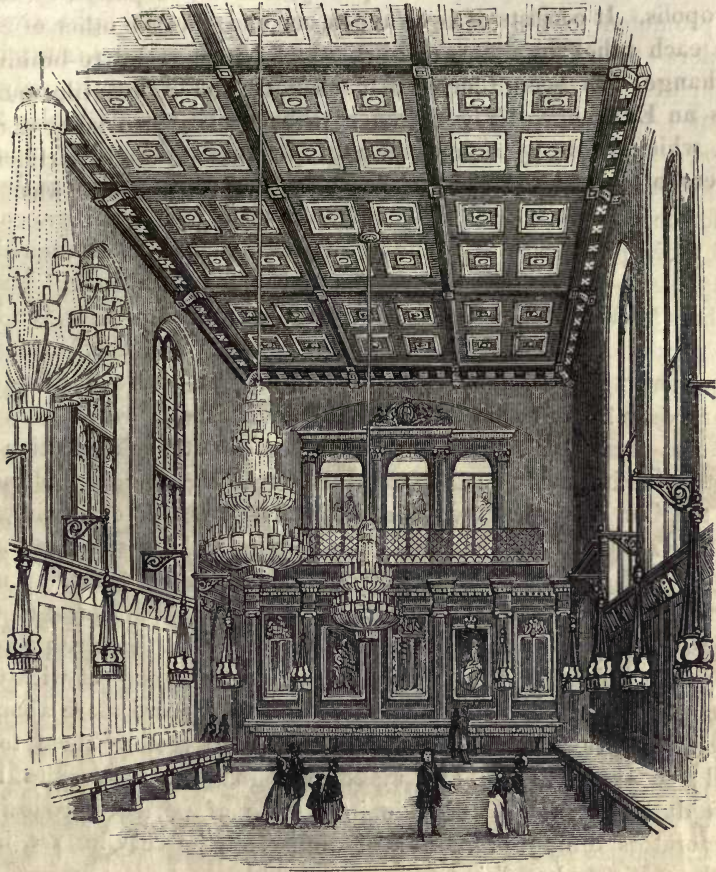
The outdoor business in London is conducted by twelve General Surveyors, to each of whom is assigned a district called a "survey," and these are broken up into about fifty smaller divisions, in each of which a house is rented for the business of the department. The English country establishment, in 1835, consisted of 55 Collectors and 2 Supernumeraries, 61 Clerks, 316 Supervisors, 1023 Divisions, 1499 Ride officers, 68 Permanent Assistants and 7 temporary, 54 Supernumeraries, and 104 Permit Writers. The fifty-five Collections in England and Wales (exclusive of London) are divided into 315 districts, and these districts into "rides" and "foot-walks." Where the traders are scattered, and the officer is required to keep a horse, it is called a ride; but where they are more numerous, and a horse is not necessary, it is called a division or foot-walk. The circuit of a "ride" is about eighteen miles, and that of a division is under sixteen. The Collector, the chief officer of a "Collection," is allowed a clerk, and visits each market-town eight times in the course of a year, to receive the duties and to transact other business connected with the department, besides having to attend to matters relating to the discipline and efficiency of the service. The number of officers in a Collection varies from forty to ninety. The supervisors are in charge of a "district," and next come the ride and division officers, whose operations he constantly checks by surveying, at uncertain times, the same premises. The labours of a supervisor and the officers under him are often very

heavy. The latter are called upon to survey manufacturing processes at the most untimely hours. Before going out each day the officer leaves a memorandum behind him, stating the places he intends to survey, and the order in which he will visit them, and he is obliged to record the hour and minute when he commences each survey. He is never sure that the Supervisor will not resurvey his work, and if errors are discovered they must be entered in the Supervisor's "diary." These diaries are transmitted to the chief office in London every two months, and no officer is promoted without a strict examination into them, in reference to his efficiency. The Surveying-General Examiner is a check upon the Supervisors, and is dispatched from the chief office to a certain district, without any previous intimation. When a supervisor's character is taken out for promotion, his books are examined for one year, and the books of all the officers under him for a quarter of a year; all the accounts are recast, and if in the books of the officers errors are discovered, the supervisor is quite as responsible as if they had taken place in his own books; and a certain degree of neglect on his part would retard his promotion. This inquiry is conducted by the country examiners; and when this has been done, the investigation is taken up by a surveying-general examiner, for the purpose of ascertaining the disposal of the supervisor's time: whether it has been judiciously employed or not; whether he has been too long employed on a duty which ought to have occupied a shorter period, &c. Two months are required for completing the investigation; and when the report is laid before the Board the name of the officer is not given. The clerks of the Diary office have all been distinguished for their ability as supervisors. No one is promoted unless, having served a certain fixed period in one grade, he *petitions* for advancement, but this involves the rigid examination just alluded to, which is technically termed "taking out a character." It is now doubted whether Mr. Pitt's plan for the periodical removal of officers from one district to another is attended with so much advantage to the service as has generally been supposed. A corrupt officer will endeavour to effect a collusion with the trader of another district, and the fraudulent trader will attempt to corrupt the new officer. Frequent removals also interfere with the comfort of families, and interrupt education. About 1100 officers change their residences each year.

Previous to 1768 the Excise Office was on the west side of Ironmonger Lane: it was formerly the mansion of Sir J. Frederick. In 1768 the trustees of the Gresham estates obtained an act to enable them to make over the ground whereon Gresham College stood to the Crown for a perpetual rent of 500*l*. per annum. "For this paltry consideration," says Mr. Burgon, in his 'Life and Times of Sir Thomas Gresham,' "was Gresham College annihilated; nay, the very site of it parted with for ever." He adds:—"Will it be believed that the City and the Mercer's Company further agreed to pay conjointly, out of their respective shares of the Gresham estate, 1800*l*. to the Commissioners of his Majesty's Excise, towards the charge of pulling down the College and building an Excise Office." The dismantling of the College was begun on the 8th of August, 1768. The Excise Office is plain in design, but of most commanding aspect. The merits of this edifice are known far less extensively than many others of inferior character.

There are architects of the present day who state that for grandeur of mass and greatness of manner, combined with simplicity, it is not surpassed by any building in the metropolis. It consists of two ranges, one of stone, the other of brick, separated from each other by a large court, which, during the re-building of the Royal Exchange, has been temporarily used by the mercantile and shipping interests as an Exchange. The entrance to each structure is by a staircase in the centre, which leads by a long passage to the various apartments of the commissioners and clerks. The architect of the Excise Office was Mr. James Gandon.

[Excise Office Exchange.]



[Interior of Merchant Tailors' Hall, Threadneedle Street.]

## CVIII.—THE COMPANIES OF LONDON.

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It is with great institutions as with great men—if they would preserve their reputation unimpaired, they should never survive the loss of their distinguishing powers; or, we may rather say, the case of the institution is the worst, as being in every respect the most injurious of the two. The accidents of life die with the man, and are forgotten, leaving all that is truly worthy of remembrance alone to be remembered; but institutions unfortunately will not die except by a slow, lingering process that too often wears out alike our patience and our gratitude, and at the same time makes us confound right and wrong together, by teaching us, however unconsciously, to infer their past from their present unfitness. Saddening are the degradations to which they are subject through this unfortunate tenacity of life. Who, for instance, can read without regret of the once mighty fellowships of London, being told by authority that their "ruling bodies are in effect mere trustees for charitable purposes or chartered festivals,"

and that the "freemen and liverymen, or commonalty, are persons entitled to participate in these charities, to partake of the feasts of the Company, and qualified to be promoted to the office of trustees; and in this light alone are the different orders of the Companies to be viewed"?* It may be true; but, rather than that such things should have been said, one cannot but heartily wish that the Companies had manfully perished in the breach when Charles II. opened his *quo warranto* battery against them, and, after destroying their independence, left them to sink into inglorious inactivity. But the Commissioners in the above passage refer only to the principal Companies, those which had grown so rich in the days of their prosperity as to have charities that now, in their decline, require management—funds that will support "chartered festivals;" but how is it with the others? Why, whilst some have disappeared altogether, the Musicians, alas! are "very poor, and in debt to their treasurer," and the Masons can only occasionally—and the occasions are very infrequent—have a dinner even on Lord Mayors' days? But the case that most touches our sympathies is that of the Pinmakers; there is a romance and a pathos about their position inexpressibly attractive and touching: "No returns relating to any bindings or admissions to the Company, whether in right of patrimony or otherwise, appear in the Chamberlain's books within the last forty years. It is supposed that one or two individuals belonging to the Company are yet living,"† bearing about with them, no doubt, in their mysterious obscurity, a high consciousness of the unsuspected dignities that have centered in their persons: but they are probably poor, as well as proud, and therefore doubly resentful of the neglect with which they have been treated; the very Commissioners said not a word more about them,—did not even propose a commission of discovery to restore them to the civic brotherhood; so they will die and make no sign,—the very skies looking as bright or as dull as usual, Cheapside in a state of perfect unconsciousness,—brother corporators dining, or talking of dining, at the very instant, haply, that the last of the "Pin-makers" is leaving the world.

But now, forgetting awhile what the Companies are, let us see what they were three or four centuries ago.

It is the morning of the festival of Corpus Christi; and the Skinners are rapidly thronging into the hall, in their new suits or liveries, and falling into their places in the procession that is being formed. As they go forth, and pass along the principal streets, most imposing is the appearance they present. Scattered at intervals along the line are seen the lights of above a hundred waxen torches "costly garnished," and among the different bodies included in the procession are some two hundred clerks and priests, in surplices and copes, singing. After these come the Sheriffs' servants, then the clerks of the compters, the Sheriffs' chaplains, the Mayor's sergeants, the Common Council, the Mayor and Aldermen in their brilliant scarlet robes; and, lastly, the members of the Company which it is the business of the day to honour, the Skinners, male and female. The church of St. Lawrence, in the Poultry, is their destination, where they all advance up to the altar of Corpus Christi, and make their offerings, and then stay whilst mass is performed. From the church they return in the same state to the hall to dinner. Extensive are the preparations for so numerous a company. Besides the principal and the side-tables in the hall, there are tables laid out

* Corporation Commission, Second Report, Introduction, p. 20. † Report, p. 298.

in all the chief apartments of the building, for the use of the guests and their attendants: the officers of the Company occupying one, the maidens another, the players and the minstrels a third, and so on. Plate is glittering on every side; the choice hangings are exciting admiration; the materials for the pageant suspended from the roof attract many an inquiring glance; the fragrance of the precious Indian sandal-wood is filling the atmosphere, though not altogether to the exclusion of the still more precious exhalations which come stealing up to the nose and thence downward into the heart of the anxious epicures, who you may perceive looking on with a sort of uneasy, abstracted air, whilst the true business of the day—the election of the Masters and Wardens—is going on in the great parlour, whither all the Assistants (the executive of the Company) have retired: the said epicures know, if you do not, to how many accidents flesh is heir in the kitchen, how easily the exact point of perfection between too much and too little done may be missed in the roasted swans, or the exquisite flavour of the mortrewes degenerate into coarseness or insipidity, if the cook swerves but a hair's breadth from the true proportions of the materials. The guests now seat themselves, the ladies according to their rank at the different tables, but in the best places at each; the Lady-Mayoress with the Sheriffs' ladies sitting, of course, at the principal board, with the distinguished guests of the day; the noblemen and others, with the Priors of the great conventual establishments of London — St. Mary Overies, St. Bartholomew, and Christ Church. Of the dinner itself what shall we say that can adequately describe its variety, profusion, and costliness, or the skill with which it has been prepared? The boars' heads and the mighty barons of beef seem almost to require an apology for their introduction amidst the delicacies that surround them in the upper division of the table (the part above the stately salt cellar), where we see dishes of brawn, fat swans, congor and sea-hog, dishes of "great birds with little ones together," dishes of Leché Lombard, made of "pork pounded in a mortar with eggs, raisins, dates, sugar, salt, pepper, spices, milk of almonds, and red wine, the whole boiled in a bladder;" and we know not how many other dishes of similarly elaborate composition; whilst the "subtleties" so "marvellously cunning ywrought," tell in allegory the history of the Company, and of the Saviour as its patron, and reveal to us the artist—if not exactly the hero—as cook. After dinner, whilst the spice-bread, hippocras, and comfits go round, the election ceremonies take place. The Master and Wardens enter with garlands on their heads, preceded by the minstrels playing, and the beadle; then the garlands are taken off, and after a little show of trying whose heads among the Assistants the said garlands best fit, it is found, by a remarkable coincidence, that the persons previously chosen are the right wearers. The oath of office is then administered; beginning, in the case of the Wardens, with an injunction that they shall swear that they will well and truly occupy the office, that they shall 'arear' no new customs, nor bind the commonalty of the said craft to any new charges, nor yet discharge any duty to their hurt; and that they shall not lay down any of their good old customs, or acts written, without the assent of the said commonalty. With renewed ceremony a cup is next brought in, from which the old Master and old Wardens drink to the new Master and new Wardens, who finally assume their garlands, and are duly acknowledged by the fraternity.

The play is now eagerly looked for; the tables are cleared away, the pageant is let down from the roof; the actors, nine in number, approach, and the entire audience is speedily engrossed in the history of Noah's flood. There remains but to pay for all the good things enjoyed—the members of the Company at a fixed rate for themselves, and at the Wardens' discretion for the guests they may have individually invited—to drink another cup of hippocras, and to depart. The annual solemnities are not, however, finished till the Sunday following, when, according to the ordinances (we transcribe from the Fishmongers'), the members "afore mete tyme" shall "be all present in the same church in their livery aforesaid, there to hear a solemn mass or requiem for all the souls of the same fraternity, and for all Christian souls; and at which mass the priest of the same fraternity, openly in the pulpit shall rehearse and recommend to all good prayers, by name, all the brethren and sisters, quick and dead, of the foresaid fraternity, and all Christians;" after which there is another, but minor feast, and then the liveries are paid for.

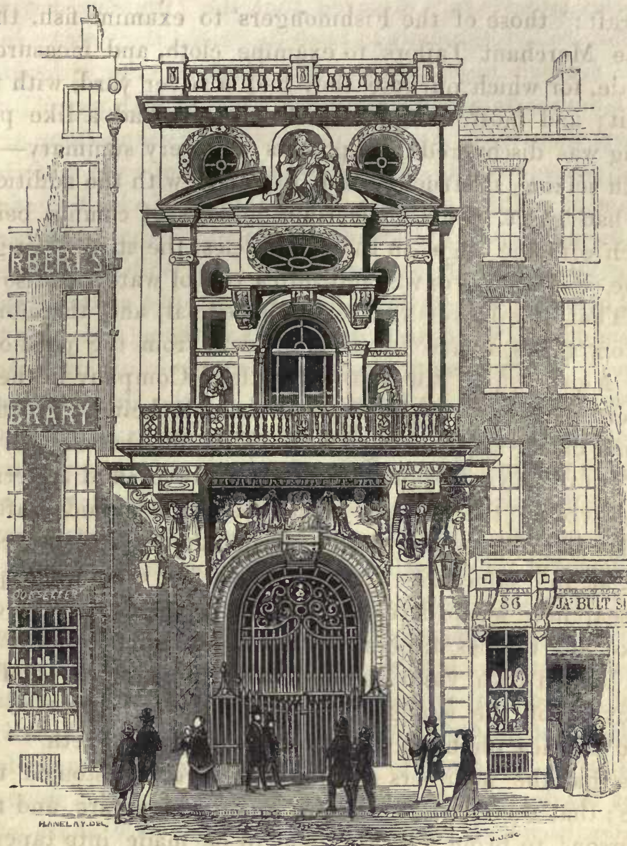
Following the newly-elected officers into the details of the business that awaited them, we begin to have some conception of the true nature of a metropolitan company at the period referred to. And first, as to their chief duty—the domestic government of the craft. This comprised many parts; among which the ordinary matters of binding apprentices, admitting freemen, and so on, formed but the least important. If there were young men belonging to the craft who, giving themselves up to idleness and unlawful games, wandered about as vagabonds within the City, it was the duty of the Master and Wardens to desire and require them to work for reasonable wages, and to take them before the Mayor and Aldermen for punishment if they refused. If members of the Company were rebellious to its ordinances, as by taking unsold wares into the country, or by employing "forens," that is, persons not free of the craft, and persisting therein, or were found to have spoken with disrespect of its officers, the Master and Wardens again had to bring back the rebel and the slanderer to due subjection and reverence, either by entreaties, or by the still more cogent influences of fine and imprisonment. A case in the Grocers' books may here be mentioned. One Simon Potkin, of the Key, at Aldgate, having been fined by the Chamberlain, said, with humorous audacity, that he had given money to the Masters of his Company that he might sell at his own will. He got into trouble with his Company in consequence, but was finally pardoned on paying 3*s.* 4*d.* for a swan to be eaten by the Masters, out of which he was allowed his own share. This took place under the mayoralty of Whittington, who was particularly watchful of the misdeeds of the retail publicans. Safe keeping of the trade secrets was a matter most carefully enjoined and provided for, not only in the oath taken by all freemen, but in specific ordinances, to disobey which subjected the offender to the heaviest displeasure of the Company, and of course to punishment. The names of craft and mystery, so often applied to the trades, are said to be from this source, though Madox derives them from the French, who, he remarks, use *mestiere* for a craft, art, or employment. The preventing or arranging disputes among the members formed another important branch of the duties of the officers. Among the ordinances of the Grocers was one to the effect, that no member of the craft should take the house of a neighbour who

also belonged to the fraternity against his wish, or do anything to enhance his rent, on penalty of a heavy fine. In cases of personal quarrel, where one party was evidently the offender, he was compelled to ask forgiveness; and in others, after an ineffectual attempt at mediation, parties were duly permitted to "go to the law." Apprentices, of course, were still more directly beneath the supervision and control of the Master and Wardens; and some curious records exist in connexion with the discipline on this subject in the books of the Companies, as noticed in Mr. Herbert's valuable work.* Here is an example of the correction of an apprentice for a *faux pas* of a particular nature. The Wardens caused to be made two porters' frocks, like porters of crafts, and two hoods of the same canvas, made after vizor fashion, with a space for the mouth and the eyes left open only; wherein, the next court-day, within the parlour, two tall men, having the said frocks upon them, because they should not be known, (for otherwise the "bold prentices" would no doubt have effectually prevented any more such kind attentions from the same quarter,) "came in with twopennyworth of birchen rods, and there, in presence of the said Master and Wardens, withouten any words speaking, they pulled off the doublet and shirt of the said John Rolls, and there upon him (being naked) they spent all the said rods, for his said unthrifty demeanour." Sumptuary laws also occupied the attention of the heads of the fraternity, and more particularly with regard to the class just mentioned, the apprentices. Those in the Ironmongers' Company, for instance, were to dress "in such wise that it be no dishonesty to the Company, but that they be apparelled reasonable and honest, that is to say, for the holy days, hose, 'throwts,' shirts, doublets, coats, gowns or cloaks, with other necessaries, such as may be conveniently honest and clean;" and on the "working day such as may be honest and profitable to keep them from cold and wet;" and then it is emphatically added, "they shall not suffer their hair to grow long." Fishmongers' apprentices were directed by their Company to wear a gown in the fish-market, but not out of it. As to the more general application of sumptuary laws, we find some noticeable entries in the books of the Merchant Tailors; in 1574 a member was committed to prison "for that he came to this house in a cloak of pepadore, a pair of hose lined with taffety, and a shirt edged with silver, contrary to the ordinances." Another member, it appears, was warned that he had on "apparel not fit for his abilities to wear," and enjoined reformation. But the most amusing illustration of the interference of the Companies in this matter is that given by Malcolm, on the authority of the Ironmongers' books. Elizabeth, it is well known, was scarcely less anxious about the dress of her subjects than about her own, with the difference, however, that her anxiety was to restrain the love of splendour in the one case, and to encourage it in the other. So, fresh orders to her milliners, and fresh precepts to the Companies, flew thick and fast, and it was in consequence of one of the latter that the citizens were regaled one day with a rich bit of fun at Bishopsgate, where two members of the Ironmongers' and two of the Grocers' Companies were found stationed as early as seven o'clock to examine the habits of every one who passed through. Lastly, there remain to be noticed, among the regular duties of the officers of the Companies, the Trade Searches, when the Grocers' Wardens were bidden "to go and essayen weights, powders, confections, plaisters, ointments, and all other things belonging

* 'History of the Twelve great Livery Companies.'

to the same craft;" those of the Fishmongers' to examine fish, the Vintners' to taste wines, the Merchant Tailors' to examine cloth, and measure the measure used in its sale, for which purpose they had a silver yard, with their arms engraved upon it; and most of the other Companies had a like power. Where anything wrong was discovered, the process was very summary—seizure of the article, if worth seizing, destruction if it were not, with the addition of imprisonment in very bad cases. In 1571, certain makers of comfits being accused of mingling starch with the sugar in their delicacies, the stock—"a good quantity" —of one of the chief offenders was put into a tub of water, and so consumed and poured out. That this power was really beneficial, and therefore necessary to such of the Companies as had it not, is evident from the petition presented to the Court of Aldermen by the Wax-Chandlers' Company in the reign of Edward III., where they speak feelingly of their craft being "greatly slandered of all the good folk of the said craft and of the City, for that they have not Masters chosen and sworn of the said craft" before the Mayor and Aldermen, "as other crafts have, to oversee the defaults which be in their said crafts:" the power they desire was accordingly granted them, of naming four searchers, and their bye-laws were at the same time sanctioned, the first of which explains the rule by which the searchers would have to be guided: "That no wax-chandler of the said craft make any torches, tapers, prykettes, nor none other manner of chandlerie of wax mixed with rosin and code, but of good wax and wick;" and to facilitate discovery of the wrong-doers, every chandler was to have a mark, "and it set to torches, torchetts, and tapers which he maketh." We learn from these bye-laws that the members of the trade were accustomed to lend out wax tapers for hire; that the tapers were both round and square, and that it was customary for persons to bring wax to them to be made into tapers at a certain charge for the making, and more particularly for "torches, torchetts, prykettes, or perchers, chaundele or tapers for women ayenst Candelmas." A few words on the chief places where the Trade Searches had generally to be pursued, or in other words, on the localities of the different London trades, may not be unacceptable. Cloth Fair was, as its name implies, the chief mart of the Merchant Tailors' commodities, Foster Lane of the Goldsmiths, Ironmonger Lane of the Ironmongers, Old Fish Street and Fish Street Hill of the Fishmongers, the Mercery —a part of Cheapside between Bow Church and Friday Street—of the Mercers and Haberdashers, and who were previously on the other side, where the Mercers' Hall now stands. Silks and velvets appear to have formed the chief articles of trade with the Mercers, as they gradually resigned to the Haberdashers the sale of all the less important wares. The Haberdashers dealt in hats, millinery, small articles of jewellery, pins—a lucrative commodity—and a thousand other things, in addition to some of those which still belong to the trade. The Drapers did their chief business in Blackwell Hall, the site of the present Bankruptcy Court; the Grocers, or Pepperers, as they were once called, were mostly to be found in Soper Lane; the Butchers in Cheapside, Newgate Market, and at the Stocks, the site of the present Mansion House; whilst the Tanners favoured the localities "without Newgate" and "without Cripplegate."

In this grant of powers to the Wax Chandlers, we see one example of the jurisdiction of the Mayor and Aldermen over the Companies; a jurisdiction so complete, from time immemorial, that the Brewers in 1435, addressing the former,




[Mercers' Hall, Cheapside.]

style him "their right worshipful and gracious lord and sovereign, the Mayor of London;" and precisely the same idea is conveyed, in different words, a century and a half later, when he is spoken of as "the Warden of all the Companies." The duties arising from the connection between the Companies and the Civic Corporation, therefore, form the second division of the duties of the officers of the former, and a great many unpleasant matters they involved. Some of them are interesting as illustrative of the working of the system. Thus, for instance, as to the monopoly enjoyed by the Companies, we may see that we should greatly err if we looked upon the constitution of the Companies as framed for that especial object, using the word monopoly in its present sense, though there is no doubt it had a great tendency to establish the evils that, under a different state of things, have made the very idea hateful to us. But this tendency the more enlightened governors of the City made it their business to repress, and in a manner that must *then* have been tolerably effectual. The Brewers' records furnish a case in point, and Whittington is again one of the principal actors. In 1422 he laid an information before his successor in the Mayoralty, Robert Chichele, in consequence of which the latter "sent for the Masters and twelve of the most worthy of our Company to appear at the Guildhall; to whom John Fray, the Recorder, objected a breach of government, for which 20*l.* should be forfeited, for selling *dear ale.* After much dispute about the price and quality of malt, wherein

Whittington, the late Mayor, declared that the 'brewers had ridden into the country and forestalled the malt to raise its price,' they were convicted in the penalty of 20*l.*; which objecting to, the Masters were ordered to be kept in prison in the Chamberlain's custody until they should pay it, or find security for the payment thereof." Another feature of the connection, arising no doubt from the one just referred to, though we should hope not materially influencing it, is the system of making presents to the Mayor, of which we find many examples; among them, "for two pipes of red wine, to Richard Whittington's butler," a "boar, price 20*s.*, and an ox, price 17*s.*" to William Walderne, Mayor in 1422-3, who "behaved well to the Company until two or three weeks before his retirement from office," when he began to annoy them, and they thus "assuaged his displeasure." When these presents took a more circuitous route, the object was openly acknowledged, as in an entry in 1423, in the Brewers' books, of "money given to divers Serjeants of the Mayor, for to be good friends to our craft." After all there is nothing here to fix any stain of corruption on the eminent civic governors of the period; though some of them, thinking very rightly that the mere acceptance of such gifts not only looked like bribery, but might really have that tendency at times, eschewed them altogether. Under the date 1423 we read, that "William Crowmere, Mayor this year, was a good man, and well pleased all the citizens, especially the Brewers; when the Masters offered gifts to him, he thanked them, but would not receive any." The general domestic government of London, of course, afforded many points of intimate connection between the officers of the Companies and of the City; when there was an Exchange to be erected, or a city ditch to be cleansed, precepts came from the Mayor to the different Masters and Wardens, to collect the sum of money to which their respective fraternities had been assessed, as their fair share of the expenses. Setting the poor to work, a still more weighty undertaking, was accomplished in the same way. But the most important labours which the Companies and the city undertook in matters relating to the domestic economy of London, was the supply of corn and coal in times of scarcity, to the poorer citizens, at a moderate price. The commencement of the custom, as to corn, may be dated from the early part of the fourteenth century, when, with that princely liberality that distinguished so many of the citizens of London in early times, Sir Simon Eyre built a public granary at Leadenhall, and Sir Stephen Brown sent out ships to Dantzic, "causing [rye] corn to be brought from thence, whereby he brought down the price of wheat from 3*s.* the bushel to less than half the money, for corn was then so scarce in England that poor people were enforced to make their bread of 'fearne' roots."* At first the cost of the supplies of corn to the granary (made, of course, always when the corn was cheapest), was defrayed by loans and contributions from the Mayor and Aldermen, and sometimes the citizens, but in 1521 the Companies were called on to assist, and from that time precepts of a similar nature followed with a most unsatisfactory frequency, until at last the Mayor and Aldermen had some difficulty in obtaining the sums required. The truth is, no doubt, that there was a continual loss on the business, and consequently that though funds were generally obtained, under the name of loans, they were in effect, gifts. The Companies were therefore desirous of leaving the matter entirely in the hands of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, who were equally

* Stow's Survey, ed. 1633, p. 89.

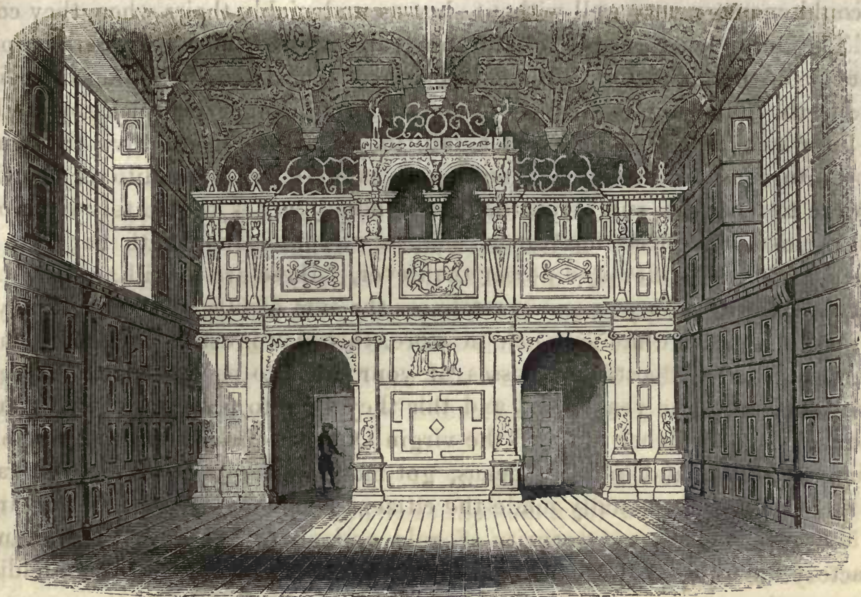
desirous of leaving it with the Companies. In 1578 an arrangement was finally concluded, that the Companies should provide the quantities of corn that it was deemed necessary to have in store—5000 quarters, and that the City should provide a place of deposit, which they did in the Bridge-house, on old London Bridge, where the garners were divided into twelve equal parts for the twelve great Companies (who seem to have had the general management imposed upon them), and where mills and ovens were erected. This arrangement was soon disturbed by the cupidity and meanness of the government, who frequently exhibited a desire to turn the affair, in various ways, to its own selfish advantage. So, when in 1594, Sir John Hawkins applied for the use of the granaries and ovens for the royal navy, the Companies took the alarm; and although Sir John understood and gave way to the Mayor's reasoning—that if the granaries were taken, the Companies would neglect making their provision and plead want of room, the latter saw in his acquiescence only a stronger proof that it was the corn rather than the granaries he desiderated; and obtained permission of the Common Council to lay in stocks of grain on their own premises. This seems for a time to have checked the Court; who, however, in 1622, returned to the charge, in a letter from James's Lord High Steward—the Duke of Lennox, and two other great officers of the household. It is addressed to—"Our loving friends the Wardens and Assistants of the Company of Grocers: After our hearty commendations: Whereas, by the neglect of his Majesty's purveyors, his house is at this time altogether unfurnished with wheat, by means whereof there is a present want of 100 quarters of wheat for the service of his household, we do therefore pray and desire you, that out of your stock his Majesty may be supplied with 30 or 40 quarters of your best and sweetest wheat, until his own provisions may be brought in, the which we do faithfully promise shall be paid unto you again in November next, at the furthest; and because it is intended that, by the exchange thereof, you shall lose no loss, we have therefore committed the care thereof to Mr. Harvey, one of his Majesty's officers of the Green Cloth, who shall see the same duly answered and brought into your granary by the time appointed; and so, not doubting of your willing performances upon so present and needful occasion, we bid you, heartily, farewell. Your loving friends—Lenox; Thomas Edmond; John Suckling (father of the poet). Whitehall, 27th September, 1622." Sweet words, and irresistible! Mr. Harvey, who was in attendance on the Court when the letter was read, being called in, promised "so to mediate, that 10 quarters should be taken in satisfaction of the whole demand," which were granted. Mr. Herbert adds, with a laudable sense of the bare possibility of its return, "whether it was ever repaid does not appear." At the fire of London the granaries were burnt, and never afterwards restored. The coal custom was so exactly of the same nature as that relating to corn, that it is unnecessary to make any further allusion to it.

The last division of the business of the Companies is that relating to its connexion with the government, of which the royal application, incidentally referred to in the preceding passage, betokens in a great measure the character. The sovereigns of England, from the earliest times down to the extinction of the Stuart dynasty, looked upon the City of London generally, and the Companies in particular, as a kind of reserve treasury, not, certainly, to be resorted to when

they could manage very well without, but as undeniably theirs when they could not. The impudence, as we cannot but call it, with which Elizabeth applied for money in these quarters is really ludicrous. The Ironmongers once received from her the following exquisite specimen of the manner in which royalty borrows, in which the reader will not fail to remark how attentive the Queen had been to consider how they should get, as well as the conditions on which they were to lend, the sum demanded. "These," writes the stately Elizabeth, through her mouth-piece the Mayor, and, as we could fancy, with her ruff and stomacher looking stiffer and fiercer than ever, "these are to will and command you that forthwith you prepare in readiness the sum of 60*l.* of the stock of your hall, and if you have not so much in store, then you must borrow the same at interest, at the only costs and losses of your hall, to be lent to the Queen's Majesty for one whole year," &c., and this they were to fail in at their "peril!" But there is a still richer trait of the virgin Queen to be mentioned: having at one time, by these and similar means, got more money than she knew exactly what to do with, she actually made the citizens receive it back again in loans of from 50*l.* to 500*l.* each, on security of gold and silver plate, or other equally satisfactory deposits, *at seven per cent.* There is nothing in Swift or Fielding's fictitious satires to equal this touch of positive truth. Elizabeth was, at the same time, too politic a guardian of her Exchequer to fill it by one method only: if the scourge could not but be felt, still it was not necessary to make it always be felt in the same place; so, borrowing a hint from the continental governments, she established in 1567 our first lottery, and her loving friends the Companies were immediately desired to avail themselves of its advantages. They did so, and, whatever they thought of the result, it was no doubt satisfactory to the ingenious author. Unfortunately, however, when another lottery was set on foot for armour, in 1585, the Lord Mayor had to use, among his other arguments, one of a very suspicious nature, but which, it seems, the experience of the former rendered necessary; he had to assure the Companies that there should be a "*true* delivery of the prizes to the winners," and to add something about the appointment of a body of persons to see justice done. To quicken his own and the Sheriff's zeal in "persuading every man to venture," her Majesty promised, in respect of the "forward service of the said lottery," one basin and one ewer, of 100*l.* value, to each of them. The Merchant Tailors' books exhibit a very clear intimation of their ideas on the subject at the period in the following couplet:—

> "One bird in the hand is worth two in the wood;
> *If* we get the great lot, it will do us good."

From forced loans and lotteries we advance to the patents, a system of direct infringement upon the chief powers and rights of the Companies, for the most selfish purposes, and with the most reckless disregard of the certain evils that must accrue. The scheme was first directed against the Brewers' Company, but failed at the outset. With the Leathersellers it was more successful. One of the hangers-on of the court, Edward Darcy, obtained a patent from Elizabeth to search and seal all the leather through England, and found it, says Strype, "a very gainful business to him;" but the whole body of persons connected, directly or indirectly, with the trade, mustered their forces, and exhibited so formidable

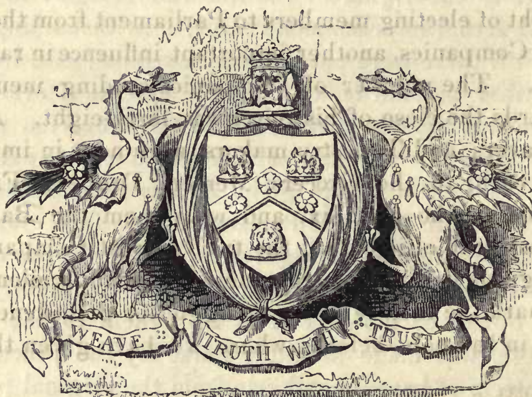


[Leathersellers' Hall, Bishopsgate Street.]

an appearance that, to avoid a tumult, the patent was revoked. The wardens of the Leathersellers' Company distinguished themselves greatly in this contest by their firm adherence to the rights of the fraternity lodged in their keeping, in spite of threats and actual imprisonment. But, notwithstanding these checks, the scheme proceeded, till there were patentees for currants, salt, iron, powder, cards, calf-skins, felts, leather, ox-shin bones, train-oil, and many other articles. Hume observes, that when this list was once "read in the House, a member cried, 'Is not bread in the number?' 'Bread!' said every one with astonishment; 'Yes, I assure you,' replied he, 'if affairs go on at this rate we shall have bread reduced to a monopoly before the next Parliament.'" This system, so vicious in itself, as transferring powers from highly respectable bodies of men, who had a deep interest in using them for the benefit of the community, to single individuals, whose only object or desire was to turn them to the greatest possible pecuniary advantage, was made infinitely worse by the practice of transfer of those powers as matters of bargain and sale from the original patentee to others; "who," remarks the author just mentioned, "were thereby enabled to raise commodities to what price they pleased, and who put invincible restraints upon all commerce, industry, and emulation in the arts." It was in the reign of James that the system rose to its highest point, then began to decline, and at last fell to rise no more in 1641, when the Parliament fined severely two patentees for obtaining a wine-license from the King, Charles. We may conclude these notices of the connexion between the government and the Companies, by one or two of a more agreeable nature. Whenever any great public occasion rendered a pecuniary demand upon the Companies reasonable, there seems to have been a liberality shown worthy of the metropolis; they assisted largely in the early voyages of discovery that at different times left our shores, and more particularly those in which the two Cabots—father and son—were concerned. Whenever

armies were fitting out, their contingents formed a very considerable item in the whole: thus, on the Spaniards threatening us with their armada, the City furnished no less than 10,000 men and 38 ships. In ordinary times the Companies could always furnish a respectable force for their own and the City's defence, and had their armouries attached to their halls, though it was not till 1572 that they had a regularly enrolled standing army. In that year they selected from amongst their members 3000 of the "most sizeable and active young men," who were immediately placed in training, and subsequently reviewed by Elizabeth herself in Greenwich Park: a locality that reminds us of another feature of the connexion between royalty and the Companies; the attendance of picked bodies of "handsome men, well and handsomely arrayed," to attend the Mayings in Greenwich; and of the chief officers, with the Livery on all great state processions, as the entry of the sovereign into London, or of his bride, his coronation, or his funeral.

From this glimpse into the economy of the metropolitan fraternities in their prosperous days, let us for a moment turn our eyes backward to their origin and rise. We have already in our preliminary remarks on Guildhall referred to the custom of frankpledge, which it is supposed formed the germ of the guilds, or, as we now call them, companies. When these guilds first assumed positive shape and efficiency is unknown, but the weavers of London received a charter so early as the reign of Henry II., and that only confirmed liberties previously enjoyed: this, say the Commissioners, is the oldest of the Companies. In the




[Arms of the Weavers Company.]

same reign, besides the licensed, there were no less than eighteen other London guilds, but unlicensed, and which were fined by the King in consequence. The only guild of which we know the exact origin is that referred to in the interesting story told by Stow in his account of Portsoken Ward, but which evidently was of a somewhat irregular nature:—"In the days of King Edgar, more than six hundred years since, there were then thirteen knights or soldiers, well beloved of the King and realm, for services by them done, who requested to have a certain portion of land on the east part of the city, being left desolate and forsaken by the inhabitants, by reason of too much servitude: they besought the King to have this land with the liberty of a guild for ever. The King granted to their

request, with conditions following: to wit, that each of them should victoriously accomplish three combats, one above the ground, one under ground, and the third in the water; and, after this, at a certain day, in East Smithfield, they should run with spears against all comers; all which was gloriously performed; and the same day the King named it Knighten Guild."* And, we may add, the locality in question forms, either partially or entirely, the present ward of Portsoken. Of these early guilds, perhaps the most striking feature is their semi-religious character, of which we have given one illustration in the procession to church on the election day, and the praying for the dead on the following Sunday;—the designation of some of the Companies forms another: thus we have the "Guild or fraternity of the Blessed Mary, the Virgin, of the Mystery of Drapers," and the "Guild or fraternity of the body of Christ of the Skinners." A chaplain was one of the regularly-constituted officers of all the larger Companies. Although licensed, the guilds generally were not incorporated till the reign of Edward III., when that monarch, conscious of the growing strength and prosperity of the country through the instrumentality of the trades fraternities, raised them at once into the highest possible estimation and honour, by confirming—in many cases by letters patent—the privileges they had previously enjoyed more by sufferance than of right—and in return for the payment of the ferm—and then by enrolling himself as a member of one of them, the Merchant Tailors. About the same time it was ordained that all artificers and people of mysteries should each choose his own mystery before the next Candlemas, and that, having so chosen it, he should thenceforth use no other. Edward also transferred the right of electing members to Parliament from the ward representatives to the Trade Companies, another important influence in raising them to their subsequent power. The number of Companies sending members to the Common Council towards the close of his reign was forty-eight. Among these the Saddlers, the Weavers, and Tapestry-makers were next in importance, as sending four members each, to the Grocers, Mercers, Drapers, Fishmongers, Goldsmiths, and Vintners, who sent six, and with them the Barbers ranked. It was not for a considerable time that the twelve great Companies assumed their final position as regards the other fraternities; and many violent and occasionally bloody quarrels mark the history of the struggle for precedence. Their present order will be seen in the note below,† where we have given the complete list of

* Stow's Survey, ed. 1633, p. 115.

† *List of the Companies of London in the order of their precedence, the first twelve forming the Great Livery Companies, and those which are extinct being marked in Italics.*—1. Mercers. 2. Grocers. 3. Drapers. 4. Fishmongers. 5. Goldsmiths. 6. Skinners. 7. Merchant Tailors. 8. Haberdashers. 9. Salters. 10. Ironmongers. 11. Vintners. 12. Clothworkers. 13. Dyers. 14. Brewers. 15. Leathersellers. 16. Pewterers. 17. Barbers. 18. Cutlers. 19. Bakers. 20. Wax Chandlers. 21. Tallow Chandlers. 22. Armourers and Braziers. 23. Grinders. 24. Butchers. 25. Saddlers. 26. Carpenters. 27. Cordwainers. 28. Painter-stainers. 29. Curriers. 30. Masons. 31. Plumbers. 32. Innholders. 33. Founders. 34. Poulterers. 35. Cooks. 36. Coopers. 37. Bricklayers. 38. Boyers. 39. Fletchers. 40. Blacksmiths. 41. Joiners. 42. Weavers. 43. Woolmen. 44. Scriveners. 45. Fruiterers. 46. Plasterers. 47. Stationers. 48. Broderers. 49. Upholderers. 50. Musicians. 51. Turners. 52. Basket-makers. 53. Glaziers. 54. Horners. 55. Farriers. 56. Paviors. 57. Lorimers. 58. Apothecaries. 59. Shipwrights. 60. Spectacle-makers. 61. Clock-makers. 62. Glovers. 63. Comb-makers. 64. Felt-makers. 65. Frame-work Knitters. 66. Silk-throwers. 67. *Silkmen.* 68. *Pin-makers.* 69. Needle-makers. 70. Gardeners. 71. *Soap-makers.* 72. Tinplate-workers. 73. Wheelwrights. 74. Distillers. 75. *Hat-band-makers.* 76. Patten-makers. 77. Glass Sellers. 78. Tobacco Pipe-makers. 79. Coach and Harness makers. 80. Gun-makers. 81. Wire Drawers. 82. *Long Bowstring-makers.* 83. Playing-card-makers. 84. Fan-makers. 85. *Woodmongers.* 86. *Starch-makers.* 87. *Fishermen.* 88. Parish Clerks. 89. Carmen.

the London Companies, including those which sprung up during the mania for incorporation that prevailed in the latter part of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries, or just when, through a variety of concurring causes, but chiefly that the trade and commerce to be directed had become much too mighty a thing for the directors, the old faith in the necessity and value of the Companies was disappearing, and with that their faith their own energies. And thus when Charles II. sought to destroy their independence by frightening them into a resignation of their charters, that he might re-grant them with such restrictions as he saw fit, having neither strength within nor without, they succumbed at once, and almost licked the dust off the feet of the spoiler in so doing. That to these causes rather than to the King's arbitrary proceedings we may attribute the decline of the Companies is evident, from the circumstance that, although at the Revolution of 1688 these proceedings were finally reversed, the Companies, with the exception of those which possessed large charities, or of those who still from peculiar causes continued in close connexion with their respective trades, steadily continued to decline from that time. Of the eighty-nine enumerated in the list, eight are practically extinct, and a ninth, the Parish Clerks (the actors in the old miracle plays), has no connexion with the municipality of London. The others are divided by the Commissioners into three classes—1. Companies still exercising an efficient control over their trade, namely, the Goldsmiths and the Apothecaries. Both these also belong to class 2. Companies exercising the right of search, or marking wares, &c.; in which are included the Stationers' Company, at whose Hall all copyright books must be "entered;" the Gunmakers, who prove all the guns made in the City; the Founders, who test and mark weights; the Saddlers, who examine the workmanship of saddles; and, in a lesser degree, the Painters, who issue a trade-price list of some authority; and the Pewterers and Plumbers, who make assays. 3. Companies, into which persons carrying on certain occupations in the City are compelled to enter: such are the Apothecaries, Brewers, Pewterers, Builders, Barbers, Bakers, Saddlers, Painter Stainers, Plumbers, Innholders, Founders, Poulterers, Cooks, Weavers, Scriveners, Farriers, Spectacle Makers, Clock Makers, Silk Throwers, Distillers, Tobacco Pipe Makers, and Carmen. This last-mentioned fraternity is the only one that exclusively consists of persons belonging to the trade, though the Stationers and the Apothecaries, with one or two others, have a majority of such members. Admission into the body of freemen is obtained by birth, apprenticeship, purchase, or gift; and thence into the livery, in most cases at the pleasure of the party, on payment of the fees, which are generally light where the claim arises from patrimony or servitude, but otherwise vary from a few pounds to as much as 200 guineas. The government of most of the companies is now intrusted to Courts of Assistants, formed from the senior members of the livery, and comprising Master, Senior and Junior Wardens, and a certain number of assistants, who succeed in rotation to the higher offices. Among the officers and classes who have disappeared from the Companies, or changed their designation, are the Pilgrim, the ancient head of the Merchant Tailors, so called from his travelling for them; the Master Bachelor and Budge Bachelor of the Drapers; the Bachelor in foins of the Skinners; with the Yeomanry of most of the companies, who seem to have been the old freemen.

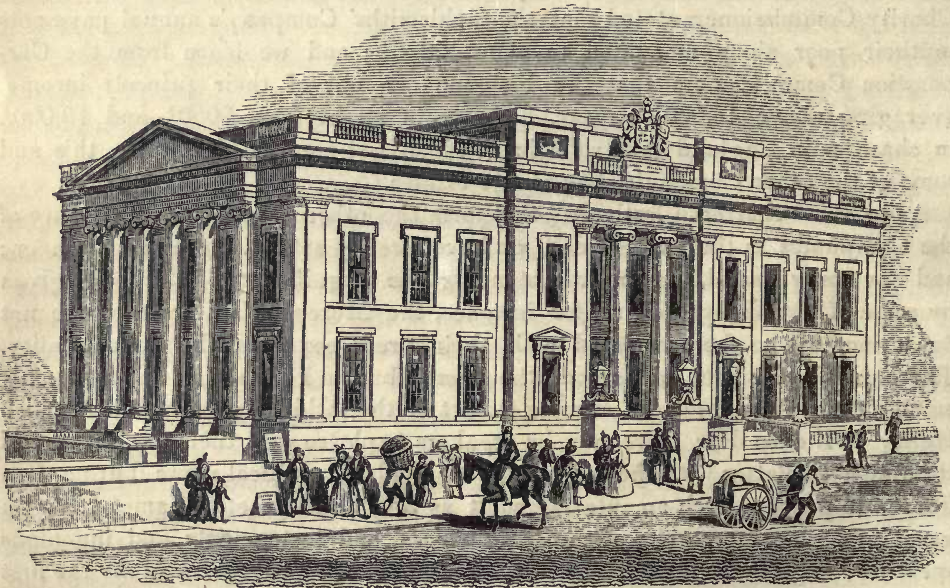
Recurring to the words of the Commissioners, in which they describe the ex-

isting Companies as so many trusteeships for "charitable purposes" and "chartered festivals," it is worthy of observation that one of the earliest objects sought by the guild, in some instances apparently their primary one, was the foundation of a common stock, for the relief of poor or decayed members. Large funds were established in course of time, and the charitable character thus attached to the Company led to their being chosen as trustees for the care and management of a variety of other charities founded by benevolent persons; who, in the earlier periods of metropolitan history, were so numerous, that Stow devotes some five-and-twenty folio pages of his 'Survey' to the mere enumeration of their acts, under the appropriate and characteristic title of the Honour of Citizens and Worthiness of Men: a noble chapter in the history of London. The variety of these charities is as remarkable as their entire amount must be magnificent; comprising as they do pensions to decayed members, almshouses, innumerable gifts of money to the poor, funds for the support of hospitals, schools, exhibitions at the universities, prisoners in the city gaols, for lectures and sermons, donations to distressed clergymen, and so on through an interminable list. The most interesting, perhaps also the most valuable, of the charities has yet to be mentioned—the loans of different sums to young beginners in business, to an amount, and for a time, amply sufficient to start them fairly in life with every expectation of a prosperous career. Some idea of the magnitude of the Companies' charities, on the whole, may be derived from two illustrations. The Charity Commissioners stated that the Goldsmiths' Company's annual payments to their poor alone amounted to about 2836*l.*; and we learn from the Corporation Commissioners that the Fishmongers, out of their princely income, averaging above 18,000*l.* a-year, disburse in all between 9000*l.* and 10,000*l.* in charities in England and Ireland: in which last-mentioned country this and some of the other Companies have large estates.

As to the "chartered festivals," that form the other distinguishing feature of the Companies in the present day, we have already noticed the election dinner; and have only to add, that, notwithstanding the magnificence of the feasts given by some of the Companies, as, for instance, the Merchant Tailors, they are not for a moment to be compared with their predecessors of the same locality. There may be eminent men among the guests, but no king sitting down "openly among them in a gown of crimson velvet of the fashion" as a member, which Henry VII. once did: there may be speakers to please with their eloquence, and statesmen to flatter with the expression of kindred political views, but no Ben Jonson to prepare such an entertainment as that which greeted James I. "with great and pleasant variety of music, of voices, and instruments, and ingenious speeches;" no Dr. Bull, to make the occasion still more memorable by the first production of such an air as 'God save the King.' The halls in which these festivals take place present many features of interest, but none of them are of very early date, the Great Fire having swept away most of those then in existence. The hall of the Barber Surgeons, described in a previous number,* and that of the Leathersellers engraved in this, may be taken as interesting examples of those which escaped. Of the halls recently rebuilt, the Goldsmiths',

* No. LXII.

one of the most sumptuous specimens of domestic architecture in the metropolis, has also been fully treated of.* The Fishmongers', with its fine statue of Walworth on the staircase, its stained glass windows, its elegant drawing-room with a splendid silver chandelier, and its grand banquetting hall, is built, decorated, and furnished on a similarly splendid scale. Of the remainder we can but briefly refer to Merchant Tailors' Hall, with its tabular lists of the kings, princes, dukes, and other distinguished personages, who have been members, making one wonder who is not included in it rather than who is; Drapers' Hall, on the site of the building erected by Henry VIII.'s vicar-general, Cromwell, with its public gardens, where was the house occupied by Stow's father, which Cromwell so unceremoniously removed upon rollers when making the said gardens out of his neighbours' land; Mercers' Hall, with its chapel, standing where, several centuries ago, stood the house of Gilbert Becket, father of the great archbishop, and husband of the fair Saracen who had followed him over the seas; the Clockmakers', with their library and museum, richly illustrative of the history of their trade; and lastly, the Painter Stainers, who not only claimed a supervision over the highest branches of art, but had their claims admitted by the enrolment of such men as Verrio, Kneller, and Reynolds among their members.



[Fishmongers' Hall, London Bridge.]

* No. LXXV.

[Covent Garden.]

# CIX.—COVENT GARDEN.

The name of this well-known place is one of the many instances of popular corruption, which, should the original be once forgot, from thenceforth become both the trouble and the delight of bewildered but zealous antiquaries. We are, however, as yet spared their theories as to the origin of Covent Garden, seeing that we are told in many a bulky volume that there was on the spot, so early as 1222, a large garden belonging to the monks of Westminster Abbey, which was therefore known as the *Convent Garden.* And it is curious to note how the deities to whom the place was then dedicated have kept watch and ward over it through all the changes that have been experienced here: the only difference being that Flora, having grown more comprehensive and exotic, and, it must be acknowledged, artificial in her tastes, has changed her simple plat into a conservatory; and that Pomona, instead of having to superintend the supply of the Abbey table, now caters for no inconsiderable portion of mighty London.

We have spoken of changes; and perhaps no part of London forms a happier text for such a theme,—no part that more strikingly illustrates the growth of London in comparatively recent times. Let us look at Covent Garden in 1560, as it is exhibited to us in a large Map of the period,* or at the view of the Strand given in a frontispiece to our first volume. It forms there an oblong walled space, sprinkled over with trees and some three or four cottages, or, as

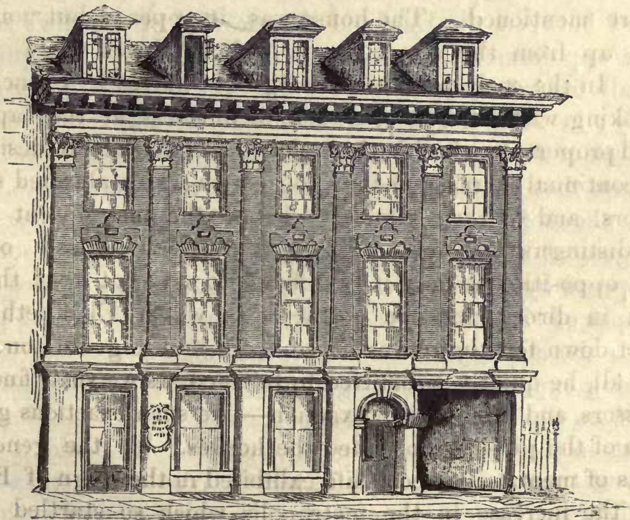
* Preserved in the collection of Sir Hans Sloane, and re-engraved in Maitland.

Strype describes it, "fields, with some thatched houses, stables, and such like," bounded by open meadows with footpaths on the north, by the enclosed and gay-looking parterres of Bedford House on the south, by the road from St. Giles's into the Strand and to Temple Bar, with Drury House on the opposite side, embosomed in green foliage on the east, and by St. Martin's Lane on the west, a fine leafy avenue carrying the eye onwards into the country, towards the beautiful hills of Hampstead and Highgate. That these features are correctly delineated in the map is evident from other proofs: Anderson, for instance, writing about the middle of the last century, refers to his having met persons in his youth who remembered the west side of St. Martin's Lane to have been a quickset hedge. Towards the southern corner of the western side, St. Martin's church formed a portion of the boundary line, with the Mews beyond it, "so called of the King's falcons there kept by the King's falconer, which of old time was an office of great account, as appeareth by a record of Richard II. in the first year of his reign; [when] Sir Simon Burley, Knight, was made constable of the castles of Windsor, Wigmore, and Guilford, and of the manor of Kennington, and also master of the King's falconry at the Mews near unto Charing Cross." * The Bedford family, to whom we are indebted in a great measure for the difference between the Covent Garden and precincts here described, and the same localities of the present day, is the one referred to in Malcolm's remark, "Strange, that a fifth of London should have been erected by this family within two centuries!"

But for the dissolution of the monasteries, all these as well as many other important metropolitan changes could hardly have taken place: then it was that the Convent Garden, with a field called Seven Acres, or more popularly, from its shape, Long Acre, was granted by Edward VI. to Edward Duke of Somerset, and again in 1552, after the attainder of that nobleman, to John Earl of Bedford, who immediately built himself a house at the bottom of the present Southampton Street, in the Strand (so called from the illustrious wife of the Lord William Russell, who was the daughter of the Earl of Southampton), and laid out the parterres before mentioned. The house was, it appears, but "a mean wooden building, shut up from the street by an ordinary brick wall;" it was pulled down in 1704. In the early part of the reign of Charles I., Francis, fourth Earl of Bedford, looking with the eye of a man of business at the capacities of his newly-acquired property, and with that of a statesman at the desirableness and certainty of a continual increase of the progression which alarmed so many of his brother senators, and of their monarch, began the magnificent improvements which were to distinguish his name. How he appeased Charles I., or how he ventured to act in opposition to him, it is difficult to say, but that the Earl's proceedings were in direct violation of the laws which Elizabeth, James, and Charles had set down for the repression of fresh buildings in London is certain: perhaps, after all, he quietly submitted to be fined, as we shall find was the case with his successors, and then let the exaction—like such exactions generally—fall on that portion of the public who rented the houses. To the general energy in all departments of mental and social life exhibited in the reign of Elizabeth may be attributed the increase in the metropolis which so startled the sagacious

* Stow's Survey, p. 493.

virgin queen, that she issued a proclamation in 1580, forbidding the erection of any but houses of the highest class within three miles of the city. James was not even satisfied with this precaution, but added (1617) a proclamation commanding all noblemen, knights, and gentlemen, who had mansions in the country, to depart within twenty days, with their wives and families, during the summer vacation. As to Charles, he, in the very year that the Earl commenced operations, strained the restrictive virtue of proclamations so far as to forbid the entertainment of additional inmates in houses already existing, "which would multiply the inhabitants to such an excessive number that they could neither be governed nor fed." This, we repeat, was the precise time the Earl of Bedford began. His first step was to call to his assistance Inigo Jones, who had already commenced at Lincoln's Inn Fields the erection of that class of houses, and in that disposition, which gave such novel features to London, and forms to this day, in the different squares, one of its principal charms. The old buildings of the locality having been removed, a large oblong space, 500 feet long by 400 broad, was laid out in the centre, around which were to be stately buildings, with arcades after the Italian manner, for persons of rank and fashion, then fast migrating westward from Aldersgate Street and the different parts of the city. The north and a part of the east sides only were erected, however, by Jones, or after his designs, and the latter was burnt down in the fire that injured the church in 1795. The remainder of the space was laid out in streets, which still bear in their names a reference to the period, as King Street, Charles Street, and Henrietta Street. The impulse, thus given, spread; noble mansions shot up with surprising rapidity, in Drury Lane, in Queen Street, and generally through the neighbourhood, where we may still trace Jones's handiwork, as in the building in the street last mentioned, which is here shown. This fine artist, indeed, it seems to us, ought to be looked upon as the true founder of the modern domestic architecture of the metropolis. It was not till after he had laid out Lincoln's Inn Square and Covent Garden, and built the palatial mansions that adorned both, that



[House built by Inigo Jones, in Great Queen Street.

Soho Square and Golden Square arose; to be followed still later by Hanover and Cavendish Squares, and a host of others. Of the minor streets that sprung up subsequent to and in consequence of the erection of the buildings of Covent Garden, in the same century, we may mention Catherine Street, so designated from the wife of Charles II.; Duke Street and York Street from his brother; also Bloomsbury, and the streets of Seven Dials; and, lastly, in the reigns of William and Anne, the remaining unbuilt sides of Covent Garden. As to the fines for such labours, which we before referred to, it appears that during the Protectorate, in the year 1657, William, the fifth Earl, and his brothers John and Edward Russell, were abated 7000*l.* from the amount of their fines for violating the proclamation, in consideration of the great expense which the family had incurred in the erection of the chapel, and the improvement of the neighbourhood.

As houses accumulated, the parish church of St. Martin became insufficient for the accommodation of the parishioners; so the Earl one day sent for his architect, and "told him," says Walpole, who had the anecdote from the Speaker of the House of Commons, Onslow, "that he wanted a chapel for the parishioners of Covent Garden, but added, he would not go to any considerable expense; 'in short,' says he, 'I would not have it much better than a barn.' 'Well, then,' replied Jones, 'you shall have the handsomest barn in England.'" This story, so far from appearing to us as "somewhat questionable," as Mr. Brayley esteems it, or to have arisen from a mere "expression of pleasantry on the part of the Earl," as suggested by a writer in the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' is so exactly illustrated by the building, that were there no truth in it, we should be half inclined to agree with the opinion of him who said the most remarkable thing about the structure is the reputation it enjoys, so exceedingly naked is it as regards all decorative details, so destitute, in short, of any qualities that can command admiration *except* the air of grandeur thrown over the whole by the masterly combinations of form and the powerful lights and shadows which they bring into play: the very quality, in short, that the anecdote shows us was alone at the architect's disposal. Some time after the erection of the chapel, a dispute occurred between the Earl and the vicar of St. Martin's as to the right of patronage or appointment of curates to the former, in consequence of which the Earl used all his influence to get the district formed into a separate parish, and successfully; in 1645 his wishes were finally accomplished, and the chapel became the church of St. Paul—Covent Garden a parish. The cost of the former was 4500*l.*, a sum that contrasts very oddly with the charges for repairing the structure only about fifty years later, namely, 11,000*l.*; but the Vandals who had the management of the repair appear to have gone out of their way to increase the expense by altering the portico—Inigo Jones's portico; for we learn from a newspaper of 1727 that "the right honourable the Earl of Burlington, out of regard to the memory of the celebrated Inigo Jones, and to prevent our countrymen being exposed for their ignorance, has very generously been at the expense of 300*l.* or 400*l.* to restore the portico of Covent Garden Church, now one of the finest in the world, to its primitive form: it is said it once cost the inhabitants about twice as much to spoil it." * Would it were always so; it is impossible to desire a better argument for the conviction of such persons, and

* 'Weekly Journal,' April 22, 1727.

where that fails nothing could succeed. In 1795 the fire took place which burnt the arcade on the east side of the square, and did terrible damage to the church; Malcolm says, not a particle of woodwork escaped (the wondrous architectural roof of timber of course early disappeared); and describes the flames at their height as making "a grand scene, the portico and massy pillars projected before a background of liquid fire." The church had been insured for 10,000*l.*, but the insurance having been allowed to expire about a twelvemonth before, the entire expense of the rebuilding fell on the inhabitants in the shape of an accumulation of rent to the amount, it is said, of at least 25 per cent. The essential parts of Inigo Jones's structure, that is, the portico, with the walls, resisted the fire and were preserved. There were some interesting things in the building thus destroyed, and which shared the same fate; such as the monument by Gibbon of Sir P. Lely, who

> " ——— on animated canvas stole
> The sleepy eye that spoke the melting soul,"

and who was buried in the church; the painted-glass portraits of St. Paul, of which Bagford speaks; and the picture of Charles I., by Lely, which shows how the painter's zealous political views had got the better of his common sense, not to say of his religious perceptions: the king was painted kneeling, with a *crown of thorns* in his hand, his sceptre and coronet lying by. We do not find it stated that this picture was burnt, but such was no doubt the case, as it is not now in the church. Many of our readers may be aware that St. Paul's, Covent Garden, derives some reputation from the eminent men who have been buried within its walls or churchyard; but they will hardly be aware how very rich it is in such associations. Beneath the vestry-room, where is a fine portrait by Vandyke of the first Earl of Bedford, lie Wolcot, the scourge alike of Academicians, and of the royalty who conferred on them the honours they so delighted in, and Johnstone, the best Irish gentleman of our stage. In other parts of the church are the remains of Wycherley, the author of the 'Plain Dealer,' and the worthy precursor of the Congreves, Vanbrughs, and Farquhars; Macklin, who, as his inscription informs us, was

> " ——— the father of the modern stage,
> Renowned alike for talent and for age,"

and Dr. Arne, the great English musician (without stone or memorial). In that part of the churchyard which lies on the northern side of the walk, against the back of the houses of King Street, and called King Street Plat, reposes the author of 'Hudibras;' and in another corner of the same plat, appropriately designated the Theatrical corner, Michael Kelly, Edwin, King, and Estcourt, the founder of the first Beef Steak Club, of which Mrs. Woffington was president, and which is mentioned in the 'Spectator.' Two other names yet occur to the memory in connexion with St. Paul's, Carr Earl of Somerset, and Sir Robert Strange, the founder of the English school of engraving, and who enjoys the peculiar honour of having had his portrait introduced into the picture of the 'Progress of Engraving,' in the Vatican—the only one of our countrymen so distinguished.

Nor are the interesting recollections of the locality confined to the church. In

Rose Street, now Rose Alley, Covent Garden, was Dryden waylaid and beaten by ruffians hired by the Earl of Rochester, in revenge for an attack upon himself in the 'Essay on Satire,' a production attributed to Dryden, but really written by Lord Mulgrave, afterwards Duke of Buckinghamshire. The poet was at the time returning from his favourite haunt at the western corner of Bow Street, the far-famed Will's Coffee House. Dryden was also concerned in another act of violence in Covent Garden, and which ended fatally, but in which he was less personally interested: we allude to the duel, so dramatically described by Pepys, between "Sir H. Bellasses and Tom Porter," and which, he justly observes, is worth remembering as a "kind of emblem of the general complexion of this whole kingdom at present." He then continues, "They two dined yesterday at Sir Robert Carr's, where, it seems, people do drink high, all that come. It happened that these two, the greatest friends in the world, were talking together, and Sir H. Bellasses talked a little louder than ordinary to Tom Porter, giving of him some advice. Some of the company standing by said, 'What, are they quarrelling, that they talk so high?' Sir H. Bellasses, hearing it, said, 'No,' says he, 'I would have you know I never quarrel but I strike; and take that as a rule of mine!' 'How,' says Tom Porter, 'strike? I would I could see the man in England that durst give me a blow.' With that Sir H. Bellasses did give him a box of the ear; and so they were going to fight there, but were hindered. And by-and-by Tom Porter went out, and, meeting Dryden the poet, told him of the business, and that he was resolved to fight Sir H. Bellasses presently; for he knew that, if he did not, they should be friends to-morrow, and then the blow would rest upon him, which he would prevent; and desired Dryden to let him have his boy to bring him notice which way Sir H. Bellasses goes. By-and-by he is informed that Sir H. Bellasses' coach was coming: so Tom Porter went down out of the coffee-house, where he stayed for the tidings, and stopped the coach, and bade Sir H. Bellasses come out. 'Why,' says H. Bellasses, 'you will not hurt me coming out, will you?' 'No,' says Tom Porter. So, out he went, and both drew; and H. Bellasses having drawn, and flung away his scabbard, Tom Porter asked him whether he was ready. The other answering him he was, they fell to fight, some of their acquaintance by. They wounded one another, and Bellasses so much, that it is feared he will die: and, finding himself severely wounded, he called to Tom Porter, and kissed him, and bade him shift for himself; for, says he, 'Tom, thou hast hurt me, but I will make shift to stand upon my legs till thou mayst withdraw, and the world will not take notice of you, for I would not have thee troubled for what thou hast done.' And so, whether he did fly or not I cannot tell; but Tom Porter showed H. Bellasses that he was wounded too: and they are both ill, but H. Bellasses to fear of life." * Bellasses died ten days afterwards.

In Covent Garden, again, was Powell's Theatre, where Punch, soaring above the mere antics that regale the eyes of his street worshippers, marshalled a goodly company of puppet actors, and laid under contribution the mightiest subjects in the history of man for dramas, that might worthily exhibit their powers. Here is one of Powell's advertisements:—"At Punch's Theatre, in the Little Piazza, this present Friday being the 2nd, and to-morrow, the 3rd of May, will

* Pepys's Diary.

be presented an opera, called the 'State of Innocence, or the Fall of Man.' With variety of scenes and machines, particularly the scene of Paradise in its primitive state, with birds, beasts, and all its ancient inhabitants, the subtlety of the serpent in betraying Adam and Eve, &c., with variety of diverting interludes, too many to be inserted here. No person to be admitted in masks or riding-hoods [commonly used at the other theatres for the purposes of licentious intrigue], nor any money to be returned after the curtain is up. Boxes 2*s.*; pit 1*s.* Beginning exactly at seven o'clock." It must not be supposed, however, that Punch thought there should be no more cakes and ale because his master was virtuous, or that fun was to be debarred merely because the theme might be somewhat serious: so, whether Adam and Eve were wandering hand-in-hand about Eden, or Noah and his daughters shut up in the ark, Punch, in his own proper character, was not long missing. Powell had constantly audiences of the most fashionable description. Lastly, in and around Covent Garden, *the* Beefsteak Club—not the oldest one, but by far the greatest—held its sittings, from its first formation in the dressing-room of the manager and pantomimist Rich, a man of whom Garrick says,—

> "He gave the power of speech to every limb,"

and who carried the pantomimic art to great perfection in his theatre at Lincoln's Inn, and subsequently at Covent Garden when he became its manager. To ensure the effect of his scenes, and the working of his ingenious mechanism he painted the one, and put in motion the other, in small pasteboard models, with his own hands. Whilst thus engaged, his room was the continual resort of men of rank and intellectual eminence, who admired the skill of the artist, and still more the conversation of the man. Hogarth, his father-in-law Sir James Thornhill, and Lord Peterborough, were among this class. The latter having been detained accidentally on one occasion, through the non-arrival of his carriage, was so delighted with the converse that passed as to overlook the lapse of time, and the necessity that his entertainer—a man of regular habits—should get his dinner. Rich, however, did not forget or postpone it, but at two o'clock commenced preparations by clearing his fire, placing a gridiron with a steak on it, and spreading his cloth. When ready, Rich invited his lordship to join him, who did so, and enjoyed his repast so much that further supplies, with wine, were sent for; and thus was the evening spent. On leaving, Lord Peterborough proposed a renewal of the feast on the Saturday following, when three or four friends came with him, and the club was finally determined upon, with "Beef and Liberty" for its motto, and beefsteaks, port wine, and punch for its regular fare. This took place in 1735, and from that to the present time there are few persons of very high personal, political, or intellectual distinction who have not been among its members. In the notices of the proceedings of different periods the most prominent names are Bubb Doddington, Aaron Hill, Hoadley, the author of the 'Suspicious Husband,' Glover the poet, Lord Sandwich, Wilkes, Bonnel Thornton, Arthur Murphy, Churchill, Tickell, the Prince of Wales afterwards George IV., the late Duke of Norfolk, the late Charles Morris, &c. &c. Here, indeed, were met the fellows of infinite jest, of most excellent fancy, with their gibes, their gambols, their songs, their flashes of merriment that were wont to

set the table in a roar. Pre-eminent among them was the poet Churchill, whose wit in many a dazzling attack or repartee still lives in the memory of the members. The "Liberty," added to the Beef, had probably attracted a descendant of King Charles's stern judge, Bradshaw, to the society, who was always boasting of the connexion. Pursuing one day his usual theme, Churchill remarked, "Ah, Bradshaw, don't crow! The Stuarts have been amply avenged for the loss of Charles's head, for you have not had a head in your whole family ever since." The society, after numerous migrations, as from Covent Garden Theatre to the Bedford Hotel in the square, and from the Bedford to the Lyceum, is now permanently settled in a room attached to the latter, where Rich's original gridiron "now presents itself, encircled with its motto, and suspended from the ceiling to every eye which can spare a wandering glance from the beefsteak smoking before it."* We conclude these historical notices of Covent Garden with a brief reference to its aspect in the beginning of the last century, when the square was enclosed with rails, and ornamented by a stone pillar on a pedestal, with a curious four-square sun-dial; when the south side lay open to Bedford Garden with "its small grotto of trees most pleasant in the summer season," and in which part alone was then kept the market for fruit, roots, and flowers. On the erection of Southampton and Tavistock Streets, with Southampton Passage, on the site of Bedford House and its parterres, the market was removed farther into the square, to the great annoyance, it seems, of the "persons of distinction" who then resided in it, and who gradually left their houses in consequence. Maitland, referring to this point, in describing the "things remarkable" of Covent Garden, calls the latter "a magnificent square," and then adds, "wherein *(to its great disgrace)* is kept a herb and fruit-market." If the sage topographer could see the latter now, we wonder whether its increased magnitude would make it seem in his eyes a still more disgraceful affair, or whether that very magnitude, as in a thousand analogous instances, would stamp it as respectable. The contrast is certainly curious between the opinions of the market held by a historian of London only a century or so ago, and the state and reputation of that market now.

The supremacy of Covent Garden as the great wholesale market for vegetables, fruit, and flowers is now undisputed. So early indeed as 1654 proposals were made for establishing a herb-market in Clement's Inn Fields; but, though the population had been fast increasing in that direction of the town during the whole of the century, the Stocks Market and the Honey Lane Market, in the City, were still flourishing, and the interests connected with them too powerful to admit of a rival. With a single bridge over the Thames, leading into the very heart of the City, these ancient markets were most convenient to the market-people, whether their supplies were brought by land-carriage or by the river. A century later the Stocks Market was removed, and Spitalfields and Covent Garden had become markets of great importance. The origin of Covent Garden Market is said to have been casual—people coming and standing in the centre of the square with produce for sale gradually led to the establishment of a regular market. This took place before either Westminster or Blackfriars bridges were erected. A paper, published about the middle of the century,

* Clubs of London, vol. ii. p. 11.

entitled, 'Reasons for fixing an Herb-Market at Dowgate,' appears to have been the last attempt to preserve a great vegetable market in the City. It is stated in this paper, that since the removal of Stocks Market the farmers and gardeners had laboured under very great inconvenience, as they were obliged to take their produce to Spitalfields and Covent Garden, which markets, it is observed, were daily increasing. The establishment of a market at Dowgate would, it was argued, have the effect of bringing back into the City all those who went from Stocks Market to Spitalfields; and, as a large proportion of the supply of vegetables and fruit was either landed at the bridge-foot, or brought over it from Kent and Surrey, the proposition seemed reasonable enough. While Dowgate was only three hundred and sixty-six yards from the bridge, Spitalfields was eighteen hundred yards, and Covent Garden three thousand one hundred and ten. The building of Westminster Bridge, and the continually increasing population, particularly in the western and northern suburbs, settled this question. Honey Lane Market, close to Cheapside, and the Fleet Market remained the only places within the City which were supplied by the producers. The Honey Lane Market is now entirely abolished, and its site occupied by the City of London School. In 1824 an Act was passed authorizing the corporation of the City to remove the Fleet Market, and to provide a new one in its place, now called Farringdon Market, on a site adjoining the western side of the old market. In 1830 a company was incorporated for re-establishing Hungerford Market, which is partly a vegetable market. In the same year an Act was passed for establishing Portman Market, in the parish of Mary-le-bone. Finsbury Market is another of the modern vegetable markets of London. We, however, need only notice those markets where the growers and the retail dealers meet to transact their business; and these are Covent Garden; the Borough Market, near the ancient church of St. Saviour's, Southwark; Spitalfields, chiefly a potato-market; Farringdon Market; and perhaps Hungerford Market.

Few places could be more disgraceful to a great city than the incommodious state and mean appearance of Covent Garden Market about thirteen years ago, when it was partially covered with open sheds and wooden structures, running from east to west. What it was seventy years ago we know from Hogarth's print; and the late Mr. Walker, a metropolitan police magistrate, referred to it just previous to its alteration, as an instance of the pernicious effect of neglect and filth on public taste and morality in a spot where large numbers of people daily congregate. "The evil here," he says, "lies in the bad contrivance and arrangement of their places of public concernment. It is surely a great error to spend nearly a million of money on a penitentiary, whilst the hotbeds of vice from which it is filled are wholly unattended to. What must necessarily be the moral state of the numerous class constantly exposed to the changes of the weather, amidst the mud and putridities of Covent Garden? What ought it to be, where the occupation is amongst vegetables, fruits, and flowers, if there were well-regulated accommodations?" Fortunately the kind of deteriorating causes here spoken of have been now removed. In 1827 the Duke of Bedford obtained an Act for rebuilding the market, and the irregular combination of sheds and standings began to be removed in 1828, and in due time the present buildings were completed. The new pile consists of a colonnade on the exterior, running

round the north, east, and south sides, under which are the shops, each with a sleeping-room above. Joined to the back of these is another row of shops, facing the inner courts, and through the centre runs an arched passage, sixteen feet wide and open to the top, with shops on each side. This passage is the favourite promenade of those who visit the market after the rougher business of the morning is over. Forced fruits and culinary vegetables, and rare flowers constitute the great attraction. The effect of the seasons is set at nought. In January forced rhubarb is exhibited, and French beans at 3*s.* a hundred, hot-house grapes at 25*s.* a lb.; in February, cucumbers at 2*s.* 6*d.* to 4*s.* each; and strawberries 1*s.* an ounce; in March, new potatoes at 2*s.* and 2*s.* 6*d.* a lb.; in April, peaches and nectarines at 2*s.* each, and cherries at 25*s.* a lb., or perhaps 30*s.*; at the end of the month peas at 9*s.* per dozen; early in May, green gooseberries at 7*s.* or 8*s.* per half-sieve of 3½ gallons; and all the greatest results of artificial horticulture in every month of the year. In January, bouquets of geraniums, chrysanthemums, euphorbia, and other flowers, may be had at 2*s.* 6*d.* to 5*s.* each; bunches of violets at 6*d.* each; sprigs of sweet-briar, also the Persian lilac, mignonette, &c. Very extensive cellarage for storing bulky articles is excavated under nearly the whole area of the market. There are cellars with conveniences for washing potatoes. Great attention has been paid to the forming of capacious sewers, and every precaution taken to ensure the most perfect cleanliness. Water is furnished by an Artesian well, two hundred and eighty feet deep, which supplies sixteen hundred gallons an hour, and the whole market can be inundated and washed in a few minutes. Over the eastern colonnade, the principal entrance, there are two light and elegant conservatories, rented by two eminent nurserymen, for the sale of the more scarce and delicate species of plants and flowers. They are fifteen feet broad and fifteen feet high, and occupy a third of the terrace, the remaining part forming a promenade, and being also used for the display of the more hardy plants. A handsome fountain throws up a refreshing shower, and adds very much to the beauty of the conservatories. The view from the terrace into the principal passage below, and towards the eastern side of the market, is animated, if not picturesque. We shall return to Covent Garden after a brief description of two other of the metropolitan vegetable markets.

First in extent, so far as the building is concerned, is Farringdon Market. It occupies the sloping surface on which Holborn Hill and Fleet Street stand, and is, in fact, the ancient bank of the river Fleet. This inclination of the surface is remarkably favourable to the drainage, and the market is not only well supplied with water, but is well lighted when the market is open. The area occupies about one acre and a half, in the form of a parallelogram, surrounded on two sides by buildings 41 feet high and 48 broad, and measuring along the middle about 480 feet long. On the above sides are the shops of the butchers and poulterers. The third side consists of a spacious covered space, 232 feet long, 48 feet broad, and 41 feet high, for the fruiterers and dealers in vegetables, and it opens on the central area by an arcade at several points. The south side is open to the street, but separated from it by a long iron palisading, in which there are two entrances for waggons. The number of shops is seventy-nine. Altogether the quadrangular area with the buildings covers 3900 square yards,

being 232 feet by 150 feet. Two of the largest provincial markets are St. John's Market, at Liverpool, 183 feet by 45; and one at Birmingham, 120 feet by 36. The cost of building Farringdon Market was 30,000*l.*, but the purchase of the site, the buildings which stood upon it, and the rights of the occupiers, cost the city about 200,000*l.* Hungerford Market was erected by the architect of Covent Garden Market, but it is not confined to the sale of articles of food only. The Borough Market is of tolerable size, but altogether destitute of architectural pretensions; and, if possible, Spitalfields and the other markets are still less distinguished in this way.

The supply of a population amounting to nearly two millions with articles of such general and necessary consumption in every family as culinary vegetables and fruit, involves of course a very extensive and comprehensive system of co-operation, and in this and every other department connected with the provision of food to the inhabitants of London there is that perfect working to each other's hands amongst the several branches of those immediately or remotely employed by which alone the final result is so successfully accomplished. In vegetable food and fruit the demand cannot at all times keep pace with the immense supply which is poured in by steam-boats, sailing-boats, and boats conducted by a pair of oars, by the railways, and by land-carriage, from the metropolitan counties, from every part of England and parts of Scotland, and from the continent. It is nearly half a century since Middleton, in his 'Agricultural Survey of Middlesex,' estimated the value of the vegetables annually consumed in London at 645,000*l.*, and of fruit at 400,000*l.*, making together a sum exceeding one million sterling (1,045,000*l.*), and this exclusive of the profits of any other class besides the growers. The total amount paid by the consumer would of course very much augment the above large sum. Middleton gives an instance in which the market-gardener received 45*l.* per acre for turnips, while the consumer was paying at the rate of 150*l.*, the former selling bunches at three halfpence each, which were sold in the retailer's shop at fivepence. This of course was not the general course of the trade, for though the retail dealer has, generally speaking, to pay a heavy rent, and is subject to other great expenses and bad debts, the difference of the wholesale and retail price was in this case disproportionate. There are perhaps more cases of garden-farmers or market-gardeners making handsome fortunes by production than amongst the class who sell the same articles by retail. Middleton speaks of a person who grew at Sutton eighty acres of asparagus, and the cost of forming the beds was estimated at 100*l.* per acre. Another grower had sixty acres of his own land under this crop. The market-gardeners, he says, on five acres of the best land, or nine acres of a secondary quality, or on twenty acres of inferior land, at that time provided as well for their families as an ordinary farmer on one hundred and fifty or two hundred acres. He calculated that, for the supply of London with vegetables, there were 2000 acres cultivated by the spade, and 8000 partly by the spade but chiefly by the plough: the gross annual produce varied from 200*l.* to 50*l.* an acre. There were besides the fruit gardeners, who, in 1795, had three thousand acres under cultivation in Middlesex alone, the "upper crop" consisting of apples, pears, cherries, plums, walnuts, &c., and the "under crop" of gooseberries, raspberries, currants, strawberries, and other bearing trees which would grow

well under the shade of the larger ones. Peaches, nectarines, and similar fruits were trained against the walls. In the height of the season Middleton supposed that each acre of these gardens gave employment to thirty-five persons, amongst whom were many women, chiefly from Wales, part of whose time was employed in carrying baskets of fruit to town on their heads. The vegetable gardeners also gave employment to great numbers of persons in the busiest season. The gathering of a crop of peas required forty persons for every ten acres, the "podders" being paid at the rate of fourpence a bushel in 1795. After peas succeeded turnips, and these as well as carrots are washed and tied in bunches before being sent to market. The cutting and packing of waggon loads of cabbages or whatever other vegetables may be in season cannot be done without the services of a number of persons besides the labourers actually engaged in their cultivation. Since Middleton's work was published the population of the metropolis has just doubled, and it probably will not be far wrong to double his estimates: the mode of cultivation and of preparing the produce for market remains much in the same state as it was fifty years ago. Two centuries ago, Samuel Hartlib, author of several works on agriculture, writing in 1650, states that some old men recollected "the first gardener who came into Surrey to plant cabbages, cauliflowers, and to sow turnips, carrots, and parsnips, to sow early-ripe peas, all which at that time were great wonders, we having few or none in England but what came from Holland and Flanders." Twenty years before, he tells us, that so near London as Gravesend, "there was not so much as a mess of peas but what came from London." In our day we have pea salesmen in London, and in a single day one grower will send to one firm about four hundred sacks of twelve and sixteen pecks each, besides from three to five hundred sieves (of seven gallons each) of those of a superior kind; and the same grower will in the same way send seven or eight waggon loads of cabbages, each load averaging one hundred and fifty dozen cabbages; at another season, from the same farm, fourteen or fifteen hundred baskets of "sprouts" will be sent in one day, and in the course of the year from five to six thousand tons of potatoes. If we look at the immense quantity and variety of vegetables and fruits which are sent to London in the present day, it is easier to perceive the great change which has taken place in the diet of the people than to imagine how they could do without that varied supply of vegetable food which is now considered indispensable.

The market-days at Covent Garden are Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday, the last being by far the most important. There is no particular hour for commencing business, but it varies at different seasons, and by daybreak there are always a few retail dealers present. Waggons and carts have been arriving for some time before, and porters are busied in transferring their contents to the different stations of the salesmen while the dawn is yet grey. The houses of refreshment around the market are open at half-past one in summer; and little tables are set out against the pillars of the piazzas by the venders of tea and coffee. Here the porters and carters can obtain refreshment without needing to resort to exciting liquors; and few greater benefits have been conferred on the laborious classes whose occupation is in the public markets than that of substituting tea and coffee for ardent spirits. There is some separation of the

different classes of articles, and potatoes and coarser produce are assigned a distinct quarter. Vegetables and fruit are tolerably well separated, and flowers and plants are found together. The west side of the square is covered with potted flowers and plants in bloom, and a gay, beautiful, and fragrant display they make. The supply of "cut" flowers for bouquets, or, to use the old-fashioned word, nosegays, is very large, including "walls," daffodils, roses, pinks, carnations, &c., according to the season. The carts and waggons with vegetables are drawn up close together on three sides of the market. A waggon-load of fine fresh cabbages, of clean-washed turnips, carrots, or cauliflowers, or an area of twenty square yards covered with the latter beautiful vegetable, or either of the others piled in neat stacks, is a pleasing sight. Here are onions from the Bedfordshire sands or Deptford, cabbages from Battersea, asparagus from Mortlake and Deptford, celery from Chelsea, peas from Charlton, these spots being each famous for the production of these particular articles, though the supply may be larger from other places. By and by the greengrocers come jogging in; and the five spacious streets leading to the market in time become crowded with a double row of their vehicles. The costermongers and venders of water-cresses, and itinerant dealers who have taken up the trade as a temporary resource, arrive with their donkey-carts, trucks, or baskets. The Irish basket-women, who

[Covent Garden Basket Women.]

ply as porteresses, and will carry your purchase to any part of the town, jabber in Erse, and a subdued clamouring sound tells you that the business of the day has really begun. As fast as the retail dealer makes his bargains a porter carries the articles to his market-cart, pushing through the crowd with the load on his head as well as he can. The baskets of "spring onions" and young radishes are thronged by the itinerant dealers trying to drive hard bargains. It is interesting to watch for a short time the business of the flower-market.

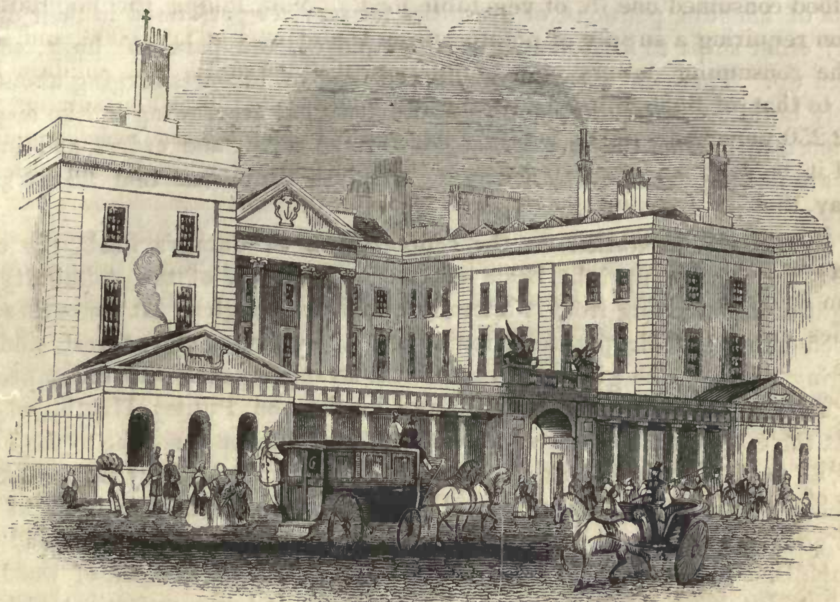
This is the Londoners' flower-garden, and is resorted to in the early summer morning by many a lover of flowers compelled by his occupation to live in the densely-crowded parts of London, and who steals a few moments from the busy day to gratify one of the purest tastes. This out-of-door floral exhibition has undergone an extraordinary improvement within the last few years, and it is really an attractive show. It keeps alive a taste which in many instances would otherwise languish; and it is not a little "refreshing" to see the humble mechanic making a purchase of a root of "hen and chicken daisies," a "black" wall-flower, or a primrose, to ornament the window of his workshop. Some who love flowers better than they understand how to treat them, while making their purchase, gather instructions for keeping them fresh and healthy. The "pot" plants are bought in ones and twos by private persons; but the itinerant dealer fills his basket or donkey-cart, and will be met with in his perambulations during the day in most parts of London in spring and summer. The most common plants are pelagorniums, fuchsias, verbenas, heliotropes, amaranthus, cockscombs, calceolarias, roses, myrtles, and other greenhouse plants. The cut flowers are purchased for the decoration of public rooms, and by persons who love the exquisite beauty of flowers, and by itinerant dealers, chiefly females, who make them up into small bouquets and vend them in the streets. The smart clerk purchases them for a posy, and to stick a fine pelagornium in the button-hole is not a practice to be despised, albeit a glass phial filled with water on a corner of his desk would perhaps be as good a destination. The sweet-briar which the flower-girl offers for sale in the crowded street gives out a fragrance which is most delicious, as its odours are momentarily inhaled by the hasty passenger proceeding to scenes so different from those which it recalls. The costermongers,* who may be seen in all the great wholesale markets of London, Smithfield excepted, unless they may go there to speculate in horse-flesh for the boiler, or to buy a donkey, are a very singular race, and in their sharp commercial habits come nearer to the Jews than any other class. From their appearance any one would infer that their purchases would be confined to a few bunches of water-cresses, but they often buy considerable quantities of the best description of articles; and though, still judging from appearances, it would seem to display a very reckless degree of confidence in each other, they not unfrequently club their money and buy up an advantageous lot on favourable terms, though it is not easy to perceive by what arrangement they can divide the bargain amongst each other without serious disputes. The narrow and dirty streets which they inhabit may often be seen gay with a rich display of potted flowers and plants which they are about to carry through the town for sale; and at other times an unwonted aspect of purity is given to the vicinity by a profuse supply of the finest cauliflowers. The costermongers may be divided into several ranks, the lowest being scarcely worthy of the name, as he only purchases in small quantities which he can carry off in his basket. A considerable degree above him is he who carries his commodities from street to street on a truck with a capacious board on the top, shelved at the edges; but it must be stated that the truck is only a hired one, either for the day or the

* See No. VIII. 'Street Noises,' vol. i. p. 134.

week; the costermonger who owns a donkey, and a rough cart which seems to have been rudely made by his own hands, is indeed worthy of his name and character, and he may save money if he is not too fond of low sports; but a prince among the tribe is he who has not only cash for any chance speculation which may turn up, but possesses accumulated capital in the shape of trucks which he lets out at a fixed rent to his less fortunate or less steady brethren. One man of this class, who lives near the 'Elephant and Castle,' has forty of these trucks. They cost from 2*l.* to 2*l.* 10*s.* when new: he is not so extravagant as to buy them fresh from the maker, but picks them up when misfortune obliges one of the fraternity to descend to a humbler rank in the profession. The charge for letting them out is 4*d.* a-day, or 2*s.* a-week, but without the board at the top 3*d.* and 1*s.* 6*d.*; and in winter the price for each sort is only 1*s.* 6*d.* Sometimes one of these wealthy truck-men will buy up on very advantageous terms large quantities of such articles as are in season, and he can sell again to the drawers of his trucks cheaper than they can buy in small quantities in the market. He knows better than to employ the buyers as his servants, but is content with a small profit and no risk, and as he gets so handsome an income from his trucks he ought to be content. A boy of the lowest class commencing his career in Covent Garden Market, if he be prudent, sharp, and intelligent, and is fortunately exempt from the vices of his companions, has a better and surer prospect of making a fortune, if he pursues a right course, than most of the youths of the middle class.

The Borough Market is well supplied with vegetable produce, but there is no catering here for a wealthy class of consumers: the market is held three times a-week. Hungerford can scarcely be regarded a wholesale market, the dealers who have shops here being chiefly supplied from Covent Garden. Farringdon Market has not realized the expectations which were entertained of its importance, but produce is brought to it by the growers on two days in the week, and it is a good deal resorted to by the itinerant venders, those especially who sell hot baked potatoes and the criers of water-cress. Spitalfields is the largest potato market in the metropolis, as, besides being convenient to the growers in Essex, whence the chief supply by land-carriage is obtained, it is in the midst of a dense population of the poorer class. It is difficult to obtain an estimate worthy of much confidence relative to the consumption of potatoes in London, but it is really enormous, and of late years has increased in a greater ratio than the increase of population would warrant. The most extensive potato-salesmen are established in Tooley Street, where they have warehouses adjacent to the river. There are some retail dealers who dispose of thirty tons of potatoes per week, in quantities of a few pounds weight at a time, all weighed in the scale; but ten tons is considered as a very good amount of business in this article, and sales of this extent only occur in particular quarters of the town where the means of the population do not rise much above poverty. One wholesale dealer in Spitalfields Market can store up a thousand tons or 14,000 sacks on his premises. The Irish Railway Commissioners estimated the quantity of food consumed by an adult living wholly upon vegetable food at eleven lbs. per day, inclusive of waste, which is very great; the quantity

consumed by the next class, who enjoy a limited use of other kinds of food, they ascertained to be two lbs.; and those who were unrestricted as to the nature of their food consumed one lb. of vegetable food. Now, taking the population of London requiring a supply of potatoes from the market at 1,500,000, and allowing the consuming powers of a population of 1000 adults and children to be equal to that of 655 adults, we have in the metropolis the full consuming power of 982,250 persons. As so many other vegetables are used besides potatoes, would it be very far wrong to estimate the consumption at one lb. for each adult per day, that is, 3070 tons per week, or say 3000 tons, and 156,000 tons per year? Even if some reduction were made on this estimate, the quantity would still be very great. Not more than one-half of this supply is obtained from the metropolitan counties, chiefly Essex and Kent. When prices range high, the inland supplies are brought thirty miles or more, a great distance for so bulky an article. The quantity conveyed by the railways is very trifling, and steam-boats only occasionally bring ten or fifteen tons when other freight is not to be obtained. There remains, then, probably from seventy to eighty thousand tons for the supply by water, the larger proportion of which comes from land on the banks of the Humber, Trent, and Ouse, which is fertilized by artificial flooding and the deposit of a rich silt. Scotland ranks the next, afterwards Jersey, and lastly Devonshire. Scarcely any potatoes reach London from Ireland, as they have hitherto been more profitably consumed in the production of bacon and pork; and the small quantity of foreign which have arrived since the alteration of the tariff has not proved good enough for the London market. In the busy season of the year there is always a considerable number of vessels laden with potatoes lying off the wharfs adjacent to Tooley Street; those from Yorkshire being of 50 to 120 tons; the Scotch vessels from 80 to 150 tons; and those from Jersey are sometimes as large as 300 tons. At the same time the yards which communicate with the wharfs are crowded with the waggons and carts belonging to the retail dealers waiting for a supply. For about three months in the year this water-side trade is suspended, but it revives again in the month of October.



[The Admiralty.]

## CX.—THE ADMIRALTY AND THE TRINITY HOUSE.

THE Admiralty, which forms the left flank of the detachment of Government offices drawn up in line opposite the Banqueting House at Whitehall, cannot stand a very critical examination on its architectural merits. Well; it is not the only plain and homely body in which a mighty spirit has been lodged. These three huge sides of a square, without even an attempt at ornament—excepting the posts, which the polite call pillars, at the grand central entry—which resemble nothing on earth so much as an overgrown farmstead, which have had that architectural screen, almost as tasteless as themselves, drawn before them like a Mokanna's veil, from a dim sense that not even stone walls could hear with patience the remarks that must necessarily be made upon them if fully exposed to view—are the unlikely form in which is lodged the mind that wields the naval power of Britain.

There sit the Commissioners of the Admiralty, the Board which, except for two years, separated from each other by the lapse of more than a century,* have been invested with the government of the navy of England since the Revolution. The First Lord of the Admiralty (who is a member of the Cabinet) and his four junior Lords hold their deliberations there. They prepare the navy estimates,

* Prince George of Denmark was Lord High Admiral in 1707-8; the late King, when Duke of Clarence, in 1827-8; with these exceptions the office has been in commission since 1688.

and lay them before Parliament; issue orders for the payment of naval moneys; make or approve all appointments or promotions in the navy; recommend all grants of honours, pensions, or gratuities for services performed in their department; order ships to be commissioned, employed, and paid off, built, sold, or broken up. There is a ceaseless ebb and flow of business surging about that homely building. Reports, inquiries, and petitions are flowing in like a spring-tide incessantly from the remotest regions of the earth, and orders and instructions are flowing out as continuously to regulate operations that fill as wide a sphere.

If we take up our station on the esplanade in St. James's Park, the eye is caught by a huge upright beam erected on the roof of the Admiralty, with straight arms extending from it laterally at different angles. At times these may be seen altering their positions, remaining a few moments at rest, and then changing again. The giant upon whom the stranger gazes with uncomprehending curiosity is whispering to his huge brother on Putney Heath, who will repeat the intelligence to his neighbour behind Richmond, and he to the next in order, so that by their unconscious agency the heads of the navy in London give and receive intelligence to and from the great naval stations hundreds of miles off as quickly as they can communicate with a storehouse at the other end of the metropolis. The semaphore is, as any man may see, but a block of wood, and, heaven knows, no beauty, yet, in the hands of man, it becomes instinct with wondrous power. Like all the other mechanical inventions of the age, it indicates at once the power of intellect and its limit. By the instrumentality of machinery man adds to the puny strength of his body, and ekes out his dwarfish stature. By the steam-engine he rows a mighty ship as if it were a Thames scull-boat, or hammers at once masses of iron too colossal for a troop of Cyclopses. And by the telegraph he renders himself as it were present in the same moment at distant places. But he cannot inspire his instruments with intelligence; only while his hand is upon them can they "do his spiriting gently" or otherwise: left to themselves they relapse into the inertness of mere matter. Nor can he clothe them with the flexible grace of movement, with that ever-varying elegance of form and harmony of tint which is the contradistinguishing mark of God's creations. Wonderful though they be, these inventions of man—these his mute senseless drudges—they all of them bear legibly and indelibly stamped upon all their lineaments, the name of MAKESHIFT. Mere makeshifts they are and must remain—something inferior stuck in to supply the want of better that cannot be had—confessions of weakness—reminding us even more of human littleness and feebleness than of its power.

There is quite as little to interest the eye in the interior of the structure round which we have been loitering and musing as in its exterior. Through the great central door you pass into a spacious hall, cool, airy, and pleasant in summer, but bare of ornament. There appears to be something imposing in its mere size and proportions, but perhaps this is self-deception—attributing to the building the impression produced by the presence that lies beyond. A few attendants in plain dresses are lounging in the hall; always civil, but always cool—they answer any questions with Spartan brevity, and allow the inquirer to

pass on. The public rooms are, like the vestibule, sufficiently spacious and well proportioned, furnished with everything necessary to facilitate the discharge of business—decorously simple. Except in the extent of the building there is nothing to distinguish it from the private establishment of some great mercantile firm. It is nothing of outward show that impresses us as we pass through these suites of rooms: it is our consciousness of a spiritual presence which has pervaded them ever since they became the residence of the central management of the British navy.

How many an anxious, how many an elated heart, passes daily in and out of this building! Nerves that would remain unshaken, minds that would remain self-possessed, while the iron-hail-shower of a broadside was crashing through bulwark and bulkhead, or while the thunders of whole fleets beneath the smoke-canopy of their own creation were shaking the breezy atmosphere into a calm, sulphurous and portentous as that which broods over an earthquake, have here become relaxed and confused as those of a bashful girl. The midshipman as he passed up these broad stairs has felt that there was something worse on this earth than a mast-heading, and even his petulance has been subdued; nay, the equanimity of the most coolly imperious captain has been shaken. Perhaps Nelson has laid his hand upon these banisters while his far-distant spirit was marshalling the future fights of Trafalgar and the Nile, or giving orders to hang out the signal—"England expects every man to do his duty." Poor Dalrymple, the first Admiralty hydrographer, has here been convulsed with the wayward querulousness of age, attributing to malevolence and oppression the conduct rendered necessary by his own dotage. Cook passed up these stairs to report what unknown regions and tribes he had discovered, and how he had triumphed over sickness, and brought back a crew scarcely diminished by death, from a long, distant, and dangerous voyage. Here many a plan of action has been struck out which conducted to victory; many a one, in defiance of the absurdity of which the skill and courage of British sailors have gained victories. The succession of gallant spirits endowed with scientific acquirements, calmness, and fertility of resource in unexpected emergencies, honourable pride in their profession and devotion to their country, which has filled these walls for a great part of two hundred years, is unsurpassed in history.

It is impossible for any citizen of a state which is so essentially maritime as Great Britain, not to feel that this centre of our naval organization is among the most interesting localities that London contains, and to feel irresistibly tempted to linger on the spot conjuring up an outline of the stages through which our navy has passed into its present maturity of growth.

Most of our kings since the Conquest appear to have possessed some vessels of war; and an Amiral de la Mer du roi d'Angleterre appears on the records as early as 1297. But the English "Amiral" was at this time merely a great officer of state, who presided generally over maritime affairs. Often not a professional person, his duties were, not to command ships in battle, or indeed at any other time, but to superintend and direct the naval strength of the kingdom, and to administer justice in all causes arising on the seas. In the former capacity he may be considered as "the original Admiralty;" his judicial functions

have long been separated from the administrative, and are discharged by the "High Court of Admiralty," which nestles beside the Ecclesiastical Courts in Doctors' Commons. Lord Stowell might have been called in old times "Amiral du roi d'Angleterre:" think of an admiral in a wig and gown! And fleets in these early days were fitted out when the King went to war, by adding to his own little squadron, merchant-vessels pressed from all parts in the kingdom; for the pressgangs of old took the ships along with the sailors.

The naval affairs of Great Britain continued much on this footing till the close of the fifteenth century. It has been usual to assume that Henry VII. was the first king who thought of providing a naval force which might be at all times ready for the service of the state. It does not appear that Henry did more in this way than building the 'Great Harry,' which writers on this subject have agreed among themselves to call the first ship of the royal navy. But there were royal ships before his time; and as for general attention to naval affairs, there was quite as much paid by Edward IV. as by Henry VII. The fitting place for looking a little more narrowly into this question, however, will be when we come to speak of the Trinity House.

Henry VIII. is said to have "perfected the designs of his father," which being interpreted, means that the existence of a real royal or state navy, such as England has possessed since his time, cannot be traced back to an earlier period. He instituted the Admiralty and the Navy Office; established the Trinity House and the dockyards of Deptford, Woolwich, and Portsmouth; appointed regular salaries for the admirals, captains, and sailors, and, in short, made the sea-service a distinct profession. He also made laws for the planting and preservation of timber; caused the 'Henri Grace de Dieu' to be built, which is said to have measured above 1000 tons; and left at his death a navy, the tonnage of which amounted to 12,000 tons. The ships of this age, say the historians, "were high, unwieldy, and narrow; their guns were close to the water; they had lofty poops and prows, like Chinese junks;" and Sir Walter Raleigh informs us, "that the 'Mary Rose,' a goodly ship of the largest size, by a little swing of the ship in casting about, her ports being within sixteen inches of the water, was overcast and sunk." This took place at Spithead in the presence of the king, and most of her officers and crew were drowned.

What little we know of the navy of Bluff King Harry's time is almost entirely confined to the existence of such lubberly craft as the 'Mary Rose' and certain government offices. Coming down to the days of Queen Bess we scrape acquaintance with the gallant fellows who manned her somewhat improved vessels. Elizabeth was economical. Though she increased the navy—at her death it consisted of 42 ships, measuring 17,000 tons—and though she raised the wages of seamen to 10*s.* a-month (under her father they appear to have been only about 5*s.* per month), yet she encouraged the merchants to build large ships, which on occasion were converted into ships of war and rated at 50 to 100 tons more than they measured. Of the 176 ships, manned by 14,996 men, which met the Spanish Armada, a considerable number were not "shippes royal." Raleigh's criticism on the faulty build of the 'Mary Rose' will lead the reader to the inference that in his time naval architecture had made some progress. This

improvement, however, was most marked under Elizabeth's successor, who had the good sense to encourage Phineas Pett. Pett, who has been called our earliest able and scientific ship-builder, made many improvements in the construction of vessels, and in particular relieved ships of much of their top-hamper. This the more deserves notice as it seems to be the only respect in which naval matters advanced under James. Signals, as a means of communication between ships, had been introduced under Elizabeth.

But we have intimated above that in the age of Elizabeth and James we scrape acquaintance with the sailors as men. The great national effort by which—with the assistance of the bad choice the intruding invaders made of a season of the year for their expedition—the Spanish Armada was discomfited, may be regarded as in part the natural consequence of the growth of the spirit of maritime enterprise in England, in part the cause of a great and sudden development which it received at that time. The exaggerated estimate made of the gain of the Spaniards by their American conquests had stirred the emulation of England. Merchants of Bristol and merchants of London were fitting out voyages of discovery and soliciting the royal countenance to their efforts. Oxford was seized by the prevailing epidemic: her mathematicians and her historical students were full of the thoughts of new Indies, busily devising how their own scientific acquirements could most promote discovery. Dr. John Dee was making maps as well as casting nativities, and Hackluyt was lecturing on geography at Oxford. The high nobility became associated with adventures to unknown lands, as we have seen their descendants with all kinds of joint-stock companies and other bubble speculations. An Earl of Warwick was at the expense of having published at Florence the 'Arcano del Mare,' a treatise on navigation. Earls of Bedford, Lords Chamberlain, and other nobles who in that half-feudal age still ruffled with troops of retainers, cherished their gallant naval dependants more than any others. The Frobishers, Drakes, and the rest of these patriarchs of our fleet almost all started in life as followers of some nobleman. The young gentry of Devonshire and Cornwall, the Raleighs and the Gilberts, partly from natural inclination, partly because they saw "that way promotion lay," sought to swing themselves into notoriety by entering the sea-service. The theory as well as the practice of navigation was studied—the discovery and colonisation of new lands and the seamanship of the whole nation went hand in hand. It was court fashion, but it was quite as much country fashion. The queen had the good sense to encourage this spontaneous burst of national energy, and to feel that countenance was almost all she needed to give. In those days might be seen the bold speculator Michael Lok, who gambled in adventures of discovery, seated between the mystical scholar Dee and the stout practical mariner Frobisher, devising how, by skirting the polar ice, they might discover the direct road to Cathay. Next might be seen each of these stirring up their respective patrons to furnish forth the enterprise; Master Lok negotiating with the Muscovy Company and other great city merchants, Captain Frobisher with the Earl of Bedford and other patrons of "men of action," and Dr. Dee with the subtle and accomplished courtiers who, like Leicester, either encouraged learning from taste or from policy; and when all was prepared, and

the ships ready to drop down the river, then to give the finishing grace to all this stir and bustle did the virgin queen repair in person to Greenwich, and sit in open air as the fore-topsail was loosened and the boatswain's shrill call was heard, and sail after sail rose and swelled to the wind like white clouds on the horizon; and waved her somewhat skinny but jewelled hand, as amid a rattle of patereros and other artillery the ships bent over from the breeze as if doing homage to their sovereign, and glided off on their far and perilous errand. Our ships were of small size then, but they carried big spirits and most picturesque personages. The reader will but half appreciate the artistical value of Frobisher's voyage if when he reads of that gallant seaman risking himself at the extremities of the booms, amid a squall in the North Seas that laid his ship on her beam-ends, he forgets the trunk-hose with which he was encumbered; or if he fail to note that Best, the historian of the voyage, when he narrates the broils between the crew and Esquimaux, dwells with emphasis on the "*gilded* partisan" that was held to the wild man's throat. And Elizabeth, the great prototype of Black-eyed Susan—

"Adieu! she cried, and waved her lily hand,"—

had knighthoods for her captains when they returned, as well as smiles when they departed. It was then that Englishmen became a nation of mariners—the "tight little island," a great tender moored in the Atlantic. The infectious enthusiasm caught all ranks and ages; and the poet mirrored it in his lines, or even attempted to produce its bodily presence on the stage. It must have been a right willing audience that was good-humoured enough to eke out to this end the makeshift machinery of that time with its imagination; but, seated in our closets, the shipwreck scenes of Shakspere, and the naval battles of Beaumont and Fletcher, become living and breathing realities.

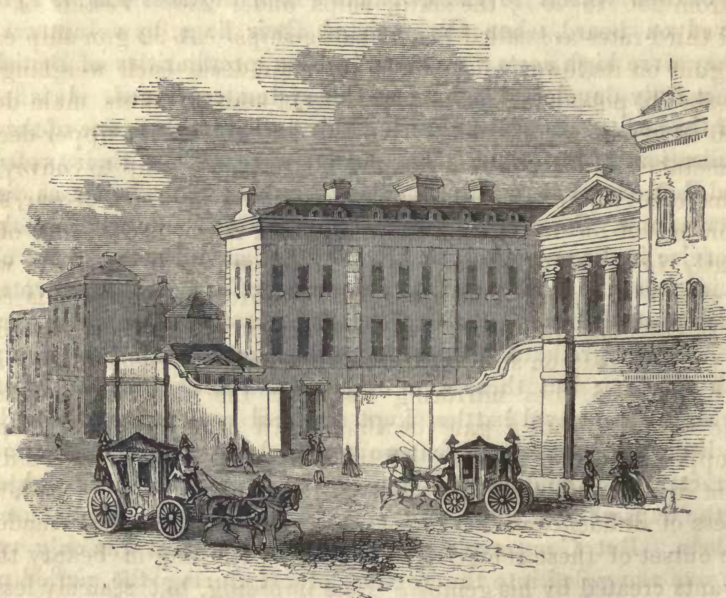
All have heard of John Hampden and his ship-money: that controversy between a king and his subject marks an era, not only in constitutional history, but in the formation of our navy. The necessity of increasing the strength, and improving the organisation of the navy, was equally felt by royalist and republican statesmen. The opposition to Charles arose not so much out of any objection to the creation of a navy, as out of distrust of the policy which sought to raise the money for that purpose without the aid of parliament. It was under Charles I. that the navy was first divided into rates and classes; but the civil troubles during the latter part of his reign diverted attention from maritime affairs. When Cromwell seized the reins of government, he found the navy much reduced, but his energy restored it, and he left 154 sail, of which one-third were two-deckers, measuring nearly 58,000 tons. Cromwell was the first who laid before parliament estimates for the support of the navy, a practice which has been continued ever since: he obtained 400,000*l.* per annum for that purpose. The navigation laws, an important feature in the naval policy of England, were also originated by Cromwell, or some of his councillors. The government of the Restoration, with all its faults, had the good sense to appreciate Cromwell's naval policy. The extravagance of the king, and the jobbing propensities of some of his ministers, starved the navy for intervals; but it was a passion with the Duke of York, afterwards

James II., and the labouring oar was taken by the indefatigable Pepys, and between them the naval service had on the whole fair-play down to the time of the Revolution. The duke introduced improved signals, and Pepys kept the accounts in order. When James II. mounted the throne, he found 179 vessels, measuring 103,558 tons. He took immediate measures for improving the navy. He suspended the Navy Board, and appointed a new Commission, with which he joined Sir Anthony Deane, the best naval architect of the time, who materially improved the ships of the line by copying from a French model. 400,000*l*. per annum was the sum set apart for naval purposes; and so diligent were the Commissioners, that at the Revolution the fleet was in excellent condition, with sea-stores complete for eight months for each ship. The force was 154 vessels, of which nine were first-rates, carrying 6930 guns, and 42,000 men.

Scientific navigation continued to be patronised during the whole of this period: during the latter half of it under the auspices of the Royal Society. The sailing and fighting men of the navy had not, however, become so thoroughly fused into one class as they are in our day. Blake never was at sea till he had passed forty, and it may be questioned whether he was ever much of a navigator. He asked his pilot, or master, to lay him alongside of the enemy, and his self-possession, fearlessness, and pertinacity did the rest. The Montagues and Albemarles, who commanded under the Restoration, were not much of seamen: they trusted the navigation of their vessels to the mariners—their business was to fight. They were followed on board, when they hoisted their flags, by volunteers from the court. They were high *caste* "waisters." The peculiarities of British men-of-war were not fully developed so long as this system continued. It is fashionable to speak of the fleet as republican during this period: this is one of the meaningless generalisations of historians. The sailors were all for their profession, and for the land that owned their ships. They troubled their heads as little about politics then as now. Some of Blake's and Deane's old roundhead captains retired from the service in disgust after the Restoration, as did many of the old roundhead captains from the army; and, as the power of conceiving a devoted attachment to such abstractions as forms of religious and civil policy is generally indicative of a higher grade of intellect, doubtless some of the best men were thus lost to both services; but these were exceptional cases. The habit of sending land generals to fight naval battles, kept the real seaman's spirit under. It is not to the literature of this age that we are to look for illustrations of the seaman's character. In the days of Chaucer they furnished good subjects to the artist; in the days of Shakspere, and since the Revolution, ample use has been made of them. But Congreve's moon-calf Ben is almost the only type of the sailor that was smuggled into the regions of art during the period now under review.

It was not long after the Revolution that the Admiralty took up its abode here in the official residence where we are spinning this yarn. It was in 1688 that the management was permanently put in Commission. The office of Lord High Admiral was held by an individual till 1632. In that year it was intrusted to a Commission, of which all the great officers of State were members. During the Commonwealth the affairs of the navy were managed by a com-

mittee of parliament, till Cromwell took the direction of them upon himself. The Duke of York was Lord High Admiral during the greater part of the reign of Charles II.; when he ascended the throne he took the charge into his own hands. Since the Revolution the office has always been in Commission, with two brief exceptions already noticed. The Revolution government, looking about in search of a residence for its naval Commissioners, placed them for a time in a house associated with rather a disagreeable reputation. The son of the infamous Jefferies soon wasted his father's ill-got gains by his dissolute and extravagant conduct. He was obliged to sell, with other property, the house which James II. had allowed the judge to build in Duke Street, with a gate and steps into the park. The house was bought by government, and converted to the use of the Commissioners of the Admiralty. From this they soon removed to Wallingford House, opposite Scotland Yard—the building from the roof of which Archbishop Usher had witnessed the execution of Charles I., and fainted at the sight. In the reign of George II., the present structure was erected on the site of Wallingford House, by Ripley; and, in the reign of George III., the architectural screen, now in front of it, was drawn by the decent hand of Adam, to veil its homeliness. Here has been the head-quarters of the Admiralty ever since it left the mansion of Jefferies.



[The Admiralty as it appeared before Adam's screen was built.]

The improvements made in the naval department of government, since the Revolution, have consisted chiefly in those details of management which escape the notice of the public. Its more prominent features have remained, on the whole, unaltered. The instrument wielded by the Admiralty has grown with the nation's growth in stature and in perfection of its organisation. Theoretical improve-

ments have made their way slowly, but not the less surely. The example of the revolutionary government of France was required to spur on the Admiralty to establish a telegraph. It was not till 1795 that the important officer, the hydrographer, was permanently annexed to the Board. Within these few years the steam-ships of the royal navy have been regularly increasing. And during the time that Sir James Graham had a seat at the Navy Board, important improvements were made in the system of general management, that have rendered the Admiralty the best organised department of the Imperial government. In 1839 the British navy consisted of 392 vessels of all kinds, of which 175 were in commission, 149 in ordinary, and 68 building: 34 were steam-vessels, of which only four were in ordinary; of these, however, no more than seven appear to have been adapted for purposes of war. There were, besides, 30 steamers employed in the packet-service of Great Britain. The vessels composing the navy are divided into three classes—the first of which consists of what are called rated ships; the second of sloops and bomb-vessels, or vessels commanded by a commander; the third of such smaller vessels as are commanded by a lieutenant, or inferior officer. The first class comprises ships of six rates:—the first-rate, all three-decked ships; the second, all two-decked ships, whose war complements consist of 700 men and upwards; the third, all ships whose complements are from 600 to 700; the fourth, ships whose complements are from 400 to 700; the fifth, ships whose complements are from 250 to 400; the sixth, ships under 250. Vessels of the first, second, and third-rates are called line-of-battle-ships. A 92-gun ship carries six eight-inch guns on its lower, and four on its main-deck, each weighing 65 cwt.; and twenty-six 32-pounders on its lower deck, and 30 on its main-deck, each weighing 56 cwt., besides six, each weighing 42 cwt., on its upper-deck. This weight of metal, stored up in one floating fortress, may help to convey, even to those who have never seen that majestic object a first-rate man-of-war, some idea of its terrible power for destruction; and the true might and beauty of the ship may be faintly imagined when its buoyancy, the apparent ease with which this huge heavy mass turns and cuts its swift way through the water is conceived. The dark threatening hull alow, the swelling white sails and tapering masts aloft, as, like "the swan on still St. Mary's lake," which "floats double, swan and shadow," the first-rate lies mirroring itself on the glassy ocean—or tearing through the surge beneath a gale in which small craft could not keep the sea, its bright copper sheathing flashing like the brazen scales of Spenser's dragon, as it leaps from one mountain wave to another, one is tempted to believe that it was an excess of diffidence in the Promethean power of man, that made us deny him at the outset of these remarks the power of clothing in beauty the ministering servants created by his genius. Less imposing, but scarcely less terrible to an enemy, is the multitude of smaller vessels, less formidably armed, which, on the breaking out of a war, this nation can let loose to swarm in every gulf and bay, very wasps and hornets, stinging the foe in the most vital parts.

To man this navy there were voted in 1839-40, rather more than 20,000 seamen of all ranks, and 9000 marines. That is a peace establishment. It has already been remarked that the peculiar character generally attributed to the British tar may be said to have been formed since the Revolution. It partook

at first of that homeliness and even carelessness which characterised more or less the whole English nation when the Hanoverian family ascended the throne. When we wonder at the Hawser Trunnions of Smollett, we must keep in mind the manners of the real Walpole—the licence taken in matters of language by Lady Mary Wortley Montague—above all, the minute details of common decency and cleanliness which Chesterfield expressed with such solemnity. We undervalue that great reformer, because every child knows and practises what he preached, but it is because he preached it. And amid all that undeniable rudeness which made the sailor of those days the stock subject of caricaturists and burlesque writers, there existed that stock of unostentatious decision in action and shrewdness of practical judgment in the sphere with which he was familiar, which is the groundwork of the British seaman's character. There was a quiet grandeur about the higher order of spirits in the navy at that time. In homely majesty of character no man perhaps ever surpassed Lord Anson. Favoured in the outset of life by his good connections, he rose in the service in a manner that showed he must be a good steady officer, but necessarily implied nothing more. Twelve years of his life he was contented to let his ship "ground on his beef bones on a Carolina station;" entering into the pursuits of a planter with as much gusto as his elder brother into those of a country gentleman; a universal favourite in the colony, but alleged by the ladies to be fonder of listening to music than of dancing to it, and most happy over a quiet bottle with a professional friend. But he rose with the occasion, and though involved in many perilous emergencies, never failed to prove great enough for the most trying. In the hour of impending shipwreck, or on the quarter-deck on the eve of battle, he was imperturbable, apparently apathetic till the moment for action came, and then his impetuosity first revealed the tremendous power of the iron will which must have held such energies in check. His conduct towards his prisoners, especially the females, during his cruise in the Pacific, was marked by equal courtesy and high moral self-control to what has immortalized one classical hero. As a promoter of the sciences which bear upon his profession, and as a civil administrator, he proved that his intellect was worthy to be mated with his chivalrous heroism and morality. And all this under the cloak of a homely, retiring, and even awkward manner. The disregard of show which characterised men like Anson became fashionable in the navy: our seamen prided themselves on being men who could do much and say little. It was their boast that rollicking tarry jackets could fight better than the gilded or pipe-clayed martinets of the land-service. Even in excess this is an honourable ambition, and it is to be hoped that the anxiety to prove themselves "no shams" will remain unaltered now that the changed tone of general society and the extension of scientific education are smoothing off the rough angles of the seaman's deportment. Science has never been neglected by him. Halley's observations were in due time followed up by the experimental trials of Meyer's lunar tables. Anson was not alone in that extensive study he made of Spanish discoveries before he sailed on his great voyage, or in his care to eke out what he had learned by necessary observation and inquiry while it lasted. Phipps preceded Cook; and the paternal discipline of that great navigator, and the conversation

of the men of science shipped on his voyages, trained a new and more intellectual class of officers—the Vancouvers, Kings, Blighs, Burnets, and Broughtons. Education has done its part. The Naval College trains commissioned officers, and the Lower School at Greenwich trains warrant officers and private seamen. Christ's Hospital has long sent an annual tribute to the navy. And the Hydrographer's Office finds encouragement and employment for all who choose to cultivate the science of their profession. The efficiency of our navy is increased; our naval men occupy a front rank in the national literature and science; and in the senate the sailor feels his full value recognised, and conforms to the prevailing tone of society.

It is neither an unpleasant nor an unprofitable task to note how the British naval officer has been polished without being made effeminate. The sailors of Marryat and poor Tom Cringle (to give him the name by which he is best known) contrast widely with those of Smollett and his contemporaries, but in refinement of manners alone;—the same wild and reckless glee, when for a time cast loose from service—the same coolness and relish for mischief or danger, indifferent which stimulant offers itself, provided one of them does offer—the same carrying of the single-heartedness of the boy into the matured intellect of the man. Tom Cringle and Peter Simple are genuine descendants of Tom Pipes and Lieutenant Hatchway; and Master Keene—Marryat's bold attempt to lend an interest to a sharp self-seeking calculator of how closely a man may tread upon dishonesty—would, in ruder times, have grown up into one of Smollett's tyrannical captains. And yet it is a curious speculation—what would the old rough sea-dogs have thought of their successors? Tom Pipes thought it was all natural enough in Peregrine Pickle to write the letter which honest Tom wore to rags in the sole of his shoe, and possibly did not despise the schoolmaster who composed a substitute for him; but what would he have said of officers in the navy publishing novels, like Marryat; and books of travels for young masters, like one whom we have lost by a more melancholy stroke than death—the amiable and accomplished Basil Hall?

Enough of the gallant men of whose eyes the Admiralty is the cynosure: we return to the house itself. It will at once be seen that here is not room for the whole of the managers of the huge instrument of national power just sketched in outline. It spreads over the whole of London. Here are the council-rooms and the residences of the senior Lords; and if you pass the broad easy flight of steps by which access is attained to the public apartments, and ascend the narrow dark stairs beyond it, you will find yourself in the labyrinth of narrow passages, conducting to small rooms crowded with boxes and drawers full of charts, in which the busy hydrographical department is constantly at work. On the west side of the great square of Somerset House are the Victualling, Navy-Pay, and Transport branches of the Navy Office. The west terrace of the same structure contains the official houses of the Treasurer and the Comptroller of the Navy, of three Commissioners of the Navy Board, and the principal officers of the Victualling Department. Other branches of the management of the navy must be sought at Sheerness, Portsmouth, Plymouth, and even in the colonial dockyards. Greenwich, with its Upper and Lower Schools, and its Hospital, is a

part of the great system, the training-place of the sailor-boy, and the refuge of the worn-out veteran. And, wide though the space be which this administration of the navy fills, a communication of inconceivable rapidity and regularity is kept up by the cabs and busses of the metropolis, the telegraphs of the Admiralty, the railroads on shore, and the steamers at sea. Where is the "Ministry of Marine?" a native of the trim governments of the continent, where all departments of state are organised after the newest drill fashion, asks when he first comes to England. It is everywhere in the British dominions. This is the characteristic of British government, that a few heads, by enlisting, when occasion calls, the energies of private individuals and associations, make the nation govern itself. The Steam Navigation Company, or even the Metropolitan Parcels Delivery Company, act occasionally as Admiralty messengers, and do their duty as effectively as if they were liveried retainers constantly in waiting, and devoid of other occupation. By such simple means is it that in the control of a fleet which girdles the globe with a navy of stations, the obstacles of time and space are well nigh set at nought.

But the mechanism of our navy and the great secret of its power will be imperfectly comprehended unless we turn our attention to the inmates of a not inelegant structure in the handsome Trinity Square on Tower Hill.

The Trinity House has already been more than once mentioned in the course of these remarks. The architectural pretensions of the building are far superior to those of the Admiralty; and the corporation which transacts its business there is the right arm of the British minister of marine.

Henry VIII., it is said, established the Trinity House about the same time that he constituted the Admiralty and the Navy Office. It is not easy to say how the truth stands, for the records of the Trinity House were destroyed by fire early in the eighteenth century. But some expressions in the earliest charters of the corporation that have been preserved, and the general analogy of the history of English corporations, lead us to believe that Henry merely gave a new charter, and intrusted the discharge of important duties to a guild or incorporation of seamen which had existed long before. When there was no permanent royal navy, and even after one had been created, so long as vessels continued to be pressed in war time as well as men, the king of England had to repose much more confidence in the wealthier masters of the merchant-service than now. They were at sea what his feudal chiefs were on shore. Their guild or brotherhood of the Holy Trinity of Deptford Strand were probably tolerated at first in the assumption of a power to regulate the entry and training of apprentices, the licensing of journeymen, and the promotion to the rank of master in their craft, in the same way as learned and mechanical corporations did on shore. To a body which counted among its members the best mariners of Britain came not unnaturally to be intrusted the ballastage and pilotage of the river. By degrees its jurisdiction came to be extended to such other English ports as had not, like the Cinque Ports, privileges and charters of their own: and in course of time the jurisdiction of the Trinity House became permanent in these matters, with the exception of the harbours we have named, over the whole coast of England, from a little way north of Yarmouth on the east to the frontiers of

Scotland on the west. Elizabeth, always ready to avail herself of the costless services of her citizens, confided to this corporation the charge of English sea-marks. When lighthouses were introduced, the judges pronounced them comprehended in the terms of Elizabeth's charter, although a right of chartering private lighthouses was reserved to the Crown. When the navigation laws were introduced by Cromwell and re-enacted by the government of the Restoration, the Trinity House presented itself as an already organised machinery for enforcing the regulations respecting the number of aliens admissible as mariners on board a British vessel. James II., when he ascended the throne, was well aware of the use that could be made of the Trinity House, and he gave it a new charter, and the constitution it still retains, nominating as the first master of the reconstructed corporation his invaluable Pepys.

The Corporation of the Trinity House consists of Younger and Elder Brethren. The number of Younger Brethren is unlimited: they are commanders in the merchant-service who have never served under a foreign flag; they are admitted on the nomination of the Elder Brethren, after taking the oaths prescribed by the charter. The Elder Brethren are thirty-one in number: eleven are considered noble, or in the honorary line of the brotherhood; and twenty are taken from the merchant sea-service. Vacancies at the board of Elder Brethren are filled up by their electing (by ballot) a successor; if to an honorary member from any admirals of the navy, ministers of state, and other persons of distinction; if to one of the merchant-line from among the Younger Brethren. The business of the board is in reality managed by the twenty members from the merchant-service, the honoraries rarely, if ever, interfering. The board consists of a master, four wardens, eight assistants, and eighteen Elder Brethren, simply so called. The business of the board is transacted by committees, six in number; the first and principal is called the Committee of Wardens: it consists of the Depute Master and the four wardens; it exercises a general control and takes charge more especially of the treasury and accounts. The second committee, consisting also of four members, is for the examination of masters in the navy and pilots. To ensure the competency of these examinations, the Elder Brethren are never appointed upon this committee until they have been in the corporation some time, in order that the experience they gain by being employed on surveys of the coast may qualify them for the task. The third committee, consisting of two members, is for the supervision of ballastage in the river Thames; the fourth is the committee of lighthouses; the fifth for the collection of dues; and the sixth for attending to the pensioners and inmates of the noble almshouses belonging to the corporation.

This brief recapitulation of the constitution and functions of the corporation will suffice to show that it is an institution by means of which the energies of the independent seamen which proved so available in the reign of Elizabeth have been retained in the service of the state down to the present moment. The lighting, beaconing, and buoying of the coasts, the examination and licensing of pilots, and we trust ere long to add the examination and licensing of masters and mates of merchant-vessels, are branches of maritime police, functions of the general government. By devolving them upon the incorporated

merchant-service it is not merely a trifling economy that is attained; it keeps alive in the merchant-service a consciousness of its own importance that is favourable to the general character. If the navy captain look forward to be an admiral, the merchant captain can look forward to become an Elder Brother of the Trinity House, intrusted with the supervision and control of the lightage and pilotage of a great part of the kingdom, rendering himself of importance to the public by his care for the safety of navigation and navigators. At no time has the merchant-service shown itself unsusceptible of the due sense of its responsibility. Officers who have risen high in the royal service have begun their career before the mast, not only in merchantmen of the long voyage, but in coasters. Cook was apprentice in a collier. At the time of the mutiny at the Nore, the presence of mind of an Elder Brother who proposed and executed the removing of the buoys, which marked the seaward channel, paralyzed the motions of the mutineers. When invasion from France was apprehended, the task of preparing defences, at the mouth of the river, was intrusted to the Board of the Trinity House, and skilfully executed. The merchant-service has kept pace with the awakening spirit of the age, as well as the navy. The Lower School at Greenwich supplies the merchant-service, as well as the Royal navy, with able, educated seamen. The East India trade has formed a valuable branch of the merchant-service. Many extensive ship-owners manifest a most laudable anxiety to promote the education, both professional and moral, of their apprentices, and to advance the young men from rank to rank as they prove themselves worthy. Many have done well in this respect, but none have evinced more persevering interest in their *élèves,* more judicious and paternal care for them, than the Gladstones of Liverpool. To show the high character attained by our mercantile marine under these auspices, it is only necessary to name the Scoresbys, the Enderbys, the Warhams, the Becrofts, and Lairds, who have competed for the palm with the Royal navy in urging onward the progress of discovery.

To a superficial observer the maritime administration of England appears a chaos—much that is of vital consequence seems to be neglected. But observations, such as have now been provoked by our visit to the Admiralty and Trinity House, show that this is a misconception. The secret of the efficiency of our marine is that it governs itself, and that all classes belonging to it can, in some way or other, attain to a voice in its management. The bureaux of the Admiralty contain many practical and experienced seamen; and it is well known that in a government like ours, in which party leaders chase each other in and out of office, the permanent secretaries in the offices are, in nine cases out of ten, the real ministers. The active members of the Trinity Board are recruited from the ranks of the merchant service. The Trinity House consults the Admiralty in cases of difficulty; the Admiralty intrusts to the Trinity Board important practical duties. The Hydrographer's Office—the statistical department of the Admiralty—forms a connecting link between the two Boards. These practically trained officials are watched and checked by unofficial pupils of the same school—members of the Royal navy, or wealthy ship-owners—whose ambition has carried them into parliament. The maritime administration and legislation of Great Britain, like all other parts of the British constitution, has rather grown than

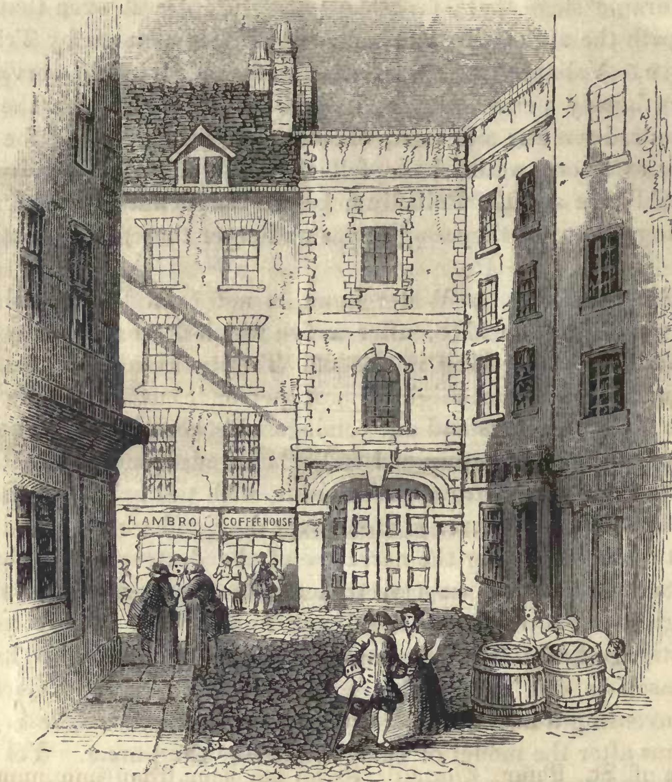
been made what it is, and it has sprung up stately and athletic. As the nation grows, so must it be extended ; as the nation improves, so must the details of its organisation be amended. But the grand outline must be adhered to, for it is the form that nature has given to us, and to tamper with, or mutilate it, is death.

Here we close our retrospect ; but standing in the new Trinity House when we break off, as we stood in the Admiralty when we began, our eyes resting on the old banners, and plans of almost forgotten fights, evolutions, and the gilded names of benefactors of the corporation, our mind wanders back to the habitations of the naval rulers of England in ancient days. They have vanished : the Navy Office, in Crutched Friars, will be sought in vain. The scene of the memorable siege of poor, precise, garrulous Mr. Pepys by a bum-bailiff is no more. It was a memorable siege that ; far transcending in interest even that which my uncle Toby, with the aid of the jackboots cut up into cannons by Trim, carried on in his garden. Valiantly were the outworks defended by the servitors of the Admiralty ; ruthlessly persevering was the blockade into which the bum converted his repulsed assault ; and then, when Pepys is stolen out at the back windows, one feels as if one would have felt if in the tale of Troy divine Eneas had carried off Helen and the Palladium before the death of Hector, and the Greeks, learning that what they sought was no longer there, had quietly beaten a retreat.

The Old Trinity House, in Water Lane, is not even that in which Pepys laboured : it was rebuilt in 1718, after a fire which destroyed many important records. Yet is there something in the old Trinity House of the engraving which forms our tail-piece that might almost persuade us it was the veritable scene of Pepys' daily in-goings and out-comings. Between his time and the reign of the first George the architecture of London had undergone little change. And standing here in the clean, narrow, paved court, with tall brick tenements ornamented by protruding architraves of stone over door and window, and the little scroll-shaped tablets containing the narrative of the destruction of the building by fire, and its re-edification, we feel that the hero of the rent camlet cloak, which, "though it was a trifle, yet it did vex him," would not be here out of place. It is strange how this intellectual and moral pigmy has so indissolubly associated himself in our imagination with the mighty navy of Great Britain. It is as if, in inventing a naval mythology for our country, we were to shape the presiding genius after the model of some Nipcheese the purser. Yet the little man, though garrulous and vain, was of real service to the navy. He had a turn for accurate book-keeping, a love of justice, a power of estimating that greatness in others he so entirely wanted in himself, and it became with him a passion to see that justice was done to the navy. In good times and in bad times he adhered to his purpose—when it was fashionable at court to be honest (that was at very brief intervals), and when it was unfashionable. He was a good old woman, ever watchful for the interests of this brawny son of his adoption, and succeeding in being useful to him. It is the old story of the dwarf befriending the giant—of the mouse setting free the lion—of Wamba, the son of Witless, bringing rescue to Cœur-de-Lion. If this had been a Popish country, it would

have been the duty of the mariners of the royal navy to burn wax tapers before the effigies of St. Pepys.

In this want of antiquity the residences of the managers of our mercantile and our military navy resemble everything around them. London was a city in the time of Tacitus; yet the edifices of London are, with few exceptions, essentially modern. This is typical of our civil and social organisation, in which everything is the creation of the day, and yet retains the impress of an old antiquity. We are an ancient people, but we are the flesh and blood sons of our ancestors, not animated mummies, presenting caricatures of their lineaments.




[Old Trinity House, from an anonymous print in the Pennant collection.

[Exterior of Dutch Church, Austin Friars.]

# CXI.—THE CHURCHES OF LONDON.

## No. I.—Before the Fire.

In the church of St. Peter, Cornhill, there has been from time immemorial a tablet bearing a very remarkable inscription, and which, if trustworthy in the chief matter to which it refers, not only points out to us the locality of the oldest of metropolitan Christian churches, but the very first edifice of the kind raised in Great Britain. The tablet was "fast chained" in the church in Stow's time, and although written by what authority he knew not, was certainly *then* "of no late hand." Thus runs it: "Be it known unto all men that the year of our Lord God C.lxxix. Lucius, the first Christian king of this land, then called Britain, founded the first church in London, that is to say, the church of St. Peter, upon Cornhill; and he founded there an archbishop's see, and made that church the metropolitan and chief church of this kingdom; and so [it] endured the space of CCCC. years, unto the coming of St. Austin [Augustine], the Apostle of England, the which was sent into this land by St. Gregory, the Doctor of the

church in the time of King Ethelbert. And then was the archbishop's see and pall removed from the aforesaid church of St. Peter, upon Cornhill, unto 'Derebernaum,' that now is called Canterbury, and there remaineth to this day. And Millet [Mellitus], monk, the which came into the land with St. Austin, was made the first bishop of London, and his see was made in Paul's church." The tablet then goes on to inform us how many years after Brute Lucius reigned, M.C.C.xlv. (the precision of these old chroniclers is admirable), how long his reign lasted—no less than seventy-seven years; and that he was, according to one chronicle, buried in London, whilst another set him down at Gloucester, "in that place where the order of St. Francis standeth now." But this is by no means the entire extent of our information as to these very ambitious claims of St. Peter's, Cornhill. Stow also gives us, on the authority of 'Joceline of Furneis,' the names of both the first and second archbishops, Thean and Elvanus, as well as of their fourteen successors; and informs us that whilst the first, aided by King Lucius's butler, Ciran, erected the church, the second added a library, and "converted many of the Druids, learned men in the Pagan law, to Christianity." He adds, evidently with a lingering belief in the story, "True it is, that a library there was pertaining to the parish church of old time builded of stone."* It also appears a school was held there from some very early, but unknown, period. Altogether, the story forms so delightful a piece of antiquarian gossip, that we wish it was in our power to assert its undeniable truth.

Turning to a more general view of our subject, and to matter of a less romantic, but more trustworthy nature, it may be observed that the first (in time) of our metropolitan topographers, Fitz-Stephen, amongst his notices of the temperateness of the air and the strength of the place, the honour of its citizens, and the chastity of its matrons, its schools, its customs, and its sports, does not, of course, exclude a view of the provision of the religious demands of his favourite city; and brief and unadorned as is the single sentence with which he dismisses the subject, the facts he gives us derive considerable interest as well as value from the antiquity of the period referred to. It is something to be able to lift off the dark mist that hangs over the London of the middle ages, even though it be but to learn that "there are in London and in the suburbs 13 churches belonging to convents, besides 126 lesser parish churches." And a very striking illustration the statement forms of the wealth and zeal of the inhabitants of London, as well as of their great numbers during the period in question, and makes it probable that there is no error, after all, as to the 20,000 armed men who, according to the same writer (himself probably an eye-witness), went out to a muster in the neighbourhood "in the fatal wars under King Stephen." Nay, it should seem, if we may judge of the increase of the population by the increase of churches, that that population had been stationary for some centuries after Fitz-Stephen's time, for when Stow wrote, the entire number of churches in and about London within four miles' compass was but 139: the exact number mentioned by Fitz-Stephen, if we add the conventual to the parish churches, as Stow does in his list with regard to all that were still preserved. And thus, no doubt, they remained down to 1666, when the great fire destroyed at once 89 of their

* Stow, ed. 1633, p. 211.

number, many of them never again to rise from their ruins. Fitz-Stephen gives us no enumeration of the buildings he mentions, but this is of little importance, for Stow does; and it is tolerably clear that the buildings he refers to are almost identical with the buildings mentioned by Fitz-Stephen. So that however much older than the twelfth century may have been the churches of London generally that existed before the fire, it is evident that their foundation must be referred to at least that early period. Eleven of the thirteen "belonging to convents" may be traced with precision. We find on examination that there were in existence in Fitz-Stephen's time, Trinity Priory, Aldgate, founded in 1108 by good Queen Maud, wife of Henry I., for Regular Canons of the rule of St. Augustine, by whose influence "was the number of those that praised God day and night so much increased, that the whole city was much delighted with the sight of it;"* St. Bartholomew's, already fully treated of in our pages; Bermondsey, the same; St. James Priory, Clerkenwell, founded for Black nuns about 1100, near the famous well from which it derived its name; the Priory of St. John the Baptist, near another well of still higher repute—Holywell, Shoreditch; St. Katharine's Hospital, founded by Matilda, Stephen's queen, of which the building in Regent's Park is the legitimate descendant; St. Thomas Acon, founded in honour of Fitz-Stephen's master, Beckett, by the ambitious churchman's sister and her husband, within a few years after his murder, and on the site of their father's house, in which Beckett himself was born; St. John of Jerusalem, Clerkenwell, the house of the Hospitallers; and the Temple, the house of their rivals; St. Mary Overies, noticed in our first volume; and, lastly, St. Martin's-le-Grand, which, both from its antiquity and its magnificence, was appropriately named: it was founded in 700, by a king of Kent, Wythred; rebuilt, and a great increase made to its endowments, about 1056, by two noble Saxon brothers; confirmed in all its rights, privileges, and possessions by the Conqueror, who made it not merely independent of his own or the kingly jurisdiction, but of the Papal also, and which, among its other noticeable features, included within its precincts a sanctuary, that seems to have been the Alsatia of an earlier day. For a certain class of persons, those who had occasion to pass to and fro between Newgate and Guildhall on business of a more indispensable than agreeable nature, this sanctuary was most conveniently situated, and the advantages it offered were fully appreciated. Thus, in 1439, when a soldier for some crime was pursuing the route mentioned, five men rushing out suddenly from Panyer Alley rescued him, and the whole fled into St. Martin's. The Sheriffs in their irritation were incautious enough to follow them into the church, seize them, and send them to Newgate; but the authorities soon compelled them to replace the offenders in the sacred building.

If the great fire of London was calculated to beget in the minds of contemporaries the deepest awe and astonishment at the amount of the mischief consummated within so small a space, those feelings were not likely to be lessened by the peculiar severity of the visitation as it regarded the churches of London. In the following list is shown in alphabetical order the churches as they stood in the beginning of the seventeenth century, when the central portion of London must

* Stow, p. 951.

have appeared one forest of steeples.* If the reader, after glancing over this list, will then mark how many of them have an asterisk prefixed, he will see those which remained: surely no other single feature of the conflagration furnishes us with so startling a notion of its effects as this:—

CHURCHES OF LONDON AND THE SUBURBS BEFORE THE FIRE.

Albans, Wood Street, *W.*
*Allhallows, Barking
Allhallows, Bread St. *W.*
Allhallows the Great, *W.*
Allhallows, Honey Lane
Allhallows the Less
Allhallows, Lombard Street, *W.*
*Allhallows, Staining
*Allhallows, London Wall
*Alphage
*Andrew, Holborn, *W.*
Andrew Hubbard
*Andrew Undershaft
Andrew, Wardrobe, *W.*
Anne, Aldersgate, *W.*
Anne, Blackfriars
Antholin, *W.*
Augustine, *W.*
*Bartholomew the Great
*Bartholomew the Less
Bartholomew, Exchange, *W.*
*Battersea
Bennet Fink, *W.*
Bennet, Gracechurch Street, *W.*
Bennet, Paul's Wharf, *W.*
Bennet Sherehog
*Botolph, Aldersgate
*Botolph, Aldgate
Botolph, Billingsgate
*Botolph, Bishopsgate
Bride, Fleet Street, *W.*
*Bridewell Precinct
*Chelsea
Christ Church, *W.*
Christopher, *W.*
*Clement Danes, *W.*
Clement, East Cheap, *W.*
*Deptford
Dionis, Back Church, *W.*
Dunstan, East, *W.*
*Dunstan, West
Edmund, Lombard Street, *W.*
*Ethelburgh
Faith
*Fulham
Gabriel, Fenchurch
George, Southwark
George, Botolph Lane, *W.*
*Giles, Cripplegate
Giles in the Fields
*Greenwich
Gregory, by St. Paul
Hackney
*Helen, Bishopsgate
*Islington
*James, Clerkenwell
*James, Duke's Place
James, Garlick Hill, *W.*
John, Baptist
John, Evangelist
John, Zachary
*Katherine Coleman
*Katherine Cree
*Katherine, Tower
*Kensington
*Lambeth
Lawrence, Jewry, *W.*
Lawrence, Poultry
Leonard, East Cheap
Leonard, Foster Lane
*Leonard, Shoreditch
Magnus, *W.*
Margaret, Lothbury, *W.*
Margaret Moses
Margaret, New Fish St.
Margaret Pattens, *W.*
*Martin in the Fields
Martin, Ironmonger Lane
Martin, Ludgate, *W.*
Martin, Orgar
*Martin, Outwich
Martin, Vintry
Mary, Abchurch, *W.*
Mary, Aldermanbury, *W.*
Mary, Aldermary, *W.*
Mary le Bow, *W.*
Mary Bothaw
Mary Colechurch
*Mary Magdalen, Bermondsey
Mary Magdalen, Milk Street
Mary Magdalen, Old Fish Street, *W.*
Mary at Hill, *W.*
Mary Mounthaw
Mary, Somerset, *W.*
Mary Staining
*Mary, Whitechapel
Mary Woolchurch
Mary Woolnoth, *W.*
Matthew, Friday St., *W.*
Michael, Basinghall Street, *W.*
Michael, Cornhill, *W.*
Michael, Crooked Lane, *W.*
Michael, Queenhithe, *W.*
Michael Querne
Michael Royal, *W.*
Michael, Wood Street, *W.*
Mildred, Bread Street, *W.*
Mildred, Poultry, *W.*
*Newington
Nicholas Acon
Nicholas, Cole-Abbey, *W.*
Nicholas, Olave
*Olave, Hart Street
Olave, Jewry, *W.*
Olave, Silver Street
*Olave, Southwark
Pancras, Soper Lane
Peter, Cheap
Peter, Cornhill, *W.*
Peter, Paul's Wharf
*Peter Le Poor
*Putney
*Rotherhithe
*Saviour, Southwark
*Savoy
Sepulchre, *W.*
Stephen, Coleman St. *W.*
Stephen, Walbrook, *W.*
*Stepney
*Stratford Bow & Bromley
Swithin, *W.*
Thomas Apostle
*Thomas, Southwark
Trinity Church
*Trinity, Minories
Vedast, Foster Lane, *W.*
*Wandsworth
*Westminster, St. Margaret
*Westminster, St. Peter.

The *W* affixed to many of the above names show the churches rebuilt by Wren; consequently those without either that mark or the asterisk are the buildings that have been entirely lost to us. Among all these it would have been difficult to have found one uninteresting structure, whilst many of them were, no doubt, exquisite specimens of their respective architectural styles, and they all belonged to one long period in the history of Christian architecture, when none but beautiful buildings were erected, and the only differences were as to their relative degrees of beauty. In their origin, names, customs—in the monuments and inscriptions they contained—in their wealth and decorative splendour, one might find materials for a pleasant and instructive volume; thus, to refer to the first point only—the name:—there is, to explain how St. Martin, Ironmonger's Lane, came to be called also Pomary, "supposed to be of apples growing where now houses are lately builded;"† St. Mary Woolchurch, from the beam placed in the churchyard for the weighing of wool; St. Michael at the Quern, corruptly

* For a picturesque general view of these buildings in old times, see 'Something about London Churches at the Close of the Fourteenth Century,' in vol. iv. p. 209, No. LXXXIX.

† Stow.

from Corne, on account of the neighbouring ancient corn-market by Paternoster Row; Fen Church, from the fenny or moorish ground on which it was built, through which ran the once sweet and beautiful waters of Langbourn; St. Bennet Sherehog—a ludicrous popular misunderstanding of the right appellation: "St. Syth," writes Stow, "hath also an addition of Bennet Shorne or Shrog, or Shorehog (for by all these names have I read it), but the ancientest is Shorne: whereof it seemeth to take that name of one Benedict Shorne, some time a citizen and stock-fishmonger of London, a new builder, repairer, or benefactor thereof"* in the time of Edward II.: and so on. Many of them, again, were very rich in memorials of the dead, from the most magnificent structures that art and munificence could raise to their memory, down to the single stone with its "Pray for the soul of ——;" from the gloomy, and pathetic, and elaborate, and, we must add, frequently fearfully long-winded, inscriptions, down to the humorous or fanciful, or simply gay and cheerful; in some cases so full of the exhibition of animal spirits, that one would almost suppose the writer—not to say it irreverently—thought death only a capital joke. Here is one, the jingle of which we cannot get rid of, inscribed in St. Leonard's, Foster Lane, a church built by one of the deans of St. Martin's-le-Grand, about 1236, for the use of the inhabitants of the sanctuary:—

"When the bells be merrily rung
And the mass devoutly sung
And the meate merrily eaten,
Then shall Robert Traps—his wife—and children be forgotten."

Passing, as our space compels us to do, with this brief mention, the extinct churches, and reserving those rebuilt by Wren for our next paper, let us now once more glance over the list on the preceding page. Of those marked with the asterisk, we need not concern ourselves with the more distant, as Greenwich on one side or Kensington on another; but as to the remainder, an interesting question suggests itself—are any of those which fortunately escaped the fire, or were altogether beyond its range, still preserved to us in their architectural integrity? in other words, do any of the churches of London before the fire still exist essentially as they were? It is pleasant to find that, though few in number, there are such existing; churches that not only have been spared the fire, but the worse fate of architectural degradation that has befallen those which have grown too old for any merely-repairing processes. The church of Allhallows, Barking, where the headless bodies of the poet Surrey, Bishops Fisher (More's friend) and Laud, were deposited after their respective executions on the neighbouring Hill, is still preserved to us; so is Allhallows, Staining, where Elizabeth, on leaving the Tower, by Mary's permission, for a less severe imprisonment in Woodstock, full of thankfulness, hastened to offer up her grateful acknowledgments to God; St. Andrew, Undershaft, that altar, as it might almost be called, for the worship of the old "Spring-time in London," and where rest the honoured ashes of him whose heart was as open to all the freshness and loveliness of the present, as his mind was earnest and sagacious in inquiring into the past—(a church we could as ill have spared for Stow's sake as for its own); St. Katherine Cree, where Laud displayed those superstitious tendencies which sub-

* Stow, p. 276.

sequently formed one of the chief charges against him; the curious little church of St. Ethelburgh, in Bishopsgate Street, so diminutive that the pettiest houses and shops seem, in very contempt of its insignificance, to have half smothered it up, pressing it on each side, and creeping across its front till the door below and the tip of its fine window above, with the surmounting turret, are all that can be seen; St. Helen's, close by, in every way the most perfect and interesting of the whole; St. Giles's, Cripplegate, rich in many recollections, were they not almost rendered as nothing in contrast with the one—Milton's burial within its walls; St. Olave, Hart Street, with its elegant architecture, and remains of antique decoration on the roof of its aisles; Lambeth; St. Margaret's, Westminster; and, still more distant, Chelsea, where Sir Thomas More, when Chancellor, sang with the boys in the choir, and now lies in that last sleep which, with such a spirit, could not but be sweet; Fulham, Putney, &c. If to these are added the structures already described in our pages as St. Mary Overies (or St. Saviour's), Bartholomew the Great (the Less also has remains of the ancient structure), Ely Place, and the Savoy—the reader will have a tolerably complete general view of the old churches that remain. The Dutch church, Austin Friars, may here also be mentioned. This priory was founded by Humphrey Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex; the date is shown on the exterior, 1253. Strikingly handsome as this building still is, with its long range of pointed windows of great size on each side, its magnificent western front, and its elegantly-clustered columns in the interior, both exterior and interior give but a partial view of the original splendour of this house of the bare-footed friars; the one wanting its spire, which formed the "beautifullest and rarest spectacle" in London, and the other the sumptuous and all but innumerable monuments which formerly adorned it: whilst the whole forms but the nave of the perfect structure. For all these deficiencies we have to thank my lord Marquis of Winchester, into the hands of whose family the place fell after the dissolution: the mayor and many other influential persons bestirred themselves greatly, in 1600, to induce his lordship to assist in the repair of the steeple, then in a dangerous state, for which they asked only 50*l.* or 60*l.* from him; his answer was—first, a refusal, and then the pulling down of the steeple and choir, with the sale, for 100*l.*, of all the rich tombs. We may judge of the character of those memorials from the individuals to whom they related. There were buried in this church—Edmond, half-brother to Richard II.; the founder, Humphrey Bohun; Richard, the great Earl of Arundel, Surrey and Warren, beheaded 1397; Vere, Earl of Oxford, beheaded 1463; the lords barons slain at Barnet, in 1471, who were interred together in the body of the church; "poor Edward Bohun," Duke of Buckingham, beheaded 1521; with several other noblemen, many knights and ladies, and a countless number of less distinguishable persons.

Of the churches enumerated in the preceding paragraph, it will be necessary to notice in detail only the more important. The name of Barking church, Allhallows, was evidently a great favourite with our ancestors; our list exhibiting no less than eight metropolitan buildings similarly dedicated; a circumstance no doubt to be attributed to the great popularity of the holiday of All-hallowmas, which having, it is supposed, its origin in pagan times, seems to have been first incorporated into the Christian system by Pope Boniface IV. in

the seventh century. The Pope's object in so doing is stated in a passage from an old manuscript transcribed by Strutt, in his 'Horda Angel Cynnan,' to be the correction of " our omissions for many a Saint's day in the year we have unserved, for there be so many that we may not serve them all;" but Mr. Forster, in his 'Perennial Calendar,' says that " the Church, in this great festival, honours all the Saints rising together in glory:" so when a new church was to be dedicated in the earlier ages of Christianity, and the perfections of the different apostles, saints, and martyrs were canvassed, whenever there was much difficulty of choice, we may easily imagine how *All* Saints would carry the day. What better watchers and warders, too, either for the living or the dead, could be desired? Some such feeling possibly it was that led Richard I. to found a " fair chapel " here, on the north side, apparently with the intention of being buried in it; and it is said that his heart was actually interred in the church under the high altar. Legend connects another monarch with Allhallows, Barking, in an interesting point of view. Edward I., when Prince of Wales, is said to have been admonished in a vision to erect an image to the Virgin, and told at the same time, that if he visited the said image five times a year, he should be victorious over all nations, and more particularly over those which he most yearned to conquer, Scotland and Wales. He did erect one accordingly, as well as further augment the revenues and establishment of the chapel; and the image became so famous, that pilgrimages were regularly performed to it, down even to the period of the suppression: forty days' indulgence was the reward for all such pilgrimages. The chapel continuing still an object of royal solicitude, we find Edward IV. calling it " the King's," and empowering his brother John, Earl of Worcester, to found a brotherhood in it; whilst Richard III. rebuilt it, and founded a regular college of priests there. All these notices indicate great antiquity, as well as great interest in the structure in early times; and the sight of the interior confirms, in some degree, all that the enthusiastic antiquary might be apt to imagine from them. The church generally is of the Gothic style prevalent in the Tudor era, but there are certain pillars on each side of the nave, toward the western extremity, that at once attract the eye by their dissimilarity to the remainder: these are low, massive, round—in a word, Norman. The antique inscriptions, monuments, and brasses too, all about us, point far backwards over the stream of time. If from among the latter, where all are so interesting, we select one for mention, the best perhaps is the brass plate of John Rulche, 1459, who appears in a close-fitting gown, with long hair, hands clasped upon his breast, a pouch at his girdle, and a rosary on his arm. We have already mentioned that the Earl of Surrey, and the Bishops Fisher and Laud, were interred here after their executions, but it was only for a limited period in each case. Surrey's remains were removed in 1614 to Framlingham; Fisher's, first buried in the churchyard here, were taken to the chapel in the Tower, and placed by the side of his murdered friend the great Chancellor More; and Laud's, whose temporary resting-place was the chancel, were afterwards taken down to St. John's College, Oxford. A terrible and, in one respect, curious accident injured the church in 1649—the explosion of a quantity of gunpowder, which at the same time destroyed fifty or sixty of the neighbouring houses with their inhabitants: one of these was an alehouse full of people at the time. The first

person who ascended the steeple afterwards was not a little surprised at what he saw there—a female infant in a cradle, unhurt. The parents could not be traced, and in consequence some good Samaritan stepped forward and brought her up as his own. To the repair of the injuries done on this occasion was added the erection of a new and ugly *brick* steeple.

That the majority of the earliest churches built in London were of wood seems sufficiently probable, if we consider merely the length of time that structures of greater pretension must have required for their erection, and how unwilling the enthusiastic builders must frequently have been to wait any longer than was absolutely necessary for a temple in which to worship; and the name of Allhallows *Staining* points no doubt to some such state of things. Stane is the Saxon word for stone, and was most probably applied to this church to distinguish it from the others of the same name of wood; and if the view be a correct one, the choice of the word shows how uncommon was the use of the more durable material at the time. Looking at the modern front of this church in Mark Lane, a model of plain deformity, one would never suspect there was aught behind it worth a single glance; but if we step through the little court close by, the eye at once rests upon a tower of unmistakeable antiquity. Sad reverses that tower has known! The body to which it belonged fell in 1671, and was replaced by the structure, of which the front already mentioned is a worthy representative; and, as if that was not enough degradation for a venerable steeple which could possibly date its birth from the days of the third Henry, they have actually thrust one of those abominable round-headed windows into its walls. But it has had its consolations too. If tradition speak truly, it was the merry peal of its bells pouring forth their congratulations to the parish on the release of Elizabeth from the Tower, that attracted the Princess herself hither, as the most agreeable place in which to perform her devotions. Whether it was that the parish had not previously coquetted much with princesses, or that Elizabeth had in truth won their entire hearts and souls, who shall say? but certain it is that in 'The King's Head' tavern adjoining, certain dishes of pork and peas appear once a-year in commemoration of the visit, Elizabeth having regaled herself on the occasion with such delicacies from this very house: witness those dark-looking vessels that hang up over the fire-place in the coffee-room, the dish and cover used by her, with an inscription between, detailing the circumstances, from Hughson's 'London,' and a print above of the Princess from a painting by Holbein, where the future Virgin-Queen appears in all the pride of high shoes, square waist, and out-swelling petticoats. But apart from personal considerations, Elizabeth could hardly have come to a more beautiful or more interesting, or, therefore, a more suitable place. The entries of the churchwardens in their parish books, dry and succinct as they are, conjure up many a vision of surpassing ecclesiastical splendour which we should else little dream of attributing to the apparently insignificant-looking church of Allhallows Staining—this thing of yesterday, as its aspect seems to speak it. We read of a high altar dedicated to Allhallows, with "carved tabernacle" work, and drapery of red Bruges satin, bearing a representation of the Ascension; of a silver gilt cross on the high-altar, with small statues at its base of the Virgin Mary and St. John; and another (very large probably) of wood, plated with silver and gilt, having silver figures of our Saviour, the Virgin, and

St. John, the five wounds of the first marked by as many precious stones (rubies perhaps), and having at its base a piece of inserted crystal covering, but not concealing, the word JESUS. We read of three other altars similarly decorated; of a statue of St. Katherine, with a lamp constantly burning before it; of a rood-loft, with a great crucifix, and twenty-two tapers of extraordinary size burning about it. Then, to people the scene, come the priests in their robes of red damask with leaves of gold, red velvet embroidered with golden roses, white, green, and crimson satin, with their cross-banners lifted high, their streamers, their incense, their choral songs; and lastly, shutting in the whole picture, the kneeling, devout, adoring crowds of worshippers. Then the festivals: where, it may be asked with allowable parochial pride, were these observed with greater regularity and zeal than at Allhallows Staining, though its reputation in this matter be now dwindled away into a line in the register? The simplest statement of some facts, however, produces eloquence; and so it is with this passage, reviving all the jovial hilarity of the ecclesiastical Saturnalia, the rule of the boy-bishop: "Paid unto Goodman Chese, broiderer, for making a new mitre for the bishop ayenst St. Nicholas' night, 2*s.* 8*d.*;" and this, referring to another and scarcely less popular festival, "Paid for the hiring of a pair of wings and a crest for an angel on Palm Sunday, 8*d.*," when the entry of Jesus into Jerusalem was dramatised, though by no irreverent artist, nor before an irreverent auditory; and when Allhallows, like many other churches, would present some such spectacle as that here shown. The parish books so frequently referred to show two noticeable

[Procession of the Wooden Ass on Palm Sunday.]

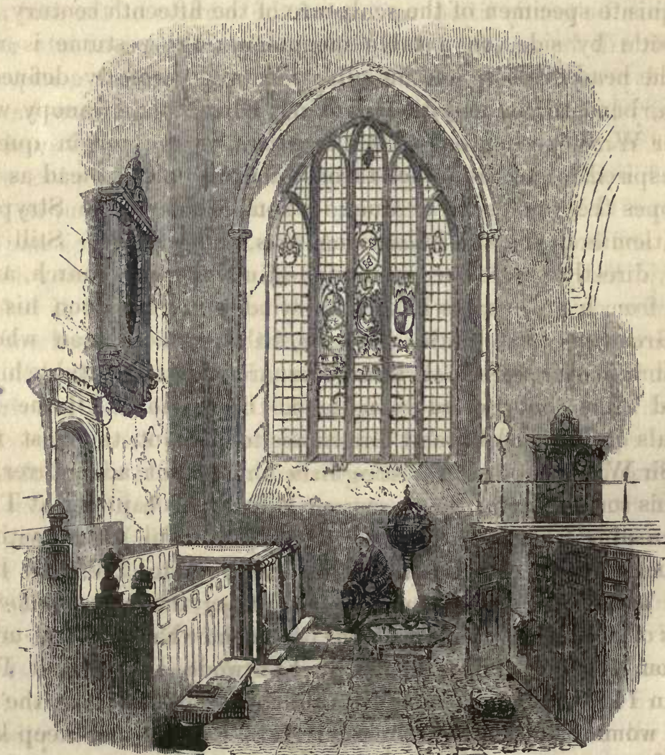
signatures—Sir Cloudesley Shovel's, in connexion with his own marriage; and Ireton's, as the alderman and justice of the peace, who married certain parties in pursuance of the Marriage Act of the time, which made the ceremony a civil, instead of a religious contract, as before, and which, subsequently annulled, has been again and in all probability permanently revived of late years.

The objects of our inquiry now grow thick around us: here we see the low but elegant Gothic exterior of St. Olave's, in Hart Street, there the more imposing range of pointed windows belonging to St. Katherine Cree, in Leadenhall Street, and scarcely a stone's-throw distant, the modern and beautiful tower of St. Andrew Undershaft, looking so light and so lofty that one could almost fancy the architect had the idea of the famous May-pole floating in his mind as he designed it. The interior of St. Andrew's forms a very interesting specimen of the Tudor architecture of the fifteenth century; and is rich in large fresco paintings of the Apostles, in its stained glass, with portraits of Edward VI. and succeeding monarchs down to Charles II., in its monuments, its noble organ, and its painted and gilded roof. But one thinks little of these things on the spot, for there in the north-east corner is Stow's monument. Poor Stow! the fate that followed him in life deserted not his remains in death; the story of the removal of his bones from his own monument to make room for some wealthier new-comer, forms the appropriate pendant to that of his begging his bread in his eightieth year,—is equally disgraceful and equally true: it occurred, states Maitland, in 1732. The history of St. Katherine Cree's—the latter word being a corruption for Christ's—church, like many others of the metropolis, impresses upon the mind the dateless antiquity of its foundation; the original edifice was pulled down about 1107, with three other churches, to make way for the great convent of Trinity, and the church of the latter, under the appellation of Christ's, having been made parochial, was devoted to the use of the four united parishes. The body of this church having become, it is said, old and crazy, was pulled down and rebuilt in 1628; if so, there must have been a very praiseworthy determination on the part of the architect to follow in some degree the style of the preceding building or of some of the neighbouring churches; but it was probably only an extensive repair of the exterior that took place at the times mentioned, for the interior exhibits proofs that there was no such self-denial in the artist's thoughts: here Gothic and Corinthian jostle in strange, but certainly picturesque confusion. It is said that Inigo Jones was the author of the repair or rebuilding in 1628. We hope he is not answerable for walling up the magnificent western window, the tracery of which is just visible at the top. That it was magnificent any one may easily assure himself by stepping up the narrow alley in Leadenhall Street, at the eastern extremity of the building, and gazing, as well as the place will permit, upon the correspondent work that there lies before him. Within, among other noticeable dead, we are reminded of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, the gallant spirit who so baffled the hunters in Guildhall, by the sight of his canopied effigy, and we remember without such aid that in all probability somewhere beneath our feet, or in the adjoining churchyard, lies all that remains of Hans Holbein. In the beautiful monument to Samuel Thorpe, 1791, by Bacon, St. Katherine Cree possesses another claim to the attention of the lovers of art. It was after the repair or rebuilding of 1628, that the consecration took place by Laud, who having

caused all necessary preparations to be made for the extraordinary scene he meditated, appeared before the church on the 16th of January, 1630-1. At his approach persons stationed near the door called out in a loud voice, "Open, open, ye everlasting doors, that the King of Glory may enter in." The archbishop then entered, and, falling upon his knees in the church and extending his arms, exclaimed "This place is holy, the ground is holy; in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I pronounce it holy." Rising, he went towards the Chancel, throwing dust from the floor into the air on his way, bowed, went in procession round the church, repeated two psalms and a prayer. He then cursed all who should profane the place, bowing at the close of every sentence, and blessed all who had advanced the erection. What took place after the sermon is best described in the words of Prynne, every sentence of whose pungent and humorous satire must have cut deep, and given earnest of the coming retribution for the bold Puritan's cropped ears and slit nose. He says, "When the bishop approached near the communion-table, he bowed with his nose very near the ground some six or seven times; then he came to one of the corners of the table and there bowed himself three times; then to the second, third, and fourth corners, bowing at each corner three times; but when he came to the side of the table where the bread and wine was, he bowed himself seven times; and then, after the reading of many prayers by himself and his two fat chaplains (which were with him, and all this while were upon their knees by him, in their surplices, hoods, and tippets), he himself came near the bread, which was cut and laid in a fine napkin, and then he gently lifted up one of the corners of the said napkin, and peeping into it till he saw the bread (like a boy that peeped into a bird's-nest in a bush), and presently clapped it down again and flew back a step or two, and then bowed very low three times towards it and the table. When he beheld the bread, then he came near and opened the napkin again, and bowed as before; then he laid his hand upon the gilt cup, which was full of wine, with a cover upon it; so soon as he had pulled the cup a little nearer to him, he let the cup go, flew back, and bowed again three times towards it; then he came near again, and, lifting up the cover of the cup, peeped into it; and seeing the wine, he let fall the cover on it again, and flew nimbly back and bowed as before. After these and many other apish, antick gestures, he himself received and then gave the sacrament to some principal men only, they devoutly kneeling near the table; after which, more prayers being said, this scene and interlude ended." When Prynne applied the epithet interlude to these ceremonies, he was no doubt aware that it derived fresh force from the associations of the place; the churchyard of St. Katherine Cree seems to have been a popular place for the exhibition of dramatic interludes properly so called. Among entries of a similar nature in the parish books we read, under the date 1565, "Received of Hugh Grymes, for licence given to certain players to play their interludes in the churchyard, from the feast of Easter, An. D'ni. 1565, until the feast of Saint Michael the Archangel, next coming, every holyday, to the use of the parish, the sum of 27*s.* 8*d.*" Scaffolds, it appears, were erected all round the churchyard. Performances took place on Sundays, but in connection with this point, and the sacred character of the place, it is to be observed that the pieces performed would be of a religious

character, though with a plentiful admixture of the ordinary jests and practical fun. Of the three churches pulled down with St. Katherine's on the erection of Trinity Priory, we have probably a remnant of one of them—St. Michael's, in the beautiful crypt that still exists beneath a house near the pump at Aldgate, a most curious and interesting piece of antiquity.

Let us now turn into Bishopsgate Street, and from thence into the area at the back of Crosby Place, where a path runs between the fine young trees just putting forth their delicately green foliage, and through the centre of the bright level sward of the churchyard of St. Helen's to the church. The remarkable aspect of the exterior must strike every one. The ends of two naves or bodies of separate churches placed side by side, with a little turret at the intersection above, is the idea at once impressed. The interior shows us that this is no fanciful notion ; the double church being there still more evident, although intimately connected together. An irregular, but far from unpleasing or unpicturesque effect is thus produced. One set of lofty pointed arches differs from another, ranges of windows extend along walls for a certain distance, and then unaccountably stop ; the long aisle—as the northernmost of the two churches appears to be—on one side, is balanced by a chancel occupying merely the eastern extremity of the other ; the two great eastern windows extending side by side from the floor to the roof are not alike, yet is neither subordinate to the other; but every individual form is beautiful, and constructed of the same elements ; and it



Interior of St. Helen's.]

is surprising the harmony that may be thus produced even where the artistical laws of combination are violated. An air of indescribable antiquity, too, prevailing over and through all, tends powerfully to the same effect. In the part that now appears as an aisle, a long row of carved seats against the wall catches the eye, and the inquiry into their use explains the peculiar architectural exhibition around us. Helena, the mother of Constantine the Great, and discoverer, in her own belief, of the very cross on which Christ was crucified and the very sepulchre where he was entombed, and who built on the spot a church, was of course canonized, and enjoyed all the honours pertaining, all the Christian world over, to that state of beatitude. Here there was a church dedicated to her from a very remote period, of which the nave of the present building is the descendant. About 1212 William Fitzwilliam, a goldsmith, founded on the same locality a priory of Benedictine nuns, and probably built a church for them, against that of St. Helen's; when the latter came into the possession of the nuns, which it did at no very distant period, it may have been thought desirable to lengthen the nuns' church to range with that of St. Helen's (hence the blank wall in the north-east corner, on which are the Bonds' and other monuments), and to throw them open to each other, or divided at least merely by the screen between the intercolumniations, which we know to have existed here until the Reformation. The seats we have alluded to were those used by the nuns. Among the monuments of St. Helen's which most imperatively demand notice, we may first mention the oldest and most valuable—Sir John Crosby and his lady's, an exquisite specimen of the sculpture of the fifteenth century, exhibiting their effigies side by side, on a table monument; the costume is remarkable, particularly the head-dresses, and in all its details carefully defined. On one side near him, beneath an ambitious-looking Elizabethan canopy with double arches, lies Sir W. Pickering, one of the courtiers of the virgin queen, who is said to have aspired to a share of her throne, and who could plead as a justification of his hopes the possession of qualifications which make Strype call him the finest gentleman of the age in learning, arts, and warfare. Still farther, on the same side, directly before the great window of the nuns' church, and with the coloured rays from his own arms in the said window falling upon his tomb, lies Sir Thomas Gresham; that tomb, as becomes the eminent man whose remains it guards, is simplicity itself—a very large square slab, raised table high, bearing his sculptured arms, but no adornments, no inscription. Of the tablets and other memorials on the wall beyond Gresham's monument, the most remarkable are those to Sir William Bond, a distinguished merchant adventurer, who died in 1576, and his son's, Martin Bond, one of Elizabeth's captains at Tilbury. A still more interesting feature of this wall is the beautiful niche, with a row of open arches below, through which the nuns, according to Malcolm, heard mass on particular occasions (during punishment?) from the crypt below. By the way, the nuns of St. Helen's seem to have been somewhat wild and unruly, if we may judge from the complaints made by Kentwode, Dean of St. Paul's, who visited them in 1439. He makes many suspicious remarks about the employing of some "sad woman and discreet" to shut cloister doors, and keep keys, about not using nor haunting "any place within the priory [the precincts of which were extensive], through the which evil suspicion or slander might arise," about for-

bearing to dance and revel except at Christmas, "and other honest times of recreation," and so on.* At the other end of the nuns' church, an immense square mass of masonry, with urns rising at intervals, marks the place of interment of one Richard Bancroft, founder of the almshouses at Mile End, and who is understood to have exhibited this generosity in his last days as an atonement for conduct of a very different nature previously. His monument, we need hardly state, was a provision of his own, and from it yearly, for some time, his body was taken out (for which conveniences had been made), on the occasion of the preaching of the commemoration sermon (also founded by himself), and exhibited to the almsmen. Returning to the eastern part of the church, we find in the chancel, that occupies the south-east corner, the remarkable monument of Sir Julius Cæsar, Master of the Rolls, who died in 1636. It is a beautiful table-tomb, the workmanship of Nicholas Stone, who received for it one hundred guineas, and on the top exhibits a piece of black marble in the form of a parchment deed, inscribed with writing, and having a dependent seal. On reading the inscription we find it is truly in form a legal document, applied to an odd purpose: Sir Julius Cæsar gives his bond to Heaven to resign his life whenever it shall please God to call him, and the whole is duly signed and sealed.

Of the three remaining churches, St. Giles Cripplegate, Lambeth, and St. Margaret's Westminster, that alone our space will allow us to mention, we can speak but briefly. St. Giles was built by Alfune, the man who rendered Rahere such efficient assistance in the erection of St. Bartholomew's Priory, Smithfield, and derives the concluding part of its designation from the gate in the great wall, near which it was erected (one of the finest remaining pieces of that wall is still preserved in the churchyard), and which was called the *cripple* gate, from the number of deformed persons who haunted it to beg. The church was partially burnt in the sixteenth century, but a single glance at the tower and exterior walls shows how much remains of a date anterior to that event. Here rest, in addition to Milton and his father, Fox the martyrologist, Speed the historian, and "Sir Martyn Furbisher, Knt.," who is generally, but incorrectly, said to have been buried at Plymouth, where he was brought after receiving his death-wound in the assault on Croyzon, near Brest. His name is entered as we have transcribed it (from Malcolm) under the date 1594—5 Jan. 14. Numerous other interesting recollections of St. Giles might be mentioned; we must confine ourselves to two: here, on the 22nd of August, 1620, were married Oliver Cromwell and Elizabeth Bouchier; and in connexion with Cromwell's friend and secretary the great poet before mentioned, we cannot but feel interested in observing in the parish registers the frequent mention of the names of Brackley, Egerton, and Bridgewater, dear to the lovers of Milton and 'Comus;' the family of Bridgewater having had a house in the immediate neighbourhood.

The present Lambeth Church is of the period of Edward IV. From its connexion with the palace adjoining, several of the archbishops have been interred in it, including Bancroft, Tenison, Hutton, and Secker. Bishops Thirlby and Tunstal also repose within its walls. A military-looking memorial to Robert Scot records the services of one of Gustavus Adolphus's English followers, and

* See Dugdale's 'Monasticon,' and Malcolm, vol. iii. p. 548.

the inventor of leathern artillery, which he used with great effect in the service of the Swedish monarch. In one of the windows is a painted figure of a man (said to be a pedlar) and a dog; according to tradition, the piece of land known as Pedlar's Acre was given to the parish by the individual here commemorated. The churchyard has a monument to the Tradescants, famous antiquaries during the reigns of the Charleses, who lived at Lambeth, and formed there the first Museum of Curiosities of which we have any record in England. Their garden also was very valuable for the amazing number and variety of plants they had collected in it, from all parts of the world.

The erection of St. Margaret's, Westminster, was owing to the desire of the Confessor to relieve the monks of the Abbey that he had so magnificently rebuilt from the inconveniences attending its use as a parish church: hence that proximity to the grander structure, which would hardly have been permitted under any other circumstances, and which almost makes it seem a part of it, viewed but from a short distance. St. Margaret's has been twice rebuilt;—in the reign of Edward I. by the princely-minded merchants of the Staple, and again in that of Edward IV.: from which period we may justly date the present structure, in spite of the extensive repairs that have taken place in 1735 and in 1803. Here lies the illustrious Printer, of whom we read in the parish registers: "1478. Item, the day of burying William Caxton, for ii. torches and iiii. tapers at a low mass;" and a similar entry, under the year 1491, shows the fitting honours that were paid to his memory: a handsome tablet has been placed in the church of late years by the Roxburgh Club. Here also was buried Skelton, the satirical poet of Henry VIII.'s reign, who was fain to take and to keep the Abbey sanctuary, out of Cardinal Wolsey's way; Lord Howard of Effingham, Elizabeth's gallant Lord High Admiral, who had the chief defence of the kingdom intrusted to his charge, at the period of the Spanish Armada, and to whose and to his lady's memory there is here a sumptuous monument, with their effigies; Sir Walter Raleigh, brought hither after his execution in the neighbouring Palace Yard; that "great man," as Malcolm twice calls him, Sir Philip Warwick, who, if our readers remember him at all, will most probably recollect him merely as giving an interesting description of Cromwell's appearance in the House of Commons, as a young member; and, lastly, Milton's wife, Catherine, buried here, Feb. 10, 1657, the "late espoused saint" of his pathetic and beautiful 23rd sonnet. The church, as the place of assemblage for the Members of the House of Commons during the sittings of Parliament, is kept in excellent order, and exhibits many interesting features. The architecture, where ancient, is beautiful; and more particularly the altar recess, with its lofty groined roof, its panelled niches, and fresco designs. But the painted eastern window is the grand attraction of St. Margaret's. This represents the whole history of the Crucifixion in what is considered the most masterly style of the art, and the effect is truly gorgeous. The history of this window is worthy of commemoration. It was made by the orders of the magistrates of Dort, in Holland, as a suitable present to Henry VII., for the chapel erected by him in the Abbey; hence the figure of that monarch at his devotions, and the red and white roses introduced into the picture. Henry, however, dying before it was completed, the window fell into the hands of the

Abbot of Waltham, who kept it in his church till the dissolution. Then began a series of hairbreadth escapes, through which it is wonderful the work should have reached its present home. The last Abbot of Waltham saved it from destruction by sending it to New Hall, a seat of the Butlers, in Wiltshire; from whence it was purchased, with the seat, by Thomas Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, whose son sold them to General Monk. The war against all such superstitious exhibitions of artistical skill was now raging hotly, and Monk knew there was no chance of his window escaping, except by its strict concealment; accordingly he buried it. At the Restoration, it was restored to the chapel at New Hall. Again danger threatened it: the chapel was destroyed by a new possessor, who, however, hoping to sell the window to some church, preserved it, cased up, and after some time sold it to Mr. Conyers, for his chapel at Epping; by this gentleman's son it was finally sold, in the last century, to the committee for repairing and beautifying St. Margaret's. Had ever window before so moving a history?

[East Window of St. Margaret's Church, Westminster.]

[St James, Westminster.]

# CXII.—THE CHURCHES OF LONDON.

## No. II.—Wren's Churches.

Interesting as many of the buildings that fall within the scope of the present article individually are, from their intrinsic merits, and the variety of historical and biographical recollections—to say nothing of less important matters—that belong to them, it is as a whole that we should first look at them, if we would do justice either to them, to their architect, or to those whose conduct deserves more admiration than it has received, the architect's employers. We must especially recall to mind the position of the citizens of London, if we would rightly understand or appreciate the noble qualities, of which the churches of London are the enduring memorials. Every stone marks a difficulty conquered—a sacrifice made on the part of those incapacitated in no ordinary degree for the making of sacrifices—an active exhibition of heroic hope, where men might have been not altogether without excuse, for a long period, of something much more nearly approximating in its characteristics to despair. We must remember—to review for a moment the successive stages of the great event in question—that "that which made the ruin the more dismal was, that it was begun on the Lord's Day morning:

never was there the like Sabbath in London; some churches were in flames that day; *and God seems to come down, and to preach himself in them, as He did in Mount Sinai, when the Mount burned with fire.* Such warm preaching those churches never had; such lightning-dreadful sermons never were before delivered in London. In other churches ministers were preaching their farewell sermons, and people were hearing with quaking and astonishment."* We must remember the result:—twelve churches only saved out of the ninety-seven standing within the walls. We must behold the miserable inhabitants—all miserable!—rich and poor, young and old, weak and strong, reduced for the moment to one common level—in their bivouacs in the surrounding fields and open country, where for months great numbers had to remain. We must above all weigh the utter ruin that many must have been plunged into by their losses, the difficulties requiring years of exertion and privation to overcome experienced by still more, the necessity for the husbanding of every penny of money, every thought and energy of the mind, on the part of all, to re-instate themselves in their former position. Houses the houseless could not but build, the commercial capital of the world could not from motives of the most evident self-interest remain long without its halls and warehouses, both piety and the habits of piety would naturally impel men to obtain some fresh places of worship; but when we find what an architect they did employ for their churches, what sums of money they did expend upon them, and how numerous were the buildings they did erect, it is impossible to repress a warm feeling of admiration at the conduct of our civic forefathers, or to resist the whispers of national pride that explain and concentrate the whole in one appropriate word (and never may that word lose its magic!) as the conduct of—Englishmen. These things, to our minds, are the best parts of the history of our metropolitan churches.

Of course, impossibilities were not attempted; and such would have been the erection of these buildings immediately after the fire. They were content, no doubt, at first, to worship God beneath his own beautiful sky, that temple not made with hands, and then, as conveniences and time presented, beneath places of temporary shelter; it is also to be remembered that the few existing churches would give accommodation to the greatest possible number of the members of those which had been destroyed: and thus we may presume to have passed the first two or three years. The general character and direction of the earliest movement towards the erection of the present structures are not unhappily illustrated by the case of Allhallows, Lombard Street, as that case is shown to us by notices written at the time in the parish register. On the 15th of February, 1669, the parishioners resolved they "should congregate and meet together about the worship of God" in their own parish, and accordingly deputed persons to select a place, and build thereon a temporary structure. They next directed that the steeple should be viewed, to see whether it could be strengthened and supported; on the 21st of the same month they ordered the walls of the body of the building to be coped with straw and lime, to preserve them from further damage. A lingering hope is here perceptible that the church might be repaired rather than rebuilt; but after the lapse of another year or so, when we may suppose the

* Rev. T. Vincent—'God's Terrible Advice to the City by Plague and Fire.'

general business of London to have regained much of its usual regularity, they dismissed the idea as impracticable, or as unworthy, and agreed not only that the church should be rebuilt, but, in December, 1670, that "young and old" would join heart and hand in expediting the work. The means at the disposal of the parishioners in this, as well as in the other parishes, were various, but chiefly a portion of the duty on coals, set apart by the parliament for the rebuilding of London and the churches, an assessment on the inhabitants, and voluntary subscriptions; the whole, however, in a great number of cases, insufficient, as we may well suppose, to admit of any rapid progress; and hence continual difficulties. At Allhallows they were so greatly at a loss at one period, that they endeavoured to raise 500*l.* upon their lands, but Sergeant Pemberton advised them that it could not be done without a decree of Chancery. From this position they were relieved apparently by the usual process, increased exertions on the part of benevolent individuals, for we find John Marsh, in 1693, lending them the exact sum stated. The year after 500*l.* was also raised by a parochial assessment. These notices are imperfect, but show sufficiently the general history of the rebuilding of Allhallows, which is but an epitome of the rebuilding of most of the other London churches.

In the foregoing passages we must also look for no unimportant part of the materials from which we are to estimate the architect's greatness. Without dwelling upon the multitude of Wren's avocations at this time—the cathedrals, palaces, government offices, hospitals, civic halls, colleges, &c. &c., he was erecting or repairing, and which make it wonderful that he could have contrived to give us so many beautiful churches in the City, rather than depreciatory of his fame, that he should also have added some that are very insignificant—passing by this consideration, which Wren barely needs, there is another, which it would be unjust to his memory not to lay some stress upon, the pecuniary difficulties above referred to, which must have hampered him at every step of his labours, and often have materially affected the design itself, which it was the object of those labours to carry into effect. In criticising therefore his works, it is sometimes more germane to the matter to speak of the design that the parochial purse approved of, rather than of his; to lament the absence of appropriate decoration there, rather than in his buildings. The church of St. Mary Aldermary offers a striking example of the importance of these pecuniary influences. Would you learn how it was that this building became erected on the expensive model of the former one, with its nave, and aisles, and clustered pillars, and surprisingly rich fan-groinings, not merely decorating but covering the ceilings, Malcolm will tell us that "Henry Rogers, Esq., influenced by sincere motives of piety, and affected with the almost irreparable loss of religious buildings, left the sum of 5000*l.* to rebuild a church in the city of London. His lady, who was executrix of the will, determined that St. Mary's should be that church." Then, again, churchwardens of that day, as of this, held their opinions with a pertinacity at least equal to their information, and, we may be sure, often plagued and occasionally thwarted the architect. To refer, for instance, again to Allhallows, we read in their parish books of Wren sending about a *spire*, but the parish, or its officers, seem to have preferred a tower—so a tower it is. Communications of a more agreeable nature, be it observed, occasionally passed, such for instance as

that referred to in the books of St. Clement's East Cheap, under the date of 1685, "To one-third of a hogshead of wine, given to Sir Christopher Wren, 4*l.* 2*s.* 0*d.*;" and that in the books of St. Mary Aldermanbury, 1673, April 10—"Having considered the kindness of Sir Christopher Wren and Mr. Robert Hooke (chief mason) in expediting the building of the church; and that they may be encouraged to assist in perfecting that work, it is now ordered that the parish, by the churchwardens, do present Sir C. Wren with 20 guineas, and Mr. R. Hooke with 10."

It was under the disadvantages referred to that Wren erected the structures which, as a whole, form the greatest monuments of his genius; for in them he appears as emphatically the inventor of a style of ecclesiastical architecture adapted to the wants of a Protestant community, to whose minds the older and, we may own, more beautiful Roman Catholic buildings were distasteful, from their connection with the faith from which they had only emancipated themselves after a long and bloody struggle. Of the exteriors of Wren's churches we have little to say, the principal spires and towers having been so completely shown by the design given in our first volume, in the 'Building of St. Paul's;' and, beyond the spires and towers, there being so little demanding observation. The confined and frequently obscure position of the buildings rendered it impossible that fine architectural exteriors could be adequately enjoyed, so the architect declined giving them, but, instead, concentrated his energies and skill in the parts exposed to observation, by their height, as in the campanuli, and in the interiors. Two external peculiarities, however, must not be overlooked—the original and picturesque manner in which he has applied ornamented details from the Italian to the forms of the Gothic, and the grace with which he has placed his spires on the supporting towers. As to his interiors, perhaps variety of plan is the most striking characteristic. Looking over the entire number of churches (fifty-three) erected by Wren in the metropolis,* we perceive they may be divided into three classes—the Domed; the Basilical (that is with nave and side-aisles divided by pillars from each other); and the Miscellaneous, consisting of some with single rectangular plans without columns, mere rooms, in short, apart from their decorations;—some with a single aisle, formed to conceal the intrusions of the lower part of the tower on that side of the church;—and some with pillars, disposed within the rectangular area, to give it the appearance of a cross. The churches of each of these classes are generally in the Roman style, but with some noticeable exceptions—as St. Mary, Aldermary, and St. Alban's, Wood-street, both of which belong to the Gothic—the latter, says Wren, "as the same was before the fire." We may here be permitted to pause a moment over one recollection of the old church of Mary Aldermary (that is Mary the *elder* of the churches so dedicated in London); Stow says that "Richard Chawcer, vintner, gave to that church his tenement and tavern, with the appurtenances in the Royal Street, the corner of Kirion Lane, and was there buried, 1348." He adds an explanatory marginal note, that this Richard was "father to Geoffrey Chaucer the poet, as may be supposed;" and we think with great probability, if it be remembered with what affection the latter always speaks of the City, and how closely he was connected

* That is, including two not burnt in the fire, as St. Andrew's, Holborn, and St. Clement Danes, and one new church, St. James, Westminster.

with its various broils in the reign of Richard II. In this very tavern, then, with its heterogeneous assemblage of people of almost every rank and pursuit, such as a tavern of the middle ages only could draw together, and attended by a thousand interesting circumstances of manner and costume equally peculiar to the time, may the young poet have acquired some of the materials for his great poem, perhaps even the first idea of the poem itself.

Reversing the order of the three classes enumerated we will now first refer to the miscellaneous; in one division of which, the churches with simple rectangular plans, with more or less regularity of outline, may be enumerated St. Lawrence, Jewry, and Allhallows, Lombard Street; in another, consisting of churches with pillars introduced into the area to give the effect of a cross, St. Martin's, Ludgate, and St. Anne and Agnes, Aldersgate Street; and a third, the churches with a tower introduced into one corner, and a continuous aisle to conceal the awkwardness that would otherwise be apparent, St. Margaret Patten's, and St. Bennet, Paul's Wharf. Greatly do the churches of this class vary in the extent and beauty of their decoration, from St. Matthew's, Friday Street, at the lower end of the scale up to St. Lawrence, Jewry, at the higher, which, with all its simplicity of design, is one of the handsomest of Wren's structures; the chaste elegance of the exterior and the noble style of decoration adopted in the interior are equally worthy of admiration. There is a vestry attached to it scarcely less beautiful, where the painted compartment of the richly stuccoed ceiling represents the apotheosis of St. Lawrence. Among the monuments is one to Tillotson, some of whose best sermons were delivered here. The affixed name "Jewry" is, of course, derived from the Jews, who resided in the neighbourhood from the period of the Conqueror's coming to England, who brought many of their nation with him from Normandy; a locality, which in effect, through the operation of a law which prevented them from burying their dead anywhere but in the plot of ground known as the Jew's Garden, now Jewin Street, must have been their only place of residence in this country till the reign of Henry II. They then, after petitioning parliament, obtained permission to purchase ground for a cemetery outside the walls of any place in which they dwelt. They were expelled *en masse* by Edward I., who graciously allowed them to carry away enough to bear their travelling charges, but kept their treasure, to an immense amount, in his own hands. It may be doubted whether this was so politic a mode of treatment in the long run as his father's; at all events it must have been very convenient to a sovereign to have always at command such a mode of paying his debts as that referred to in the following regal proclamation—one of the richest things of the kind in history: "To all persons the King sendeth greeting: Know all men that we have borrowed 5000 marks sterling of our trusty and well beloved brother, Richard, Earl of Cornwall; for the payment whereof we have made over and delivered to him all our Jews of England!" In the old Jewry is the church of St. Olave, with a tablet to Alderman Boydell, bearing a long inscription that does but justice to this enlightened and generous patron of art. Of the other churches of this class we may mention a few for the sake of the incidental matters of interest connected with them. In St. Edward the King, a church also beautiful, in spite of the extremest simplicity of plan, from the picturesque effect of the dark oak pews, pulpit, and galleries, so admirably contrived and so richly carved, and which is

remarkable for having its altar on the north, are some handsome modern stained glass, and two pictures, Moses and Aaron, by Etty. In the old church of St. Stephen, Coleman Street, was the monument of Anthony Munday, the great literary and mechanical architect of civic pageants for a long period of years, a dramatic writer, and an antiquary, who published the third edition of Stow's 'Survey,' with additions professedly received from Stow himself; and in another old church, that of St. Mildred, Poultry, one whose inscription told us,—

> "Here Thomas Tusser clad in earth doth lie,
> That sometime made the 'Points of Husbandry,'" &c.

Tusser's disposition must have been somewhat changeable. Fuller describes him as "successively a musician, schoolmaster, serving-man, husbandman, grazier, poet, more skilful in all than thriving in any vocation." Inigo Jones was buried, at the age of eighty (as estimated), in St. Bennet, Paul's Wharf; it seems strange, therefore, to read of his death being *hastened* by any cause, yet it is said that he did die prematurely through the vexations and anxiety brought on him by his loyal tendencies in politics and his Roman Catholic in religion: on the latter ground he was subjected to a heavy fine in 1646. He died in 1651. The church of Allhallows the Great may be mentioned for its beautiful carved oak screen, with very slender twisted pillars, supporting a rich entablature, in the centre of which is an eagle with outspread wings; the whole most exquisitely carved. The feeling that brought this picturesque piece of decoration here, is one that it is pleasant to have to record. The Merchants of the Steel-yard, it is well known, occupied the adjoining precincts, and in early times probably used the church; their descendants, the Hanse Merchants of the last century, as supposed (for the time is uncertain), sent over this screen as a token of their remembrance of the old connection. With the church of St. Michael's, Paternoster Royal, the name of Whittington is inseparably associated; there it was he founded his magnificent college, with its Master, four Fellows, Masters of Arts, clerks, 'conducts,' and choristers, and bestowed on it the rights and profits of the church which belonged to him. Malcolm mentions a portrait of him as being in the possession of the Mercer's Company, which goes some way towards confirming the truth of one feature of the popular biography of him: it bears date 1536, the inscription, R. Whittington, and exhibits clearly enough *a cat* by his side. The history of his monument is disgraceful. An incumbent of the parish, one Mountain, in the reign of Edward VI., dared to open it with the view of finding buried treasure, and being disappointed contented himself, we suppose, with the leaden enclosures, which were at all events taken away at the time: in the ensuing reign the parishioners re-wrapped the body in lead. The whole, including the monument, unfortunately disappeared in the fire. The modern church possesses a work of art of high value—Hilton's admirable picture of Mary Magdalene anointing the feet of Jesus, who is reproving Judas for his envious complaint that the ointment was not sold and the money given to the poor, in the beautiful passage "The poor always have ye with you, but me ye have not always." Lastly, in St. Michael's, Wood Street, after a strange series of vicissitudes regarding its preservation, was buried the head of the Scottish monarch who fell on Flodden field. The battle was fought on the 9th of September, 1513, and

the body of James was found on the same day by Lord Dacre among the slain, and recognised not only by him but by the deceased king's own chancellor and others; it is difficult to understand, therefore, how there could ever have been any real doubt on the matter. Stow, in his account of the church, gives the subsequent history. The body was "closed in lead, and conveyed from thence to London, and so to the monastery of Sheen (Richmond), in Surrey, where it remained for a time, in what order I am not certain. But since the dissolution of that house, in the reign of Edward VI., Henry Gray, Duke of Suffolk, being lodged and keeping house there, I have been showed the same body, so lapped in lead close to the head and body, thrown into a waste-room amongst the old timber, lead, and other rubble. Since the which time workmen there, for their foolish pleasure, hewed off his head; and Lancelot Young, Master Glazier to Queen Elizabeth, feeling a sweet savour to come from thence, and seeing the same dried from all moisture, and yet the form remaining, with the hair of the head, and beard, red, brought it to London, to his house in Wood Street, where for a time he kept it for the sweetness, but in the end caused the sexton of that church to bury it amongst other bones taken out of their charnel."

In the churches on the ancient plan, the Basilical, with their nave and side aisles, and central recess for the altar, and occasionally with their clerestory above, we have to deal with a much more important class of architectural productions. The churches of St. Magnus, Bartholomew by the Exchange (now lost), Bride, Bow, Andrew, Holborn, Dunstan's in the East, and Michael's, Cornhill, all belong to this division, of which they are the most distinguished ornaments. St. Magnus, it appears from Malcolm, has been rebuilt, but, we presume, without material alterations of Wren's design. It now presents a noble interior, in spite of the appearance of want of solidity produced by the slender columns, and exceedingly broad intervals between. The church is further distinguished by one of the handsomest altar-pieces of its kind in London, and by the circumstance that Miles Coverdale was rector of the church till 1566, when he resigned it. The parishioners, within the last few years, have erected a handsome memorial of his presence among them. St. Bartholomew's, with remains of its ancient tower, and a body remarkable for its simple harmony of proportion, claimed a nearer connection with this translator of the first entire edition of the Bible published in the English language, for he was buried beneath its communion-table. Bride Church, with its most beautiful of steeples, and its sumptuous though not very accurate copy, in stained glass, of Rubens's great picture, the Descent from the Cross, has a fine but not in any way remarkable interior; we may therefore pass it with a brief notice of the eminent men who have been interred in the old or in the existing structure; such as—Wynken de Worde, the assistant and successor of the great printer whom Pope, in his Dunciad, when describing the altar raised by Bays for the immolation of his unsuccessful writings, thus mentions—

> "There Caxton slept, with Wynken by his side,
> One clasp'd in wood, and one in strong cowhide:"

Sir Richard Baker, author of the 'Chronicles of the Kings of England,' who died in distress in the neighbouring Fleet prison; Nicholls, the author of the 'History of Leicestershire;' and above all, Samuel Richardson, with his wife and family, the illustrious rival of the Fieldings and Goldsmiths. Bow Church is perhaps,

of all the buildings we have mentioned, the most distinguished for breadth and grandeur of effect. It is an adaptation from Wren's favourite classical authority, the Temple of Peace, at Rome. Among other peculiarities, the happy mode of introducing the galleries may be noticed. The memorials of the dead are numerous here, and include a large marble monument by Banks, to Bishop Newton, with an inscription, in which is the passage—" Reader, if you would be further informed of his character, acquaint yourself with his writings." As to the tower of Bow Church, that object of universal admiration for its beauty may challenge equally universal attention to its history, which is so full of matter that we almost hesitate in our limited space to refer to any of the details, lest we should be tempted too far. From its foundation below—a Roman causeway, discovered by Wren during the erection—to the belfry above where hang the bells, which have become a bye-word; from the exterior balcony over the door, with its recollections of Queen Philippa's awkward accident, to the interior with its associations of murder and siege, the pile, either in itself or in its ancestors, has scarcely one separate portion that has not also its own separate story. There was formerly a stone building near the site of the present tower, erected for the use of the royal family to witness the great public processions that so often in old times passed through Cheapside, and in consequence of Edward's queen, whilst standing, with the ladies of her court, on a temporary wooden scaffold to witness a magnificent tournament, having fallen "with some shame" upon the knights and others beneath. The King would have punished the artisans who had raised so insecure a structure; but the Queen interceding, he contented himself with the erection of a proper building, of which the balcony over the door facing Cheapside is a kind of memento. The murder committed in the interior of the old tower was that of Lawrence Ducket, a goldsmith, who had dangerously wounded one Ralph Crepin, and taken shelter here, but being suddenly seized in the night was strangled, and hung up so as to give the idea of his having committed suicide. Some time after a boy, who had been an unnoticed spectator of the whole, revealed the truth, and the assassins and their accomplices, sixteen in number, were hung, a woman 'Alice' burnt, many rich persons "hanged by the purse" (Stow's expression), the church interdicted, and the doors and windows filled with thorns, till the whole was properly purified. This was in 1284. Rather less than a century before, Bow Church became the scene of an event of infinitely greater, indeed of national importance. When Richard I. was engaged in the Holy Land, his officers at home, in collecting funds for his supply, levied an extraordinary taillage upon the City of London. A corrupt practice, it seems, had crept into the local government, of apportioning the respective shares of each citizen unfairly, the managers of course sparing themselves, who were the best able to bear the exaction, at the expense of their poorer fellow-citizens. A citizen of Saxon descent, called from his long beard, William *à la barbe* by the Normans, but properly, William Fitz-Osbert, who had already favourably distinguished himself by his devotion to the cause of the people, chiefly of the same descent as himself, now stood forth, and denounced, in most eloquent language, the wrong attempted to be perpetrated. Failing to convince the Norman rulers, he crossed the seas to Richard, from whom he returned with a promise of redress. This was too much for the patience of his adversaries; it

was bad enough that he should fill the people, as he had done, with "an inordinate desire of liberty and happiness;" but that he, a Saxon, should dare to interfere between them and the monarch, was monstrous; so Hubert Walter, Grand Justiciary of England, adopted a mode of prevention almost ludicrous, for the contrast between the smallness of the object, and the sweeping and reckless nature of the means, that of forbidding any man of the commonalty of London from quitting the City. Some traders, going, according to custom, to the great fair then held at Stamford, were the first victims of this exquisite specimen of an executive government; they were thrown into prison, and it became evident that the prohibition was to be really carried into effect, at whatever cost. Then began the poorer citizens to combine themselves into an association for their common defence, and their numbers swelled so fast that when their leader, William Longbeard, was cited to appear before a parliament convoked by the chief functionaries of the realm, they accompanied him in such immense multitudes, that no one dared to proceed with the charges against him. Other modes were now resorted to; skilful emissaries introduced themselves into the councils of the disaffected, and worked upon their minds by every method that could be devised; the members of the government alternately conciliated and threatened, with similar views, until the conspirators began to hesitate—to doubt each other's fidelity, and at last to allow the government quietly to obtain as hostages the children of a great number of families. Of course the power of the conspiracy was then broken, and the government, relieved of its fears, exerted itself to get possession of the ringleader, that it might be utterly annihilated. Two persons undertook the dangerous task; for some days they watched all his motions, having at hand a concealed band of armed men, to seize him when they should give the signal. An opportunity at last offered; he was walking along with only nine followers; they approached carelessly till he was within reach, then suddenly threw themselves upon him, and endeavoured to hold him whilst the armed men rushed from their place of concealment to their assistance. But Longbeard's hand was as ready as his tongue, and in one instant the foremost of the assailants was pierced to the heart; in the next Longbeard was fighting his way with his little band towards Bow Church, or, as it was then called, St. Mary at Arches. He succeeded in getting safely into the tower, which he barricaded, and then maintained so stoutly, that after three days spent in ineffectual attempts to force it by ordinary means, they were compelled on the fourth to resort to fire. Driven forth by the flames, Longbeard and his fellow unfortunates were speedily overpowered and bound. In this state he was stabbed by a son of the man he had slain four days before, and thus wounded, tied to the tail of a horse and dragged to the Tower, where the Archbishop sentenced him to the gallows. In the same terrible plight he was drawn to Smithfield, and hung with the others. The terrible Saxon Longbeard seemed destined to be an eternal plague to the ruling Normans. Not long after his death a system of Smithfield pilgrimages began, that promised to rival in popularity those of the Canterbury martyr. People from all parts came to the spot where the "King of the Poor" had breathed his last, and where miracles attested the horror of Heaven at the deed that had been committed. The Archbishop could not even drive away by force

these credulous worshippers, till he had established a permanent guard on the spot, and scourged and imprisoned numbers of both men and women. The present tower has been rebuilt, though on the model of the original, as seen in the following view.

[Bow Church and Cheapside, 1750.]

The tower of St. Andrew's, Holborn, of the date of Henry VI., displays Wren's restoring hand in so unfavourable a light that we willingly pass to the interior, the architect's own composition, that we may admire the air of magnificence he has given to it. All the accessories tend to enhance this effect—the gildings, the paintings, the stained glass, which in the chancel reach to a high point of splendour. St. Andrew's may almost be called the poets' church, from the number of that glorious but unhappy fraternity that have been in one way or another connected with it, from the time of Webster, the author of the 'White Devil' and the 'Duchess of Malfy,' who was parish clerk, down to the late Henry Neele, interred here, after his suicide in a state of temporary insanity. Under the date of 1698, as Malcolm was informed, the parish register records the christening of the poet Savage, by direction of Earl Rivers, who, according to the mother—Lady Macclesfield's—own confession of unfaithfulness to her husband, was the father. Disowned as he grew up by both his unnatural parents, unaware even who they were, till accident discovered them to him, suffering generally from poverty, and almost unceasingly from his own ill-regulated passions; there are few literary lives more truly melancholy than that of Savage. We need not wonder that (in Johnson's words), he was "very seldom provoked to laughter." One terrible event with him seemed ever to be the precursor of another, each increasing in intensity. The killing a man in a tavern broil leads to sentence of death, and that to a mother striving to intercept the pardon bestowed upon him, and the whole to the publication of "the Bastard," in which poetry was prostituted to the most awful purpose, perhaps, on record—that of holding a mother up to the reprobation and contempt of the world. Yet, if ever there was a man deserving pity, it was Savage; and he obtained more than that from one who was little

inclined, by habit or principle, to confound right and wrong. The friendship of Johnson and Savage is one of the most touching and beautiful things in literary history. If greater sufferings were needed than he experienced generally through life to expiate his faults, the circumstances of his death, in a jail at Bristol for debt, in 1743, may surely be deemed sufficient. As in one poet's history we have wandered by a melancholy path from St. Andrew's to Bristol, by that of another still more saddening, on account of the loftier nature concerned, we may return. Nine years after Savage's death in Bristol there was born in the same place one who, coming to London with the romantic notion that talents of a generally high order as a writer, and powers unsurpassed at the same age as a poet, should be sufficient to supply his moderate demands of food, clothing, and raiment; possessing at the same time too much pride to turn his muse into a lackey to dangle after patrons, found himself, after the most indefatigable exertions, literally starving. Suicide and the workhouse burying-ground of St. Andrew's complete his history, at the age of seventeen. The parish register of August 28, 1770, shows the following entry—"*William* Chatterton," the mistake, of course, regarding the name of a pauper being very excusable. The only thing that surprises us is the addition by a later hand, of the words "The Poet." Had not that fact better be forgotten at St. Andrew's?

With respect to the churches of St. Michael, Cornhill, and St. Dunstan, East, one of the most curious results of Wren's studies in combining the Italian and Gothic styles is exhibited in the history of the former, which had first a body erected in the Italian style to the fine old Gothic tower spared by the fire, and then, fifty years later, when the tower was pulled down, a reversal of the former process in the erection of a Gothic tower to the Italian body. Fabian was buried here. The tower of St. Dunstan's is an imitation of that of St. Nicholas at Newcastle, built in the fifteenth century, a circumstance that of course lessens the architect's merit in giving us so elegant and fairy-like a thing. Wren's biographer, Elwes, gives the following anecdote on the authority of an anonymous friend:—"When Sir Christopher Wren made the first attempt of building a steeple upon quadrangular columns in this country (St. Dunstan's in the East), he was convinced of the truth of his architectural principle; but as he had never before acted upon it, and as a failure would have been fatal to his reputation, and awful in its consequences to the neighbourhood of the edifice, he naturally felt intense anxiety when the superstructure was completed, in the removal of the supporters. The surrounding people shared largely in the solicitude. Sir Christopher himself went to London Bridge, and watched the proceedings through a lens. The ascent of a rocket proclaimed the stability of the steeple; and Sir Christopher himself would afterwards smile that he ever could, even for a moment, have doubted the truth of his mathematics."—J. J. Mr. Elwes says the first part of the story is evidently incorrect, and that Wren would hardly have attempted what he doubted; he then relates as evidence "on the contrary," that the architect being informed one night that a dreadful hurricane had damaged all the steeples in London, at once replied, "Not St. Dunstan's, I am quite sure." The last story, however, rather supports than contradicts the first; the speech of the one is but the smile of the other put into words; and both may be referred to

a similar origin, some—misunderstood—peculiarities in the mode of erection; it is to be observed also, that doubts during experiments and after, are very different things. The body of the church built by Wren has now gone, it having been re-built in harmony with the steeple, by Mr. Laing, in the years 1817 to 1821. At the east end, a large and beautiful window has been preserved, which is under-stood to have been an exact copy of one Wren discovered in the re-building. Among the events which have been recorded as preserving the features of old times and customs, better than any regular descriptions could do, is one of some interest connected with St. Dunstan's, thus given in 'Stow's Chronicle:'—"In the year 1417, and on the afternoon of Easter Sunday, a violent quarrel took place in this church between the ladies of the Lord Strange and Sir John Trussel, Knt., which involved the husbands and at length terminated in a general contest. Several persons were seriously wounded; and an unlucky fishmonger, named Thomas Petwarden, killed. The two great men, who chose a church for their field of battle, were seized, and committed to the Poultry Compter; and the Archbishop of Canterbury excommunicated them. On the 21st of April that prelate heard the particulars at St. Magnus Church, and, finding Lord Strange and his lady the aggressors, he cited them to appear before him, the Lord Mayor, and others, on the 1st of May, at St. Paul's, and there submit to penance, which was inflicted by compelling all their servants to march before the rector of St. Dunstan's in their shirts, followed by the Lord, bareheaded, and the Lady bare-footed, and Kentwode, archdeacon of London, to the church of St. Dunstan, where, at the hallowing of it, Lady Strange was compelled to fill all the sacred vessels with water, and offer an ornament, value 10*l.*, and her husband a piece of silver worth 5*l.** What a contrast to this state of things is the bill now before parlia-ment, where the Church steps forward to renounce the last few vestiges that remain to it of the power which caused such scenes to be exhibited in our streets and churches! Among the remaining buildings of the Basilical style may be mentioned St. Andrew Wardrobe, with its striking monument by Bacon to Ro-maine; St. Augustine, where the fraternity of the same name were accustomed, as Strype tells us, to meet on the eve of St. Austin, and in the morning at high mass, when every brother offered a penny, and afterwards was ready either to eat or to revel, as the master and wardens directed; St. Sepulchre's, with its exceed-ingly beautiful antique porch and its dreadful associations with the neighbouring prison; and, lastly, St. James, Westminster, where Wren has exhibited the most consummate union of beauty and fitness in the interior, and, as a kind of practical antithesis, left the exterior destitute of these or any other valuable qualities. The church was founded, chiefly through the agency of the Earl of St. Albans, as a chapel of ease to St. Martin's during the latter part of Charles's reign, but made parochial in the reign of Charles's successor, James. There are many features of the interior that will repay the visitor's attention, but more particu-larly the marble font, carved by Gibbons, an exquisite specimen of art. The support of the basin consists of the trunk of the tree of knowledge, with the branches and foliage of which it is partially covered, and by the side of the tree

* 'Londinum Redivivum,' v. iii. p. 444.

are two of the most gracefully sculptured figures that can be well conceived, representing Eve offering to Adam the apple. In this church was buried the footman, bookseller, and poet, Dodsley.

In the last class of Wren's churches that we have to notice, the Domed, the genius of the architect shines out more clearly than in either of the others, as being works of greater pretension than the one class, and not, like the other (the Basilical), apt to suggest by its form thoughts of the still more beautiful, ancient style that they superseded. At the head of this division stands the far-famed St. Stephen's, Walbrook, into the interior of which no one can have ever entered for the first time without obtaining a higher opinion even of the architect of St. Paul's. Proportion, harmony, and repose are its pervading characteristics; and, with one exception—the walls left almost in their primitive nakedness—he seems to have felt the influence of his own beautiful work lead him into a greater degree of delicacy in all the subordinate features of decoration to harmonise therewith, than is usual with him. Hence the perfect effect produced. Hence the opinions of one of our most accomplished architectural critics, that all things considered its equal in its style is not to be found in Europe: hence the observation, "Had the materials and volume been so durable and extensive as those of St. Paul's Cathedral, Sir Christopher Wren had consummated a much more efficient monument to his well-earned fame, than that fabric affords."* The dimensions of St. Stephen's are only 82 feet 6 inches from east to west, within the walls, and 59 feet 6 inches from north to south, the ground plan forming therefore nearly a parallelogram. Of the incidental features of the church, the most remarkable is West's picture of the death of St. Stephen, which is placed against (thereby concealing) the central eastern window. The exterior, as usual, Wren has treated as though scarcely condescending to notice its existence; till the aspiring steeple attracts his regard, when he puts forth his strength, and makes it his own. St. Benet Fink, with its external walls in the form of a decagon, and worthy of notice if it be only for the ingenuity exhibited in the conquest over the difficulties attending a confined and irregular position, is another church of this class; as are also St. Swithin's, Cannon Street, with the oldest piece of metropolitan antiquity, the well-known London stone, let into its exterior walls, and St. Antholin's, or Anthony's; neither of which, however, require any more particular architectural notice. Near to the last-mentioned building, the Scottish commissioners were located during their residence in London just before the outbreak of the Civil War, and there was a passage from the house into the gallery of the church; the minister of which was a Puritan. "This benefit," says Clarendon, "was well foreseen on all sides in the accommodation, and this church assigned to them for their own devotions, where one of their own chaplains still preached, amongst which Alexander Henderson was the chief. . . . . . To hear these sermons there was so great a conflux and resort by the citizens, out of humour and faction, by others of all qualities out of curiosity, by some that they might the better justify the contempt they had of them, that from the first appearance of day in the morning of every Sunday to the shutting in of

* Britton and Pugin's Illustrations of the Public Buildings of London.

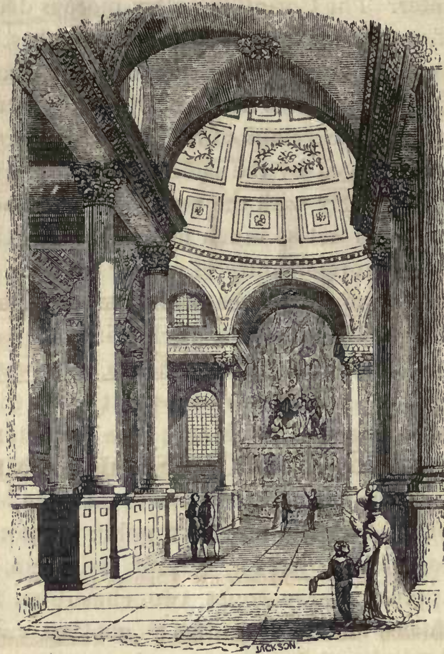
the light the church was never empty; they (especially the women) who had the happiness to get into the church in the morning (they who could not hung upon or about the windows without, to be auditors or spectators) keeping the places till the afternoon exercises were finished." The noble historian, whilst covertly satirising the folly or credulity or "faction," that could alone in his opinion bring such assemblages together, tells us something that requires still greater faith or absurdity to believe, namely, that the service was flat and insipid: a cause unlikely to produce such effects; incredible, if we consider the fiery fanaticism which every where characterised the parties in question. But taste is often made the scapegoat of opinion. The Cavaliers, whose opinion Clarendon has here most probably perpetuated, would of course like the men as men very little, their business in London less (to negotiate a treaty with their monarch, backed by an irresistible army in the northern counties), their increasing intimacy with the English reformers, religious and political, least of all; for it was tolerably evident by this time that in the forthcoming struggle the Scotch would play an important part, and very possibly have the power in their hands to turn the scale decidedly in favour of king or people. Apart from the novelty (a most refreshing one to many) of seeing and sharing in a more simple mode of worship than had been permitted since Laud's ascendancy (of whose proceedings the consecration of Katharine Cree in our last number offers a striking example), this no doubt was the origin of such assemblages. To the English reformers it was all but a matter of life and death the part these men at St. Antholin's would take. Strafford's trial was pending, Laud had been just arrested, the tide of the revolution was rolling on, but as yet with a force which the King might possibly be able to contend with successfully; we may imagine, then, the importance of that army on the frontiers, of that declaration made by one of the commissioners, Baillie, respecting the negotiations, which, said he, "we will make long or short according as the necessities of our good friends in England require, for they are still in that fray, that if we and our army were gone they were yet undone." In the church of St. Mildred, Bread Street, which is small, without columns, but beautiful from the elegance of the arches which support the dome, and of the cornice of the latter, we meet with a later reminiscence of the Civil War in connexion with the memorial of Sir T. Crisp, which refers to the exertions of his father, Sir Nicholas Crisp, in the royal cause, involving, it is stated, losses exceeding in amount 100,000*l.*; "but this was repaired in some measure by King Charles II.:" a fact that should never be forgotten, since there are so very few of the kind in the history of the "merry monarch." The Sir Nicholas Crisp referred to was a wealthy merchant of London, who had been driven from thence by a parliamentary prosecution, and joined the King at Oxford. He is said to have been Charles' chief agent for the receipt of foreign succours, as well as the manager of no inconsiderable part of a similar business at home. Whilst the King was in the lines at Oxford, Crisp was most indefatigable in his vocation, a perfect Proteus in the shapes he assumed to elude the inquiries or interference of the parliamentarians: one day he was to be seen as a porter, with a basket of fish on his head, watching the arrival of vessels; the next, as a mounted butter-woman between her panniers, on the road to head-quarters. In 1643 he set on foot a

plot to secure a large body of secret adherents in the metropolis, ready at any time to start into sudden activity, by obtaining from the King a commission of array, which Crisp was to fill up with the proper names. The plan was, however, discovered by Parliament, about the same time that it discovered the poet Waller's, and the two not unnaturally became intimately blended together in the minds of the people. The only remaining churches that we shall notice are those of Mary Abchurch, and Mary at Hill. The former exhibits in the interior a large and handsome dome supported on a medallion cornice, and is adorned with paintings by Sir James Thornhill, according to Mr. Britton, whilst, in the Pictorial England, Isaac Fuller, one of the indigenous scholars of the Verrio school, is mentioned as the painter. The Corinthian altar-piece is decorated by some of the finest carvings of the finest of masters in the art, Gibbons, whose name we have had occasion to mention so frequently in connexion with the churches of London, that one cannot help wondering where he found time to execute his manifold commissions. The delicacy of the carvings of St. Mary Abchurch reminds one of the story of the pot of flowers carved by the same artist whilst living in Belle Sauvage court, "which shook surprisingly with the motion of the coaches that passed by." St. Mary at Hill we mention not so much for the sake of the architecture of the present structure, as for the opportunity of giving another illustration from the history of the former of the magnificence of the old churches of the metropolis. St. Mary's had no less than seven altars, each with its chantry priest regularly and permanently attached, and three brotherhoods, comprising of course a still larger number of religious. This gives us a pretty fair glimpse of the magnitude of the former establishment of St. Mary; the inventory of the apparel for the high altar, only, with the date 1485-6, gives us more than a glimpse of its splendour. It occupies great part of three quarto pages in Malcolm, and includes such items as altar cloths of russet cloth of gold; curtains of russet sarsenet, fringed with silk; a complete priest's "suit of red satin, fringed with gold," which comprised, it appears, three copes, two chasubles, two albs, two stoles, two "amytts," three fanons, and two girdles;* another suit, of white cloth of gold; a third, of red cloth of Lucchese gold; vestments of red satin, embroidered with lions of gold, and of black velvet, powdered with lambs, moons, and stars; canopies of blue cloth of bawdekin, with "birds of flour in gold," and of red silk with green branches and white flowers, powdered with swans of gold between the branches; copes, streamers, and mitres, for the boy-bishop and his followers "at Saint Nicholas tide." How inadequate, after all, are the most glowing descriptions of our romancists to convey to us a sufficient idea of the scenes that must have been presented in our ecclesiastical buildings four or five centuries ago!

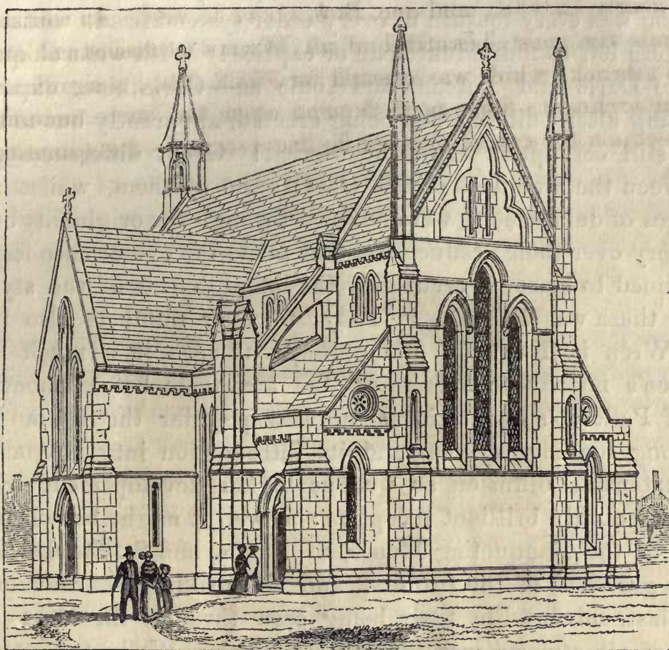
The costs of erection of Wren's churches of course varied greatly in accordance with their great differences in plan and amount of decoration. Some were built for less than 2500*l.*, as those of St. Anne Aldersgate Street, St. Matthew Friday Street, and St. Nicholas Cole Abbey; many for about 5000*l.* or 6000*l.*,

* The amice was an under garment, over which was worn first the alb like a robe or surplice, then the girdle and stole; the fanon or maniple was a towel held by the priest during mass; the chasuble was a kind of smaller cope.

among which may be enumerated St. Bartholomew, St. Peter Cornhill, and St. Edmund the King; whilst three, St. Bride, Christ Church, and St. Lawrence Jewry, cost nearly 12,000*l.*, and one, Bow, above 15,400*l.* In contrast with these last four stands the most beautiful of all Wren's ecclesiastical structures, St. Stephen's Walbrook, which was erected for 7652*l.* 13*s.*; a significant proof how little the true architect's fame need depend upon the mere amount of funds at his disposal—upon the extent of space he has to cover—the quantity of brick or stone to pile.




[Interior of St. Stephen's, Walbrook.]



[St. Mary's, Southwark.]

## CXIII.—THE CHURCHES OF LONDON.

### No. III.—Modern Churches.

If it were Wren's ambition to found a school of ecclesiastical architecture in England, as well as to distinguish himself practically as an architect, he was not only successful, but lived long enough to enjoy that success personally in witnessing the two most eminent of his successors follow in the path he had marked out. Despising the Gothic 'crinkle crankle' as much as Wren himself, and having as little feeling for the simple elegance of the Greek, Gibbs and Hawksmoor (the latter Wren's pupil), went to the same sources of inspiration as the architect of St. Paul's, namely, the works of the Italian artists, who revived the Roman school of architecture; but who in so doing, whilst affecting the severest strictness in following its rules, sadly overlooked its spirit. The desire for the magnificent which formed an essential part of the character of the Roman people, and which had led them to alter, to adapt, and to extend the architectural principles they had derived from Greece, and, in many points at least, with the most signal success, became, too frequently, an almost insane passion with their Italian descendants, to which all higher qualities were sacrificed, through which all perception was dimmed of the elements that had combined to the construction of the great works of antiquity, making them, at once and for ever, consummately grand and beautiful. With what zeal were the ancient writers studied whilst the

buildings from which they had drawn their precepts were left to moulder in unregarded oblivion, or examined only to support pre-conceived theories! With what precision was every feature of every order systematized, whilst the uses of the orders were left to individual taste or caprice! With what eloquence was the purity of the Doric and Tuscan, and Ionic and Corinthian, expatiated upon, whilst building after building was being erected, apparently but to show how far and farther still corruption could be carried! Great differences prevailed, of course, between the architects of this class; some of them, whilst avoiding the worst features of debasement, were enabled through the originality of their minds to shed a glory over their productions, that made the eye at once less capable of, and less inclined to measure accurately the latent defects of the style: pre-eminent among these was Palladio in Italy; to their numbers also belong Inigo Jones and Wren in England, and perhaps, though in a much more limited degree, Wren's immediate successors, the architects before mentioned. The splendour of Palladio's reputation shows how popular the Italian-Roman style became among his countrymen, and its introduction into England by Jones, and more extensive diffusion as well as higher developement by Wren, was marked by an equally brilliant reception: as well it might be, when it gave us such works as the Banqueting House, St. Paul's, and St. Stephen's, Walbrook, the majestic grandeur of the two first, and the strikingly harmonious combinations of the last, enhanced by their being seen through the most delusive and enchanting of all atmospheres — that of novelty. Well, two centuries have passed since the erection of the first of these buildings, and—the style has passed too. Of all the churches (to refer only to such works) built in London, during its prevalence, how few are there that now possess any higher claims to notice than those derived from their pointing the moral and adorning the tale of this somewhat remarkable phase in the history of English architecture!

Never was time more propitious for an artistical revolution than that which witnessed the growth of the style in question among us. With one stroke, as it were, of the parliamentary pen, fifty new churches were ordered to be built in consequence of the destruction caused by the fire; and when these were erected, and Wren had developed *his* views, fifty more were determined upon by the same authority, thereby presenting a similar opportunity for the development of the views of his successors. We refer to the Act passed in the 10th year of the reign of Queen Anne, having for one of its objects, to remedy the insufficiency of accommodation afforded by the churches of London and the vicinity; and for another, as we learn from the commission subsequently issued to regulate the necessary proceedings, the "redressing the inconvenience and growing mischiefs which resulted from the increase of Dissenters and Popery." The expense was to be defrayed by a small duty on coals brought into the port of London, for a certain period. We may here observe in passing, that the intentions of this Act, as regards the number of structures to be built, were but very imperfectly carried out. And now, as to the men who were to avail themselves of the magnificent field opened to their exertions. James Gibbs was born about 1674, and educated at Aberdeen, where he took the degree of Master of Arts. In his twentieth year he visited Holland, and entered into the service of an architect. In 1700, through the advice and

by the assistance of the Earl of Mar, his countryman and patron, he went to Italy, and studied for ten years. He then returned to England, to find the Earl of Mar in the ministry, at once able and willing to obtain employment for him from the Church Commissioners. The first stone of St. Mary's in the Strand was laid in 1714, the steeple finished in 1717, and the whole consecrated in 1723. As this—the first of Gibbs's ecclesiastical structures, has already been noticed in our pages,* and as he greatly improved upon it in his second, it will be sufficient here to describe the latter—St. Martin's in the Fields, the building on which Gibbs's fame chiefly rests—that fane, according to the poet Savage, who expressed only the general opinion of his time—

> "Where God delights to dwell, and man to praise."

St. Martin's was finished in 1726 at an expense of 37,000*l.* The chief feature of the exterior, the portico, needs neither description nor eulogy, it is so universally known and admired. How much of that admiration has been owing to our want of familiarity with the Roman originals (the Corinthian order, the one here used, we need hardly observe, was one of the results of the adaptation by Rome

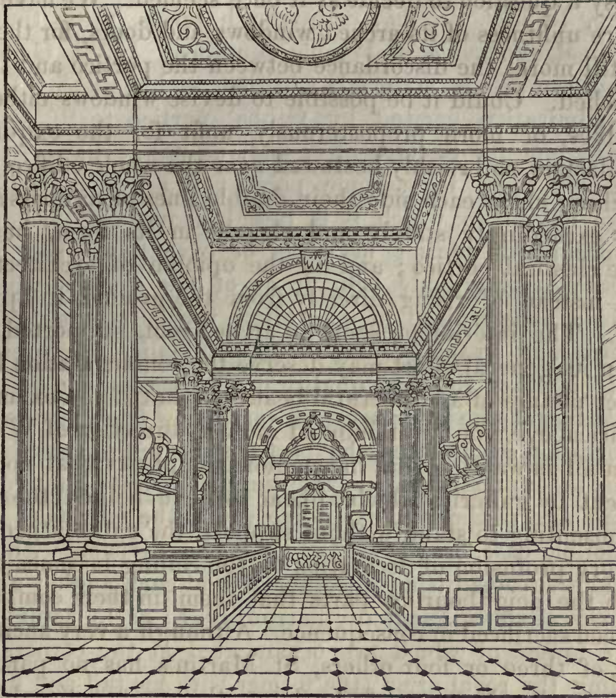
[St. Martin's Church.]

* 'The Strand,' No. XXXV. p. 156.

of the architecture of Greece), and how much to its intrinsic merits, is not however now so easy a question to decide as it once seemed. We have already learnt to feel the entire unfitness of its arched windows and doors, for the position they occupy; and still more, the discordance between the portico and the building to which it is attached. Could it be possible to devise windows either less beautiful in themselves, or more preposterously unfit for the exquisitely elegant columns and pilasters, so lavishly bestowed over the whole edifice, than those we see here, stretching along each side their double lines of ugliness? The steeple again, though exceedingly stately and elegant in its form, harmonises little better with the classical portico; and in the opinion of architects has another serious fault—instead of rising directly from the ground, it appears elevated above the roof. The interior presents an arched roof, supported by Corinthian columns, and in its general effect may deserve the commendation bestowed upon it, as "a perfect picture of architectural beauty,"* but if you examine the details with a more critical eye, you are reminded in every direction of Walpole's severer judgment, "In all is wanting that harmonious simplicity that speaks a genius." Columns are cut by galleries which appear to have helped the artist out of a difficulty by consenting to stand without support, the entablature is broken into bits, and the very profusion of decoration on the ceiling becomes an error, if you contrast it with the neighbouring parts that seem, in their comparative nakedness, to have been sacrificed in consequence. Although a very ancient foundation, and the parent of three or four others, St. Martin's has no particular features of interest in its earlier history; of the later, the most noticeable is the list of notorious or eminent persons buried within its precincts. The frail, but warm-hearted Nell Gwynn, is among the number, who left the ringers a sum of money for their weekly entertainment. In the vaults under the church lies Mrs. Centlivre, the dramatic writer, and in the churchyard Roubiliac, the great sculptor, who died in 1762, and whose funeral was attended by Hogarth and Reynolds. C. Dibdin was interred in the burial ground belonging to this church, at Camden Town; a man who, had he rendered a tithe of the services actually performed by him to the naval strength of his country, under the name of a captain instead of that of a writer, would have died a wealthy peer, but, as it was, drew his last breath in poverty.

Hawksmoor commenced operations about the same time as Gibbs, and with his best work, St. Mary Woolnoth, which was finished in 1719. The exterior exhibits both his faults and excellences: it has something of the heaviness which characterised him and his great associate in various structures (Vanbrugh), but has also the air of magnificence that belongs to both, with something like harmonious simplicity of decoration. The interior is sumptuously beautiful, though injured, as may be seen in our view, by the pews; the galleries also interfere with the classical simplicity and harmony of the plan. If the Italian-Roman school in England had advanced from works like this, instead of steadily retreating as if alarmed at its own success, we should have had possibly a very different fate to record in connection with it in these pages. But when Hawksmoor himself set the example, what else was to be expected of the herd who were to follow?

* Allan Cunningham.



[Interior of St. Mary Woolnoth, Lombard Street.]

His next church, St. Anne's, Limehouse, finished in 1824, presents all his worst qualities with scarcely any of his best; take away the indescribable circular porch, and the massive tower, with the equally indescribable collection of small obelisks placed by him upon the top, and the whole might be aptly designated by the word prison. The interior, on the contrary, is very splendid as regards the amount of decoration, but still worse in style from the confusion of the orders there used. If the architect had intended the minister occasionally to give his congregation a lesson on architecture, we could understand the propriety of the examples of composite columns, Ionic and Corinthian pillars, and Tuscan arches scattered about; as it is, we can but wonder that St. Anne's, Limehouse, and St. Mary Woolnoth, are by the same man. His next work, St. George's Church, was in the same neighbourhood, and, we suppose, suffered from the same influences, whether of locality or otherwise; of this we can only say that the most effective idea about it is the octagonal lantern on the top of the tower, which is surrounded by a series of square pillars, with round tops, presenting the exact appearance of so many cannons levelled against the sky. We must not forget to add one or two of the richest points about the erection of these buildings; so far from treating the commissions with neglect, as might be supposed from the unsatisfactory result, it appears that Hawksmoor was studiously imitating Vanbrugh in his designs for them; and better still, that according to Malcolm, St. George's is the product of the united genius of the *two* great men, Gibbs and Hawksmoor: the estimate, he says, was given in their names to the Commissioners. And what may it be sup-

posed was the amount actually expended (which considerably exceeded the estimate)? Why, 18,557*l.* 3*s.* 3*d.*, or in rough terms, three thousand pounds more than the most expensive of Wren's churches. In St. George's, Bloomsbury, Hawksmoor made a material addition to his plans. Influenced probably by the admiration excited by Gibbs' portico to St. Martin's, he determined to have one for St. George's, and, as might have reasonably been expected, improved upon it in some points; it displays itself, for instance, better, from the height to which it is raised above the level of the street; though it is considered inferior in point of execution. But what shall be said of the heavy-looking body behind, or of the steeple, which one writer (Walpole) calls a masterpiece of absurdity, whilst others prefer it to any other in the metropolis, on the ground of its originality, picturesque form, and expressiveness? Neither the first quality nor the second can be denied; but if by expression is meant the expression of something finely appropriate, a brief uncoloured description seems to us the best answer to the assertion. Upon the tower, which *has* an expression of majestic simplicity, rises a range of unattached Corinthian pillars and pediments, extending round the four sides of the steeple, with a kind of double base, ornamented in the lower division with a round hole on each side, and a curious little projecting arch at each angle: above this stage commences a series of steps, gradually narrowing, so as to assume a pyramidal appearance, the lowest of which are ornamented at the corners by lions and unicorns guarding the royal arms (the former with his tail and heels frisking in the air), and which support at the apex, on a short column, a statue, in Roman costume, of George I. Now the only expression apparent here to our eye, is, that the steps do certainly answer in one way the not unnatural query of how the King got to so uncommon and unaccountable a position.

The other architects of the period in question, who rose into reputation or notice by their churches, are James, Archer, and Flitcroft. To the first we owe the aristocratic church of the most aristocratical of parishes, St. George's, Hanover Square, completed in 1724, or two years *before* St. Martin's; a circumstance of some importance, when we consider that its portico is considered to be only surpassed by that of the church referred to. As to the interior, not only are all the orders there, but more we fear than either an antique Roman or Greek would be willing to recognise. It is, indeed, but too evident, that, with all the architects we have mentioned, in all their works, St. Mary Woolnoth alone excepted, they have been excellent in the exact proportion in which they have been least original: their porticoes have chiefly made the fame of Gibbs, Hawksmoor, and James, which, at the best, we now learn from the highest authorities, are, in all their beauty, but imperfect imitations of their respective originals.* St. Luke's, Old Street, with its fluted obelisk for a spire, is another of James' works, erected in 1732. Archer's well-known production is St. John's church, Westminster, finished in 1728; and which, if it were possible to designate by any single phrase, it must be some such as—Architecture run mad. If one could imagine a collection of all the ordinary materials of a church in the last century, with an extraordinary profusion of decoration, of porticoes, and of towers, to have suddenly dropt down

* Mr. Gwilt, for instance, expressly says thus of St. Martin's, whilst acknowledging it to be the best we have.

from the skies, and, by some freak of Nature, to have fallen into a kind of order and harmony and fantastic grandeur,—the four towers at the angles, the porticoes at the ends and in the front,—it would give no very exaggerated idea of St. John's. Vanbrugh, says Pennant, had the discredit of the pile. There is something refreshing in turning from such a specimen of originality to the soberer form and unpretending style of St. Giles in the Fields, with its tall and graceful spire. It is curious that this edifice, which has given to Flitcroft his reputation, should be attributed, in the Report of the Church Commissioners to the House of Commons, to Hawksmoor, who, they say, expended 8605*l.* 7*s.* 2*d.* upon it; but there is no doubt but Walpole, and the View, published in 1753, are correct in ascribing it to Flitcroft, who was probably employed by Gibbs, and not by the Commissioners. The interior has an arched ceiling, supported by Ionic pillars, and is more than usually chaste and beautiful. The 'Resurrection Gate,' as the entrance at one corner of the churchyard is called, from the representation of that event seen on its upper portion, is of older date than the church, having been executed about 1687. The old church, to which it was then an adjunct, had in former times many rich monuments; one, to Sir Roger L'Estrange, the well-known loyalist and writer, still remains. During the civil war Sir Roger had some narrow escapes: once he was condemned to be shot as a spy, but managed to get away from his place of confinement. Inconsistency in political writers is a spectacle we are not altogether unfamiliar with in our own times, but this worthy Knight has given us one of the oddest instances of the kind perhaps on record. After the Restoration he published a newspaper, called the 'Public Intelligencer,' in the very first number of which he thus explains his views of the nature of the agency he was setting on foot:—"I think," says he "it makes the multitude too familiar with the actions and counsels of their superiors, too pragmatical and censorious, and gives them not only an itch but a kind of colourable right and license to be meddling with their government;" *therefore* our acute logician hastens to give the multitude a fresh opportunity. A more distinguished sharer in the turbulent but sublime war of principles that has made the seventeenth century for ever memorable, Andrew Marvel, was also interred here—a man, in whose reputation the glory of the patriot has eclipsed the fine powers of the poet. St. Giles also preserves the ashes of a truly great poet, Chapman, the translator of Homer, as well as the author of an immense amount of original writings. One of the most curious things, perhaps, in the unwritten history of poets' opinions of each other, is Cowper's of Chapman. He had never seen the older poet's version till his own was far advanced, and, when he did see it, spoke of it with supreme contempt! This is entertaining enough now, when Chapman's version has become almost universally recognised as that which alone gives us the true spirit and flavour of the blind old bard. But what a world of masterly epithets (Pope took care to borrow or imitate some of the best), of exquisite lines and passages, are there in Chapman in addition! In that point, as well as in the other, Cowper's translation will not bear the comparison. Here is one line of the numberless lines that, once heard, there is no forgetting afterwards—

> "And when the Lady of the light, the rosy-fingered Morn
> Awoke," &c.

in which poetry and music are truly and indissolubly 'married.' Another of the illustrious has yet to be mentioned in connection with St. Giles, an artist whose works have raised him to the very highest pinnacle of European fame as a sculptor—a man whose life was but a counterpart of his works: each illustrating each. Flaxman was buried here on the 15th of December, 1826, his body accompanied to the grave by the President and Council of the Royal Academy. For once, an inscription speaks simple truth: we read here, "John Flaxman, R.A., P.S., whose mortal life was a constant preparation for a blessed immortality: his angelic spirit returned to the Divine Giver on the 7th of December, 1826, in the seventy-second year of his age." There is a peculiarly interesting circumstance connected with his death, told by Allan Cunningham, in his 'Lives of the British Sculptors,'* which we cannot resist the temptation of transcribing. He says, "The winter had set in, and, as he was never a very early mover, a stranger found him rising one morning when he called about nine o'clock. 'Sir,' said the visitant, presenting a book as he spoke, 'this work was sent to me by the author, an Italian artist, to present to you, and at the same time to apologise for its extraordinary dedication. In truth, sir, it was so generally believed throughout Italy that you were dead, that my friend determined to show the world how much he esteemed your genius, and having this book ready for publication, he has inscribed it 'Al Ombra di Flaxman.' No sooner was the book published than the story of your death was contradicted, and the author, affected by his mistake, which nevertheless he rejoices at, begs you will receive his work and his apology.' Flaxman smiled, and accepted the volume with unaffected modesty, and mentioned the circumstance, as curious, to his own family and some of his friends." This occurred on Saturday, the 2nd of December, when he was well and cheerful; the next day he was taken suddenly ill with cold, and on the 7th was dead. The ground on which St. Giles's stands was formerly occupied by a hospital, founded by Matilda, wife of Henry I., for lepers; and it was in front of this hospital that Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, was so savagely burnt, during the reign of Henry V., his early friend. The phrase 'St. Giles's Bowl' will remind many of the custom that formerly prevailed here of giving every malefactor on his way to Tyburn a bowl of ale, as his last worldly draught.

As to the host of other churches that arose during the same or a little later period, it were useless to enter into any architectural details. Eternal imitations apparent through eternal attempts at originality are their chief characteristics where the architects had any ambition; where they had not, their churches sank even below contempt, built as they mostly were in a style requiring splendour of decoration and harmonious combinations of form as its essentially redeeming features: qualities that the masters in the school alone could give. So we shall merely notice such of them as present any other features of moment. In St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate Street, the architecture of which, and of an extensive similar class, seems to us best described as of the puffy cherubim with wings order (so favourite a species of decoration is that feature, and so completely does it harmonise, in its way, with all around), lies buried, with a monument preserved from the old church, Sir Peter Paul Pindar, the inhabitant of the neighbouring

* Page 359.

house in Bishopsgate Street, where we have still preserved a most rich and unique specimen of the ancient domestic architecture of the metropolis. Sir Peter was one of the wealthiest, and, it is pleasant to add, one of the most munificent-minded men of his time: his splendid benefactions to Old St. Paul's will, no doubt, be recollected by our readers. Many instances of the same spirit in lesser matters may be found in the books of the parish. One of the most amusing is the pasty (a yearly gift apparently) which he gave to the parishioners in 1634; we may judge of its size when we find that 19*s.* 7*d.* was paid for the mere "flour, butter, pepper, eggs, making, and baking." We may add, from the same books, another notice to those already given in our preceding articles, of the pleasant way in which parish affairs were formerly managed. In 1578, we find, "paid for frankincense and flowers, when the Chancellor sate with us," 11*s.* In the churchyard there is a tomb inscribed with Persian characters, of which Stow gives the following account: "August 10, 1626. In Petty France [a part of the cemetery unconsecrated], out of Christian burial, was buried Hodges Shaughsware, a Persian merchant, who with his son came over with the Persian ambassador, and was buried by his own son, who read certain prayers, and used other ceremonies, according to the custom of their own country, morning and evening, for a whole month after the burial; for whom is set up, at the charge of his son, a tomb of stone with certain Persian characters thereon: the exposition thus—This grave is made for Hodges Shaughsware, the chiefest servant to the King of Persia for the space of 20 years, who came from the King of Persia and died in his service. If any Persian cometh out of that country, let him read this and a prayer for him, the Lord receive his soul, for here lieth Maghmote Shaughsware, who was born in the town Novoy, in Persia."* There is something affecting in the allusion to a chance visitor from the far-distant country;—one of those touches of nature that make the wide world kin,—a desire on the part of the bereaved son to find some chance—even the remotest—that his father's ashes should be hallowed by human sympathy. In the churchyard of St. George, in the Borough, rebuilt 1731, lies Bishop Bonner, who died in the neighbouring prison of the Marshalsea in 1569, whither he was committed by Elizabeth for his refusal to take the oath of supremacy. An anecdote is told of him, at the period of his committal, which shows his temper in a more favourable light than his public conduct would lead us to anticipate. On his way to the prison, one called out "The Lord confound or else turn thy heart!" Bonner coolly replied, "The Lord send thee to keep thy breath to cool thy porridge." To another, who insulted him on his deprivation from the episcopal rank, he could even be witty. "Good morrow, Bishop *quondam*," was the attack: "Farewell, knave *semper*," was the reply. Shoreditch was rebuilt about 1731 by the elder Dance; St. Botolph's, Aldgate, originally given by the descendants of the thirteen knights forming the Knighten Guild to the Priory of Trinity, in 1741; St. Mary, Whitechapel, in 1764; and St. Alphage or Elphege, one of the churches that escaped the fire, in 1777. The porch of St. Alphage, with its sculptured heads and pointed arches, is, however, no production of the eighteenth century, but a remnant of the old Elsing Priory. Among the registers of this church we find a

* Stow, 'Survey,' ed. 1633, p. 173.

record of those that have certified they have been touched by his Majesty for the evil, an occupation that must have accorded but ill with the other modes adopted for the disposal of time by Charles II. But the number of persons thus operated upon is not the least extraordinary part of the affair; about forty in this one parish in the course of a few years: multiply this by any reasonable number that shall be thought sufficient to include all the other parishes of England in proportion to their size and distance, and the product is startling. No wonder that it became necessary to regulate such proceedings by public proclamation, or Charles would have found that, in his willingness to affect the saint, he would be leaving himself no time to practise the sinner. The following bears date May 18, 1664: "His sacred Majesty having declared it to be his royal will and purpose to continue the healing of his people for the evil during the month of May, and then give over till Michaelmas next, I am commanded to give notice thereof, that the people may not come up to the town in the interim and lose their labour." The foundation of this church, like that of the old church at Greenwich, was probably intended to mark the public feeling as to the memorable event that closed the personal history of St. Elphege. At the time Canterbury was besieged by the Danes under Thurkill, in 1011, he was archbishop, and distinguished himself by the courage with which he defended that city for twenty days against their assaults. Treachery, however, then opened the gates, and Elphege having been made prisoner was loaded with chains, and treated with the greatest severity in order to make him follow the example of his worthless sovereign Ethelred, and purchase an ignominious liberty by gold. Greenwich at that time formed the Danish head-quarters, whither the archbishop was conveyed. Here he was tempted by the offer of a lower rate of ransom; again and again was he urged to yield by every kind of threat and solicitation: "You press me in vain," was the noble Saxon's reply; "I am not the man to provide Christian flesh for Pagan teeth, by robbing my poor countrymen to enrich their enemies." At last, the patience of the Danes was worn out: so one day (the 19th of April, 1012) they sent for him to a banquet, when their blood was inflamed by wine, and on his appearance saluted him with tumultuous cries of "Gold! gold! Bishop, give us gold, or thou shalt to-day become a public spectacle." Calm and unmoved, Elphege gazed on the circle of infuriate men, who hemmed him in, and who presently began to strike him with the flat sides of their battle-axes, and to fling at him the bones and horns of the oxen, that had been slain for the feast. And thus he would have been slowly murdered, but for one Thrum, a Danish soldier, who had been converted by Elphege, and who now in mercy smote him with the edge of his weapon, when he fell dead. A church was subsequently erected to his memory over the fatal spot, and another in London—probably at the same period—the church which led to this brief account of a very interesting historical passage.

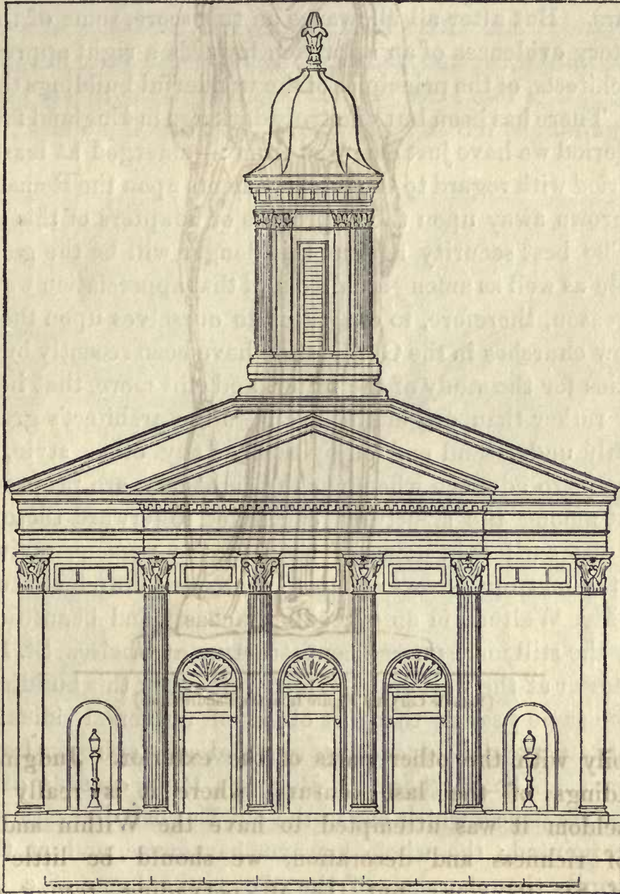
After the erection of such of the fifty churches as were erected, and the rebuilding, as we have just seen, of some of the older ones, there was a remarkable pause; during the long period extending from the commencement of the reign of George III. down almost to its close there were not (including St. Alphage and St. Mary, Whitechapel) six churches erected in the metropolis. In an architectural point of view this was fortunate. The Italian-Roman school had

been fairly put before the public, and there required time to come to a right understanding of its comparative merits with the Gothic, which it superseded here, and the purer Grecian and Roman schools, on which it had raised itself at home. The general character of the numerous new churches that now meet us on every side in the metropolis, the growth of the last twenty-five years, speaks emphatically that the decision has been unfavourable. It was again fortunate that after such a period the more eminent architects who assumed the responsible position of erecting buildings that, from their very character as well as from their metropolitan position, should always be the best the state of the art can furnish, did not attempt originality, till they had purified their own and the public tastes, by familiarity with the long misunderstood and misused works of antiquity. There can be nothing more certain in art of any kind, than that every permanent advance must be based on a thorough appreciation of the excellence that has gone before. Invaluable, therefore, were the variety of buildings erected in the early part of the present century, in which the Grecian orders, the Doric and Ionic, were introduced; though no doubt there was plenty of room for improvement in the mode of the introduction. It is in this light that the beautiful church of St. Pancras, New Road, appears with even greater interest than its exquisite columns and doors alone could give it. This was finished in 1822; the architects were Messrs. W. and H. Inwood, men who had evidently drunk deep at the undefiled well of Athenian architecture. Their building is an avowed imitation of the famous temple of Erechtheion at Athens, one of the most florid existing specimens of the Ionic order. Here we began to learn, for the first time, what absurdities had been committed under the shelter of great names. The doors in the portico were now found to be an essential beauty of the latter, instead of standing out in barbarous discrepancy with it: but then they were very different doors from those of St. Martin's in the Fields, and St. George's, Bloomsbury, being, at the time of their introduction, perfectly unique in England for beauty. We now found, too, that the Greeks had been able to erect a body to their fronts, not simply harmonising with, but so essentially forming a part of it, that it is only wonderful they should ever have been divided. And how perfectly beautiful that body is, with its windows, and sculptured band, and cornice, and rich antefixæ studding as with fret-work the line of roof, and so finely relieved against the sky! Other interesting features of the exterior are the two projecting porches at the eastern extremity of the north and south sides, also imitated from a building attached to one side only of the Athenian temple, and called the Pandrosium. This is supported by caryatidal female figures, an exceedingly striking and expressive architectural feature. The origin of the use of such figures is attributed, with great probability of correctness, to the custom that prevailed among the Athenian virgins, of carrying on their heads the sacred vessels used in their religious ceremonies. In the Pandrosium there were six figures, at St. Pancras there are but four on each range, and they form the chief exception to the general excellence of execution visible through all the details of the church. Here is a drawing of one of the original figures now forming a part of the invaluable treasures of the British Museum. Within each porch a large sarcophagus expresses its purpose—it is the entrance to the catacombs, which are very spacious. The steeple is imitated from another Grecian work, the Temple of Winds, at Athens, but

[Female Caryatid Figure from the Pandrosium.]

combines happily with the other parts of the exterior. Judging by analogy from the buildings of the last century, where it is really surprising to observe how seldom it was attempted to have the Within and the Without in harmony of richness and decoration, we should be little prepared for the interior of St. Pancras; but the all-pervading *feeling* of the truest artists (with one noticeable exception in later times, the Gothic) that the world ever saw, is so powerfully impressed on their buildings, that beauty prepares you for beauty, and you are never disappointed. The galleries of St. Pancras are, of course, the same as usual—however skilfully adapted to the building,—excrescences; but the exquisite form of those columns that support them, give the eye pleasanter occupation than to dwell on defects, and when we learn their history we are not surprised: they are taken from casts of the Elgin marbles. On the remaining features of interest in St. Pancras, the range of verd-antique columns with bases and capitals of white marble (from the temple of Minerva) over the communion-table, the ground-glass windows with their

richly-stained borders, the pulpit and reading-desk, constructed, as we are told, out of the celebrated Fairlop Oak, our space will not permit us to dwell. From the foregoing description our readers will be prepared to hear that the cost was considerable, namely, 76,679*l.* 7*s.* 8*d.* Of the later works in the same style of architecture, the little chapel of St. Mark, North Audley Street, finished in 1828, deserves especial commendation for its departure from the frigid common-place imitations which most of these buildings exhibit. The chaste elegance of the still more recently erected building here shown, needs no eulogy. It is by Professor Hosking, of King's College.

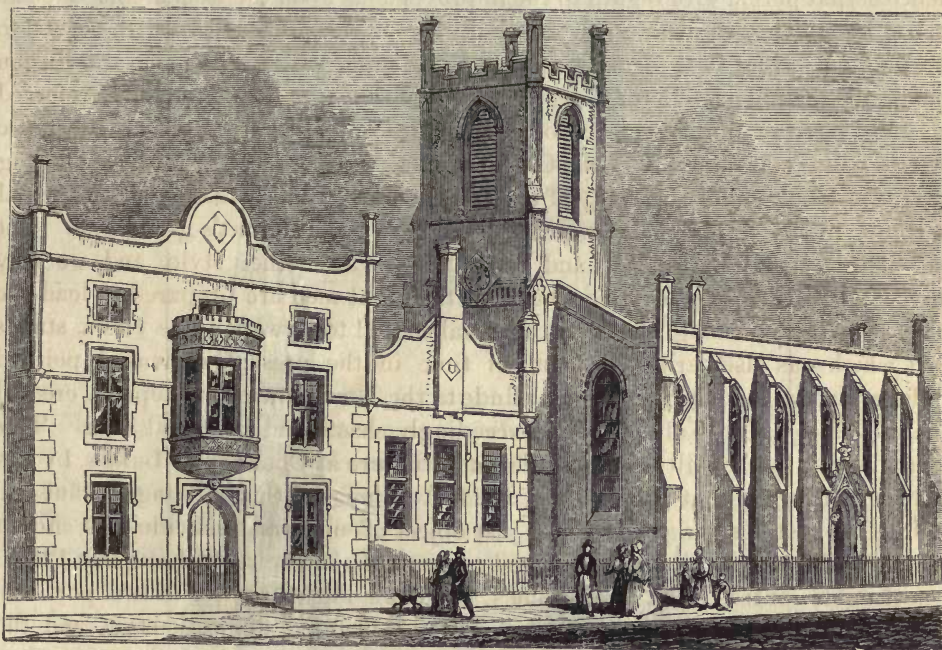


[Trinity Chapel, Poplar.]

There is one point of view in which these revolutions of taste that mark the present and last two centuries, appear peculiarly striking. A nation, among its other priceless bequests to posterity, leaves a perfect system of architecture; that system is taken up by another great nation, men of the highest intellectual power adapt it to their national views and habits, and add a second system scarcely less essentially original in any practical meaning of the word, to the world's artistical wealth. Now, is it not strange that after all the skill, learning, enthusiasm and treasure expended in altering, adapting, or improving these two

systems, since the revival of arts and learning, that now, in the nineteenth century, we are fain to go back (in that direction of the architectural compass) to those systems; nay, we seem not content to stop short with the Roman school, but, as if the very suspicion of adulteration was enough to repel us, go on to the ultimate point from which we started. And what but the same kind of movement is taking place still more energetically with the Gothic, which lay for the same period, under an infinitely deeper cloud? It was not simply misunderstood by professing admirers; on the contrary, there were scarcely any who thought it worthy of admiration. The re-action of this sentiment must be remembered, when we look at the many, and ambitious works that have been erected in this style of late years. But after all allowance on this score, some of these buildings present satisfactory evidences of an approach towards a right appreciation on the parts of their architects, of the principles of the wonderful buildings they have taken for their model. There has been but one truly dark age in England for architecture, and that is the period we have just emerged from:—emerged at least, if the experience of that period with regard to the improvements upon the Roman and Grecian styles, be not thrown away upon the improvers or adapters of this with regard to the pointed. The best security against this danger will be the general diffusion among the people as well as among architects, of that appreciation we have referred to. We have reason, therefore, to congratulate ourselves upon the circumstance that so many new churches in the Gothic style have been recently built, as offering increased facilities for the study of the latter, and still more, that in the principal of these, purity rather than originality has been the architect's grand aim. Let us but thoroughly understand and enjoy that or any other style, and we may then safely attempt to advance whenever the right men are prepared to lead the way. Foremost among the structures calculated to forward these views, stands that which was also earliest in point of time in the present revival of pointed architecture in the metropolis—we allude to the New Church at Stepney, erected about 1822 by Mr. Walters, in an exceedingly chaste and beautiful style. This was followed by the still more magnificent structure at Chelsea, St. Luke's, by Mr. Savage, with a tower at the west end 142 feet in height: this building was finished in 1824, or in the same year as that just object of universal ridicule, the church of All Souls, with its circular advanced tower, and cone spire, in Langham Place: a noticeable contrast. St. Katherine's, Regent's Park, consists of two portions, the buildings for residence, which are in the old English domestic style, and the chapel, which is pointed; the whole however harmonise, and at the same time express very happily the character of the pile as the home of a once religious community. St. Katherine's forms a remarkable exception to the rule for the dissolution of religious houses; a good fortune which it seems to have derived from its having been first founded by a Queen, Matilda, wife of Stephen, and then refounded by Elinor, widow of Henry III., who made it an especial appanage to the Queens of England. Philippa, wife of Edward, was also a great benefactress, as we are reminded by the excellent carvings of her head and the King's, still preserved with the ancient stalls they decorate, and the very curious old pulpit, in the chapel. There was formerly a Guild attached to St. Katherine's, dedicated to St. Barbara, of which great numbers of eminent persons were members; from Henry VIII. and his wife downwards. In the Hospital itself,

Verstegan, the author of the 'Restitution of Decayed Antiquities,' was born, and Raymond Lully wrote his *Testamentum Novissimum.* Many distinguished persons were also buried in the old church or precincts. The only monument that remains is the Duke of Exeter's, 1447, with the effigies of that nobleman and his two wives; an interesting specimen of ancient monumental sculpture. In connexion with this memorial Mr. Brayley mentions a very disgraceful circumstance that occurred in the pulling down of the old church of St. Katherine (for the erection of the docks to which it has given name); the tomb was opened and the remains dispersed; the head, it appears, passed into the possession of the dock-surveyor. The establishment now consists, we believe, of a master, three brothers, three sisters, ten bedeswomen, a registrar, high bailiff, &c. Several other modern Gothic buildings deserve especial mention, which our space compels us to pass by; of two of these we give engravings, namely, St. Peter's, Bankside, 1840, here shown, and St. Mary's, Southwark, 1842, placed at the beginning of our number.



[St. Peter's Church, Bankside.

St. Dunstan's in the West demands a few additional words, if it be only for its past fame. Who does not remember its clock, and the clubmen who struck the hours and quarters on the bell suspended between them, and the eternal crowd of gazers on the opposite side of the street, waiting for the moment of action? Yet not all their popularity saved them from being turned off with contumely at last; fortunately there was one man of taste to appreciate them, though that man were the late Marquis of Hertford, to whose villa in Regent's Park, we believe, they were removed. Old St. Dunstan's had a kind of literary reputation also; Mr. Brayley in his 'Londiniana,' gives us the title-pages of certain books, published about the beginning of the seventeenth century, as 'Epigrams by H. P,' 'News from Italy of a Second Moses,' the 'Blazon of Jealousy,' &c.,

which show that at least four different booksellers had shops in the churchyard, one of them "under the dial." The church was rebuilt about 1833, from the designs of Mr. Shaw, the architect of Christ's Hospital, who died, as we learn from a tablet over the entrance, on the 12th day after its completion. It must have been a satisfaction, even in the dying hour, to feel that such a work *was* completed. The tower, 130 feet high, is an exceedingly picturesque composition, and the interior is no less distinguished for its general elegance of style and richness of decoration. That the latest in point of time of the modern Gothic structures of London, which is in fact unfinished—we allude to Christ Church, Westminster—should also promise to be the most beautiful, may be received, we hope, as a sign of the progress we are making in the grandest of the arts in its grandest form.

[Christ Church, Westminster.]

[Principal Front of the Horse Guards.]

## CXIV.—THE HORSE GUARDS.

Without flattery, the Horse Guards may be said to be one of the ugliest buildings in her Majesty's service. Barracks are rarely considered models of architectural beauty; and it is questionable whether any barracks in the three kingdoms—even the monstrosity which disfigures Edinburgh Castle—can equal in ugliness the Horse Guards. The National Gallery may be admitted to hold rivalry in this respect with the Offices of Secretary at War and Commander-in-Chief; but as it was built by a British Academician, for British Academicians, what else could be expected?

The Horse Guards—that is, the building so called in familiar conversation—was built about the middle of last century by Vardy, after a design by Kent. That was a time when people in this country appear to have had a vague notion that there was a thing called architecture which was admired by those who understood it; that Italian architecture, in particular, was highly esteemed; and that in Italian architecture there were pavilions and cupolas, basements, and what not. Such an age of ignorance and imbecility was precisely the one in which a bad copier of indifferent prints, like Kent, might pass himself off for an architect, and his copies for architectural designs. In justice to Vardy, it ought to be remarked that his mason-work is well enough. But as for the architectural pretensions of the Horse Guards, the moss-grown buttresses of the Treasury look like a Melrose Abbey beside it; the Admiralty (bating the screen) and the Pay

Office are mere houses, and pretend to be nothing more, so do not offend; and even the pseudo-Hellenism of the Board of Trade looks respectable beside it. How ashamed Whitehall must feel of its neighbours!

After all, the Horse Guards is but a shell: it is what is going on within it, and the anxious hopes and fears of which it is the centre, and the wonder-working orders that have in times past issued from it, that make us pause to regard it.

Not but that there are attractions here for the most unreflecting sight-seer. Those two seemly troopers on their powerful chargers, who, with burnished cuirass and carbine on knee, sit motionless as statues in the niches of the two overgrown sentry boxes for two hours on a stretch (they commence those sittings at ten A.M., and are relieved every two hours, until four P.M., when their sentry duties terminate for the day), are figures that can scarcely be passed without attracting a glance of admiration. And there is generally a numerous collection of blackguard boys, members of parliament, crossings-sweepers and out-of-office cabmen, occupants of stools in government offices, and orange-women—in short, of all the professional frequenters of this part of the town—collected to watch the rather striking ceremony of changing guard. The folding doors, in the rear of the stone sentry boxes aforesaid, are thrown open, two cuirassed and helmeted heroes, on sleek snorting steeds that might bear a man through a summer-day's tourney or through a red field of battle without flagging, ride in, and, upon the philosophical principle that no two bodies can co-exist in the same space, push the living statues already there out in front, who, each describing a semicircle, meet and ride side by side through the central gate, and so back to their stables.

This Guard is part of the Queen's Guard, more especially so called from being mounted within the precincts of the palace. The movements of the Queen's Guard of the Household Brigade of Cavalry are regulated nominally by the "Gold Stick in Waiting" (that is to say, by one of the Colonels of the two regiments of Life Guards and of the "Blues"), but virtually by their Lieutenant Colonel, who is technically termed the "Silver Stick in Waiting," and who, as well as the Gold Stick, is relieved every alternate month. The movements of the Queen's Guard, belonging to the Household Infantry, are under the superintendence of the "Field Officer in Waiting," who is always on duty at the Horse Guards. He also is on duty for a month, and relieved by the next of equal rank in order on the roll, which commences with the Grenadiers.

The barracks in London where the Foot Guards are stationed are:—The Wellington Barracks, in the Bird-cage Walk; the Portman Street Barracks, in Portman Street; the St. George's Barracks, Trafalgar Square; St. John's Wood Barracks; Kensington Barracks (a small detachment); and a battalion in the Tower. The cavalry barracks are at Knightsbridge and the Regent's Park. All orders concerning all the Guards in London are given out by the field-officer on duty at the Horse Guards. For example, should any of them be wanted on an emergency, the Commander-in-Chief communicates with him, and he arranges what regiment is to supply the detachment required. Of course, he makes his election in the order of the *roster*.

The Guard commonly called the Queen's (or King's) Guard are—1st. One Captain, one Lieutenant, and one Ensign at the Palace of St. James's, which

is considered a sort of head quarters. 2nd. One subaltern at Buckingham House. 3rd. One Captain and two Subalterns at the Tilt Yard—for that name, associated with the stately tourneys of the ages of Elizabeth and Henry VIII., still survives,—attached to the site of the Horse Guards. The officers in the Guards, it is well known, have rank in the army above what they hold in their regiments; but when on duty among themselves, the subalterns, that is, the Lieutenants and Ensigns, do all that appertains to those of the same nominal rank in regiments of the line. These three Guards supply the sentinels stationed at Buckingham and Storey's Gates, at the various Government Offices, at the entry from Spring Gardens into St. James's Park, at the Duke of York's Column, all round St. James's Palace, and about Buckingham House.

The guard at St. James's is the only one that mounts always with the Queen's colours. At all other guards—even guards of honour, unless it be for a crowned head—they mount with the colours of the regiment.

With the most showy and ceremonious mounting of a guard in England at St. James's Palace—with the less gorgeous but, perhaps, more imposing relief of the guard at the Horse Guards—with the close proximity of the Wellington and St. George's Barracks—with the marching and countermarching of the guards drawn from the cavalry barracks—with the marching of the infantry from the barracks above-named to drill or inspection in Hyde Park, the precincts of the Palace afford, of a forenoon, the most stirring military spectacle (apart from a regular review), to be seen in the kingdom. Within and around this region, the Guards—foot and horse—are the characteristic features of the scene, the real *genii loci*—and fine-looking fellows they are. As to their accoutrements, a uniform must be judged less as it tells upon the individual soldier than as it tells *en masse* upon a large body of men. But even upon individuals, the uniform of the Guards shows well. Somewhat ponderous and stiff they may be, but that bespeaks strength and discipline. The Blues too, in their enormous jack-boots, when seen sauntering along on foot, remind us in this of swans, or a kindred species of bird, that they are fine-looking creatures in their element, but helpless out of it. They contrast, however, most favourably with the fantastic frippery of hussars and lancer regiments. They are substantial and genuine English. One can imagine Marlborough and Ligonier viewing them complacently: they are in keeping with the athletic image of Shaw, who with his own arm slaughtered so many Frenchmen at Waterloo.

A soldier's is not an idle life, even in time of peace, whatever may be said to the contrary. His martial duties may appear trifling to those who know not the importance of keeping them a habit, but they consume much time and no little attention. Still, an officer in the Guards must, to a certain extent, be, while in London, a gay lounger. His position in society—the vicinities into which his duties carry him—keep him in close juxta-position with the gay world, and it is the easiest thing in nature, when he has but one spare moment, to drop into the dissipations of fashion for that brief space. Still, in the dead season, the town must seem a desert to him, and banishment to the Tower, a fate which he must be prepared to encounter at regular intervals, is tedium in the extreme. But he has his resources—the Guards' Club, and the dinners at St. James's and the Bank.

Into the former we presume not to penetrate: a gentleman's club-house is his home, where he is entitled to shut the door on all strangers and hint to those admitted—"*sub rosa.*" The dinners may be said in a manner to be at John Bull's expense, and John thinks he has a right to know how his money is spent. He has no reason to complain on the present occasion.

The subaltern at Buckingham Palace, the Captain and two Subalterns at the Horse Guards, and the Field Officer, Captain, and Subaltern at the head guard, dine together at St. James's. The Adjutant of the regiment which gives the guard dines with them if he feel disposed, and the Lieutenant Colonel has the privilege of inviting three friends. Any day on which he does not avail himself of this privilege, he gives it up to the other officers. Not belonging to the Leg of Mutton, or to the Noctes Ambrosianæ, or to the Cervantes schools of literature, we could at any time much more easily eat a good dinner than describe it; the reader, therefore, must hold us excused. The Guards' dinners at St. James's are of ancient standing, and it is a shame that now-a-days, when military men have betaken themselves to writing like their neighbours, none of their traditions have been given to the public. It is a thousand pities Miss Burney was not a guardsman: the records of the mess would have furnished forth much more inspiring incidents than the Frau Schwellenberg's dinners to the Equerries, at which "dear little" Fanny presided as vice-bedchamber-woman. To Gilray are we indebted for the only peep into the *symposia* of the Guards at St. James's with which the public has been favoured; and until some member of the corps takes up the pen to show that his predecessors could talk, joke, and sing to the purpose, the corps must be contented to be judged by that caricature.

The dinner at the Bank—but first a word of the Tower, "whither, at certain seasons, all the" guards are conveyed to do penance for a time for their junkettings at the other end of the town. There is generally, as has already been remarked, a battalion on duty here. The officer locally in command is called the Governor, but his actual rank is that of Tower or Fort Major only. All orders applying to the Tower exclusively, or as a garrison, such as parade for divine service, &c., are given by the Fort Major; but all other orders, such as the actual mounting of the guard, the Bank piquet, &c., come from the Field Officer on duty at the Horse Guards. The guard at the Tower is, as at the Palace, an officer's guard, and so is the piquet at the Bank, to which we now proceed.

Dinner is provided by the Bank for the officer on guard there and two friends. A snug, plain, excellent dinner it is, brought daily from one of the best taverns in the neighbourhood. The store which the Guards set by this dinner—excellent though it be—speaks volumes for the ennui which broods over the period during which they are stationed at the Tower. Some time ago a regiment of the line was marched into the Tower, and the battalion of Guards withdrawn. All the other duties of the place were gladly and unreluctantly given up to the new-comers with the solitary exception of the inlying piquet at the Bank. The duty might have been given up, but to relinquish the dinner was impossible. And on this account, so long as the Tower remained denuded of the presence of the Guards, the Bank piquet, regularly detailed from the far West End, duly and daily threaded the crowded Strand, passed under

Temple Bar, jostled along Fleet Street, scrambled up Ludgate Hill, rounded St. Paul's, and over Cheapside, erst the scene of tournaments, charged home to the Bank of England. The cynosure of attraction to the weary sub on duty—the magnet which drew him to encounter this long and toilsome march, and worse, the incarceration of four-and-twenty mortal hours within the walls of the Bank, was not the ingots piled within these walls—his high spirit disdained them; not the bright eyes of City maid or dame—these must now be sought in the suburbs; it was the substantial savoury fare of the City—the genuine roast beef of Old England, and the City's ancient port, far surpassing the French cookery and French wines of St. James's.

But rich and substantial though the feast provided for the red-coated dragon (as Mause Headrigg might have termed him), who guarded the golden fruit of their Hesperides, by the merchant princes of the Bank of England, its merits were heightened in the estimation of the young guardsmen by the circumstances under which it was eaten. After a dreary banishment to the Tower for months—after the weariest period of that dull service, the dreary day, spent within the walls of the Bank—it is easy to conceive the relief felt by a young soldier as his moodiness relaxed and opened under the influence of good fare and good wine, and the chat of two favourite companions. Engagements that might have looked common-place elsewhere, and under other circumstances, were Elysium there and then. What a moment was that, when the hour of shutting the gates approaching, his visitors must leave him! The sweetest minute of the evening—he tasted it not in the bustle of leave taking, but, like all sweets approached to the mouth and withdrawn untasted, it lived for ever unchanged in remembrance. Such another moment is the five minutes before twelve at the St. James's dinner, when the butler enters, and with sly unconsciousness announces the hour, and the decanters are sent hastily round (no "black bottles" there), the glasses emptied and replenished, and a new supply ordered in—the last that can be issued from cellarage or butlery that night.

Amid the not unpleasing but somewhat monotonous hours of the life of an officer of the Guards on duty in London, these two dinners occupy a large space in his imagination. They are like the holidays to which a school-boy looks forward and backward; great part of his year is made up of them. He dates from their recurrence. Only one other dinner has ever held the same place in the estimation of Guardsmen—and its place was far higher. The Duke of York, when Commander-in-Chief, was frequently in the habit of dining at the Horse Guards on those days—and they were many—when he transacted business there. On such occasions it was his unvarying practice to invite the officer on guard to his table; and it has been our lot to hear a veteran who has seen much of life—from the gay quarters of London to the plague-stricken sands of Egypt—speak long afterwards of these dinners as among the most pleasing recollections of his life. The Duke of York was not, like his eldest brother, "the first gentleman in Europe"—he did not affect the society of wits, or shine himself in repartee—but he had a heart, and that was felt and acknowledged by every one who came into close connection with him. Spoiled he might be to some extent by his station—who would not? *Grossier* he might be in his tastes—it was the family failing. But he was kind to the last, and had a strong sense of justice. As a leader in the

field, though personally brave, he did not shine; but as Commander-in-Chief, as the organiser and upholder of an army in the Cabinet, England owes him a deep debt of gratitude. He was to the army what another Prince who bore the same title was, rather more than a century earlier, to the navy.

According to Fielding, Mrs. Bennet apologised to Amelia for inviting Serjeant Atkinson to take a cup of tea with her, by alleging that a serjeant in the Guards was a gentleman. The non-commissioned officers, and, we may say at the same time, the privates of these regiments retain the character to the present day. Bating his plundering and torturing propensities, Serjeant Bothwell, could he come alive again, would not find himself out of place among them. In former days, at Angelo's Rooms, we used to think the demeanour of the Household Cavalry quite as gentlemanly as some individuals of higher station, with whom they condescended to play at single-stick, and in the Fives Court the fancy Guardsmen were decidedly more gentlemanly than the pugilistic amateurs of rank. The British soldier of our days—and this remark is general, applicable to the whole army—is not a mere ignoramus. The regimental libraries have worked a wonderful change. We remember few more pleasant half-hours than one we spent in Mr. Constable's Miscellany warehouse in Edinburgh, listening to the comments of a committee of non-commissioned officers, from a regiment stationed at Piershill Barracks, who had come to town to choose some additions to their library. A higher and more uniform tone pervades the ranks now than used to be the case. It is a gross mistake to imagine the British soldier the mere machine some Gallicised writers have been pleased to represent him. There lurks a great deal of fallacy in what is said about the deterioration of the British soldier under "the cold shade of aristocracy." There are men by nature formed to take the direction, and others equally formed by nature to work out directions given to them. In the rudest state of society each class finds in time its proper place. Organised, civilised society is merely a condition in which the combination of two such different classes has long been recognised, and in which the persons qualified to belong to either drop into their places at once. A person born with capacity for command will, in ordinary circumstances, either enter the army as an officer, or, if he cannot accomplish this, choose some other profession. There is nothing necessarily low or mean in occupying the subordinate station. On the contrary, there are qualities required to enable a man to fill a subordinate station with perfect efficiency, which, from the rarity of their occurrence, in a high degree lend an extraordinary value to them when they do occur. It is much more easy to fill a regiment with passable ensigns, lieutenants, and captains, than with good efficient non-commissioned officers. This is felt by the best commanding officers, and such men are valued in proportion. Consciousness of their own worth, inspiring a just pride in belonging to their class, makes them a kind of natural aristocracy. The good soldier is not without a legitimate field of ambition, and the peculiar character of this field makes better soldiers than the vague dreaming prospect of becoming a Junot. Steele, in one of the best of his Tatlers, illustrates the high spirit and honourable ambition of the British serjeant: Farquhar's Kite (an irregular man of genius) was even then the exception, not the rule. The privates and non-commissioned officers of the Guards share this honest ambition with the regiments of the line, and, with all due deference to the latter, their

position as appendages to royalty gives them what Dr. O'Toole might call, the "top polish." Mrs. Bennet was right: a serjeant in the Guards is a gentleman, and she at least proved the sincerity of her opinion by taking the serjeant for a husband and becoming Mrs. Atkinson.

But some people will have it that the Guards, one and all, are mere pampered loungers. Did they show themselves such at Waterloo? The truth is, that soldiers, like race-horses and fighting-cocks, are the better for being high fed and well dressed, or curry-combed. There is no greater delusion than that constant hard work and privation strengthen men against hardships. There is a certain limited time, during which human powers of exertion and endurance can be taxed without breaking down; and the better condition a man is in at starting, the longer he will hold out. The *morale*, too, as Buonaparte used to say, is nine-tenths of the soldiers' strength; and the *morale* of ill-fed, over-toiled men is always bad. There is a buoyancy of spirit about those who rush straightway from good, even luxurious, quarters to the field, that effects even more than their brawny frames. "But Hannibal's army at Capua!" Fudge! The poor rascals were half rotten with toil and famine, and killed or sickened themselves by repletion. It was sheer good eating that carried the Guards rough-shod over Napoleon's crack Cuirassiers—red cloth and roast-beef, against steel cuirass and soupe-maigre, carried the day. All Continental soldiers, who have ever measured bayonet or sabre with the British, know that it is impossible to withstand the charge of our well-fed men and horses. It has often made us laugh to hear our German military friends—brave, judicious men—arguing that English soldiers were too high-fed: it was impossible to keep either brute—the man or the beast—in hand. German troopers, and their steeds, were fed up to the right pitch—could be exercised among eggs without breaking one. They knew all the while that this martinet dexterity would be shivered in pieces the moment it came in contact with the ungovernable strength they affected to undervalue. This is the reason why, from the club-houses and saloons of St. James's, and from the Fives' Court and other places of more equivocal resort, men and officers of the Guards—men who had never seen a shot fired in anger—rushed straight to Waterloo and rode resistless over the tough veterans of a hundred fights. "Gallant Frenchmen," the heroes of old "Nulli Secundus" might have said, "not by us, but by our cook-shops, have ye been vanquished!"

Enough of this. But as the building we have now in hand is one of those of which "least said is soonest mended," we have preferred talking about its live stock. Its halls are occupied by persons who think themselves of more consequence, and might take it amiss if they were altogether passed over in silence. Here are the offices of the Commander-in-Chief, the Military Secretary, the Quarter-Master-General, and Secretary at War; in other words, here is the "local habitation" of those who wield the gallant army of Great Britain.

Some time ago—*à propos* of the Admiralty—we had occasion to point out the admirable systematic arrangements which lurked under its apparent want of system. Looking to the Horse Guards, we fear it must be admitted that the want of centralised authority is in the case of the army carried to an extreme. The army is an engine not yet so well understood and appreciated in England as the navy. It is younger by a good many years. The Guards of Charles II.

and James II., that is to say, the "Blues," no more deserve the name of an army than the "Ironsides" of Old Noll. We have regiments which date from before the Revolution, but no army. The army is not only of modern growth when compared with the navy, but it differs from that sturdy indigenous plant in being an acclimatised exotic. They were foreign monarchs—one Dutch and two Hanoverian kings—who made our army, and they made it after foreign models. Raw materials for an army of the best quality are, and always have been, abundant in this country, but these foreign artists were the first to work them up. And as, unfortunately for the art of war, this country has afforded few opportunities of experimental study since we had an army, most of our great soldiers have been obliged to practise on the Continent. The theory and practice of modern warfare has been developed by Frenchmen, Germans, and Italians. Our army is like our school of painting,—at this moment equal, if not superior, to any in Europe, but not of so natural a growth as in the continental states. Down to the beginning of the reign of George III., our great officers were as foreign as the cut of their uniforms. In short, the real British army is scarcely so old as its very modern head-quarters; for the Ligoniers and Marquis of Granbys, who dated their general-orders from Knightsbridge Barracks,* we look upon as Hanoverian officers. Abercromby, with whom soldiers now alive have shaken hands, was trained in this school; he studied law and the humanities at Leipzig, and tactics (experimentally) in the Seven Years' War. This has been the main cause of scattering the fragments of military management through so many different departments of state, and producing such a confusion and contest of authorities as we shall now attempt to illustrate. The King and Parliament were always scrambling for the management of the army, and with every new department added to make it more efficient, there was a toss up for which should have the control of it.

The Commander-in-Chief and the Master-General of the Ordnance have immediate and independent management of their respective portions of the armed force of the country. But, in addition to them, no less than six different departments of government have various duties committed to them connected with the administration of military affairs. These are:—1st, the Secretaries of State, more particularly the Secretaries for the Colonial and Home Departments; 2nd, the Secretary at War; 3rd, the Board of Ordnance; 4th, the Commissariat department of the Treasury; 5th, the Board of Audit; 6th, the Commissioners of Chelsea Hospital. We shall endeavour to point out as briefly as possible the peculiar functions of each of those classes of authorities, and the means by which so many heterogeneous and independent functionaries are brought to work together with something like harmony and effect.

The point of view from which we must set out, and which, in order to thread our way through this labyrinth, we must keep constantly in mind, is, that the army belongs to the King. Parliament gives it to him, or rather, it every year gives him the means of maintaining it for a year, but here the power and right of Parliament to interfere with the management of the army stops. The whole

* Not the barracks now known by that name, but the building at the opposite end of Knightsbridge, on the opposite side of the road, now effectually screened from public view by Mr. Dunn's Chinese exhibition on one side and a new church on the other.

power and control over the army is vested in the Crown—that is, more especially since the Revolution settlement of 1688—in the King's government, represented in the Cabinet by the Secretaries of State. It is scarcely necessary, except for the sake of distinctness, to remind the reader that there was originally only one Secretary of State; and that though convenience first introduced the custom of having one Secretary who confined his attention exclusively to foreign, and another who confined himself to home affairs—and although in 1758 a third Secretary, for the colonies, was appointed, to divide the labour and responsibility, yet still, most of the functions of Secretary of State may be, and occasionally are, exercised indifferently by any one of the three. In point of fact, however, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs never meddles with the war department—that is left to the Home and Colonial Secretaries. The military administration of the nation in all its political bearings is, in reality, vested in these two ministers. The Secretary of State for the Home Department has the control and management of all the militia and yeomanry, as well as the disposal of the troops of the line at home, and the Guards. According to the necessities of the service, he orders the army to be moved into a disturbed district; he conveys his orders through the Quarter-Master-General to the general officers who are immediately under his guidance; he informs them how they are to act in conjunction with the magistracy, not only in cases of disturbances, but under any cases that may arise. He directs, through the instrumentality of the Master-General of the Ordnance, forts to be built on the coast in time of war, or barracks in disturbed districts. The Secretary of State for the War department and Colonies has the command of the army abroad. In these weak piping times of peace he not only orders what proportion of troops shall be sent to each colony, but he approves of the appointment of the general officer who is to command them; in short, he has the control over the army for all purposes of State policy. He may order a fort or battery to be built in any colony in consequence of its disturbed or exposed state. The offices of these wielders of the destinies of armies must be sought not here, but in Downing Street.

The administration of the army under the Secretaries of State, or the Crown, whose representatives these ministers are, is entrusted to executive officers who are appointed to, and receive their orders directly from, the King or his Secretaries. The finance of the army is kept rigidly separated from its discipline and promotion: the financial arrangements are the business of the Secretary at War; the discipline and promotion, of the Commander-in-Chief as regards the Household Brigade, Cavalry and Line, and of the Master-General of the Ordnance. Two of these demi-gods of the army exercise their functions here.

The financial arrangements of the army, as a system, the exclusive control over the public money voted for military purposes, rests with the Secretary at War, who transacts business at the Horse Guards. The office was established in 1666. Mr. Locke, the First Secretary at War, appointed in that year, was an officer detached from the Secretary of State's office. The Secretary at War has access to the Sovereign, and takes his orders from his Majesty direct. He prepares and submits the army estimates, and the annual mutiny bill to Parliament, and frames the articles of war. The expenditure of sums granted by Parliament for the exigencies of the army takes place by warrants on the Paymaster General,

signed by the Secretary at War. In every regiment there is a paymaster not appointed by, nor under the control of the Commander-in-Chief, but under the control of the Secretary at War. The accounts of the regimental paymasters, and of other officers charged with the payment of other branches of the service, are examined and audited in the War Office. The insertion of all military appointments and promotions in the 'Gazette' pass through the Secretary at War, because they involve a pecuniary outlay, and he is the channel for obtaining the authority of the Secretary of State for issues of arms by the Ordnance when required by the military authorities. In concert with the Commander-in-Chief, and with consent of the Treasury, he may from time to time make alterations in the rates of pay, half-pay, allowances and pensions. By ancient usage the Secretary at War, aided by the Judge-Advocate-General, is, in the House of Commons, the mouth-piece of the Government to sustain any attack that may be made on the Commander-in-Chief or his office.

The Commander-in-Chief has his office at the Horse Guards also. He, too, has access to the King, and may either receive orders direct from him or from the Secretary of State. He has always been held a simply executive, not a ministerial officer; for the officers of the army are extremely anxious to have nothing to do with the handling of money. The business of the Commander-in-Chief's office is dispatched by an Adjutant-General and a Quarter-Master-General, with their subordinate functionaries. Both of these officers are appointed by the King on the recommendation of the Commander-in-Chief. The Adjutant-General has under him a Deputy Adjutant General, an Assistant and a Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, appointed also by the King, and a number of clerks, messengers, &c. appointed by himself. Everything relating to the effective or non-effective state of the troops; to formation, instruction and discipline; to the direction and inspection of the clothing and accoutrements of the army; to recruitments, leaves of absence; to the employment of officers of the staff; and to ordinary or extraordinary returns relative to other matters, falls under his department. All regulations and instructions to the army are published through this officer by direction of the Commander-in-Chief. The Adjutant-General prepares monthly, for the King and Commander in Chief, returns of the troops stationed in Great Britain or Ireland, and of the home and foreign force. The principal duties of the Quarter-Master-General are, to prescribe routes and marches, to regulate the embarkation and disembarkation of troops, to provide quarters for them, to mark out ground proper for encampments, to execute military surveys, and to prepare plans and arrange dispositions for the defence of a territory, whether such defence is to be effected by the troops alone or by means of field-works. Attached to the office of Quarter-Master-General of the Forces is a board of topography, with a depôt of maps, plans, and a library containing the best military works that have been published in different countries. Every British army, when in the field, has a special Quarter-Master-General and staff, organised in exact analogy with that of the permanent officer at the Horse Guards.

We must now turn our steps towards Pall Mall, and visit the Ordnance Office, in order to prosecute our analysis of the composite organisation of the British army. The Master-General of the Ordnance stands in the same relation to the

King and Secretaries of State, in his department, as the Commander-in-Chief. Like that officer and the Secretary at War, he has access to the Sovereign, and takes his orders direct from the King or his Secretaries of State. This is a very complicated department: it combines within itself both civil and military functions, which are not separated as in the army of the line, and has moreover taken on its hands since the peace a great number of other departments. This complexity is in a great measure unavoidable, for the Ordnance combines scientific with mere professional services. The Master-General, however, directs personally, and without the assistance of the Board, all those matters which, in the case of the rest of the army, come within the province of the Commander-in-Chief. All military appointments, all questions of discipline and orders relating to the employment of the force come under this description; and likewise the general direction and government of the Military Academy at Woolwich. The Master-General of the Ordnance has the title and powers of Colonel of what is called the "regiment" of Artillery—absurdly enough, for the body is increased in time of war to 24,000 men. An officer with the title of Deputy Adjutant General of Artillery, who is in no way dependent on the Adjutant General of the British forces, is at the head of the Artillery Staff. The Board of the Deputy Adjutant General of Artillery is at Woolwich; which may be considered as the head-quarters of this arm of the service. The Royal Artillery corps consists of the Brigade of Horse Artillery and of the Artillery serving on foot. The Rocket corps is attached to, and forms part of the Artillery; as also the Artificers, and the Royal Waggon Train. There was formerly a corps of Drivers: but the men are now always enlisted as "Gunners and Drivers," and made to do duty in both capacities. As the army of the line was developed under the auspices of the Dutch and Hanoverian Kings of England—squabbling all the while with a jealous and niggardly Parliament—from the few regiments of Guards maintained by the last Stuarts (or engrafted upon them, if the readers think the metaphor more just); so the Ordnance department has, in due course of time, been, after the same fashion, eked out from the old Artillery Companies of Queen Bess and other antique Sovereigns. Perhaps, however, the Worshipful Artillery Company of the City of London may claim to be the legitimate descendant and representative of the body commanded by the Earl of Essex in 1596. The first warrant fixing the constitution of the Ordnance is that of Charles II. (20th July, 1683), only five years previous to the Revolution.

The corps subject to the Ordnance are the "Regiment," already described, and the Engineers. The books of the Artillery show the number of battalions and companies in each battalion from the year 1710 to the present time. There are, we believe, no authentic documents to show how long the Royal Engineers have existed as a separate corps, or what was its original constitution; but from a warrant dated at "our Court of St. James's, the 3rd day of March, 1759," the origin of its present organisation may be inferred. The document runs thus:—"His Majesty this day took the said representation into his royal consideration, together with *the establishment of Engineers now subsisting;* and likewise the new establishment, proposing to increase the number of Engineers to sixty-one; and was pleased, with advice of his Privy Council, to approve of the said new estabblishment, &c.

* * * * and instead of all former establishments of Engineers, which are to cease and be discontinued for the future." The Horse Brigade—commonly called the Horse Artillery, or Flying Artillery—only dates from 1793. The Artillery "Regiment" was composed, in 1710, of one battalion, divided into three companies: the officers were a Colonel Commandant, a Colonel, two Lieutenant Colonels, and a Major; for each company a Captain and a First and Second Lieutenant; six Lieutenant Fireworkers, an Adjutant, Quartermaster, and Bridgemaster. The names of all the officers since 1743 have been preserved, and notes of what became of most of them. The Engineers consisted, in 1759, of one Chief, two Directors, four Sub-Directors, twelve Engineers in Ordinary and twelve Extraordinary, fourteen Sub-Engineers, and sixteen Practitioners: the names of the Engineer officers since 1783. The privates were called Military Engineers till 1813; since that time they have been organised into a corps called Sappers and Miners. The whole of the Engineer department is under the Inspector-General of Fortifications. Both the civil and military engineering of the army is entrusted to this corps. The erection and maintenance of forts and barracks devolves upon them. There are 29 of the officers engaged in the survey of Great Britain and Ireland. Of 201 officers, 156 were, in 1836, employed in affairs which were partly of a military, partly of a civil character. The Engineers are, properly speaking, a regiment of officers; but attached to it are the companies of sappers and miners, with the pontoon train, its forges, waggons, &c., under a major of the Brigade of Engineers.

The Board of Ordnance, enumerated as the third of those which take part in managing the military affairs of this country, takes upon it those duties which are more especially termed *civil.* The Master-General attends its meetings only on rare and very particular occasions. All its proceedings, however, are regularly submitted in the form of minutes for his approval, and are subject to his control. His authority is supreme in all matters, both civil and military; and he, not the Board, is considered responsible for the manner in which the business of the department is managed. The three Board officers of the Ordnance are the Surveyor-General, the Clerk of the Ordnance (at Pall Mall), and the principal Storekeeper. Sometimes the whole of these officers—uniformly the Clerk—contrive to be in Parliament, and act as the mouth-pieces of this arm of the service. Upon the Clerk devolves the duty of preparing and carrying the Ordnance Estimates through Parliament. Each of these three officers has his own separate and distinct duties; but as all acts are done in the name and by the authority of the Board, all important questions are brought before it, and every member is expected to have a general knowledge of the business transacted in every separate division. The business of the Board comprehends, with regard to the Ordnance corps, the greater part of the business which, as relates to the rest of the army, is transacted in the War Office; for example, the examination of pay-lists and accounts, the decision of all claims by officers to pensions for wounds, to compensation for the loss of horses or baggage, to command-money, and to allowance for passages, or in lieu of lodgings and servants. But by far the greater part of the duties of the Board have reference to matters not merely concerning their own particular

branch of the military service, but the whole army, and even the navy. Arms, ammunition, and military stores of every description (including guns and carriages for the navy), are supplied by them to both services. Besides the clothing of the artillery and engineers, they furnish also that of part of the militia, of the police force in Ireland, and of some corps belonging to the army, and the great coats for all; they are likewise charged with the issue of various kinds of supplies, as of fuel, light, &c., both in Great Britain and abroad, and, with respect to the troops in Great Britain, of provision and forage. The construction and repair of fortifications, military works, and barracks, is another branch of the business of the department; which has also the duty, altogether unconnected with any thing of a military character, of furnishing various descriptions of stores for the use of the convict establishment in the penal colonies.

The Commissariat officers on foreign stations correspond directly with the Treasury, and receive from it all orders with reference to the mode in which the service is to be performed. Till 1834 (when the duty was transferred to the Ordnance) the charge of the issue of forage and provisions to the troops in Great Britain was retained by the Treasury. Since that time the Agent for Commissariat supplies has been suppressed, and the number of clerks on the Commissariat establishment reduced. The Commissariat is a peculiar and important service, requiring great ability and much experience. During the whole time consumed by the British army in advancing from the frontiers of Portugal to the Pyrenees, the Commissariat officers had to feed daily 80,000 men and 20,000 horses. The money raised by the Commissariat department in specie, in silver and gold, in Spain and Portugal during the Peninsular war, by bills on this country, amounted to somewhere about 36,000,000*l.* sterling; and probably 10,000,000*l.* more was sent from England, and as much from the Mediterranean and other quarters. The justice and wisdom of the paltry economy of throwing part of the duties of this department upon the Ordnance, whose functions were already sufficiently onerous and complicated, and upon a reduced Board of quill-driving Treasury clerks who had no experience outside of their office, may well be doubted. But there can be no doubt as to the gross injustice of throwing all the able and experienced Commissariat officers, trained in the arduous affairs of the Peninsula, upon half-pay, instead of remodelling the Commissariat department by placing some of them at the head of it. A system might thus have been organised by men who had been taught their business experimentally, in a school such as it is to be hoped no individuals may for many generations have a chance of entering. An opportunity has been let slip of perfecting this branch of the service which will be felt as soon as Britain is again dared to the field, for the gift of military financiering does not come by nature.

Since the abolition of the Comptrollers of Army Accounts, the Commissioners of Audit, in addition to their former duty of auditing the accounts of a part of the expenditure of the Commissioners for the service of the army on every foreign station, have also acted as advisers to the Treasury in military business in general, and particularly in all that relates to the Commissariat. Properly speaking, the Commissariat and Audit Board are both branches of the Treasury. This may be the most proper place to notice that by the Act 5 and 6 of William IV. the separate offices of Paymaster of the Forces, Treasurer of Chelsea Hos-

pital, Treasurer of the Navy, and Treasurer of the Ordnance, are all consolidated into the one office of Paymaster General. This office is also immediately under the control of the Treasury.

Lastly, the Commissioners of Chelsea Hospital are charged with the management of the internal affairs of the hospital, with the admission of in-pensioners, the placing of discharged soldiers on the out-pension, and the issuing of warrants for payment of their pensions. Their proceedings are governed by the patent by which they are appointed, the instructions consequent thereon prepared by the Secretary at War, by various Acts of Parliament regulating particular points, and by occasional instructions conveyed to them by the Treasury and by the Secretary at War.

Amid all this scattering of military business through a number of departments, it is clear that the authorities at the Horse Guards—the Secretary at War and the Commander-in-Chief—remain the nucleus, the heart of the military organisation of Great Britain. Independent though the Master of the Ordnance be, his arm is regarded but as an auxiliary, an adjunct to the army of the line. This manner of viewing it is carried to an extreme which occasions gross injustice to the corps of Artillery and Engineers. The best commanders of France—Napoleon himself—were bred in the Artillery. An English Artillery or Engineer officer cannot look forward to command in the field. "I look upon the Artillery," said Sir Augustus Fraser, in 1833, "to be a neglected service, and I know that it is so considered by the officers themselves. I look upon it that no corps that is solely advanced by seniorities and death-vacancies can come to perfection. When you have men of ability, the ability is locked up; when they have no ability they go on with the stream. The officers are all well educated, but to little purpose; and assuredly the state of the Artillery will force itself upon the country sooner or later. *I have been forty years in the Artillery, and have got to be a Colonel, and I could go down a hundred men in the regiment without coming to any man much younger than myself.*" What Sir Augustus thought would be doing justice to his corps appeared from his replies to three questions of the Commissioners on the civil administration of the army in 1833: "Officers of Artillery and Engineers are very seldom appointed to command garrisons or districts." "Putting them upon the staff has been discouraged." "I am sure that a door might be opened for Artillery officers to go into the army with great advantage to the service and themselves." The best heads and the best educated intellects in the service are prevented from rising to command—that is not wise.

But this is a digression. The Horse Guards is the centre of vitality of an army. This army consists of:—*Cavalry:* The first and second regiments of Life Guards, the royal regiment of the Horse Guards (blues), seven regiments of Dragoon Guards, three of Dragoons, nine of Light Dragoons, including Lancers and Hussars. In this enumeration the cavalry serving in India and the Cape corps of mounted riflemen are not included. *Infantry:* Three regiments of Guards, seventy-nine regiments of the line of one battalion each, the 60th (of the line) and the rifle brigade of two battalions each, two West India regiments, two companies of the royal staff corps, three Newfoundland and three royal veteran companies, the African corps, and the Ceylon regiment. To these fall to be added the Engineers and the Artillery, with the royal waggon-train, the arti-

ficers, the rocket corps, and the sappers and miners. The infantry and cavalry borne on the estimates of 1841 amounted to 80,738 officers and men, of whom 79,798 were effectives. The engineer corps amounted to 960 officers and men, and the artillery to 7051.

This is, after all, but the skeleton of the army—the dry bones—the framework which gives it form and cohesion. The quivering flesh and bounding blood which renders it an object beautiful to look upon—the living spirit which lends it life and energy—are diffused through thousands of manly bosoms scattered over the whole globe. Some are chafing in compulsory idleness among the country towns, or manufacturing capitals of the old island; some are doing duty amid the sharp gales of Canada, amid the sweltering tropical heat of the Antilles, or in the anomalous land of kangaroos and convicts. Some have just been bearing the standard of their country in triumph into the very bowels of "the central flowery land," while others have been sharing in the alternate defeats and triumphs of the mountain-land of the Afghans. Rather than remain inactive, some of the more ardent spirits have been exploring or taking part in the frays of Persia and Turkistan, and of the rather more barbarous Christian republics of South America. There is scarcely a region of the earth in our day that has not seen a real line captain—that rare animal which excited such a sensation when it made its unexpected appearance at Charlie's Hope, in the person of Dandy Dinmont's deliverer. And a talisman is placed within these shabby tasteless walls —right under that ineffable cupola—of power to arrest at once the wandering propensities of the most distant of those fearless spirits, and call him home as tame as the sportsman's pointer when ordered to heel, or to send him forth again fiercer than sleuth-hound lancing on his prey.

It is a strange thing, that military discipline, which fuses so many of a nation's fiercest and most wayward spirits as it were into one mind and one will! The armies of modern Europe have no parallel in any other age or region. Individual armies were formed by Alexander, by Baber, by Timur, and other conquerors; but they dissolved with the death of the master-spirit which called them together. But the armies of France, England, and Germany have an organic life independent of any individual: all of them are enduring as the civil institutions upon which they are engrafted. The army of France survived the dissolution of these institutions, and was all that was left to re-construct civil society after the Revolution. It is a fashion with those who have not thoroughly examined the matter, to speak lightly of an army's discipline and organisation, and to exalt what they call the irresistible enthusiasm of a people. It was not the people who repelled the Allied Sovereign, under the Duke of Brunswick from the French frontier, and carried the eagles of France in triumph over great part of Europe; it was not the people who struck down Napoleon in the red field of Leipzig. Popular enthusiasm gave a new stimulus to the army, but it was the traditional discipline and organisation inherited from Turenne, Montecuculi, Marlborough, Frederic the Great, and other masters of the art of war, which received the unformed materials of enthusiastic recruits, and in its hard press stamped them into heroes. An organised army upon modern principles can make soldiers of almost any materials; and the mightiest enthusiasm of individuals or nations is at best but

the heavy wave which must break on the rock-like structure of an army, and fall back in foam, carrying with it at most some shattered fragments.

A finer army, whether we regard its physical or moral qualities, never existed than our own at the present moment. Its services as a bulwark against aggression from without in time of war, or as an effective minister of the civil power in internal emergencies in time of peace, are invaluable. Higher scientific acquirements than exist among its "corps du génie" are not to be found; a more intelligent, moral, high-spirited, and lighthearted soldiery never made a monarch's heart high as she passed her eyes along their ranks. And where shall we look for such a wiry, wary master of his art to hold this beautiful but terrible power in hand as the present occupant of the Horse Guards?

[Park Front of the Horse Guards.]

[Dunton.]

# CXV.—THE OLD LONDON BOOKSELLERS.

THOUGHT—Speech—Writing—Printing—these are, as it were, four successive developments of mind, each ascending in about the same degree beyond the other. Much as in Milton's similitude—

> "Thus from the root
> Springs lightly the green stalk [or talk]—from thence the *leaves*,
> More airy—last the bright consummate flower."

Not, indeed, that any particular copy of a printed book, bound and lettered, much resembles a flower:—we must endeavour to conceive a printed book in the abstract, as Crambe did a Lord Mayor without horse, gown, and gold chain, or even stature, features, colour, hands, feet, or body. In this sense a printed book is really "the bright consummate flower" of thought.

Here, however, our business is not with either books or booksellers in the abstract, but with the latter in humble concrete, or in flesh and blood. Although books were written, and to a certain extent published too, by copies of them being made by transcribers, before the invention of printing, yet it may safely be assumed that it was not till after the introduction of that art that the sale of them became a regular trade in England. In the height to which even literary civilization had grown in the ancient world of Greece and Rome, there were shops for books probably in all the considerable towns; and in modern Europe, in the middle ages, Bibles, and also other books, were sold at the fairs in many of the principal cities of the Continent; but these were rather general than local marts; indeed, literature then, when books for the most part were written in Latin, the common tongue of the learned in all countries, was European, rather than national, everywhere; the manufacture or sale of books on a large scale could only be carried on at the great central points of attraction and confluence; England, being out of the way of common resort, could scarcely

maintain anything of the kind. The purchase of a book here seems to have been merely an occasional transaction, like the purchase of a house; and the few books that were produced with a view to being sold were mostly prepared in the monasteries, as well as probably purchased only by those establishments. Perhaps the first books that got to any extent into the hands of the people in England (and even their dispersion must have been but to a very limited extent) were the religious treatises of the reformer Wycliffe, and some of his followers, in the fourteenth century. But, still, there is no mention of book-shops in London, we believe, till long after this date. Fitz-Stephen, of course, has no notice of any in his Description, written in the latter part of the twelfth century, in which he celebrates with so much gusto the wine-shops, the cook-shops, the fish-shops, the poultry-shops, the horse-markets, &c., of " the most noble city;" and Dan John Lydgate's ballad of 'London, Lyckpenny,' which belongs to the fifteenth century, is equally silent as to the existence of any storehouses of food or furniture for the mind, while commemorating the activity and vociferation of the dealers in all other kinds of commodities.

Bookselling, no doubt, came in among us with printing; and, probably, our first printers were also our first booksellers. Memorable old William Caxton, who set up his press in the Almonry at Westminster, in the year 1474, not only himself sold the books he printed, but even wrote many of them: he was author, printer, and publisher, all in one. It was not long, however, before the merchandize in books, as in other commodities in extensive demand, came to be carried on by a class of persons distinct from both the intellectual and the mechanical manufacturers of the article.

The Stationers' Company was incorporated in 1557, in the reign of Philip and Mary, and comprehends stationers, booksellers, letter-founders, printers, and bookbinders. The booksellers, however, have always been by far the most numerous portion of the body, and also the most influential from other causes, as well as from their greater number. They are, from the nature of the case, the capitalists by whom the production of books is mainly promoted—the employers of the printers, and to some extent of the authors also—and, as they run the risks, so they enjoy the advantages, of that position. Accordingly, while nobody ever heard of any influence on literature being exerted by printers, the influence of booksellers on literature has at all times, and in all countries, been very considerable. We have the high authority of Horace for looking upon them as, in the department of poetry at least, one of the three supreme controlling powers:—

> " Mediocribus esse poetis,
> Non dii, non homines, non concessere columnæ"—

that is, as the words may be translated, Mediocrity in poetry is a thing not suffered by gods, by men, or by booksellers. The bookseller, indeed, it is intimated by the metonymy here used, judges by a rule or standard of criticism different from that referred to by the general public; he applies what may be called a *pocket*-rule to the matter; but it may be fairly questioned if any surer or better for ordinary occasions is to be found in Aristotle.

We have not much information about bookselling in London that is curious or interesting till we come to the middle of the seventeenth century. It was probably not till some time after this that book-shops (in the mo-

dern sense) began to rise in what is now the great centre of the trade—Paternoster Row, or The Row, as it is styled by way of eminence (and also perhaps to get rid of an inconveniently polysyllabic designation). They seem to have been only beginning to make their appearance when Strype produced his edition of Stow, in 1720. "This street," we are told by Strype, in his solemn fashion of speech, "before the Fire of London, was taken up by eminent mercers, silkmen, and lacemen; and their shops were so resorted unto by the nobility and gentry, in their coaches, that oft times the street was so stopped up that there was no passage for foot passengers. But since the said fire, those eminent tradesmen have settled themselves in several other parts, especially in Covent Garden, in Bedford Street, Henrietta Street, and King Street. And the inhabitants in this street are now a mixture of tradespeople, and chiefly tire-women, for the sale of commodes, top-knots, and the like dressings for the females. There are also many shops of mercers and silkmen; and at the upper end some stationers, and large warehouses for booksellers; well situated for learned and studious men's access thither; being more retired and private."

At the time of the Great Fire, and probably for long before, the principal booksellers' shops were in St. Paul's Churchyard. Hither Pepys was commonly wont to resort when he wanted either a new or an old book. Thus, on the 31st of November, 1660, he notes, "In Paul's Churchyard I bought the play of Henry the Fourth, and so went to the new theatre and saw it acted; but, my expectation being too great, it did not please me, as otherwise I believe it would; and my having a book, I believe, did spoil it a little." Again, on the 10th of February, 1662, we find him recording as follows:—"To Paul's Churchyard, and there I met with Dr. Fuller's 'England's Worthies,' the first time that I ever saw it; and so I sat down reading in it; being much troubled that (though he had some discourse with me about my family and arms) he says nothing at all, nor mentions us either in Cambridgeshire or Norfolk. But I believe, indeed, our family were never considerable." Poor Pepys! never was inordinate vanity in any man so snubbed and checked at every movement by a still more inveterate principle of honesty: it is like the convulsive jerking and counter-jerking of a Supple Jack.

A few years after this, however, the booksellers were for a time driven from this quarter by the effects of the great fire. "By Mr. Dugdale," writes Pepys, under date of September 26th, 1666, "I hear the great loss of books in St. Paul's Churchyard, and at their Hall also, which they value at about 150,000*l.*; some booksellers being wholly undone, and, among others, they say, my poor Kirton." And on the 5th of October he adds, "Mr. Kirton's kinsman, my bookseller, come in my way; and so I am told by him that Mr. Kirton is utterly undone, and made 2000*l.* or 3000*l.* worse than nothing, from being worth 7000*l.* or 8000*l.* That the goods laid in the Churchyard fired through the windows those in St. Faith's church; and those, coming to the warehouses' doors, fired them, and burned all the books and the pillars of the church, which is alike pillared (which I knew not before); but, being not burned, they stood still. He do believe there is above 150,000*l.* of books burned; all the great booksellers almost undone; not only them, but their warehouses at their Hall and under Christ-church, and elsewhere, being all burned. A great want thereof there will

be of books, specially Latin books and foreign books; and, among others, the Polyglott and new Bible, which he believes will be presently worth 40*l.* a-piece." Walton's, or the London Polyglott, here mentioned, is in six folio volumes, the first of which had been published in 1654, and the fourth, fifth, and sixth in 1657. Evelyn also records the immense destruction of books by this terrible conflagration. In his 'Diary' he states that the magazines or stores of books belonging to the stationers, which had been deposited for safety in the vaulted church of St. Faith's under St. Paul's, continued to burn for a week.

The history of one of Pepys's purchases affords an instance of the extent to which the fire raised the price of certain books. "It is strange," he observes, on the 20th of March, 1667, "how Rycaut's Discourse of Turkey, which before the fire I was asked but 8*s.* for, there being all but twenty-two or thereabouts burned, I did now offer 20*s.*, and he demands 50*s.*, and I think I shall give it him, though it be only as a monument of the fire." Accordingly he bought the book, which is now in the Pepysian Library at Cambridge. "Away to the Temple," he writes on the 8th of April, "to my new bookseller's; and there I did agree for Rycaut's late History of the Turkish Policy, which cost me 55*s.*, whereas it was sold plain before the late fire for 8*s.*, and bound and coloured as this is for 20*s.*; for I have bought it finely bound and truly coloured all the figures, of which there was but six books done so, whereof the King, and Duke of York, and Duke of Monmouth, and Lord Arlington had four. The fifth was sold, and I have bought the sixth."

Pepys's new bookseller, as we see, was stationed in or near the Temple. Westminster Hall, the other more noisy temple of the laws, was also in those days a great place for the sale of books, and as such was frequently visited by Pepys. "To Westminster Hall," is one of his memoranda on the 26th of October, 1660, "and bought, among other books, one of the Life of our Queen, which I read at home to my wife; but it was so sillily writ that we did nothing but laugh at it." And if the book kept his wife and him laughing for a whole evening, what more or better would he have had for his money? They are rare tomes of which anything so commendatory can be said. Some doubt, it is true, may be raised by other entries if Pepys's sense of the ludicrous was the justest in the world. Possibly he found matter of laughter where nobody else would have seen anything of the kind, as it is certain that he would sometimes find none in what was the richest wit and humour to other people. "To the Wardrobe," he writes on the 26th of December, 1662: "hither come Mr. Battersby; and, we falling into discourse of a new book of drollery in use, called Hudibras, I would needs go find it out, and met with it at the Temple: cost me 2*s.* 6*d.* But, when I come to read it, it is so silly an abuse of the Presbyter Knight going to the wars that I am ashamed of it; and by and by, meeting at Mr. Townsend's at dinner, I sold it to him for 18*d.*" But this turned out to be a precipitate proceeding. To Pepys's infinite amazement, the "new book of drollery" continued to be the rage. "And so," he tells us, under date of the 6th of February thereafter, "to a bookseller's in the Strand, and there bought Hudibras again, it being certainly some ill humour to be so against that which all the world cries up to be the example of wit; for which I am resolved once more to read him, and see whether I can find it or no." With this praiseworthy resolution (much

resembling that of the ingenious individual who, not knowing how to read, sought to cure that defect by procuring a proper pair of spectacles—one of the most touching examples of the Pursuit of Knowledge under Difficulties) Pepys set to work; but we fear his success was not considerable. "To Paul's Churchyard," he writes in his account of his doings on the 28th of November in this same year, "and there looked upon the second part of Hudibras, which I buy not, but borrow to read, to see if it be as good as the first, which the world cried so mightily up, though it hath not a good liking in me, though I had tried but [by?] twice or three times' reading to bring myself to think it witty." He did buy the book, however, a few days after this. "To St. Paul's Churchyard, to my bookseller's," is his naïve and curious record on the 10th of December, "and could not tell whether to lay out my money for books of pleasure, as plays, which my nature was most earnest in; but at last, after seeing Chaucer, Dugdale's History of Paul's, Stow's London, Gesner, History of Trent, besides Shakspeare, Jonson, and Beaumont's plays, I at last chose Dr. Fuller's Worthies, the Cabbala, or Collections of Letters of State, and a little book, Delices de Hollande, with another little book or two, all of good use or serious pleasure; and Hudibras, both parts, the book now in greatest fashion for drollery, though I cannot, I confess, see enough where the wit lies." So he seems to have laid out his money in this last instance in the way of duty, or of penance, rather than for either pleasure or use. No doubt, if he found any pleasure in Hudibras, it must have been, in his own phraseology, serious enough—entirely of the order of those very "calm pleasures" which the poet has coupled and by implication almost identified with "majestic pains." The only other mention we find of Butler's poem in the 'Diary' is in the entry dated 11th October, 1665, where, in a notice of an interview with Mr. Seamour, or Seymour, it is written, "I could not but think it odd that a parliament-man, in a serious discourse before such persons as we [me?], and my Lord Brouncker, and Sir John Minnes, should quote Hudibras, as being the book I doubt he hath read most." From his thus taking it as a sort of insult that a person should quote the book in his presence, we might almost suspect that his ineffectual endeavours to comprehend the wit of Hudibras had come to be a standing joke against Pepys.

On the rebuilding of the City after the fire, the booksellers, who had formerly carried on business in St. Paul's Churchyard, or such of them as were not reduced to absolute ruin, seem to have generally returned to their old quarters. Pepys's friend Kirton, however, appears never to have recovered from the losses he sustained by that catastrophe. In Pepys's latter days, when he was probably a larger collector than ever of rare books, the bookseller with whom he chiefly dealt appears to have been Mr. Robert Scott. Scott was the prince of London booksellers in his day. It was with him, too, Roger North tells us, that his brother Dr. John North dealt, in laying the foundation of his library. Scott's sister was North's grandmother's woman; "and, upon that acquaintance," says Roger, "he expected, and really had from him, useful information of books and the editions."—"This Mr. Scott," the graphic and cordial biographer goes on, "was, in his time, the greatest librarian in Europe; for, besides his stock in England, he had warehouses at Frankfort, Paris, and other places, and dealt by factors. After he was grown old, and much worn by multiplicity of business, he began to think of his

case, and to leave off. Whereupon he contracted with one Mills, of St. Paul's Churchyard, near 10,000*l.* deep, and articled not to open his shop any more. But Mills, with his auctioneering, atlases, and projects, failed, whereby poor Scott lost above half his means. But he held to his contract of not opening his shop, and, when he was in London, for he had a country-house, passed most of his time at his house amongst the rest of his books; and his reading (for he was no mean scholar) was the chief entertainment of his time. He was not only an expert bookseller, but a very conscientious good man; and, when he threw up his trade, Europe had no small loss of him. Our doctor, at one lift, bought of him a whole set of Greek classics, in folio, of the best editions."

Scott kept shop in Little Britain, probably in the part of that zigzag street adjacent to Duck Lane, or, as it is now called, Duke Street, in Smithfield. This portion of Little Britain and the whole of Duck Lane, in the latter half of the seventeenth and the early part of the eighteenth century, were mainly inhabited by booksellers and publishers. It was, Roger North tells us, "a plentiful and perpetual emporium of learned authors; and men went thither as to a market." "This," he continues, "drew to the place a mighty trade; the rather because the shops were spacious, and the learned gladly resorted to them, where they seldom failed to meet with agreeable conversation. And the booksellers themselves were knowing and conversible men, with whom, for the sake of bookish knowledge, the greatest wits were pleased to converse." Strype, in his edition of Stow, published in 1720, describes Little Britain as "well built, and much inhabited by booksellers, especially from the Pump to Duck Lane;"—"which," he adds, "is also taken up by booksellers for old books." Afterwards, he describes the part of Little Britain occupied by the booksellers as extending from St. Bartholomew Close southward towards the Pump, and so bending eastward to Aldersgate Street. The booksellers here, he says, "formerly were much resorted to by learned men for Greek and Latin books; but now the station of such booksellers is removed into Paternoster Row and Paul's Churchyard." Maitland, writing in 1756, tells us that the booksellers' part of Little Britain was then much deserted and had little trade; and Duck Lane he describes as "a place once noted for dealers in old books, but at present quite forsaken by all sorts of dealers."

When Benjamin Franklin and his friend James Ralph (who also became in after years a person of some note, making a considerable figure as a political writer in the latter part of the reign of George II., and having besides got himself immortalized in the 'Dunciad') came over together from Philadelphia to London in the end of the year 1724, they took a lodging in Little Britain at 3*s.* 6*d.* per week; "as much," says Franklin, "as we could then afford." He has commemorated one of the dealers in old books by whom the street was then inhabited. "While I lodged in Little Britain," he relates, "I made an acquaintance with one Wilcox, a bookseller, whose shop was next door. He had an immense collection of second-hand books. Circulating libraries were not then in use; but we agreed that, on certain reasonable terms (which I have now forgotten), I might take, read, and return any of his books: this I esteemed a great advantage, and I made as much use of it as I could."

But by far the most curious and complete account that we have of the book-

sellers and bookselling business of London at the beginning of the eighteenth century is that given by the famous John Dunton in the extraordinary autobiographical performance which he entitles his 'Life and Errors.' Dunton, born in 1659, was the only son of the Rev. John Dunton, rector of Graffham, in Huntingdonshire, and as such the descendant of a line of clergymen, both his grandfather and great-grandfather having been ministers of Little Missenden, in Bucks. He was himself intended for the church, and with that view he was put to school and taught Latin, which he says gave him satisfaction enough, so that he attained to such a knowledge of the language as to be able to "speak it pretty well extempore;" "but," he continues, "the difficulties of the Greek quite broke all my resolutions; and, which was a greater disadvantage to me, I was wounded with a silent passion for a virgin in my father's house, that unhinged me all at once, though I never made a discovery of the flame, and for that reason it gave me the greater torment. This happened in my thirteenth year." The truth is, Dunton, with prodigious intellectual activity, or rather restlessness, never could persevere long enough with anything he undertook, study, task, business, or plan of life, to make much of it. So, finding him too mercurial for a scholar, his father determined to make a bookseller of him, and in his fifteenth year he was sent up to London, and apprenticed to Mr. Thomas Parkhurst, whom he describes as "the most eminent Presbyterian bookseller in the three kingdoms." Having passed through his apprenticeship, Dunton set up for himself as a bookseller and publisher about the year 1685. The picture he draws of literature and its followers in London at this date is not flattering, but it may be held to prove, at any rate, that the profession can hardly have degenerated. "Printing," he says (meaning what we should now call publishing), "was now the uppermost in my thoughts, and hackney authors began to ply me with specimens, as earnestly, and with as much passion and concern, as the watermen do passengers with oars and scullers. I had some acquaintance with this generation in my apprenticeship, and had never any warm affection for them; in regard I always thought their great concern lay more in how much a sheet than in any generous respect they bore to the commonwealth of learning; and, indeed, the learning itself of these gentlemen lies very often in as little room as their honesty, though they will pretend to have studied for six or seven years in the Bodleian Library, to have turned over the Fathers, and to have read and digested the whole compass both of human and ecclesiastic history;—when, alas! they have never been able to understand a single page of St. Cyprian, and cannot tell you whether the Fathers lived before or after Christ. And, as for their honesty, it is very remarkable: they will either persuade you to go upon another man's copy, or steal his thought, or to abridge his book, which should have got him bread for his lifetime. When you have engaged them upon some project or other, they will write you off three or four sheets perhaps; take up three or four pounds upon an urgent occasion; and you shall never hear of them more." Well, there may be some rapacity here, but there is considerable simplicity too; for surely the three or four pounds, even at the then value of money, could scarcely have been the full price of copy for as many sheets of letter-press. We doubt if a publisher ever now-a-days gets rid of an author upon such easy terms.

The most saleable of all publications at this date were sermons and other religious disquisitions. The first copy or manuscript Dunton ventured to print was a volume entitled, 'The Sufferings of Christ,' by the Rev. Mr. Doolittle. "This book," he says, "fully answered my end; for, exchanging it through the whole trade, it furnished my shop with all sorts of books saleable at that time." This lets us into a peculiarity in the manner in which the publishing business was then carried on:—when a publisher, being also, as was generally or universally the case, a retail and miscellaneous bookseller, brought out a work, he disposed of the copies among the trade mostly in the way of barter or exchange for other books. This practice, it is hardly necessary to say, has long gone out.

Dunton speedily followed this first venture by two or three other publications in the same line, all of which did well; and this extraordinary success in his first attempts gave him, he observes, "an ungovernable itch to be always intriguing that way." He now began to be plied with projects and proposals of marriage from various quarters. Mrs. Mary Sanders, the virgin who first unhinged him under the paternal roof, had by this time got entirely out of his head; the beautiful Rachel Seaton, the innocent Sarah Day of Ratcliffe, the religious Sarah Briscow of Uxbridge, had all had their turn; at last, being smitten at church by Elizabeth Annesley, daughter of the Rev. Dr. Annesley, a distinguished nonconformist preacher of those times, he married that lady. Another daughter of Dr. Annesley's, it may be noticed, married Mr. Samuel Wesley, the poet, and became by him the mother of John Wesley, the famous founder of Methodism. Annesley is said to have been a near relative of the Irish Annesleys, Earls of Anglesey—and the Wesleys, as is well known, were connected with another English family settled in Ireland, the Wellesleys, which has risen to much greater distinction. It is curious what strange diversities of station and character a genealogy will sometimes bring together.

The history of Dunton's various amours, connubial and Platonic, makes up a great part of his book; but of course, although many of his details are abundantly curious, we cannot enter upon that matter here. His first wife and he called one another Iris and Philaret, both before and after their marriage—and he would have us believe that they lived together in unequalled affection and harmony. But for all that Dunton never could remain long at home: he had been but a few years married when he set off for New England, and remained away for nearly a year; when he came back he found his affairs in such a state that he thought it prudent to make a tour in Holland and Germany, in order to be safe from his creditors;—one of his books is an account of a visit he made to Ireland;—he talks there of a projected expedition to Scotland; and we do not know how much farther he extended his rambles. He defends his practice in this respect, indeed, upon high grounds. "Who would have thought," he says, in his account of the Irish tour, "I could ever have left Eliza? for there was an 'even thread of endearment run through all we said or did.' I may truly say, for the fifteen years we lived together, there never passed an angry look; but, as kind as she was, I could not think of growing old in the confines of one city, and, therefore, in 1686, I embarked for America, Holland, and other parts. . . . To ramble is the best way to endear a wife, and to try her love, if she has any. . . It is true, for a wife to say, as Eliza did, 'My dear, I rejoice I am able to serve

thee, and, as long as I have it, it is all thine, and we had been still happy had we lost all but one another;' this, indeed, is very obliging, and shows she loves me in earnest. But still there is something in rambling beyond this; for this is no more, if her husband be sober, than 'richer for poorer' obliges her to; but for a spouse to say, 'Travel as far as you please, and stay as long you will, for absence shall never divide us,' is a higher flight abundantly, as it shows she can part with her very husband, ten times dearer to a good wife than her money, when it tends to his satisfaction." Acting upon these principles of philosophy, Dunton took his swing; and not only gratified himself with the sight of foreign parts, but, being a perfectly virtuous person, struck up Platonic friendships with all the agreeable women,—maids, wives, and widows,—he met with wherever he went. Meanwhile, he took care never to forget his wife at home; when he was in New England, he says, he sent Eliza sixty letters by one ship! He kept all he wrote during his stay, we suppose, and making them up into a parcel, sent them off at once. However, Eliza, or Iris, died in 1697; and the same year he married a Miss Sarah Nicholas, whom he calls Valeria, and with whom and whose relatives he by no means got on so harmoniously as he had done with his first matrimonial connexion. The truth appears to be that he was by this time a ruined man—and that his new marriage was rather a speculation in trade than anything else, his wife having some expectations which he wished to turn to account and was thwarted in his object by her friends. He had wasted a world of energy and ingenuity in a vast multiplicity of enterprises and projects, very few of which probably turned out remunerative. Dunton's first shop was at the corner of Prince's Street, near the Royal Exchange; from this, in 1688, on the day the Prince of Orange entered London, he transferred himself, and his sign of the Black Raven, to the Poultry Compter, where he remained for ten years. Whither he went after this does not appear. He published his 'Life and Errors,' in a little thick duodecimo, in 1705, when he had been twenty years in business—in the course of which time, he tells us, he had printed no fewer than 600 works. Of many of these he was the author, as well as the publisher—and he continued to write and print for nearly twenty years longer. The last ten years of his existence, however, seem to have passed in quiet and obscurity—not improbably in poverty and broken health—and all that is further known of him is that, having lost his second wife, from whom he had long been separated, in 1721, he gave up the battle of life in 1733, at the good old age of seventy-four.

The principal literary performance by which Dunton's memory is preserved, besides his 'Life and Errors,' is his 'Athenian Mercury,' originally published from 17th March, 1690, to 8th February, 1696, in weekly numbers, the best of which were afterwards collected and reprinted in three octavo volumes. It was projected by himself, and his principal or only associates in carrying it on were a Mr. Richard Sault, a Cambridge theologian, one of his hack authors, for whom he soon after published a singular production entitled 'The Second Spira,' which made a great deal of noise—his brother-in-law, Mr. Samuel Wesley—and the famous metaphysical divine, Dr. John Norris. The papers consist of casuistical and other disquisitions, in answer to queries upon all sorts of subjects, which are supposed to have been submitted to the conductors, and many of which probably were actually sent to them, although in other cases the puzzle as well as the

solution of it may have been the oracle's own. The scheme at least ensured unlimited variety of subject, and the writers had sufficient talent and superficial learning to give a temporary interest to their lucubrations, if not to put into them much of an enduring value.

Dunton himself was not without a touch of something that may be almost called genius. No doubt he was all along a little, or not a little, mad; both his writings and his history betray this throughout; and he was also a very imperfectly educated man. But, if we make due allowance for these defects, we shall find a merit far above mediocrity in much of what he has done. He may be shortly characterised as a sort of wild Defoe—a coarser mind cast in somewhat a like mould—a Defoe without the training, and also with but a scanty endowment of the natural capability of being so trained, but yet with a considerable portion of the same fertility and vital force, as well as of the same originality of intellectual character. If Defoe had died before producing any of his works of fiction—which he might very well have done and still left behind him a considerable literary name, seeing that the first of them, 'Robinson Crusoe,' did not appear till 1719, when he was in his fifty-eighth year, and had long been distinguished as a political and miscellaneous writer—the comparison between him and Dunton would not have at all a fanciful or extravagant air.

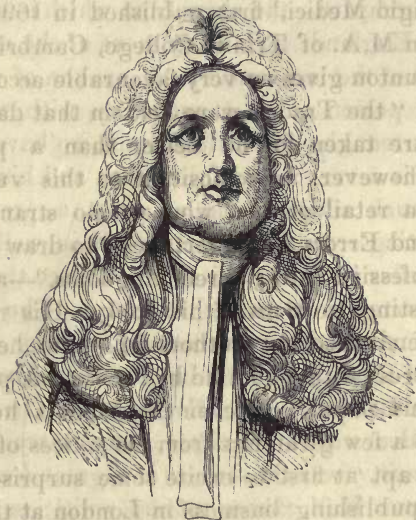
In a tract, which he entitles 'Dunton's Creed, or Religio Bibliopolæ, in imitation of Dr. Brown's Religio Medici,' first published in 1694, under the name of Benjamin Bridgwater, an M.A. of Trinity College, Cambridge, by whom it was in fact partly written, Dunton gives no very favourable account of the estimation in which the members of "the Trade" were held in that day. "Booksellers, in the gross," he says, "are taken for no better than a pack of knaves and atheists." He asserts, however, in opposition to this vulgar prejudice, that "among them there is a retail of men who are no strangers to religion and honesty." In his Life and Errors he undertakes "to draw the characters of the most eminent of that profession in the three kingdoms,"—and this is one of the most curious and interesting portions of his book. His review of his literary contemporaries comprehends also the authors for whom he published, the successive licencers of the press with whom he had to do, his printers, the stationers from whom he bought his paper, and even the binders he employed; but we must confine ourselves to a few gleanings from his notices of the booksellers.

A circumstance that is apt at first to excite some surprise is the apparent extent and activity of the publishing business in London at this date. The booksellers were very numerous—those of eminence perhaps more numerous than in the present day—and nearly all of them seem to have at least occasionally engaged in publishing, or printing, as it was called. The impressions, too, we apprehend, were in general at least as large as in more recent times; of some descriptions of publications certainly many more copies were thrown off than would now find a sale. The fact is, that from the middle of the seventeenth to the middle of the eighteenth century was the age of pamphlets; the century that has since elapsed has been the age of periodical publications and of newspapers. All controversy and discussion upon the events of the day, and upon the reigning questions both of politics and religion, was then carried on by occasional writers; even news was to a considerable extent communicated to the

public in pamphlets. The gradual transformation of this unregulated condition of things into the organized system that has taken its place was according to the common course of nature and the development of society; and it may be remarked that the same process is still going on. Publication seems to be falling more and more into the form of series and periodical issue; and who knows but the time may come when nearly all new works shall be brought out in that method?

The bookseller with whose name Dunton heads his list is Mr. Richard Chiswell, "who," says he, "well deserves the title of metropolitan bookseller of England, if not of all the world. His name at the bottom of a title-page does sufficiently recommend the book. He has not been known to print either a bad book, or on bad paper." Chiswell was the printer of the octavo edition of 'Tillotson's Sermons,' which proved a remarkably successful publication. A short account of him may be seen in Strype's 'Stow,' where we are told that he was born in 1639, and died in 1711. Strype, who states that he was one of the proprietors of his book, characterises him as "a man worthy of great praise." His shop was in St. Paul's Churchyard.

A name now better remembered is that of the wealthy Thomas Guy, the founder of the hospital. He lived in Lombard Street. "He is," says Dunton,



[Guy.]

"a man of strong reason, and can talk very much to the purpose upon any subject you will propose." Many of these notices of Dunton's, by the bye, bear out what is said by Roger North of the superior acquirements of the booksellers of that generation. Thus, Mr. John Lawrence, who, we are informed, "when Mr. Parkhurst dies will be the first Presbyterian bookseller in England," is declared to be "very much conversant in the sacred writings." Of Mr. Samuel Smith, bookseller to the Royal Society, it is stated that he "speaks French and Latin with a great deal of fluency and ease." Mr. Halsey was already distinguished, we are assured, for "his great ingenuity and knowledge of the learned lan-

guages," though still "in the bloom and beauty of his youth." Mr. Joseph Collier, who had been Dunton's fellow apprentice, is affirmed to have "a great deal of learning." Of Mr. Shrowsbury it is written, "He merits the name of universal bookseller, and is familiarly acquainted with all the books that are extant in any language." Others again are celebrated for their natural abilities. Mr. Robinson is described as "a man very ingenious and of quick parts." "Mr. Shermerdine," says our author, "is a man of very quick parts; I have heard him say he would forgive any man that could *catch* him." Mr. Tooke, near Temple Bar —"descended from the ingenious Tooke, that was formerly treasurer" (the same Tookes, we suppose, that claim Friar Tuck as of their family)—is set down as both "truly honest," and "a man of refined sense." Mr. Crook, whose shop was in the same quarter, the publisher of many of Hobbes's works, was dead when Dunton wrote his book, but "was a man of extraordinary sense," which he had the happiness of being able to express in words as manly and apposite as the sense included under them." Of Mr. Pero it is asserted that "for sense, wit, and good-humour, there are but few can equal, and none can exceed him." Mr. Child is commemorated for "abundance of wit, and nice reasoning, above most of his brethren." Of Mr. Benjamin Harris, of Gracechurch Street, it is recorded that "his conversation is general, but never impertinent, and his wit pliable to all inventions." Mr. Knapton, whose sign was the Crown, in Ludgate Street, close by St. Paul's Churchyard—the shop from which issued Tindal's translation of Rapin's 'History of England,' and many more of the most successful publications of the earlier part of the last century—is spoken of with warm laudation as "a very accomplished person . . . . made up with solid worth, brave and generous." Of Mr. Burroughs, in Little Britain, we have also a high character. "He," says Dunton, "is a very beautiful person, and his wit sparkles as well as his eyes. He has as much address, and as great a presence of mind as I ever met with. He is diverting company, and perhaps as well qualified to make an alderman as any bookseller in Little Britain." We see the very aldermen in that Augustan age were expected to be somewhat lively. The next who is introduced is Mr. Walwyn: "he," proceeds our encomiastic author, "is a person of great modesty and wit, and, if I may judge by his Poems, perhaps the most ingenious bard, of a bookseller, in London." Mr. Evets, at the Green Dragon, though not talkative, "has a sudden way of repartee, very witty and surprising." Mr. Swall, now out of business, "was the owner of a great deal of wit and learning." Mr. Fox, in Westminster Hall, "is a refined politician." Mr. Sprint, junior, "has a ready wit—is the handsomest man in the Stationers' Company—and may without compliment be called a very accomplished bookseller." Mr. John Harris, now dead, had a little body, "but what nature denied him in bulk and straightness, she gave him in wit and vigour." Mr. Herrick, again, who is "a tall, handsome man," "is well skilled in the doctrine of the Christian faith, and can discourse handsomely upon the most difficult article in religion." Others, finally, are prodigies of both genius and scholarship—as Mr. Samuel Buckley, who "is an excellent linguist, understands the Latin, French, Dutch, and Italian tongues, and is master of a great deal of wit."—"He prints," adds Dunton, "the 'Daily Courant' and 'Monthly Register,' which I hear he translates out of the foreign papers himself." Buckley, who ultimately became the printer of the

'London Gazette,' seems to have been an object of special admiration, or envy, to our author, and his merits and good fortune are expatiated upon at great length in various of his publications. He is known in the republic of letters as the learned printer, and, in fact, editor, of the London edition of De Thou's 'Latin History,' published in 1733, in seven volumes folio.

The London booksellers of this era would seem, then, to have formed quite a brilliant constellation of wits and literati. But we have not yet by any means acquired a complete notion of their fascinations. The following are a few more of Dunton's graphic touches:—Mr. Thomas Bennet is "a man very neat in his dress, and very much devoted to the church." Mr. William Hartley is "a very comely, personable man." Mr. Nicholas Boddington "has the satisfaction to belong to a very beautiful wife." Mr. Bosvile, at the Dial in Fleet Street, "is a very genteel person; and it is in Mr. Bosvile that all qualities meet that are essential to a good churchman or an accomplished bookseller." Mr. Richard Parker; "his body is in good case; his face red and plump; his eyes brisk and sparkling; of an humble look and behaviour; naturally witty; and fortunate in all he prints." Mr. Wellington, among other qualifications, "has a pretty knack at keeping his word." Mr. William Miller, deceased, "had the largest collection of stitched books [pamphlets] of any man in the world, and could furnish the clergy (at a dead lift) with a printed sermon on any text or occasion;" "his person was tall and slender; he had a graceful aspect (neither stern nor effeminate); his eyes were smiling and lively; his complexion was of an honey colour, and he breathed as if he had run a race; the figure and symmetry of his face exactly proportionable; he had a soft voice, and a very obliging tongue; he was very moderate in his eating, drinking, and sleeping; and was blest with a great memory." Mr. Gilliflower "loved his bottle and his friend with an equal affection." Mr. Philips "is a grave, modest bachelor, and it is said is married to a single life; which I wonder at, for doubtless nature meant him a conqueror over all hearts, when she gave him such sense and such piety: his living so long a bachelor shows his refined nature." Mr. Smith, near the Royal Exchange; "his fair soul is tenant to a lovely and well-proportioned body." Mr. Harding is "of a lovely proportion, extremely well made, as handsome a mien and as good an air as perhaps few of his neighbours exceed him." Mr. Thomas Simmons, formerly of Ludgate Street; "his conjugal virtues have deserved to be set as an example to the primitive age." Mr. Harrison, by the Royal Exchange; "his person is of the middle size; his hair inclines to a brown, but his care and concern for his family will soon change it into a white, at once the emblem of his innocence and his virtue." Mr. Jonathan Greenwood "is a rare example of conjugal love and chastity." Mr. Isaac Cleave, in Chancery Lane, "is a very chaste, modest man." Mr. Place, near Furnival's Inn; "his face is of a claret complexion, but himself is a very sober, pious man." Never, certainly, before or since, were all the graces, both of mind and body, so generally diffused among any class of men as among these old London booksellers.

The greatest bookseller that had been in England for many years, according to Dunton, was the late Mr. George Sawbridge. He left his four daughters portions of 10,000*l.* a-piece, and was succeeded in his business by his son of the same names. The two most famous characters in the list are Jacob Tonson and

Bernard Lintott, immortalized by the association of their names with the writings and wranglings of Dryden and Pope, and the other wits and literary celebrities of that age. But there is nothing in the notice of either that is of much interest. Lintott Dunton affirms to be a man of very good principles. Tonson, he says, "was bookseller to the famous Dryden, and is himself a very good judge of

[Tonson.]

persons and authors; and, as there is nobody more competently qualified to give their opinion of another, so there is none who does it with a more severe exactness or with less partiality; for, to do Mr. Tonson justice, he speaks his mind upon all occasions, and will flatter nobody."

One short paragraph is interesting as connecting the present time with the past, or at least a recent with a more distant age. Mr. Ballard "is," says Dunton, "a young bookseller in Little Britain; but is grown man in body now, but more in mind:—

> "His looks are in the mother's beauty dressed,
> And all the father has informed his breast."

This Mr. Ballard is said to have been the last survivor of the booksellers of Little Britain, and to have died in the same house in which he began trade at the age of upwards of a hundred. If he lived, indeed, till about the year 1795, as is asserted in Nightingale's 'London and Middlesex,' he must have been considerably more than a centenarian. But it is probable that there is a mistake of a few years in this date. It is not in 1729, as Nightingale supposes, but in 1705, that Dunton speaks of Mr. Ballard as a young man rising in business.

"Huge Lintott" and "Left-legged Jacob" are the only two of the four competitors in the immortal contests of the second book of the 'Dunciad' that are mentioned by Dunton; the other two, Osborne and Curll, were as yet unknown to fame. Thomas Osborne, whose shop was the same that had been occupied by Lintott, under the gateway of Gray's Inn, was, we believe, a respectable

enough man; he is celebrated as the purchaser of the printed books of the library of Harley Earl of Oxford, and the publisher of the Harleian Miscellany, and also of two folio volumes of scarce Voyages and Travels, reprinted from that collection. Pope charges him with having cut down the folio copies of his Iliad to the size of the subscription copies, which were in quarto, and sold them as subscription copies; but he was probably not guilty of any such misrepresentation; if he found that the public preferred the quarto to the folio size, he had a perfect right to cut down his books accordingly. The discomfiture, however, to which the revengeful poet dooms him for this ingenious manœuvre is, it must be admitted, inimitably happy and appropriate.

The notorious Edmund Curll kept shop in Rose Street, Covent Garden, having Pope's Head for his sign. As the castigation bestowed on him in the glorious satire is more severe and merciless than that dealt out to any of his comrades in suffering, so his offence, or offences rather, had been much the most atrocious. He appears to have first thrown himself into collision with Pope by publishing a duodecimo volume of early Letters written by the poet to his friend Henry Cromwell, Esq., which that gentleman had given to Mrs. Eliza Thomas, the "Curll's Corinna" of the Dunciad, and which she had sold to Curll. This was in 1727. Four more volumes followed, under the title of 'Mr. Pope's Literary Correspondence,' the last of which appeared in 1736; but in these there were only two or three genuine letters of Pope's: the rest of their contents consisted partly of forgeries in his name, but mostly of matter, much of it grossly indecent, which, notwithstanding the title-page, it was not even pretended in the body of the book that he had anything to do with. Curll, whose name has become a synonyme for every thing most disreputable in the trade of defamation and obscenity, richly deserved all he met with at Pope's hands. The only pity is that he probably would not feel it—any more than he had felt his exposure in the pillory a few years before for one of his atrocious publications—upon which occasion it is said that, by getting printed papers dispersed among the people telling them that he stood there for vindicating the memory of Queen Anne, he not only saved himself from being pelted, but, when he was taken down, was carried off by the mob, as it were in triumph, to a neighbouring tavern.

The early part of the eighteenth century, we have said, was still an age of pamphleteering. This system was first effectually broken in upon by the ingenious and enterprising Edward Cave, who, conceiving the notion of substituting a single vehicle of information and discussion, to appear at regular intervals, for the numerous occasional papers which then constituted our ephemeral literature, brought out the first number of the 'Gentleman's Magazine' on the 31st of January, 1731. The speculation was immediately and eminently successful; the Magazine soon dried up the occasional papers, as the formation of a deep drain or reservoir of water does all the minor springs in its neighbourhood; and its founder, a man of humble origin, little education, and nobody to help him forward in the world but himself, was made rich and famous, as he deserved to be, by his lucky project. The 'Gentleman's Magazine'—now well entitled to be styled the 'Old Gentleman's Magazine'—still perseveres in coming out every month, with a tenacity of life, and constancy to early habits, above all praise.

[Cave.]

Perhaps the next great revolution in the commercial system of our literature was that brought about by James Lackington, of the Temple of the Muses, in Finsbury Square, who may be called the father of cheap bookselling and cheap reprinting. Lackington, also, like Cave, of obscure parentage, and the architect of his own fortunes, has himself told us the story of his rise to greatness in a very remarkable performance, entitled Memoirs of the First Forty-five Years of his Life. But he belongs to the subject, not of the Old but of the Modern booksellers of London; for his book was first published at so late a date as 1791, and he lived till 1815. Though we cannot enter upon his doings and character, however, his effigies may fitly enough close our paper.

[Lackington.]

[Exeter Hall, from the Strand.]

## CXVI.—EXETER HALL.

The social principle applied in carrying out the designs of charity and benevolence is a remarkable feature of the present times. There are so many objects of this nature which it is quite clear no single-handed exertions could compass that the union of numbers to effect them must be regarded as an improvement of vast importance. It is this spirit of aggregation which has extended so widely the scope of philanthropic efforts, and given them a larger sphere of action. The entire world is grasped in the designs of modern philanthropy: the strength of individual charity has perhaps been weakened by the effort. In old times how splendid were its noble gifts and endowments. Though directed towards few objects, the benefit conferred was generally substantial and often of striking utility, evincing a liberal and thoughtful public spirit which we cannot think of without a deep sense of admiration. Many of the founders of our grammar-schools, who perhaps came to London from some remote part of the country in

early life, and raised themselves from indigence to wealth, marked their sense of the blessings they had enjoyed by endowing an institution for education in their native place, where boys were to be instructed "in learning and good manners;" or "in grammar and other good learning;" or "freely and carefully taught and instructed;" or "piously educated;" or instructed "in religion and good literature." The number of these nurseries for youth in every part of England are noble monuments of the wisdom and charity of our ancestors. The schools which early in June every year pour forth their thousands into St. Paul's belong to another era in the history of educational charities, and such of them as are endowed were mostly established during the last century, though two or three came into existence just at the close of the seventeenth century. The assemblage of the children took place for the first time in 1704, in St. Andrew's, Holborn, when 2000 were present; and subsequently they met at St. Bride's, Fleet Street. In 1782, 5000 of the children assembled for the first time at St. Paul's, where they have since annually been collected, and the effect of so large a number uniting their voices in the responses and the singing is highly impressive and affecting. That eccentric but powerful artist, Blake, was probably present at the anniversary of 1782, for in his singular little volume entitled 'Songs of Innocence,' he has the following lines on the occasion:—

> "'Twas on a Holy Thursday, their innocent faces clean,
> The children walking two and two, in red and blue and green.
> Grey-headed beadles walk'd before with wands as white as snow,
> Till into the high dome of Paul's they like Thames' waters flow.
>
> "O, what a multitude they seem'd, these flowers of London town,
> Seated in companies they sit, with radiance all their own;
> The hum of multitudes was there, but multitudes of lambs,
> Thousands of little boys and girls raising their innocent hands.
>
> "Now like a mighty wind they raise to heaven the voice of song,
> Or like harmonious thunderings the seats of heaven among;
> Beneath them sit the aged men, wise guardians of the poor;
> Then cherish pity lest you drive an angel from your door."

Proceed we, however, to the more complicated schemes of modern charity, or at least those of them which naturally suggest themselves in connexion with Exeter Hall; and something must we say also of the general influence which brings the place into importance as an actual and living part of our institutions, as, in these days, a sort of "fourth estate" of the realm.

St. Stephen's is not better known as the seat of legislation than Exeter Hall as the recognised temple of modern philanthropy. The associations connected with it are peculiarly characteristic of an age which, in many respects, is marked and distinct from all other eras in the history of the national manners, and which had scarcely exhibited any of its phases half a century ago. He who would rightly estimate the present power and influence of our various institutions, must be blind if he omit all consideration of the moral and religious feelings which are concentrated at Exeter Hall, and there find a voice which is heard from one extremity of the kingdom to the other. In order clearly to understand that the spirit which animates the frequenters of this place is distinctly a feature of the present age, we must go back to the period when Exeter Hall was not, before Freemasons'

Hall or the Crown and Anchor had resounded with the plaudits of the religious and benevolent, even before the "religious world" itself existed. We must retrace briefly the progress and the efflux of improvement in manners and habits, for at times the tide has advanced, and then again it has receded.

The supremacy of the Puritans, and their fervour of spirit, might, under more genial circumstances, have produced enlarged and comprehensive schemes of benevolence such as we now see; but, as it was, under the influence of political and religious fanaticism combined, zeal degenerated into bigotry, and warmth of devotion into a narrow ascetism. A more healthy tone would have succeeded this fever, no doubt, but the national feeling of merry England revolted against the puritanical system, and then succeeded by way of reaction the trifling and profligate temper of the Restoration. The thoughtless spirit both of the court and the country, at this period, were altogether incompatible with earnest moral efforts of any kind. The Revolution checked the light-heartedness of the nation, which had been already over-shadowed by the gloomy character of James II. In the reign of Anne a more zealous religious temper again prevailed. In 1692 societies were instituted for the reformation of manners, which dealt much in warrants, and placed too great a reliance on the constable. In 1688 the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, now the most venerable institution of the kind, was established for the education and religious instruction of the poor in the principles of the Established Church. In June, 1701, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, which had been already some time in existence, was incorporated, its chief members being the prelates and dignitaries of the Established Church, and some of the most eminent persons in the State. In the third year, after it had received its Charter, the receipts amounted to 864*l.*; and the first printed list of subscribers, in 1718, contained 260 names. The British Colonies are to be understood as the "Foreign Parts," to which the Society confined its operations. The year before it was incorporated, the question of counteracting the political influence of the French Missionaries in Canada was much agitated, and partly from political motives, as well as from feelings of interest in their welfare, the Society's first efforts for the conversion of the heathen were made among the American Indians; but at a very early period the Society gave its support to the Danish Foreign Mission, which was commenced under Frederic IV., about 1705, and sent spiritual labourers to the Danish settlements in India. The reports of these missionaries were translated from the Danish, and for many years published annually in England, under the title of "A Brief Account of the Measures taken in Denmark for the Conversion of the Heathen." Nearly a century elapsed after the establishment of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel before any kindred institution arose in England. The existence of the two Societies above-mentioned, and of those for the reformation of manners, is a proof of a more zealous spirit having partially found its way into the Church, and also to some, though not perhaps to any great extent, into society generally. But it is unquestionable that the reigns of the First and Second Georges were characterised by an extraordinary degree of apathy in the Church, and amongst the higher classes, on religious, moral, and social questions. At length the zeal and energy of Wesley and Whitefield aroused the Church from its slumbers, and it began slowly to awaken to a sense of the duties required from

it, and from all who enjoyed wealth and influence; but not until the religious fervour of the poorer classes had been already powerfully excited by the system of Methodism, and they were ready to point indignantly at the Church as an obstacle rather than a guide. There needed yet a religious regenerator, whose voice would be listened to in high places, for there the moral insensibility was as dull as ever. At the period which just preceded the French Revolution, "the gay and busy world were almost ignorant of Christianity, amidst the lukewarmness and apathy which possessed the very watchmen of the faith."* Amongst the most conspicuous of those who endeavoured to regenerate the national spirit were Wilberforce and Hannah More. Wilberforce proposed to form an association, like its precursor in 1692, to resist the spread of open immorality. His plan was, in the first instance, to obtain a Royal proclamation against vice, and then to form an association for carrying it into effect. Writing to Mr. Hey, of Leeds, in May, 1787, he announces that in a few days he would hear of "a proclamation being issued for the discouragement of vice, of letters being written by the Secretaries of State to the Lords Lieutenant, expressing his Majesty's pleasure that they recommend it throughout their several counties, to be active in the execution of the laws against immoralities, and of a Society being formed in London for the purpose of carry into effect his Majesty's good and generous intentions . . . . The objects to which the Committee will direct their attention are the offences specified in the proclamation,—profanation of the Sabbath, swearing, drunkenness, licentious publications, unlicensed places of public amusement, the regulation of licensed places, &c." He mentions in this letter that he had received a formal invitation to cards, for Sunday evening, from a person high in the king's service. In June, Wilberforce was visiting the bishops in their respective dioceses, as he wished to communicate with them separately, "lest the scruples of a few might prevent the acquiescence of the rest." His sons state, in the biography of their father, that "the Society was soon in active and useful operation. The Duke of Montagu opened his house for its reception, and presided over its meetings,—a post which was filled after his death by the late Lord (Chancellor) Bathurst, who was followed by Bishop Porteus; and before its dissolution it had obtained many valuable Acts of Parliament, and greatly checked the spread of blasphemous and indecent publications." Its existence was, at all events, a proof that the apathy of former years was passing away. In 1788 Hannah More published 'Thoughts on the Manners of the Great,' with a view of inducing them to reflect on the levity of many of their pursuits. In fact this class began to be seriously annoyed at the invasion of their pleasures by the greater strictness which public opinion now demanded from them. In 1791 Hannah More again endeavoured to arouse attention by her 'Estimate of the Religion of the Fashionable World.' In 1796 she had commenced writing the first of the modern religious tracts. Bishop Porteus, writing to her in January, 1797, says, "The sublime and immortal publication, of the 'Cheap Repository,' I hear of from every quarter of the globe." Two millions of these tracts were disposed of in the first year. In 1797, Wilberforce published his 'Practical Christianity,' a work which had undoubtedly a great effect on the higher classes. Within half a year, five editions, of altogether

* 'Life of Wilberforce,' by his Sons.

7500 copies, were printed. This popularity is to be attributed partly to the author's intimate friendship with Mr. Pitt, and his connexion with the most distinguished men of the day, and partly also to the warmer and more earnest moral spirit which began to prevail. In 1798 attempts at legislative interference having been dropped, Wilberforce was active in inducing persons of the higher ranks to adopt a voluntary engagement to promote the observance of the Sabbath. Hannah More, writing from Bishop Porteus's, at Fulham, in 1797, says, "The 'Morning Chronicle,' and other *pious newspapers*, have laboured to throw such a stigma on the association for the better observance of the Sunday, that the timid great are steering off, and very few indeed have signed." The Bishop of Durham laid the declaration before George III.; but Wilberforce states in his 'Diary,' that the king "turned the conversation." Wilberforce himself waited upon the Speaker to induce him to give up his Sunday parliamentary dinners, but the first Commoner in the land grew angry, and took his interference as a personal insult. In 1799 a bill was brought into Parliament for the suppression of Sunday newspapers, which Pitt promised to support, but Dundas induced him to retract his pledge, on the plea that three out of the four Sunday newspapers supported the ministry; and after Sheridan's gibes at the measure it was thrown out on the second reading. Hannah More relates a more hopeful incident on the authority of Lady Cremorne, who told her that on coming down stairs on Sunday morning at eight o'clock, she found "Admiral C., another Admiral, and a General, with their Bibles, each separately, in different parts of the room, and so at times all the day." Then, in 1805, seven years afterwards, she writes from Fulham that the Bishop of London was making a stand against Sunday concerts. "He has," she says, "written an admirable letter, very strong and very pious, but temperate and well-mannered, to all the great ladies concerned in this un-Christian practice. They have in general behaved well, and promised amendment." Again writing from Fulham, in 1809, she says that the Bishop (Porteus) having heard of the institution of a club, under the patronage of the Prince of Wales, which was to meet on a Sunday, he asked for an audience to entreat the Prince to fix on some other day. "Supported by two servants, and hardly able to move with their assistance, he got to the apartment of the Prince, and with agitated earnestness conjured him to fix on some other day for this meeting. The Prince received him most graciously, seemed much affected, said it was not a new institution, and that it was founded on charity, but that if the day could be changed to Saturday it should." A few months before, Perceval, the Prime Minister, had been induced to alter the day for Parliament meeting, which, as it was to have been Monday, would have involved the necessity of a great amount of Sunday travelling. Wilberforce drew his attention to this circumstance, and the Minister apologized for the inadvertency; and two days after he wrote to Wilberforce, stating that the meeting was postponed to Thursday, "to obviate the objections which you have suggested." In his 'Diary,' Wilberforce says, "The House put off nobly by Perceval, because of the Sunday travelling it would occasion." Sunday card-parties and Sunday concerts amongst the higher classes are now unheard of; as the more thoughtful views which this class entertain, as well as the general state of public opinion, have put an end to such a mode of spending any portion of the Sunday.

There are two subjects involving religious, moral, and political considerations, on which the stricter (and in so many things juster) spirit of the last fifty years has exercised a most important influence. The death-blow of slavery may be said to have proceeded from Exeter Hall; and the abolition of capital punishment, except for atrocious crimes, is the result of the same religious feeling. Seventy years ago Granville Sharpe proved slavery to be illegal in England. Sixty years ago Bishop Porteus preached against the Slave Trade. A quarter of a century elapsed, and in 1807, after arduous struggles, the trade is abolished. Another quarter of a century runs its course, and in 1833 an Act is passed for emancipating every slave in the British dominions. The agitation of this question for seventy years, the discussions to which it led of the rights of humanity and the principles of justice and Christianity, were singularly favourable to the development of the peculiar spirit which has its altars at Exeter Hall. For some years the struggle was chiefly confined to Parliament, aided by friends of abolition here and there. The public were spectators rather than actors, deeply interested ones no doubt, but not assembling in "conventions" and great "abolition meetings," to concentrate public opinion in its utmost strength, as they have done since the formation of the Anti-Slavery Society in 1823. It was in 1792 that many of the friends of abolition determined to abstain from the consumption of West India produce, so long as it was raised by slaves. "We use East Indian sugar entirely," writes Mr. Babington to Mr. Wilberforce, "and so do full two-thirds of the friends of abolition in Leicester." Mr. W. Smith says to Wilberforce, "Please to take notice that I have left off sugar completely and entirely for some time past, and shall certainly persevere in my resolution, though I am not yet at all reconciled to the deprivation of the most favourite gratification of my palate." Associations were rapidly formed to stop the consumption of West India produce, and Wilberforce, it appears, was at first disposed to recommend this course, but he afterwards decided "that it should be suspended until, if necessary, it might be adopted with effect by general concurrence." The struggle excited a bitterness of feeling amongst some of the West Indian body which fifty years ago showed itself in ways calculated to astonish those who are accustomed to the more tolerant spirit of the present day. "The box in which our petition is enclosed," says a Glasgow correspondent to Mr. Wilberforce, "has been directed to another, that its contents may be unsuspected." Residents in Liverpool, of the same rank in life as Dr. Currie, asked of Mr. Wilberforce, "If you write, be pleased to direct without franking it." The biographers of Wilberforce state that the anti-slavery correspondence was in many instances conducted "in unsigned letters, sent under the covers of unsuspected persons." In a letter which did not at all allude to West Indian matters, and was therefore openly transmitted to Mr. Wilberforce, Dr. Currie adds this postscript, "Trusting this letter to our post-office with your address, I shall be anxious to hear of its safe arrival." Besides the selfishness of traders there were other obstacles to be encountered, and the strength of the parliamentary opposition may be judged of from the fact that in 1804 four of the royal family came down to the House of Lords to vote against the abolition of the Slave Trade: it had, however, been carried in the Commons.

The amelioration of our sanguinary criminal laws encountered difficulties

almost as great as those which retarded the abolition of the Slave Trade. It is but justice to state that in 1750 a committee of the House of Commons on the laws relating to felonies reported "that it was reasonable to exchange the punishment of death for some other reasonable punishment;" and a Bill founded on this resolution passed the House of Commons, but was rejected by the Lords. The question rested here for above half a century, until, in 1808, Sir Samuel Romilly brought forward his first motion for the reform of the criminal laws, and an Act was passed for abolishing the punishment of death for pocket-picking (stealing privately from the person to the value of five shillings). In 1810 Sir Samuel Romilly's Bill to abolish capital punishment for the crime of stealing privately in a shop to the amount of five shillings was rejected in the House of Lords by a majority of 31 to 11. In the majority were not fewer than seven prelates, namely, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London and Salisbury, Dampier, Bishop of Ely, Luxmore, Bishop of Hereford, Sparke, the new Bishop of Chester, and Porter, an Irish bishop. It was alleged as a reason for not going further that the crime of pocket-picking had alarmingly increased since the capital punishment for it had been abolished; but it was forgotten that the increased number of convictions was rather a proof of the success of the former measure, for the previous inordinate severity of the law prevented those who had been robbed from prosecuting, and crime was encouraged by impunity. In 1813 the Bill to repeal the Shoplifting Act was again thrown out in the Lords, and two royal dukes and five bishops were in the majority, with the Lord Chancellor and the ministers. In 1816, although the measure had several times passed the Commons, it was still pending; and on Romilly bringing it forward this year, he stated that a boy of only ten years of age had been convicted at the Old Bailey under the Act, and was then lying under sentence of death in Newgate; and he drew attention to the fact, because, some time before, the Recorder of London had declared from the bench that it was the determination of the Prince Regent, in consequence of the number of boys who had been lately detected in committing felonies, to make an example of the next offender of this description. A few months afterwards a boy of sixteen was actually hung at Newgate for highway robbery. The Bill was again rejected. In February, 1818, it was again brought in by its author, who alluded to the ill success of excessive severity in repressing forgery; for though the Crown seldom pardoned, the offence was rapidly increasing. Sir Samuel Romilly died in the autumn of the same year, and the progress of enlightened opinion has enabled others to carry out his benevolent views, while time has proved that they were not less benevolent than practically successful in securing the object at which he aimed. In 1819, 20, 21, 22, there were 426 persons executed in England and Wales, and in the four years ending with 1841, only 36. Persons being less reluctant to prosecute, the number of convictions has increased from 58 to 72 out of every 100 offenders. The proportion of atrocious offences has been gradually diminishing, and those against property committed without violence have increased from 73 per cent. in 1834 to 79 per cent. in 1841. These facts show that, on some important questions, there is not only the enthusiasm of warm and generous tempers in the Exeter Hall spirit, but at times excellent sense and sound philosophy. The State Lotteries fell before the same power. Lastly, the

cruel practices connected with the employment of climbing boys in sweeping chimneys have been abolished.

It must be confessed that a dilettanti spirit of enthusiasm and benevolence, which disregards the attainment of practical objects by plain means, is sometimes rather too prominent at Exeter Hall, though it is true that the influential leaders here are generally at the same time conspicuous for their activity in promoting good works generally ; but this is scarcely sufficient to redeem the mass from the charge of an insensibility to evils less remote than those which, in many instances, exclusively bring their sympathies into full play. Carried away by the grandeur of the object they propose to accomplish, they are led to applaud ill-considered and impracticable modes of attaining it. This is very creditable perhaps to their feelings, warmed into excitement by declamatory appeals under which the imagination becomes too powerful for the reason and intelligence of the listeners. Thus the famous Niger expedition, with its model farms and apparatus and schemes for civilizing Africa, finds favour at Exeter Hall, while the safe and practical plan set on foot by the government for promoting the emigration of the natives of Africa to the British Colonies in the West, and who, after acquiring a higher civilization, and valuable knowledge of the arts of life, would return to Africa to disseminate in that barbaric land the seeds of improvement ;—this is a measure, though protected by every necessary check which can be thought of, which is loudly denounced. From Exeter Hall the view of remote evils is more distinct than of those which lie everywhere around us. The eye pierces, as well as it can, into the obscure horizon, but does not behold the objects at hand which stand broadly in the full daylight, because its gaze, though embracing the furthest limits of the globe, is not directed downward as well. This characteristic has led a nervous and powerful writer into one of his striking apostrophes :—" O Anti-Slavery Convention," he exclaims, " loud-sounding, long-eared Exeter Hall! But in thee too is a kind of instinct towards justice, and I will complain of nothing. Only black Quashee over the seas being once sufficiently attended to, wilt not thou perhaps open thy dull sodden eyes to the hunger-stricken, pallid, *yellow*-coloured ' free labourers ' in Lancashire, Yorkshire, Buckinghamshire, and all other shires? These yellow-coloured for the present absorb all my sympathies: if I had twenty millions, with model farms and Niger expeditions, it is to these that I would give them. Quashee has already victuals, clothing ; Quashee is not dying of such despair as the yellow-coloured pale man's. Quashee, it must be owned, is hitherto a kind of blockhead. The Haiti Duke of Marmalade, educated now for almost half a century, seems to have next to no sense in him. Why, in one of those Lancashire weavers, dying of hunger, there is more thought and heart, a greater arithmetical amount of misery and desperation, than in whole gangs of Quashees. It must be owned, thy eyes are of the sodden sort; and with thy emancipations, and thy twenty-millionings, and long-eared clamourings, thou, like Robespierre with his pasteboard *Etre Suprême,* threatenest to become a bore to us, ' *Avec ton Etre Suprême tu commences m'embêter!* ' "* Thus much it may be remarked in defence of Exeter Hall,—that as the consideration of domestic evils can rarely be separated from questions to which a political character, whether rightly or wrongly, is given, it may be that most of those who, in moral and religious questions, dis-

* Mr. Carlyle's ' Past and Present.'

play such strong and fervid feelings, fear nevertheless to plunge into the agitated waters of politics, and content themselves with exertions of a private nature.

We have, however, paused too long on the threshold, and will now notice Exeter Hall itself. In 1829 the Strand was deformed by an ill-shaped clumsy building called Exeter 'Change, of which an account has already been given.* The wild beasts at Exeter 'Change were lions of the town quite as much as those of the Tower. The menagerie was removed in 1832. "Passing one day," says Mr. Leigh Hunt, "by Exeter 'Change, we beheld a sight strange enough to witness in a great thoroughfare—a fine horse startled, and pawing the ground, at the roar of lions and tigers. It was at the time probably when the beasts were being fed." When it was determined to pull down the old 'Change and widen the street, several persons of influence in the religious world proposed a scheme for building a large edifice, which should contain rooms of different sizes, to be appropriated exclusively to the uses of religious and benevolent societies, especially for their anniversary meetings, with committee-rooms and offices for several societies whose apartments were at that time crowded in houses taken for the purpose, as is the case at present with several scientific bodies, who might take a hint on the subject, and erect a large building for their joint accommodation. Exeter Hall was completed in 1831. It attracts little attention from the passenger, as the frontage is very narrow, and the exterior simply consists of a lofty portico formed of two handsome Corinthian pillars, with a flight of steps from the street to the Hall door. But when any great meeting is assembled, or is about to break up, there is no mistaking the place. The building stretches backward and extends to the right and left a considerable space. The Strand entrance leads to a wide passage, which at the extremity branches off into transverse passages. Two flights of steps, which meet above, lead to the great Hall, ninety feet broad, one hundred and thirty-eight long, and forty-eight high. It will hold four thousand persons, and, with scarcely any discomfort, a much larger number. The ranges of one half the seats rise in an amphitheatrical form, and the platform, at one end, is raised about six feet, and will accommodate five hundred persons. The "chair" in the front is not unlike that of Edward the Confessor in Westminster Abbey. The speakers, near the front, are accommodated with chairs, behind which rise rows of benches. Two flights of steps extend from the front row to the entrances at the back. Eight or nine years ago the capacity of the great Hall was enlarged by the erection of a gallery at the end opposite the platform, and two or three years afterwards the curve of the platform on each side was extended into galleries reaching a considerable distance into the middle of the room along the walls. When the Hall is quite filled the sight is grand and striking. An habitual attendant at Exeter Hall, in his 'Recollections,' has described the (to him) familiar aspect of the place on these occasions:—"The finest view is from the deep recesses behind the platform. Below you lies the platform, slanting downwards, and extending into a crescent shape, with its crowds sitting or standing; beyond them is the large flat surface of the area, its close benches all filled, and the avenues among them occupied by chairs or by persons who are fain to stand for want of sitting-room. Behind this are the raised seats, gradually appearing one behind another, and occupying a space equal to half the size of the whole room; all again fully

* No. XXXVI., vol. ii., p. 174.

crowded, and the descending steps among the benches filled by the standing multitude. Over their heads, the whole scene is crowned by the back gallery, at a height of many feet. Those who wish to realise the idea of 'a sea of heads' should take this view of Exeter Hall on some popular occasion. When such an assembly rises, for prayer or praise, at the beginning or end of a meeting, the sight is still more stupendous, and the degree of sound they are able to produce, in the way of cheering or singing, is almost incredible. There have been occasions when that vast room has rung with the voices of those assembled within its walls; and a second peal of cheers succeeding, before the echos of the first have died away, the noise altogether has been of a nature that few persons could hear unmoved." Underneath the great Hall is a smaller one, with a gallery and platform adapted to the size of the apartment, but it has no raised seats. There are sometimes meetings in both halls at the same time, and the acclamations of the larger audience reverberating in the smaller hall, a speaker unaccustomed to the place perhaps pauses until the plaudits have died away, thinking they proceeded from the audience he was addressing. From April to the end of May about thirty different societies hold their anniversary meetings at Exeter Hall, either in the larger or smaller hall, the latter of which will hold about a thousand persons; and there is one still smaller which will hold about a fourth of this number. On great occasions the street entrance is often crowded for some time before the doors are opened, which is usually about two hours before the chair is taken. Instances have occurred in which persons have been waiting for the opening of the doors from the early hour of seven in the morning. To fill up the vacant time, books and newspapers are resorted to, and even needle-work is taken out; but in general, if the visitor arrive an hour before the chair is taken, there will be no difficulty in obtaining room. The number of tickets issued is always greater than the Hall will contain, as those experienced in such matters are able to form a tolerably correct estimate of the number who, from various circumstances, will not be able to attend. A singular instance of mistaken reckoning on this point occurred on Thursday, the 1st of June, 1843, when the largest meeting assembled which had ever been known at Exeter Hall. The weather had been for some time so unfavourable that about ten thousand tickets were issued, under the idea that a full meeting would not be obtained without making an unusually large allowance for the absence of those whose attendance would be prevented by the weather; but the object of the meeting was felt to be so important that the muster was two or three times as great as was anticipated, and though the smaller hall received the overflowings of the larger one, there were still two or three thousand persons who could not gain admittance after the doors were opened at eight o'clock in the morning. Many of these assembled at Great Queen Street Chapel, which was filled by about fifteen hundred persons. The object of the meeting is interesting as an illustration of the Exeter Hall spirit, being for the purpose of promoting Christian union among the different religious bodies in this country. On the platform were to be seen clergymen of the Established Church and ministers of all the dissenting communities of Christians. A report was read in which the desire was expressed that the meeting should "forget their distinctive opinions in the contemplation of their common Christianity as a sufficient ground of fraternal regard and confidence." The document went on to say that "no practical object is connected

with this meeting. It has been felt to be necessary, first, to raise the tone of Christian feeling and communion, by confining attention to the object already stated; and by exercises of a hallowed nature, adapted to promote it, in the hope that our combining together in any great movement, either for the defence or propagation of the common faith, might thus be rendered more practical, and more likely to be of a sound and lasting character." The enthusiasm which prevails at meetings of this kind, and at the "May meetings" generally, would surprise most persons. A large proportion of those present are females of that portion of the middle classes who are in easy circumstances, who are shut out by their views, opinions, and habits from many of the common sources of emotion. At Exeter Hall, their sympathies are powerfully exercised; the range of subjects in which they are most conversant are dwelt upon with exciting interest; the imagination is awakened, and distant objects are viewed in an enchanted light. Considering the topics of declamation which abound at Exeter Hall, many of them truly grand in their scope and character, it is not at all wonderful that their discussion should inflame the mind and kindle the religious and moral feelings of the hearers. In scenes like those witnessed at Exeter Hall, there is, as Wilberforce remarks, "a moral sublimity which, if duly estimated, would be worthy of the tongues of angels." The artist finds in such scenes a great subject for the pencil. It is sufficient to refer to Haydon's Picture of the Great Meeting of Delegates for the Abolition of Slavery and the Slave Trade throughout the World, held in June, 1840, under the presidency of the venerable Clarkson. The artist left his painting-room unwillingly, in the belief that the scene would be one of a very common-place character. The account of his visit is graphic and striking, and we give an extract from it as being calculated to familiarize the reader with the general spirit of a great religious meeting. "In a few minutes an unaffected man got up, and informed the meeting that Thomas Clarkson would attend shortly: he begged no tumultuous applause would greet his entrance, as his infirmities were great, and he was too nervous to bear, without risk of injury to his health, any such expressions of their good feeling towards him. The Friend who addressed them was Joseph Sturge, a man whose whole life has been devoted to ameliorate the condition of the unhappy. In a few minutes, the aged Clarkson came in, grey and bent, leaning on Joseph Sturge for support, and approached with feeble and tottering steps the middle of the convention. I had never seen him before, nor had most of the foreigners present; and the anxiety to look on him, betrayed by all, was exceedingly unaffected and sincere. Immediately behind Thomas Clarkson were his daughter-in-law, the widow of his son, and his little grandson. Aided by Joseph Sturge and his daughter, Clarkson mounted to the chair, sat down in it as if to rest, and then, in a tender, feeble voice, appealed to the assembly for a few minutes' meditation before he opened the convention. The venerable old man put his hand simply to his forehead, as if in prayer, and the whole assembly followed his example; for a minute there was the most intense silence I ever felt. Having inwardly uttered a short prayer, he was again helped up; and bending forward, leaning on the table, he spoke to the great assembly as a patriarch standing near the grave, or as a kind father who felt an interest for his children. Every word he uttered was from his heart—he spoke tenderly, tremulously; and, in alluding to Wilberforce, acknowledged, just as an aged man would acknowledge,

his decay of memory in forgetting many other dear friends whom he could not then recollect. After solemnly urging the members to persevere to the last, till slavery was extinct, lifting his arm and pointing to heaven (his face quivering with emotion), he ended by saying, 'May the Supreme Ruler of all human events, at whose disposal are not only the hearts but the intellects of men—may He, in His abundant mercy, guide your councils and give His blessing upon your labours.' There was a pause of a moment, and then, without an interchange of thought or even of look, the whole of this vast meeting, men and women, said, in a tone of subdued and deep feeling, 'Amen! Amen!' To the reader not present it is scarcely possible to convey without affectation the effect on the imagination of one who, like myself, had never attended benevolent meetings, had no notion of such deep sincerity in any body of men, or of the awful and unaffected piety of the class I had been brought amongst. . . . . . . . I have seen the most afflicting tragedies, imitative and real; but never did I witness, in life or in the drama, so deep, so touching, so pathetic an effect produced on any great assembly as by the few, unaffected, unsophisticated, natural, and honest words of this aged and agitated person. The women wept—the men shook off their tears, unable to prevent their flowing; for myself, I was so affected and so astonished, that it was many minutes before I recovered, sufficiently to perceive the moment of interest I had longed for had come to pass—and this was the moment I immediately chose for the picture." This Anti-Slavery Convention was succeeded by the annual meeting of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, at which the late Duke of Sussex presided. Clarkson was present, also Monsieur Guizot and Mrs. Fry, and many persons whose services in the Anti-Slavery cause are known in every part of the world. Amongst the speakers were an American judge, an English missionary, a French philanthropist, and a man of colour. In the following year Prince Albert made his first appearance at any public meeting in England. The great hall was filled two hours before the proceedings commenced, and the platform was crowded by some of the most distinguished men in England. The meeting was that of the Society for the Extinction of the Slave Trade, and the Civilization of Africa.

The speakers at the "May meetings" comprise a few of the Members of both Houses of Parliament; at the Church Missionary Society, and the Bible Society anniversaries, some of the bishops; at the meetings of other denominations, the leading men in each. Persons of provincial celebrity make their *debût* before a London audience; and the variety and peculiarities of the speakers are a sufficiently tempting theme to the critical among the fair sex. In one year Wilberforce attended ten of these meetings in as many days, and spoke twelve times. To a man of strong philanthropic feelings, and of sufficient consideration to attract the public eye, especially also if he be a fluent speaker, and have the business habits which constitute a good "committee-man," the various religious and benevolent institutions in London open a very active field of exertion and usefulness. The Exeter Hall class of societies so entirely depend upon the principle of aggregation, that to gain influence in the direction of their operations and affairs necessarily presumes the existence in some degree of qualifications which in another popular body leads to the highest distinctions. But however eminent and influential any of the well-known speakers and leaders at Exeter Hall may be, their fame is circumscribed and limited to a world of its own, unless they happen to

have achieved importance in some other sphere; and out of their own region they would be unknown if the newspapers did not make the public familiar with their names; though a large territory, no doubt it is, in which they find enthusiastic admirers, and wherein they are appreciated. Then again, to the world at large, Exeter Hall is only regarded as a single arena, whereas it is one field with many encampments of distinct tribes; or, as a writer lately remarked, "The manner in which they club and congregate, and yet keep apart in distinct groups, reminds one of the rival orders in the Church of Rome. Jesuits, Franciscans, Dominicans, Monks, Friars, and Canons-regular—all had their independent organization; all were rivals, though zealous members and supporters of one Church. And Wesleyan, Church, Baptist Missionary Societies—all maintain a certain degree of reserve towards each other; all are jealous of the claims of rival sects; and yet are all attracted by a common sense of religious earnestness. The independent and often mutually repelling bodies who congregate in Exeter Hall are one in spirit, with all their differences. Without a pervading organization, they are a Church." *

The first three days of May in the present year (1843) were each the anniversaries of one of the great religious societies. On the 1st, the Wesleyan Missionary Society held its meeting, which was addressed by a converted American Indian in his native costume. The income of the Society for the preceding year was 98,252*l.*, and the Report stated that it supports 265 principal mission stations. On the following day the meeting of the Church Missionary Society took place. The income for 1842-3 was 115,000*l.* The next day was the anniversary of the British and Foreign Bible Society, the most Catholic of all the religious societies. On the 12th of March, 1804, when a committee met to complete the organization of the new institution, a motion was made to appoint the Rev. Joseph Hughes to the office of secretary, but was opposed by the Rev. J. Owen, who urged the impolicy of constituting a dissenting minister the secretary of an institution which was to unite the whole body of Christians. This led to an arrangement, the principle of which was at once so judicious and liberal that it has constituted one of the chief corner-stones of the Society's stability and success. Three secretaries were appointed—a clergyman, a dissenting minister, and a foreign secretary, in order that the foreign churches might be represented in the Society. Thus, as Mr. Owen, the historian of the Bible Society, remarks, "The progress of an hour carried the committee on, from the hasty suggestions of a short-sighted attachment to the wise determination of a liberal policy." At the same time, the future proportion of churchmen, dissenters, and foreigners in the governing body was distinctly defined. It consists of six foreigners resident in or near the metropolis, fifteen churchmen, and fifteen dissenters, the whole of the thirty-six being laymen. The first meeting of the Society was held on the 2nd of May, 1804, when Lord Teignmouth was appointed president, and on the following day four of the bishops sent in their names as subscribers. The Bible Society has 2870 affiliated societies in this country, of which 101 were formed in 1842. In 1810, six years after the establishment of the Parent Society, there were but eleven branch Societies in existence, and the annual income was only 18,543*l.* Ten years afterwards, in 1820, the income amounted to 123,547*l.* The Bible So-

* 'Spectator.'

ciety has issued about fifteen million copies of the Scriptures, and it has caused them to be translated, either wholly or in part, into the languages "of every nation under heaven." The Baptist Missionary Society celebrated its fiftieth anniversary in 1842, by the collection of a fund called the Jubilee Fund, which amounted to 32,500*l.*, and the ordinary receipts for 1842-3 were 21,198*l.*, making a total of upwards of 53,000*l.* raised by a comparatively small and not wealthy body. The Baptist Missionary Society was the first which sprung up in England after an interval of nearly a century from the establishment of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. It was succeeded in 1795 by the London Missionary, which also holds its anniversaries at Exeter Hall. At the last meeting, May 11th, the income of this Society for the past year was stated to be 78,450*l.*, and its expenditure 85,442*l.* Altogether a sum of about 400,000*l.* a-year is annually collected for missions, and as a very large amount is obtained in small sums, the number of contributors must be prodigious. In 1822, the income of the Church, Wesleyan, and London Missionary Societies was 98,000*l.*; but it is now triple this amount. Besides the Missionary Societies, there are kindred institutions, whose object is to supply the want of religious instruction at home. The Baptist Home Missionary Society has an income of above 5000*l.*, and the Home Missionary Society of above 9000*l.* The Church Pastoral Aid Society (income 19,000*l.*), and the Clerical Aid Society (income 7818*l.*), both in connexion with the Established Church, are designed to provide more adequately for the religious wants of the people in populous districts. The Society for the Propagation of Christianity amongst the Jews has an income of 25,000*l.* a-year. The Bible Society circulates the Scriptures alone, but there are other Societies which undertake the distribution of works of a religious and moral nature. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, with an annual income of about 100,000*l.*, circulates nearly four million publications in the course of the year, of which about three millions are tracts. The Religious Tract Society, established in 1798, has an income of above 50,000*l.*, of which less than 6000*l.* is derived from voluntary contributions, the remainder being the produce of sales of publications, which comprise every variety, from a hand-bill and "broadside" for cottage walls to a commentary on the Bible. In 1842-3 the number of publications issued exceeded sixteen millions, and above two hundred new ones were added to the Society's list. Since the formation of the Society, 377,000,000 publications have been circulated in ninety different languages. There is one series of tracts adapted for sale by hawkers, in which improvements have been successively made at various intervals during the last forty years as the popular taste advanced; and as some notice of this change will probably be interesting to many readers, we give it in the form of a note.* The Sunday School Union, established in 1802, has an income of nearly 9000*l.* a year from

* Soon after the formation of the Society, small publications usually sold by itinerant vendors were found, for the most part, immoral and disgusting in their contents; the best among them were absurd and puerile. In 1805, the attention of the Committee was especially directed to these publications, when it was deemed expedient to supply a better article at a lower price to the vendors. The Committee were obliged, in the first instance, to prepare tracts with striking titles, and in some degree inferior in their contents, to prevent too great a discrepancy from those they were designed to supplant. The titles of some of them fully evince this:—'The Fortune Teller's Conjuring Cap,' 'The Wonderful Cure of General Naaman,' 'The Stingy Farmer's Dream,' 'Tom Toper's Tale over his Jug of Ale,' 'Rhyming Dick and the Strolling Player,' all indicate that it was necessary to catch at

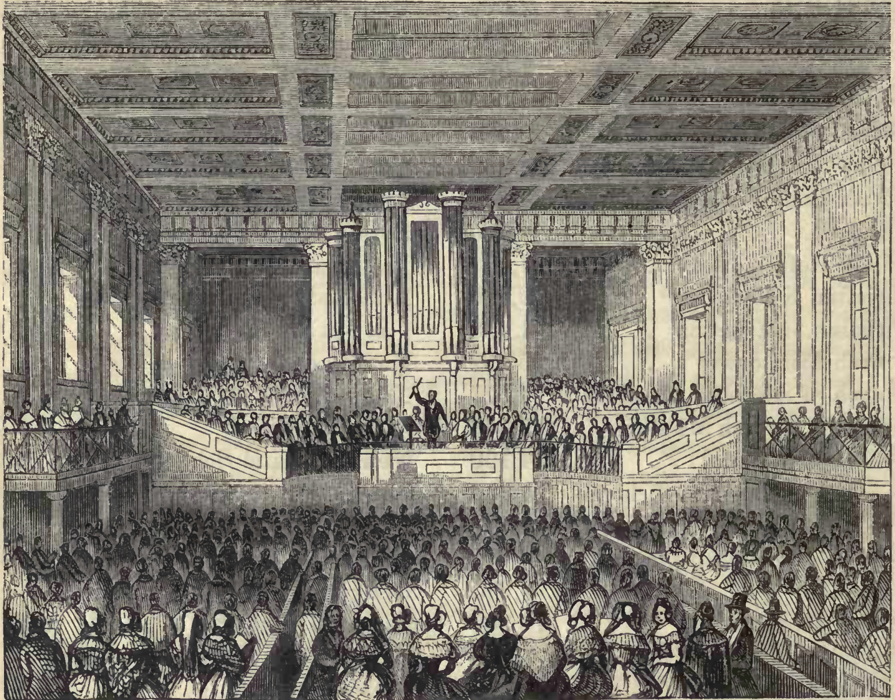
the sale of publications. The City Mission and District Visiting Societies are recently established institutions, for the purpose of relieving the spiritual and temporal necessities of the poor in London. The London City Mission has an income of 6700*l.* a year; and during the year preceding the last report, 364,369 visits were made amongst the poor, in a population exceeding two millions, within eight miles of St. Paul's. We here place before the reader a summary of the Receipts and Expenditure of Religious and Benevolent Societies for 1841-2, taken from the 'Christian Almanac' for 1843:—

| | £. | | £. |
|---|---|---|---|
| African Civilization Society | 3,692 | Hibernian | 7,050 |
| Aged Pilgrim's Friend | 1,600 | Home and Colonial Infant School (1841) | 1,905 |
| Anti-Slavery* | 2,840 | Home Missionary | 9,402 |
| Baptist Missionary | 22,727 | Irish | 4,136 |
| Baptist Home Missionary | 5,153 | Irish Evangelical, about | 2,000 |
| Baptist Irish | 2,300 | Jews, for Propagation of Christianity among the | 24,699 |
| Baptist Colonial Missionary | 507 | ——— Operative Converts' Institution | 799 |
| Bible Translation (Baptist) | 1,600 | London City Mission | 5,534 |
| British and Foreign Bible* | 95,095 | London Missionary | 80,874 |
| British and Foreign Sailors' | 2,500 | Lord's Day Observance | 513 |
| British and Foreign School | 7,080 | Moravian Missionary | 10,651 |
| British and Foreign Temperance* | 1,100 | National School, annual subscriptions, about | 6,000 |
| British Reformation* | 1,508 | Naval and Military Bible* | 2,809 |
| Christian Knowledge* | 90,476 | New British and Foreign Temperance* | 2,137 |
| Christian Instruction | 1,428 | Newfoundland School | 3,470 |
| Church Missionary | 93,592 | Peace* | 768 |
| Church of Scotland Missions | 4,577 | Prayer Book and Homily* | 2,496 |
| ——— Jewish Mission | 5,839 | Protestant Association | 1,376 |
| ——— Colonial | 4,160 | Religious Tract* | 56,014 |
| ——— Education Scheme | 5,684 | Sailors' Home | 2,811 |
| ——— Church Extension | 3,403 | Scottish United Secession Mission Fund | 4,196 |
| ——— Ditto Supplementary Fund | 1,240 | Sunday School Union* | 10,241 |
| Church Pastoral Aid | 18,900 | Suppression of Intemperance | 908 |
| Clerical Aid | 7,818 | Trinitarian Bible* | 2,201 |
| Colonial Church | 1,700 | Wesleyan Missionary | 101,618 |
| Colonial Missionary | 2,200 | | |
| District Visiting | 250 | | |
| Foreign Aid | 1,935 | | |
| Gospel Propagation | 66,213 | | |

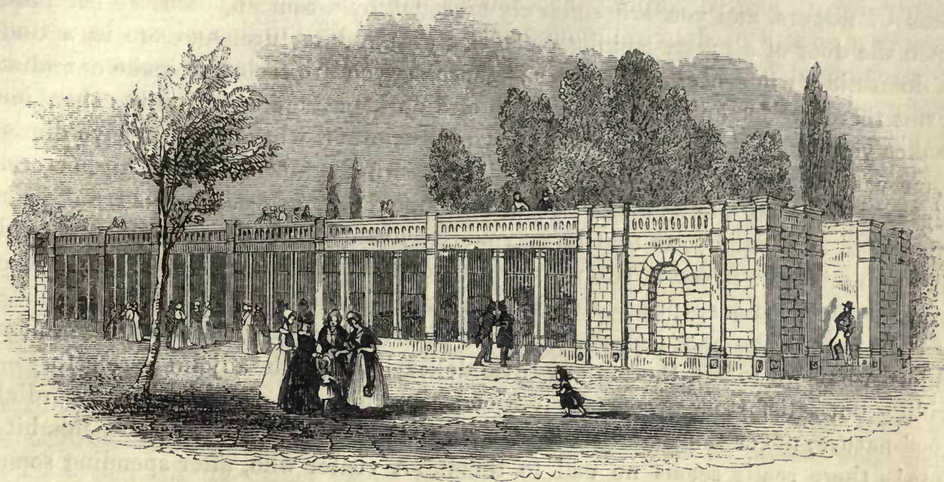
very uninformed minds; there were, however, many of a better description. By degrees, the worst of the profane and vicious publications were supplanted. The supply from the Society, of Hawkers' Tracts, fairly met them in the general market, and was generally preferred wherever education had extended; but it was plain that, had not a superior article been supplied, the old wretched tracts would still have been forced upon the Sunday school scholars, and others who were acquiring the ability to read. And in the year 1818, the public cry was changed; it was then generally said, this series must be improved. This was done; several of the old tracts were discontinued; and many others were introduced much superior.—*Abridged from the Christian Spectator for July*, 1839.

* The total of the receipts of the Societies thus marked includes sales of publications.

The Hanover Square rooms are occasionally used for the meetings of religious societies, but the place is not so favourable as Exeter Hall to the enthusiasm of an audience, at least any warmth of feeling which is excited is expressed far less lustily, if with more decorum. Freemasons' Hall, a very fine room for the purpose, is also still used by religious bodies; but there is an increasing disposition to assemble at Exeter Hall, which combines every convenience necessary, and is in a good situation with regard to other parts of the town. Our view of the interior of the great hall represents the great exhibition of Mr. Hullah's system of popular singing, when 2000 pupils combined their voices in the performances. Concerts not unfrequently take place at Exeter Hall, besides being the place where Mr. Hullah's musical classes and the drawing classes (both under the Committee of Privy Council on Education) assemble for instruction.



[Interior of Exeter Hall.]



[The Carnivora Terrace, now in course of erection.]

# CXVII.—THE GARDENS OF THE ZOOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

If one were desired to name the most delightful lounge in the metropolis, difficult as the task of selection might seem to be amidst so many attractive spots, the Zoological Gardens in the Regent's Park must, we think, be the chosen place. Equally suited to the young and the old, the solitary and the gregarious, the cheerful and the melancholy, the ignorant and the learned, all are here sure of enjoyment at least, and it will be strange indeed if instruction, in some shape or other, does not follow. Pacing its broad terrace-walks, or winding about among its leafy passages; here idly pausing to glance at some newly-blown flower, there (where the unoccupied seat wooes us) at some picturesque combination of tall waving trees, reflected with all their restless lights and shadows in the clear waters of the little lake at their feet, like a second green world below; leaning now against the parapet of the bridge over the tunnel to gaze on the comparatively comprehensive view of the demesne thence obtained, with the mounts, and dells, and islands, and lawns, and parterres, and rustic habitations so harmoniously intermingled; and, now, descending to the stern-looking depths beneath, where, with the carriages of fashionable London rolling incessantly over your head at the distance of but a few feet, you may imagine, without any great exertion of the fancy, that you have accidentally wandered into the remote subterranean habitation of some hermit, who, in this gloom, finds his eyes more naturally turn their glance inwards to the contemplation of his own nature, to whom this deep silence is dear, since it enables him the better to hear the voice of his own heart;—thus or similarly occupied, we might saunter through the

Gardens without missing or desiring any other sources of interest. But the beautiful place has its own proper inhabitants: turn that corner, and you are *tête-à-tête* with a tall dromedary; cross that velvet lawn, with its richly blooming beds of flowers, and you are suddenly arrested by a couching lioness; here you open the door of a pretty-looking piece of Swiss architecture, and are in a kind of domestic "wilderness of monkeys;" there, as you are trying to make out what forms there are in the cages on one side of a dark passage, a tap on the shoulder makes you suddenly turn in alarm towards the other, where you perceive dimly some vast moving bulk, to find the outlines of which your eyes rise higher and higher, till at last an elephant's gigantic frame becomes visible, his trunk near enough to take you up, so that he may more conveniently see who *you* are, should he be so minded: it is not till we are out of that narrow passage, and secure from any more such surprises, that we can satisfy ourselves that a friendly shake of the hand, in elephant-fashion, was most probably all that was desired, unless indeed we chose to add thereto any little delicacies from the adjoining refectory—trifling but satisfactory proofs of our friendship, which the elephant, in his cordial good-nature, never takes amiss. But the number and variety of these inhabitants!—there really seems no end to them. A visiter who, after spending some hours here, sauntering hither and thither, just as curiosity or impulse guided, should discover a good half of the collection, would deserve every praise for his industry and tact. Still more surprising, rightly considered, than even the number and variety of the families that compose this strangest of villages, are the differences as to the quarters of the globe from whence they have respectively come. Listen but to the characteristic sounds that rise from time to time: the low growl of the bears from the eternal snows of the Polar regions; the hoarse screams and piercing cries of the tropical birds, whose plumage speaks them the children of the sun; the magnificent bay of the Spanish bloodhound;—but, in short, the whole world has been ransacked to people these few acres of soil, where the magic of skill and enterprise has overcome all difficulties—reconciled conflicting seasons, and tempers, and habits—formed, from the most heterogeneous of materials, one of the most thriving, and orderly, and happiest of communities. How admirably man can govern everything but himself!

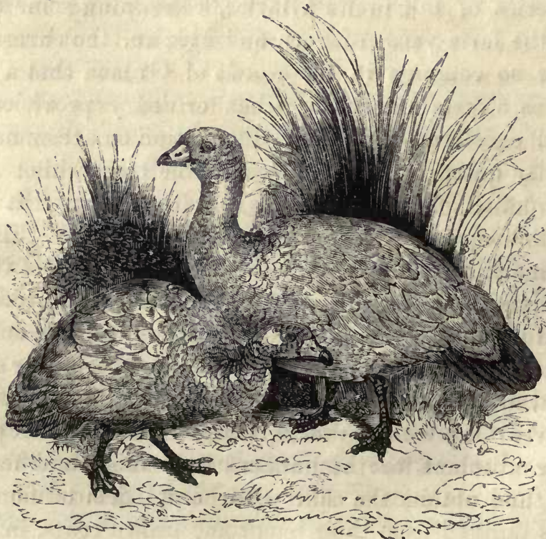
At the very entrance-gates of the Gardens, we meet with an amusing illustration of the oddities, to say the least of them, that characterise the dealings of men with each other, even here. Admission to the Gardens, it may be necessary to inform our country readers, is obtained by the presentation of a ticket (admitting any number), signed by a fellow of the Society, and on payment of a shilling for each person. Two young genteel-looking females have been waiting for some time, looking with a peculiar air of curiosity in the faces of those who enter; at last, seeing a party of ladies and gentlemen stop for the same purpose—one of them modestly steps up and begs permission to enter as part of their company. Surprise appears on the face of the lady addressed, but another steps forward, remarking, "O, yes! it is a common request;" and the whole enter; the money-taker at the lodge, who could hardly avoid seeing what passed, making no comment. Musing upon this, and remembering our own mode of obtaining a ticket—that is, by simply asking for it at a neighbouring tavern—one must be in a serious

mood to be able to avoid a hearty laugh as we read the announcement carefully set up over the gates, requesting, on the part of the Society, that the fellows would not give tickets except to persons with whom they were acquainted! The effect therefore of this very sensible arrangement is, that uninformed, or peculiarly scrupulous persons, have frequently to put themselves to inconvenience to obtain introductions to fellows of the Society, whilst those of a more doubtful character, the very persons whom it might be supposed the Society wished to keep out, have only to put on their hat, see that they have got a shilling in their pockets, and, if they don't choose to trouble the tavern-keeper, trust with perfect confidence to the passing in, under cover of some other person or party's ticket at the gate. If any of the attendants of the animals were to exhibit eccentricities of this character in their treatment of them, we wonder how long they would remain the Society's servants? We are in, however, and more agreeable subjects for thought await us. A broad terrace walk extends from the little rustic lodges at the entrance, in a straight line onwards, bordered by flowers, shrubs, and trees on each side, and which is now continued at the same level for some distance, over the lower ground, by a handsome viaduct, which, when completed, and all its roomy cages beneath occupied, will form the most striking feature of the Gardens. Here the carnivorous animals,—the lions, tigers, leopards, &c. are to be located, instead of, as at present, in the Repository, in a distant part of the grounds; and it is considered by having a large space for exercise and for the admission of fresh air, set apart for each animal, with a small sleeping place behind, that artificial warmth may be dispensed with, to the advantage of the animal's health: hence the size of the cages shown in our engraving. Branching to the right of the terrace-walk, immediately on our entering, we find a winding path among lofty bushes and trees, presently opening on our left, and presenting a fine view over the Park, in the foreground of which the beautiful zebra, known as Burchell's, is seen grazing among other novel-looking inhabitants for an English pasture ground; and continuing along the same path, on our right, appears a series of tall broad aviaries, containing some of those splendid domestic birds of the farm-yards of Peru and Mexico, the curassows; and which, in a wild state, are so common in the woods of Guiana that a hungry traveller looks upon them as a certain resource when ordinary provisions fail, for their flesh is white and excellent, and their disposition so accommodating that they will remain perfectly quiet on their perches in the trees whilst he helps himself to his mind and appetite. It may not be generally known that these birds may be bred with as much ease in England as our own poultry. Returning to the terrace, we may remark by the way, that the accurate 'List of the Animals,' sold in the Gardens, occupies no less than twenty-eight closely printed octavo pages; and therefore, that in our notice of the Gardens, we can aim only to give a kind of general view of their contents, pausing here and there over such details only as seem to us of peculiar interest and moment. At the point of junction of the terrace walk and the Carnivora Terrace on the right, in a deep square pit, are those two amusing climbers, the cinnamon bears, male and female. They are idle this afternoon, and not even a cake will tempt them to mount the tall pole. Their prenomen is derived from their handsome brown coats, in which, as well as

in locality and in greater ferocity in their natural state, they differ from the American black bears, of which species they are considered to be a variety : specimens of the latter are also to be found in the Gardens. It is these last-mentioned animals whose furs constitute so important a portion of the business of the Hudson's Bay Company. They are caught chiefly in their winter retreats, places scooped out by themselves beneath fallen trees, where they retire as the snow-storms begin to fall, and are soon as snugly enveloped as any bear can desire. Unfortunately, however, the sagacious hunter has a mode of discovering them even here : their breath makes a small opening in the snow, round which the hoar-frost gathers : the hunter sees that, and his prey is secure. Descending by a circuitous path on the left of the terrace, commanding a charming little bit of scenery, with a lawn and pond in the foreground at the bottom, we find a large octagonal cage, splendid with macaws, in all their red and yellow and red and blue plumage ; and who, by their most un-bird-like tumult, seem desirous to show that there is some truth in the philosopher's idea of a kind of compensating principle in nature : it seems we must not expect the songs of the nightingale, the lark, or the blackbird from such magnificently arranged exteriors, or that the last-named birds, whilst enchanting our ears, should at the same time dazzle our eyes. The path, now running between the macaws' cage and the llama-house opposite, conducts us to the lawn rich with purple beech, and with its sparkling little piece of water, dotted over with aquatic birds—among which black swans are conspicuous—and with little raised nests or boxes. In the centre a fountain

" Shakes its loosening silver in the sun."

A beautiful and very familiar species of Coreopsis geese, from New Holland, deservedly attract much attention. They are numerous, and have been all bred from a single pair. These might be naturalised in our farm-yards, and their flesh is said, by some travellers, to be more delicate than that of the English bird. The following drawing was made from a pair hatched in the Gardens.



[Coreopsis Geese.]

Whistling ducks, sheldrakes, and garganey teal, are here also to be found. The llama house has its large court-yard behind, and both are on a scale befitting personages of such importance. At present we see a pair of dromedaries are taking the air in the latter, and putting their heads over the palings to make acquaintance with us, and who could refuse anything to such gentle and expressive looks? Finely has the dromedary been called the Ship of the Desert, not simply from his being the grand agent of commerce and travel over the vast seas of sand, but from his very appearance; that long curving neck, and loftily-borne, outstretched head, might have been the origin of the prow of an ancient galley. As they here slowly move to and fro, one would hardly suppose they are the animals so famous for their speed as well as power; whose fleetness, indeed, has passed into a proverb, in a country distinguished at the same time for the finest horses in the world. "When thou shalt meet a heirie," say the Arabs, referring to the dromedary, "and say to the rider, 'Salem Aleik,' ere he shall have answered thee 'Aleik Salem,' he will be afar off, and nearly out of sight, for his swiftness is like the wind." In the centre of a piece of pasture-ground, adjoining the llama precincts, is a curious little open hut, with projecting eaves, raised upon large masses of rock. A horned sheep, the mouflon, is confined in it; an animal so little like its parents (for it is supposed to be originally but the descendant of some of the common sheep that had escaped from human dominion), as to require to be strongly chained up, where he can do no harm with that tremendous *butt* of his, which is so powerful as to break down the strongest ordinary fences. To the right of the llama house, is a court-yard surrounding the base of the viaduct at this end, and lined with cages. Here is the Siberian bear, with a broad white band round its neck, and its small sharp-pointed nose, forming a marked contrast with its gigantic round body and head. Here, too, are the wolves, the original, according to our best naturalists, of all the varieties of dog. One of the most interesting, though of course by no means the most conclusive evidence to be given of this, is its capability of an attachment to man, as strong as that of the dog. These Gardens furnish one very striking illustration, where a she-wolf some years ago actually killed all her young, in the warmth of her zeal, in bringing them to the front of the cage, and rubbing them against the bars, to receive the caresses of those persons she knew, among whom Mr. Bell, the naturalist, from whom the account is derived, was an especial favourite. Among its descendants of the dog kind, if descendants they be, two of the most interesting are to be found in close approximation to the wolves—the Esquimaux dog, and the Cuba bloodhound, whose deep, yet loud bay, we have before referred to. This clean limbed, handsome-looking animal, with his light fawn-coloured skin, suggests but little in his appearance, of the terror his very name yet excites, under certain circumstances; and which led to the introduction of a great number of them, during the Maroon war in Jamaica in the last century, to which their very presence put an entire stop, the Maroons being too much alarmed to continue the contest. The ordinary use to which these dogs are put by the Spaniards is to drive the wild bullocks from the more inaccessible parts of the country, to spots convenient for the hunters, who slaughter them for the sake of the hide. They thus obtain the skill and habits desired for the more terrible

purposes which they occasionally subserve under the care of their masters, the Chasseurs, as they are called; such are the pursuit of murderers and felons, whom it is said they will not harm, unless resistance be offered. Having stopped the fugitive, they crouch near him, and by barking occasionally, guide the Chasseurs to the spot; should the miserable wretch but stir, there is a most ferocious growl by way of warning. In Dallas' 'History of the Maroons,' an anecdote is given of the extent of their accomplishments in this way, which seems truly marvellous. A ship, attached to a fleet under convoy to England, was manned chiefly by Spanish sailors, who, as they passed Cuba, took the opportunity of running the vessel on shore, when they murdered the officers, and other Englishmen on board, and carried off all the available plunder into the mountains of the interior. The place was wild and unfrequented, and they fully expected to elude all pursuit. The moment, however, the news reached the Havanna, a detachment of twelve Chasseurs, with their dogs, was sent off. The result was that in a few days the whole of the murderers were brought in and executed, not a man having been injured by the dogs in the capture.

[Chasseur and Cuba Bloodhounds.]

Near these dogs, are a miscellaneous collection of American and Indian foxes, racoons, the American black bear, and the brown bear, so well known to visiters for its amusing antics. It is a bear of excellent sense at the same time. As we approach its cage, it reminds us of a very proper preliminary by thrusting its

nose between the bars, and opening its jaws as wide as possible; but our stock of delicacies is exhausted, so, having waited a reasonable time, without any result, it moves away with an air of philosophic indifference, and gets rid of any little disappointment it may feel, by a short walk. We are not much accustomed to look on these animals with any feeling of respect or gratitude for their services to man, yet ask the Kamtchatkan what he thinks of the brown bear; or rather ask him what he does with it, and you will know well enough how he must estimate it. He will tell you he not only eats the flesh, but with a relish; that he makes its skin serve for bed, bedding, hat, gloves, and overalls; that its stretched intestines serve him at once for glass to his windows, and masks to his face, protecting it from the sun's glare in the spring; lastly, that the very shoulder blades become useful in the cutting of grass. This is the same bear which was, at one time, common in our own country, where however we have found no other use for it than such as the bear gardens could furnish, or those itinerating bear-leaders so often seen even but a few years ago in our streets, who, taking advantage of the peculiar formation of the sole of the animal's foot, taught it to dance for exhibition. Several temporary cages and buildings of enclosure are scattered about this part of the grounds, in which are gnu antelopes, Mexican and other deer (among which the beautiful roebuck delights the eye by its feminine grace and delicacy), sloth bears and Malayan sun-bears, the last, the veriest epicures, perhaps, of the menagerie. In their wild state, the tender young shoots of the cocoa nut tree, and honey, form their chief enjoyments, but when domesticated, nothing less than the choicest luxuries of the table will suffice. Sir Stamford Raffles, the founder of the Gardens, had one, which he kept in the nursery with his children, and occasionally admitted to his table, where he partook of the finest wines and fruit. Sir Stamford says, the only times he knew him out of temper was when there was no champagne forthcoming. In the same building with the bears are some beautifully spotted Asiatic leopards, and several of those subjects alike of ancient and modern fable, the hyænas, both spotted and striped, from Africa. Some of the old stories have a touch of poetry about them; according to one, the hyæna was accustomed to imitate the language of men, in order to attract wandering shepherds, whom it then devoured. As to modern notions, one of the females here gives a sufficient proof of their incorrectness: it is, in the words of the catalogue, "remarkably tame." After all, it is not unworthy of notice, that the popular faith in marvels generally has some foundation, even if that foundation and the superstructure do not particularly harmonize. The true account of the hyæna, by one who had studied the animal well in all its habits, would need no adventitious aid to give it interest. The real stories told of it are most appalling; especially those relating to its love of human flesh, as in the case of children, whom it can manage to carry off without difficulty. "To show clearly," says Mr. Steedman, in his 'Wanderings and Adventures in the Interior of Southern Africa,' "the preference of the wolf (Spotted Hyæna) for human flesh, it will be necessary to notice, that when the Mambookies build their houses, which are in form like bee-hives, and tolerably large, often eighteen or twenty feet in diameter, the floor is raised at the higher or back part of the house, until within three or four feet of the front, where it suddenly terminates,

leaving an area from thence to the wall, in which every night the calves are tied to protect them from the storms or wild beasts. Now it would be natural to suppose, that should the wolf enter, he would seize the first object for his prey, especially as the natives always lie with the fire at their feet; but notwithstanding this, the constant practice of this animal has been, in every instance, to pass by the calves in the area, and even by the fire, and to take the children from under the mother's kaross, and this in such a gentle and cautious manner, that the poor parent has been unconscious of the loss, until the cries of her poor little innocent have reached her from without when a close prisoner in the jaws of the monster."

At some distance beyond the termination of the viaduct, and in the same line, a piece of water attracts attention, even more by its own beauty than by the variety of its aquatic inhabitants. Small but luxuriantly-wooded islands are scattered about the centre, the banks are thickly fringed with reeds, and bordered by elegantly-flowering shrubs, suitable to the kind of scenery indicated; and altogether it is impossible to imagine a much happier existence than these waddling, and swimming, and diving rogues here enjoy—these Brent, and Canadian, and Chinese, and Egyptian, and laughing geese—these tufted, and cross-bred pintail, and penguin ducks—these teal, and shovellers, and pochards. In his way, too, the polar bear, in the neighbourhood of the pond, is luxuriantly lodged; he has got his comfortable den, and his pool of water, where he may swim about, and fancy he is once more breasting the seas of the polar regions, swimming his thirty or forty miles at a time, as they have been seen in Barrow's Straits. It is true a seal now and then would perhaps make him more comfortable, of which animal he is the great tormentor; but *Can't-be* is the most persuasive of practical philosophers, and seldom fails in teaching resignation. The monkey-poles, close by, are as yet unoccupied, through the coldness of the season, so we pass on to the condor's cage. This bird's real size, which is among the largest of the vulture family, measuring occasionally no less than fourteen feet from tip to tip of wing, when outspread, is perfectly insignificant compared to its old repute, when it was esteemed to be the veritable roc of the 'Arabian Nights.' And that there was such a bird who could doubt, after seeing or reading of that famous "claw of the bird roc, who, as authors report, is able to trusse an elephant," which was in the famous museum of the Tradescants? there was no resisting the claw. Fortunately, however, the roc still keeps in his mysterious solitude, and the condor proves to be a very different bird; which is also fortunate, for as there is scarcely any killing him, but that, such as he is, he must remain till he pleases in his own good time to die, there is no saying what would become of the world had a race of immortal rocs taken possession of it. As an instance of this remarkable tenacity of life in the condor, we remember that Humboldt describes some Indians strangling one with a lasso, who afterwards hung it upon a tree, and pulled it forcibly by the feet for some time. They then took it down, removed the lasso, and the condor got up and walked about as though nothing particular had happened.

But what is this great pile of rock-work, almost big enough for a human habitation, covered with foliage, and surrounded by its own little but deep lake

of water? The tenant must be of sadly vagrant habits to desire to leave such a complete little estate, yet the wire-work over the whole seems to indicate as much. That is the otter's home, one of the great centres of attraction in the Gardens at the animal's dinner-time, when live fish are thrown into the water, which he catches with astonishing skill and rapidity. The means at his disposal for this purpose have been thus beautifully described: "How silently is the water entered! The eyes are so placed that, whether the animal is swimming below its prey, behind it, above it, or beside it, their situation, or, at most, the least motion of the head and neck, brings it within the sphere of the pursuer's vision. The whole framework of the animal—its short fin-like legs, oary feet, and rudder of a tail—enable it to make the swiftest turns, nay, almost bounds, in the water, according as the rapidity of its agile prey demands a sudden downward dive, an upward spring, or a side snap. The short fur, which is close and fine, keeps the body at a proper temperature, and the longer and outer hairs, directed backwards, enable it to glide through the water, when propelled horizontally by its webbed feet beneath the surface, noiselessly and speedily. Easy and elegant in its motions, there are few objects more attractive in menageries than the pond, especially if it be kept clean and supplied with clear water, wherein the otter is seen to hunt its living prey;"* as is the case in the interesting little spot before us. An enclosure eastward of the otter's cage contains two weazel-headed armadillos, from South America, where the carcases of the wild buffaloes, slaughtered as before mentioned, form a never-ending feast for these little gluttons, who go on eating and eating, and fattening and fattening, till their plump condition attracts the eyes of the human inhabitants of the district, who then, placing them on the fire in their shell, make the (for them) most delicious of all roasts.

We have now reached a kind of central spot of the portion of the gardens that lies on this side of the Park-road, and a charming little place it is, with walks branching off in different directions, each between its own high green and blooming banks, with lawns, and beds of flowers in the centre, a pretty-looking and elegantly furnished-building for refreshment on one side, the monkey-house on another, the otter and other cages, just mentioned, on a third. The monkey-house has a wired enclosure, extending all along one side, for their out-door enjoyments in the summer; but as, it appears, we are not to have any of that almost forgotten season, in this year of 1843, we must step into the house, if we wish to pay our respects to these most amusing of organised beings. For our part, we do not understand how it is physicians are so often puzzled by cases of hypochondria: why do they not send their patients here? Look at that beau, examining his nails with as much attention as if to have a fine hand were the end and aim of monkey existence. Another, after a series of gambols, for your especial benefit, apparently, as a stranger, stops suddenly, and cocks his eye, and tail circling over his head, at you with the most irresistible effect. This little fellow here appears to be puzzled to know what we are doing with our note-book and pencil, so mounts quietly up the wires, till he can look down upon the paper. As to their

* 'Penny Cyclopædia,' article Otter.

gambols, a school broke up for the holidays seems but a faint imitation. Their power of locomotion is familiar to every one, but really, the amazing distance to which some of these monkeys can throw themselves (for that word expresses but the character of many of these movements), scarcely appears less wonderful for the fiftieth than for the first time. Among the other striking features of the monkey-house, that our space alone admits of our noticing, is the sonorous bark of one of the baboons, the human-like character of that cluster of faces of the bonnet monkeys, and the exceeding grace and prettiness of the diminutive marmozets. A variety of objects must here be passed summarily over, such as the ponds for the American teal, ducks, &c.; the beaver enclosure, not yet occupied by beavers, or we must have paused there; the building containing the family of birds, in which the destructive power has been developed to its highest extent, the vultures and eagles,—some of the latter, as the Brazilian Caracara eagles, remarkably beautiful; the parrot-house, containing the finest living collection in the world of the most beautiful of all birds, macaws, cockatoos, parrakeets, which combine with the loveliest of known tints, great docility, imitative power, and attachment to those who are kind to them, in a state of domesticity, and where, in cages, are specimens of the terrible tiger boa, and of the siren, a kind of serpent, with short arms, hands, and feet; and the aviary for small birds, a handsome-looking semicircular piece of architecture, where among weaver birds, and Paradise grackles, and rice-birds, and mocking-birds, a brilliant scarlet ibis especially attracts the eye. We now cross the bridge over the mouth of the tunnel, from which the following view is taken, and then pass on to the owls' cages, where, at this moment, three are sitting in one compartment, side by side, so grave,

[View of the Gardens from the Bridge.]

solemn, and judge-like, as to provoke the remembrance of the old jest of their likeness to a bench of magistrates; thence to the dove-cote; and to the cattle-sheds, where with a Sing-sing antelope, and a paco, is kept a bison, a formidable looking animal, seen thus solitary and in captivity, but which must be indeed terrible when beheld almost covering, with their immense numbers, the savannahs of the remoter districts of North America, or as when Lewis and Clarke watched them, crossing a river in such multitudes that, although the river was a mile broad, the herd stretched, as thick as they could swim together, from side to side. In the eagle aviary, among other specimens of the genera, are golden eagles, and white-headed sea eagles; from the former of which the young Indian warrior has been accustomed to obtain he plume which he so much prizes, that instances have been known of his exchanging a valuable horse for the tail feathers of a single bird, whilst, from the latter, the United States have borrowed their national emblem. Franklin has a delightful passage on the habits of this bird, and its unfitness for the honour done to it. He says, "For my part, I wish the bald eagle had not been chosen as the representative of our country. He is a bird of bad moral character; he does not get his living honestly. You may have seen him perched on some dead tree, where, too lazy to fish for himself, he watches the labours of the fishing-hawk; and when that diligent bird has at length taken a fish, and is bearing it to his nest, for the support of his mate and young ones, the bald eagle pursues him and takes it from him. With all this injustice, he is never in good case, but like those among men who live by sharping and robbing, he is generally poor, and often very lousy. Besides, he is a rank coward: the little king-bird, not bigger than a sparrow, attacks him boldly, and drives him out of the district. He is therefore by no means a proper emblem for the brave and honest Cincinnati of America, who have driven all *king-birds* from our country, though exactly fit for that order of knights which the French call *Chevaliers d'Industrie;*" and also, for that order, undreamt of by the philosopher and patriot and honest man, from whose writings we have transcribed the foregoing passage (fortunately for his peace of mind), and as yet unnamed in scientific books, though too generally known, by this time, the world over, as the *repudiators.* Near the aviary is another pond for geese, where the wild swans should not be passed without notice, not simply as natives of Great Britain which have occupied in past times so much Royal attention, but as the species which has in all probability given rise to the beautiful fable, so celebrated by our poets, of its dying amid the sounds of its own music. And here, again, it seems there is the slightest possible groundwork for the idea; its note, which resembles the word hoop uttered several times in succession, is said not to be unmusical heard from above, as the birds sweep along in their wedge-shaped array. The last of the objects on this side of the park-road, that we shall notice, are the emus, kept in an enclosure just behind the terrace-walk, toward which we have been circuitously returning. These are among the wonders of the animal creation—creatures with wings, that cannot fly, birds with the habits and strength of limb of quadrupeds. The emus, for instance, kick out like a horse, and the blow is strong enough to break a limb. The family of emus includes also the ostrich, of which an individual specimen has just arrived in the Gardens, the cassowary, and the dodo, once thought to be fabulous,

but now pretty well proved to have existed, though, it is to be feared, existing no longer.

Having passed through the tunnel, by which the grounds on the opposite sides of the park-road are connected, we reach the secluded-looking spot, completely embosomed in lofty trees, and with steep banks sloping down towards the waters of the Regent's Canal, where the repository is situated in which carnivorous animals are at present kept during the erection of the terrace already mentioned. On their removal, the present structure, with a new one now building by its side, will contain the Museum, which is rich in materials illustrative of the general objects of the Society. In the Repository we find additional specimens of the leopards, whose tastes, when opportunity is given for their development, seem to be in harmony with their appearance. A lady, Mrs. Bowdich, now Mrs. Lee, won the heart of one of these animals by lavender water, which it was so extravagantly fond of, as to be trained into the habitual sheathing of its claws, by the mere punishment of the loss of this luxury when it did not. Here, too, are pumas, or panthers, often erroneously called lions, as in the case of the late Mr. Kean's favourite animal, which was a puma, and a very interesting specimen, as showing the erroneousness of the received opinion that the puma was irreclaimable. No dog could be tamer or more docile than Mr. Kean's Tom, which it will be remembered was the gift of Lord Byron. Ocelots, cheetahs, or hunting leopards, with lions and tigers, are to be found also in the Repository. Models of strength, and of that beauty at least which results from extraordinary fitness of means for an end, as one gazes long and earnestly upon these latter named animals, which have from the earliest ages engaged so much of the world's attention, we can partly understand the almost miraculous feats attributed to them. Leaps of twenty feet or so are mere bagatelles with both the lion and the tiger; man is like a plaything in their grasp; the powerful Indian buffalo can be carried off by them without difficulty. No wonder, then, that the sound of their roar in their native forests inspires terror in the bravest man, as well as in the most timid beast. Perhaps the most curious proof of the alarm excited by these animals is the existence of a little community, whose residence and entire mode of life is specially arranged for the avoidance of their attacks. When two travellers, Messrs. Schoon and M'Luckie, penetrated into a certain portion of the interior of South Africa, in 1829, they found a large tree containing seventeen huts of a conical form, built in three tiers on the branches, which were supported by poles, the lowest tier about nine feet above the ground. It appeared they were the dormitories of natives, who had built them there in consequence of the great increase of the lions in the district, after an incursion of a neighbouring tribe, when many thousand persons were slain. The ascent was by means of notches in the poles, the huts were regularly thatched, and would hold two persons conveniently. During the heat of the day, the space beneath the tree afforded a very pleasant shade for the owners to sit in. Several deserted villages, built in the same way, were also seen by the travellers. Yet who, as they look upon the noble creature before us, as we see him at this moment, answering with a kind of proud gentleness the fondling of the lioness, would suppose this to be the animal so much dreaded? He may not deserve the character for magnani-

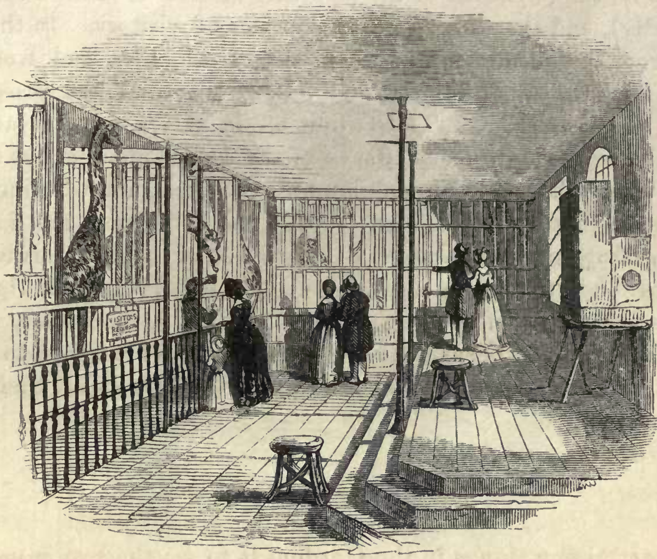
mity he has enjoyed; but he certainly looks "every inch a king" of the animal tribes.

Near the Repository is a long range of kennels, for a most complete and valuable collection of dogs, who are at present enjoying the air at the length of their tethers in front. Here are the watch-dogs from Thibet, the Grecian greyhound, the Persian sheep-dog, Spanish bloodhounds, a dog from the Celestial Empire, a Spanish mastiff, the famous dog of Mount St. Bernard (of which so many romantic stories are told, in relation to its services to travellers and others lost in the snows of those Alpine regions), Australian and Newfoundland dogs, &c. Our way now lies through a long and narrow leafy avenue, the extremity of which is lost in the distant foliage, and from which we turn off to the ostrich-house, where at present are kept a pair of nyl-ghaus, the largest and most magnificent of antelopes, and whose strength is commensurate with their appearance. Their temper, unfortunately, is none of the best, and woe to that animal who, meeting them in their own dense Indian forests, shall be the object of their wrath, as they bend their fore-knees, and advance in that position to the spot from whence they make their tremendous spring. The wapiti deer (the ass of his family, both in stupidity and voice, which is not unlike the bray) is still grander in his appearance than the nyl-ghau antelope, his common height being four feet and a half at the shoulder, or a foot higher than the common stag. This deer is kept in the building, with a dark passage running through the centre, before incidentally alluded to, which lies still farther westward (the direction we have been pursuing), with other deer, the elephant, the Brahmin bull and cows (most interesting animals), and a Cape buffalo, which, unlike the lion, carries, as it were, written upon his visage and entire appearance, a most suggestive history of ferocity and irresistible violence. That solid mass of horn covering his forehead, like a broad band rising toward the centre into a kind of double hemispherical shape, must make his head impregnable, a perfect battering-ram, whenever it shall please him so to use it. And many are the stories told by Thunberg, Bruce, and other travellers, showing that the buffalo has not the smallest indisposition to do so with or without provocation. The elephant-house is the next object of attraction, in which we find the stupendous Indian elephant, and that comparatively rare animal in England, the one-horned, or Indian rhinoceros —the original, no doubt, of the popular unicorn. The horn of the animal here is merely a bony protuberance over his nose, in consequence of his habit of rubbing it against the sides of the cage; in other respects it is one of the largest and finest animals of the kind ever exhibited in England. The horn is shown in its natural state in the following engraving. A curious trait of this animal—a portion, no doubt, of those natural instincts given to it for its defence in its ordinary state of life—is its liability to excitement from hearing any unusual noise. When in the yard at the back, the sound of the roller on an adjoining walk has made it rush towards the fence in that direction with great violence, and rear itself up. Considering its alleged hostility to the elephant, the juxtaposition here is curious; and has led, through accident, to a very striking disproof of the notion. One day the rhinoceros got into the elephant's apartment, and so far from quarrelling, the two seem to have made a sudden and eternal friendship. One

[Rhinoceros, from the specimen in the Gardens.

of the most entertaining things in the Gardens is to see the two enjoying a bathe in their pond in the spacious court-yard behind, or to see, what we ourselves missed on our visit, but has been described by others, how quiet the rhinoceros will stand whilst his great friend scrubs his back with his trunk, and occasionally gratifies himself by a sly pull at his tail, to make the rhinoceros turn his head, if his attention be taken off by visitors.

We are now approaching the extremity of the Gardens, where, completely embosomed in the green wood, are various buildings scattered about, as that for the peccary sties, where are two of the most interesting of the swine family—the famous wild boar of our royal and noble hunters, for killing which a Saxon lost his eyes, under the rule of the Conqueror—and the collared peccary, from South America—really a beautiful little pig, with slender delicate legs and feet, intelligent aspect, and particularly clean appearance. Here also are the houses of the superintendent and head keeper; the former having one of its rooms devoted to the reception of a varietyof small tender quadrupeds, as the flying opossum, the brown coati-mundi, the golden agouti, porcupine, Indian tiger-cat, jerboas, &c. &c. And, lastly, a remarkably lofty building appears before us, with an enclosed yard on the left, where the trees, fenced to a most unusual height, and with a projecting guard at the top of each fence, seems to imply we have got among some creatures from the scene of Swift's geographical discoveries —that mysterious land of Brobdignag, which not all British skill, and capital, and enterprise, have yet been able to find the way to. And when we do get within the building, and behold the scene shown in our engraving, when we perceive it is the giraffe-house and park that we have been gazing on, it is difficult to resist the impression, that these most beautiful and delicate, but, to the very eyes that behold them, almost incredibly tall creatures cannot belong to any part of our planet with which we have been hitherto familiar. There are now four here; two adult males and one female, and one young one born in the Gardens, and enjoying, we are happy to say, excellent health. The female also is again with



[The Giraffe House.]

young. In the same house with the giraffes is an animal that more than divides with them the attention and curiosity of visitors; this is the female ourang-outan, which, as the Society's Report for the present year informs us, has now lived nearly three years and a half in the Gardens, or nearly twice as long as any individual of the species was ever known to live in Europe before. Lady Jane, as she is here called, is altogether of a higher grade than her kindred of the monkey tribe. She does not condescend much to gambols; but ask her to do anything sensible, as, for instance, to sit down and take a comfortable cup of tea, and she will do it with the most amusing gravity and precision. But tea-drinking with her is altogether a solemn and ceremonious, albeit daily, proceeding; so she first submits herself to her keeper, to have a befitting dress for the occasion put on, and then places her table, lays the cloth, sits down, and sips the tea from the cup and saucer, holding a kind of conversation with the keeper at the same time. The peculiar low noise with which she intimates her assent to his notions, when she approves of them, is more than entertaining; it really seems to suggest so much of what she would say, had not speech been denied. The affectionateness of her disposition is very touching. As the keeper leans over her, she will put up her long arm, and clasp him round the neck, as though she really felt all his attentions and kindness. We have yet much to learn as to the true mental powers and characteristics of such animals, and as to their relation with our own.

It will be seen from the foregoing account, that the available funds of the Society must have been of no ordinary amount. From the financial accounts now before us, it appears that the expenditure on the Gardens from 1825, the year of commencement, up to the end of 1840, was in general terms 188,000*l*. This immense sum has been derived chiefly from two sources, in very nearly equal pro-

portions, namely, the payments of the members or fellows (each 5*l.* for admission and 3*l.* annually), and the shilling admission fees of visitors. In the year 1842, the receipts from the former source have been 4542*l.* 13*s.*, and from the latter, 4021*l.* 13*s.* The number of fellows, and fellows elect, at the present time, is 2478, or 412 less than 1839. The falling off in this respect is attributed, no doubt correctly, to the retirement of such of the earlier members as cared simply for the place as a fashionable Sunday lounge, and the similar decline in the number of visitors, to those casual influences, which all exhibitions are liable to. The removal of the Museum to the Gardens, the erection of the new Carnivora Terrace, and the proposed addition of an excellent military band, will no doubt do much to remedy both these causes of decline. But at all events, the Society can now rely upon a certain amount of permanent support, which we are happy to say is amply sufficient to keep these beautiful and interesting Gardens in all their present reputation and value.

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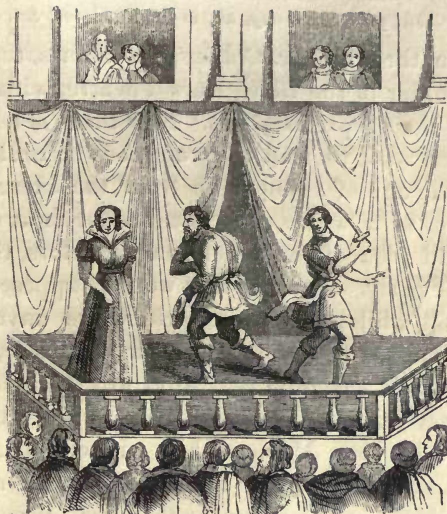


[View of the old Stage and Balcony.]

## CXVIII.—THE THEATRES OF LONDON.

Scarcely less surprising than the greatness of the drama of the Elizabethan era, is the suddenness of its growth, and the extraordinary contrast presented by it to all that had gone before: growth, indeed, seems hardly a fitting word to characterise so instantaneous and important and complete a change. Up to the year 1580, and probably a little later, not a single dramatic writer or a single dramatic piece had appeared, the names of which now excite any interest beyond that of their position as links between the old moral plays and the modern drama; fifteen years elapse, and behold!—Munday, Chettle, Kyd, Lodge, Greene, Lyly, Nash, and Peele, are familiar names; Marlowe has written 'Tamburlaine,' 'Dr. Faustus,' 'The Jew of Malta,' and 'Edward II.;' above all, Shakspere has given to the world nearly one half of his entire works. The fact is established, in the opinion of the writer of this article, in the recent pictorial edition of his works, that Shakspere, instead of being, as we have hitherto generally supposed, a follower in point of time of the Peeles and Greenes and Marlowes, and therefore deriving no inconsiderable advantage from their works and example, was really strictly contemporary with them. It has been shown in the work referred to, that whilst we know of the existence, in 1598, of at least sixteen of Shakspere's plays, some of these, of high excellence, must have been produced considerably before 1591, when Spenser, in the 'Tears of the Muses,' laments the temporary withdrawal of some one who had

> "the comic stage,
> With season'd wit, and goodly pleasure, graced,"

and describes the writer thus unmistakeably, as

> "the man whom Nature self had made
> To mock herself, and Truth to imitate
> With kindly counter, under mimic shade:
> Our *pleasant Willy*, ah, is dead of late," &c.

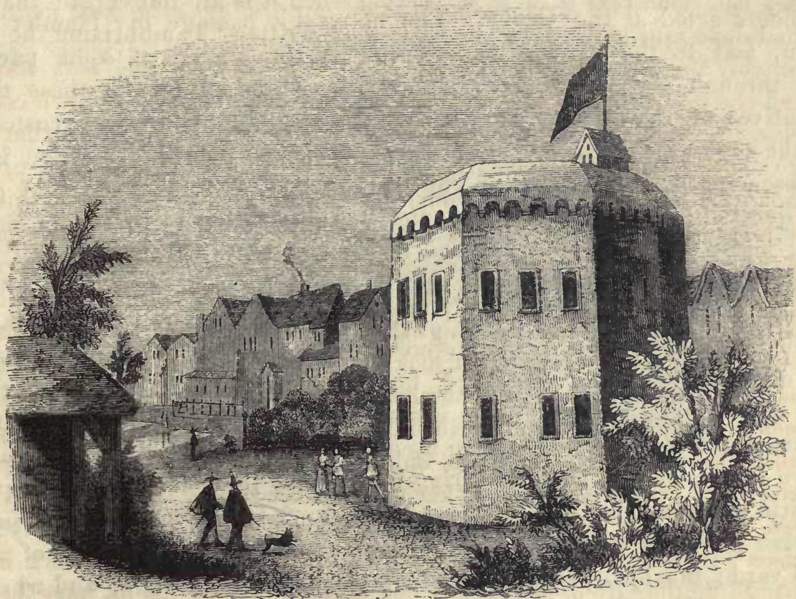
Lastly, it is now known, through Mr. Collier's researches, that Shakspere, so early as 1589, was a shareholder in the Blackfriars Theatre, with a fourth of the other sharers below him on the proprietors' list. Now there is nothing in Shakspere's subsequent career as an actor to lead us to suppose he could have obtained such a position as this at the age of twenty-five from the exercise of his talents that way; yet look at him as a writer, and the matter is at once explained. But then there is that odd idea of the older commentators, that every body rather than he began to write early. Few persons would suppose, from merely reading their speculations, that whilst the three writers we have mentioned were all about Shakspere's own age, the greatest of them, Marlowe, is supposed to have been a year younger;* and secondly, that after all, there is every reason to suppose they had done very little at the period when it is all but certain that Shakspere had done much: by 1589 Marlowe had written 'Tamburlaine the Great,' and probably the 'Massacre of Paris,' and Peele and Greene *may* have each produced one or two pieces for the stage, as they are supposed to have connected themselves with it a year or two before; but this is pretty well all that can be said for the precedence of these early contemporaries of Shakspere, and proves, in connexion with what has been previously advanced, to our mind, something very like the reverse. On the whole, then, it will be seen that Dryden knew perfectly well what he was about when he said, Shakspere "created the stage among us."

Up to the period we have referred to, 1595, it was still, however, but the basis of the wonderful structure of the English national drama that had been laid; for the completion of the work we must look a few years further on,—to a time when Shakspere had closed his career, and when a host of other writers had arisen, imbued generally, though of course in a lower degree, with the same lofty spirit, and kindred talents. Many of these, indeed, for their own permanent popularity had better have appeared at any other time: a Shakspere only could have overshadowed them. Considering how little these writers are now generally read in comparison with their extraordinary excellence, one cannot but remark how different would be the fate of almost any one of them, could his lot have been cast in the nineteenth instead of the seventeenth century. What should not we think of a Ben Jonson, or a pair of Beaumonts and Fletchers, or a Massinger now? What might not be the effect of their writings on the present fortunes of the national theatres? Yet even these are but removed by the faintest possible lines of demarcation of rank from Ford, whom Lamb calls of "the first order of poets;" or Webster, with that "wild, solemn, preternatural cast of grief which bewilders us in the 'Duchess of Malfy'" of which the same critic speaks; or George Chapman, with his "full heightened style," as his brother poet Webster calls it; or Heywood, the "prose Shakspere;" or Dekker, or Rowley, or Middleton, or Daniel, or Shirley,—but there is no end to the list, and it is almost as idle to attempt now to familiarise them separately to the public, as to point out the stars of the milky way. Let us now turn our attention to an instructive com-

* He was born, according to Malone, in 1565.

mentary upon all this amazing variety and height of intellectual power, the state of the theatres in London in which that power was exhibited.

Although the earliest public Theatres seem to have been established during the continuance of a pertinacious struggle between the players and play-lovers on the one side, and the civic power on the other (who held the stage and everything connected with it in especial dislike), they had become very numerous by the time the great writers we have mentioned were prepared to raise them into their true importance and value. For their success in this struggle, the players were evidently indebted to the court favour they enjoyed, which, in 1583, was signalised by Elizabeth's choosing, from among the different companies accustomed to perform before her, twelve of the best actors, and forming them into a company, under her own especial patronage. The chief London theatres at that period were these:—The Theatre, especially so called, in Shoreditch, and the Curtain close by; Paris Garden, Bankside, chiefly used as a Bear



[The Paris Garden Theatre, Southwark.]

Garden, but also for the performance of plays, as Dekker, in his satire upon Jonson, makes the latter say he had played Zulziman there; the Blackfriars, Whitefriars, Salisbury Court, Rose, Hope, Swan, Newington, Red Bull, and Cockpit or Phœnix in Drury Lane. Various places of minor importance were also dignified by the name of Theatre, as the Inn Yard of the 'Bel Savage,' remarkable, according to Prynne, "for the visible apparition of the Devil upon the stage," on one occasion, during Elizabeth's reign. We learn what was the number of actors at the same time in the metropolis, from a letter to Secretary Walsingham, in 1586, which, after referring to the different companies, as the Queen's, Lord Leicester's, Lord Oxford's, Lord Nottingham's, and other noblemen's then performing, states the number of players as not less than two hundred. Of these theatres, the Blackfriars is the one that most deeply interests us: it was there, in all probability, Shakspere made his first appearance both as

actor and writer; it was there, certainly, that he established his reputation. The Blackfriars (and, it is supposed, others also of those we have mentioned, as the Curtain) were erected immediately after—and in consequence of the entire expulsion of players from the limits of the City by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen in 1575; who, however, gained little more by the movement than the exhibition of a kind of successful contempt of their authority, in the erection of such houses as the Theatre in the Blackfriars, under their very noses, but, owing to the old monastic privileges, beyond their jurisdiction. Two companies, it appears, had the right of playing at this house, the one that Shakspere belonged to (the Lord Chamberlain's) and that of the Children of the Chapel, afterwards (on James's accession) known as the Children of her Majesty's Revels, who played regular pieces the same as their older rivals; as, for instance, Ben Jonson's 'Case is Altered' in 1599, and his 'Cynthia's Revels' in 1600. The proprietor of the Blackfriars, in fee, was Richard Burbage; and he probably let the theatre to the Children of the Revels, in the summer season, whilst he and his brother shareholders acted at the Globe. The noticeable passage in 'Hamlet' refers to them, and to the neglect experienced by the players at some particular period, through the overweening admiration of the public for these tiny representatives of the drama; who, it should seem, also, had been accustomed to injure the regular theatres by more direct modes of attack. "There is, sir," says Rosencrantz, "an aiery of children, little eyases, that cry out on the top of question, and are most tyrannically clapped for 't: these are now the fashion; and so berattle the common stages (so they call them), that many, wearing rapiers, are afraid of goose-quills, and dare scarce come thither." And in the kindly and thoughtful spirit of Hamlet's reply there is evidence that the complaint may have been made in no selfish spirit:—"Will they pursue the quality no longer than they can sing?" he asks. "Will they not say afterwards, if they should grow themselves to common players (as it is like most, if their means are no better), their writers do them wrong, to make them exclaim against their own succession?" The Blackfriars was one of those theatres distinguished by the title of private, and which were entirely roofed over, instead of, as in those which were public, merely the stage portion; which had a pit instead of a mere enclosed yard; in which performances took place by candle light; and where the visitors, being altogether of a higher class, enjoyed especial accommodations; among which, the right to sit on the stage during the progress of the play was the feature most peculiar to the time. In the public theatres this last-mentioned custom also prevailed; influential persons no doubt being permitted to do so without comment, and impudent ones taking permission in order to show their impudence, or to display their new dresses to the audience in all their bravery. The stools used by such persons were hired at sixpence each. The Blackfriars was probably pulled down soon after the permanent close of the Theatres, during the Commonwealth, by the Puritans; the locality is still marked by the name Playhouse Yard, near Apothecaries' Hall.

The other Theatre which Shakspere has bound so closely up with his own history, and to which, therefore, a similar kind of interest is attached, was the Globe, erected about 1593; and, it is highly probable, in consequence of the growing prosperity of the Lord Chamberlain's servants, who desired a roomier house, a more public field for exertion. This was the largest and best of the

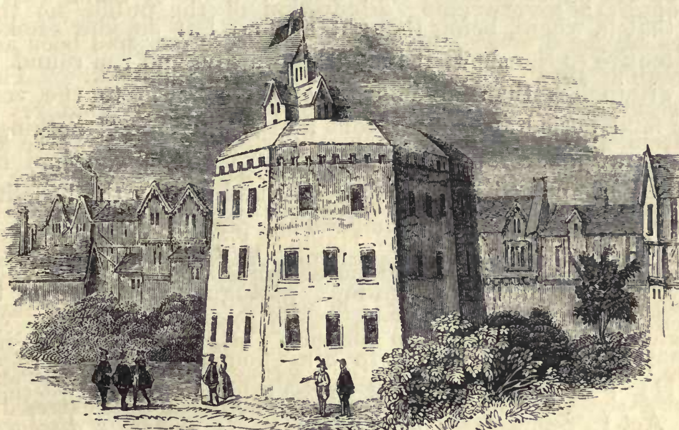
theatres yet raised; as is clear from the care of Alleyn and Henslowe, in the erection of the Fortune, soon after, on a still larger scale, to imitate all its arrangements, excepting the shape. Yet what the Globe was, Shakspere himself has told us in the preliminary chorus to 'Henry the Fifth:'—

> "Pardon, gentles all,
> The flat unraised spirit, that hath dared
> On this unworthy scaffold to bring forth
> So great an object: Can this cockpit hold
> The vasty fields of France? or may we cram
> Within this *wooden* O the very casques
> That did affright the air at Agincourt?"

What then?

> "Piece out our imperfections with your thoughts,"

is the bidding of the poet; and he spoke to an audience who could do even better than that, who could forget them altogether, in their apprehension of the spiritual grandeur and magnificence that *was* then with them in the cockpit.



[The Globe Theatre, Bankside.]

There is something, it must be owned, occasionally amusing as well as delightful in the simplicity of the old stage: in Greene's 'Pinner of Wakefield' two parties are quarrelling, and one of them says, "Come, sir, will you come to the town's end, now?" in order to fight. "Aye, sir, come," answers the other; and both then, we presume, move a few feet across the stage to another part, but evidently that is all, for in the next line the same speaker continues, "Now we are at the town's end—what shall we say now?" But if the audiences of the sixteenth century were by no means critical about the appliances of the drama, the case was very different as to the drama itself. Jonson gives us a pleasant peep into the interior of a theatre of the time on the first night of a new piece: "But the sport is at a new play to observe the sway and variety of opinion that passeth it. A man shall have such a confused mixture of judgment poured out in the throng there, as ridiculous as laughter itself. One says he likes not the writing, another likes not the plot, another not the playing; and sometimes a fellow that comes not there past once in five years, at a Parliament time or so, will be as deep mixed in censuring as the best, and swear by God's foot he would never stir his

foot to see a hundred such as that is." * Then, as now, it seems, managers, in bringing out new pieces, were not insensible to the advantages of accompanying them with novel or greatly improved theatrical effects. It was possibly one of these that led to the catastrophe at the Globe Theatre in 1613, on an important occasion of this kind, when there was no doubt an unusually brilliant audience assembled. Jonson was among them, as we learn from his 'Execration of Vulcan' for his doings in the affair; which are thus described by Sir Henry Wotton, in a letter to his nephew, dated the 29th of June: "Now, to let matters of state sleep, I will entertain you at present with what hath happened this week at the Bankside. The King's players had a new play, called 'All is True,' representing some principal pieces of the reign of Henry VIII., which was set forth with many extraordinary circumstances of pomp and majesty, even to the matting of the stage; the knights of the order with their Georges and garters, the guards with their embroidered coats, and the like; sufficient, in truth, within a while, to make greatness very familiar, if not ridiculous. Now King Henry, making a mask at the Cardinal Wolsey's house, and certain cannons being shot off at his entry, some of the paper or other stuff wherewith one of them was stopped did light on the thatch, where, being thought at first but an idle smoke, and their eyes more attentive to the show, it kindled inwardly, and ran round like a train, consuming, within less than an hour, the whole house to the very grounds. This was the fatal period of that virtuous fabric, wherein yet nothing did perish but wood and straw and a few forsaken cloaks; only one man had his breeches set on fire, that perhaps had broiled him, if he had not, by the benefit of a provident wit, put it out with bottle ale." This play, there is little doubt, was Shakspere's 'Henry VIII.,' having perhaps 'All is True' for a first title; for not only does the prologue contain various passages illustrative of the idea the author desired to impress of the *truth* of the story, but another recorder of the event, Thomas Lorkin, in a letter to Sir Thomas Puckering, expressly calls it 'Henry VIII.'; and, lastly, we read in the original stage directions of Shakspere's play, Act I., Scene 4, "*drums and trumpets, chambers discharged*," under the precise circumstances described by Sir Henry Wotton. The Globe was rebuilt next year, when Taylor, the water-poet, noticing it, says—

> "—where before it had a thatched hide
> Now to a stately theatre is turn'd."

Like the Blackfriars, it was most probably pulled down during the Commonwealth.

The Fortune Theatre, built about 1599, proved truly a fortune to its chief owner, Alleyn, the actor and founder of Dulwich College. Here the Lord Admiral's servants performed. From the indenture between Alleyn and Henslowe, his co-partner, on the one side, and the builder, Street, on the other, we learn that the house had three tiers, consisting of boxes, rooms, and galleries; that there were "two-penny rooms," and "gentlemen's;" that the width of the stage was forty-three feet, and the depth thirty-nine and a half, including, however, we should presume, the 'tiring house at the back. In connexion with these particulars, the view of the old stage we have given, with that important and most useful portion of it, the balcony, copied from an engraving in the title-page of 'Roxana,' a

* 'Case is Altered,' Act ii. Sc. 4.

Latin play, by William Alabaster, 1632, may not be unacceptable. The balcony appears to have been so managed, that when not in use by the players, it might be occupied by some of the audience. We see at a glance in this design, the means by which many of the old stage directions were fulfilled, as "Enter Romeo and Juliet at the window." In the balcony, too, would sit the Court in 'Hamlet' during the performance of the play, and in similar cases of a play within a play. It has been supposed that the names of the theatres were borrowed from their respective signs, or, at least, that they had signs exhibited without of the nature indicated by their titles. This was certainly the case as regards Alleyn's theatre, as Heywood speaks of—

"—the picture of dame Fortune
Before the Fortune playhouse."

[The Fortune Theatre, Golden Lane, Barbican, as it appeared 1790.]

There was, however, a much more useful and characteristic sign of the theatres. As the time of performance approaches, about three in the afternoon, "each playhouse advanceth his flags in the air, whither quickly, at the waving thereof, are summoned whole troops of men, women, and children."* To the particulars already incidentally given, we may now add a few others. And first as to actors, many of whom, we need hardly remind our readers, were poets also, like their great exemplar, Shakspere; and were generally, there is every reason to believe, worthy of the dramas they represented. The chief men of note, besides Shakspere himself, whose names have been preserved in connexion with his plays, were Burbage, the original Richard the Third; Heminge and Condell, Shakspere's friends and literary executors, who, "without ambition either of self-profit or fame—only to keep the memory of so worthy a friend and fellow alive as was our Shakspere," published the first edition of his collected works; Taylor, the original Hamlet; Kemp; Sly; Lowin; Field, &c. Actors

* William Parkes' 'Curtain Drawn of the World, 1612.

of this rank generally participated in the profits of the company to which they belonged, as whole sharers, three-quarter sharers, or half-sharers; whilst the remaining performers were either hired at regular weekly salaries (six shillings seems to have been an ordinary rate of payment), or were apprenticed to particular members of the company. The emoluments of the sharers were, no doubt, considerable, as, in addition to their ordinary public business, they were frequently called upon to play before the Court, for which the usual payment, at one time, was ten pounds; and at the mansions of the nobility on extraordinary cases of state, at christenings, and at marriages. The price of admission seems to have varied not only at the different theatres, but at different times in the same theatre. Ben Jonson has told us in an amusing passage what they were in 1614, when his 'Bartholomew Fair' was acted at the Hope. In the Induction he says, "It shall be lawful for any man to judge his six-pennyworth, his twelve-pennyworth, so to his eighteenpence, two shillings, half-a-crown, to the value of his place, provided always his place get not above his wit." But Dekker speaks of your groundling and gallery commoner buying his sport for a penny; and other writers also of the "penny bench theatres," referring most likely to theatres of a lower grade than any we have enumerated. Of moveable painted scenes, the theatres of the Shaksperian era were not entirely deficient; but in the earliest period we had "Thebes written in great letters on an old door," when the audience were desired to understand the scene lay in that place, and which Sir Philip Sidney ridicules. Hence the briefest, but most significant of stage directions in 'Selimus, Emperor of the Turks,' published in 1594, where, when the hero is conveying his father's dead body in solemn state to the Temple of Mahomet, all parties are quietly told to "*suppose the Temple of Mahomet.*" A great many difficulties might be got rid of by this principle, which, however, was not stretched too far. Our forefathers were not required to suppose the descent of the cauldron in 'Macbeth,' as there were trap-doors; nay, upon occasion, still more difficult feats of ingenuity were accomplished. In the directions to Greene's 'Alphonsus' we read, "after you have sounded thrice, let Venus be let down from the top of the stage, and when she is down, say;" again, in another part, "Exit Venus. *Or,* if you can conveniently, let a chair come down from the top of the stage, and draw her up."

But in dresses and properties the stage of the Shaksperian era seems to have been rich enough to compare with the stage of the present day; nay, it is probable, that in comparison with the size of its theatres, and the number of its actors, it surpassed ours in the splendour and value of the wardrobe. In Henslowe's 'Inventory,' we find, among other and still more expensive items of dress, one of a "Robe for to go invisible," which, with a gown, cost 3*l.* 10*s.* of the money of the sixteenth century. The daylight performances, it is to be observed, would make it indispensable to have articles of a better quality than now. As to properties, though they had not attained the completeness of Covent Garden in these matters, where the property-man tells us he has almost everything in creation—from the fly to the whale—under his charge; yet it will be seen in the following mock heroic account of an adventure in the theatre, by R. Brome, in 'The Antipodes,' 1640, that their possessions were far from contemptible. Bye-play is speaking of Peregrine :—

> "He has got into our tiring-house amongst us,
> And ta'en a strict survey of all our properties,
> Our statues and our images of gods,
> Our planets and our constellations,
> Our giants, monsters, furies, beasts, and bugbears,
> Our helmets, shields, and vizors, hair, and beards,
> Our pasteboard marchpanes and our wooden pies.
> Whether he thought 'twas some enchanted castle,
> Or temple hung and pil'd with monuments
> Of uncouth and of various aspects,
> I dive not to his thoughts: wonder he did
> Awhile, it seem'd, but yet undaunted stood;
> When on the sudden, with thrice knightly force,
> And thrice thrice puissant arm, he snatcheth down
> The sword and shield that I played Bevis with,
> Rusheth amongst the foresaid properties,
> Kills monster after monster, takes the puppets
> Prisoners, knocks down the Cyclops, tumbles all
> Our jigamobobs and trinkets to the wall.
> Spying at last the crown and royal robes
> I' th' upper wardrobe, next to which by chance
> The devil's vizors hung, and their flame-painted
> Skin-coats, these he remov'd with greater fury,
> And (having cut the infernal ugly faces
> All into mammocks) with a reverend hand,
> He takes the imperial diadem, and crowns
> Himself King of the Antipodes, and believes
> He has justly gained the kingdom by his conquest."

When these lines were written, enemies of a more real kind were preparing for an onslaught into the strongholds of the profession; the players were to gather soon for the support of a "crown and royal robes," which should be no mimic toys of the 'tiring-room, but the symbols of a mighty power round which, both in attack and defence, armies of Englishmen would congregate, and where they would find what one of their number had in another sense desired—

> "A kingdom for a stage, princes to act,
> And monarchs to behold the swelling scene!"

In 1642 appeared an ordinance of the Long Parliament, commanding the cessation of plays, on the ground that "public sports do not well agree with public calamities, nor public stage-plays with the seasons of humiliation, this being an exercise of sad and pious solemnity, and the other being spectacles of pleasure, too commonly expressing lascivious mirth and levity." For a time the ordinance was obeyed, though of course a cruel one to the actors, whose means of existence were annihilated; but gradually theatres opened again, first in one quarter and then in another, and by 1647 the ordinance seems to have been almost forgotten. A second then appeared, dealing in a more summary mode with all offenders, directing the governing powers and magistracy of London and adjoining counties to enter houses where performances were taking place, arrest the players, and commit them for trial at the next sessions, there to be "punished as rogues according to law." Even this being found insufficient, the Lords and Commons met and debated the matter warmly, and at last an Act was passed on the 11th of February, 1648, which, after denouncing stage-plays, interludes, and common plays as "the occasion of many and sundry great vices and disorders, tending to the high provocation of God's wrath and displeasure, which lies heavy upon this

kingdom," ordained the demolition of all stage galleries, seats and boxes used for performances, and the punishment of convicted players with open and public whipping for the first offence, and with still severer penalties for a second. No wonder we hear of so many of the players joining the ranks of the Cavaliers during the Civil War, where, it may be added, they are understood to have honourably distinguished themselves. Some few actors, however, appear to have kept together, and acted occasionally in private at the residences of noblemen and others in the vicinity of London without interruption: Holland House was one of these places. Under Cromwell there was still greater toleration, as Sir William D'Avenant gave "entertainments of declamation and music, after the manner of the ancients, at Rutland House, Charter House Square," in 1656, and in 1658 re-opened the Cockpit in Drury Lane, where he performed without molestation until the Restoration. A new era then opened for the drama.

Perhaps the most characteristic feature of the restored English theatre was its extraordinary facility for extracting the evil out of everything it touched. The Elizabethan drama was not forgotten—far from it; there is scarcely a grossness in those old writers which the new ones did not now imitate and greatly improve upon; they only forgot the truth and vividness of character and life that accompanied them—their high sentiment, their noble passions, their wonderful ever-gushing fount of poetry. So again with the French drama, which they so much admired: they borrowed from it an air of conventional stiffness and formality which did not sit altogether ungracefully on a truly great poet like Corneille, whose spirit was cast in the antique mould; but that air they mistook for him. Lastly, when they began to turn their eyes homewards, and inquire what materials for an English play English society might afford, nothing can be more perfect than the tact with which, in their comedies for instance, they avoided whatever was solid, or permanent, or productive of true genial humour and universal wit. Their wit, for no one can deny the brilliancy of their repartee, was conventional. One has only to ask where we should look for the greatest amount of conjoined frivolity, and profligacy, and sensuality, during the reign which was as a perfect hotbed to these vices, and there we shall find the greatest dramatic writers of the latter part of the seventeenth century, from Dryden and Wycherley to Congreve and Vanbrugh. They have had their reward. One or two solitary plays (the 'Provoked Husband') of all the dramatic writings of these men, who were so well calculated by nature to support the reputation of a national drama, alone, we believe, remains upon the stage. But in the precise proportion that they are neglected now, were they read, and acted, and enjoyed then. Universal popularity among playgoers was theirs—unbounded the royal admiration and approval of their works. Theatres filled—in opposition to the puritan spirit it became a proof of loyalty to attend them—managers smiled, there was no stirring in society but they met the echoes of their own wit. D'Avenant was the first to profit by so cheering a state of things, both as manager and author, and was certainly well fitted for his position. His residence in France had brought his tastes into a state of proper harmony with those of his sovereign; and the personal favours he enjoyed with Charles II. offered peculiar opportunities for the diffusion of those tastes. He obtained a licence (the origin of the existing Covent Garden patent right, as the licence granted at the same period to Killigrew is of that of Drury Lane) and built a theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields, 1662, where,

instead of the old half-lighted houses, wax-candles shed a brilliant blaze around, moveable painted scenes were introduced—music, operas, and an orchestra. But these novelties were as nothing compared to that of the appearance of actresses on the stage, as a part of the regular company; a feature so amazingly relished by Charles and his courtiers (and, indeed, it had its peculiar advantages for them, as we learn from the list of their female favourites) that certain pieces—we need not describe them—were occasionally played by females alone. It is pleasant to turn for a moment from these reminiscences to some of a purer character. Shakspere's plays, or at least so much of them as met the approval of D'Avenant, were played in a style of high excellence. Many of the actors were men of the old school, the remnants of the former companies; and one of them, Betterton, has, from all we can learn, never been surpassed in the performance of some of the grandest of the Shaksperian creations. And he has been fortunate in having had critics at once capable of appreciating his excellence, and enabling posterity to appreciate it too. 'Hamlet' was one of D'Avenant's early revivals, and the story goes that the manager taught Betterton how Taylor, whom he remembered, had acted the part from Shakspere's own instructions; but such acting as that described by Cibber in a well-known passage is learnt from within, not from without; though in the general apprehension of a character like Hamlet's, the smallest hint, no matter by what medium it came, from the poet himself, would be of incalculable value.

Such a man was of course little fitted for the rhyming and eminently "mouthing" tragedies Dryden now poured forth in rapid succession, as if to show his contempt for his own early avowed admiration for Shakspere, or, as we would rather suggest, as if to give us unconsciously a proof of the high nobility of his own spirit, by a public renunciation in his latter days of the entire principles and practices of his dramatic career,—of his public return to the only true school, from which he had unwisely or recklessly departed. There are few things in literary history more instructive than this part of Dryden's life—nothing in all his works, excellent as they are when not dramatic, that more elevates or endears to us the memory of "glorious John." The rise of the school of "genteel comedy," as it has been called, is another interesting feature of the same reign, for, impure as it was in the hands of its founders, it gradually lost that impurity, whilst improving at the same time in excellences of a more positive character, as it passed, step by step, from Congreve to Sheridan, who, whilst almost rivalling the former writer in his own especial excellence, wit, has, in addition, plot, and varied character, and moral purpose in his satires to which Congreve could lay no claim. The English opera, too, must not be forgotten in reckoning the demands of the era in question upon our attention. In 1673 appeared Shadwell's 'Psyche,' with music by Matthew Lock; and some years later Dryden's, or rather Purcell's, 'King Arthur,' for the only valuable portion of the work is the composer's. Those who availed themselves of the recent opportunity of enjoying its music will not soon forget such passages as the frost scene,—such duets as that of "Two daughters of this aged stream are we." Other works by the same composer followed; then came Arne, and Jackson, and Linley, and Dibdin, and Shield, and Storace, and gave us that school of genuine national music which we know so well how to—forget.

We have now noticed the two most characteristic periods in the history of our

national drama, which is, in the best sense of the word, the history of our metropolitan theatres; and, long as is the period that has elapsed since the latest of them, we can add no third. The fact is that, with here and there a few exceptions to the general current of theatrical literature, such as must arise in every art from the peculiar characters of individuals, and which have given us such genuine plays, even in the most unpromising of times, as Otway's 'Venice Preserved,' or as some of the productions of an actor-dramatist of the present day, our dramatic history may be summed up in three words: we have grown as correct in everything as spiritless ('Cato,' and the plays of the Cato *form* in the Anglo-French school, may be looked on as mere emanations of this feeling of propriety, as far as their dramatic excellence is concerned); we have imported —and subsequently worked hard at the same manufacture at home till we were wearied of it—the Kotzebue-German productions of the 'Pizarro' and 'Stranger' classes; we have established a melo-drama, which may yet rise into respectability, with a few more well-intentioned mistakes on the parts of certain authors, in thinking they are all the while writing plays. The dramatic-poem writers, who so carefully disclaim all connexion with the theatre, of course may be here disclaimed in return.

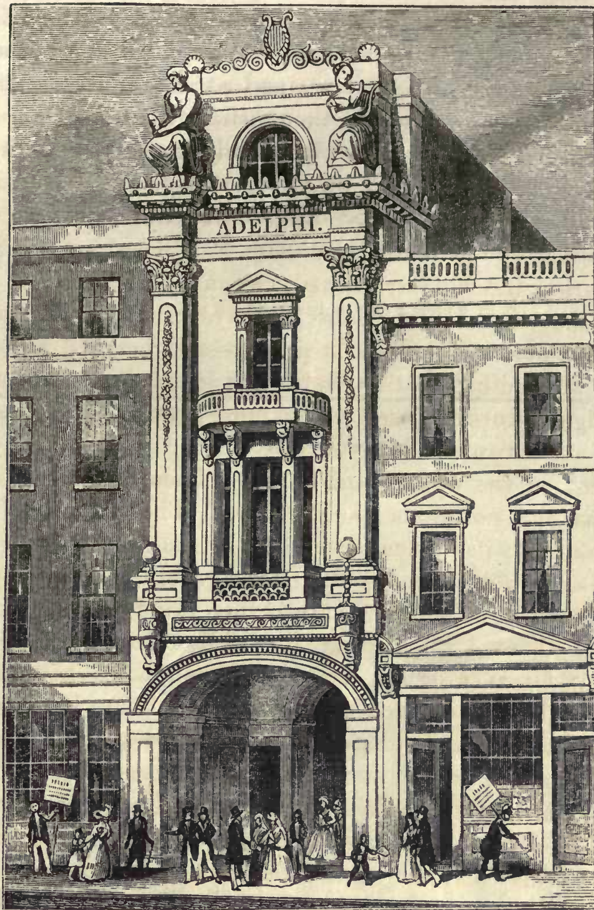
The Italian Opera, as something exotic in its origin, and still needing the shelter of the aristocratic conservatory in which it was first planted, for its due support, demands separate notice. The first building in the Haymarket was erected by Vanbrugh at the beginning of the last century, the funds having been provided by a numerous body of subscribers, among whom were the chief members of the Kit-Cat Club. A rival house to Drury Lane, then enjoying a career of remarkable prosperity, was the object of the builder, whose scheme for its attainment was altogether a bold one; namely, that of joining himself and Congreve as writers and managers to such a company as Betterton and his companions, then playing at the Tennis Court, in Lincoln's Inn Fields, as actors. All parties were sanguine as to success; the players, it appears, fancying the reputation of their literary allies, and the grandeur of the new house, would cause the whole town to be attracted. "In this golden dream they however found themselves miserably deceived and disappointed, as on the opening of this grand and superb structure it was immediately discovered that almost every quality and convenience of a good theatre had been sacrificed and neglected, to show the spectator a vast triumphal piece of architecture; and that the best play was less capable of delighting the auditor here than it would be in the plain and unadorned house they had just come from; for what with their vast columns, their gilded cornices, and immoderately high roof, scarce one word in ten could be distinctly heard. The extraordinary and superfluous space occasioned such an undulation from the voice of every actor, that, generally, what they said sounded like the gabbling of so many people in the lofty aisles of a cathedral. The tone of a trumpet, or the swell of a musical voice, might be sweetened by it; but the articulate sounds of a speaking voice were drowned by the hollow reverberations of one word upon another. 'Tis true, the spectators were struck with surprise and wonder at the magnificent appearance the house displayed in every way they turned their eyes. The ceiling over the orchestra was a semi-oval arch, that sprung fifteen feet higher from above the cornice. The ceiling over the pit, too, was still more raised; being one level line from the highest back part of the upper gallery to the front

of the stage. The front boxes were a continued semicircle to the bare walls of the house on each side, and the effect altogether was truly surprising. In the course of two or three years the ceilings over both orchestra and pit were lowered; and instead of the semi-oval arch, that over the orchestra was made a flat, which greatly improved the hearing."* The very defects of the house, however, helped to promote certain schemes of Vanbrugh's in a new quarter. In July, 1703, interludes and musical entertainments of singing and dancing had been given in Italian at York Buildings. Two years after, a regular dramatic Italian piece, with the narrative and dialogue in recitative, but translated, and performed by English actors and singers, was brought out at Drury Lane. Such were the cautious steps by which the Italian Opera stole into this country. Vanbrugh, in the same year, 1705, opened the new theatre, when, in addition to the English play by Betterton's company, there was presented "Signor Giacomo Greber's 'Loves of Ergosto,' set to Italian music." But the house failed the very first season, not even the attraction, towards its close, so characteristic of the two managers, of the performance of 'Love for Love,' by women, serving to draw sufficient audiences for above three nights. Betterton and his company returned to Lincoln's Inn. The Italian Opera was more and more assiduously cultivated in succeeding seasons, to prevent the utter ruin of the house from the continuous failure of the English performances; in 1708, Operas were played in which Italian and native singers were mingled; and, in 1710, the Italian Opera was introduced entire at last, 'Almahide' having been performed that year in the foreign language, by foreign performers. The popularity which the Opera, or rather the singers—who we suspect were much better appreciated than the composers whose strains they warbled—soon obtained, may be illustrated by the well-known expression of a very enthusiastic lady, "One God, one Farinelli!"

On the individual histories of the three theatres that are alone licensed to play the regular drama we cannot attempt to enter, but a few dates may be useful. When D'Avenant obtained his licence, and formed his company under the title of the Duke's Servants (the King's brother being their patron), Killigrew, as we have before stated, obtained similar powers for the formation and employment of a company at the old Cockpit in Drury Lane: these were to be the King's servants. At the close of the century both patents had fallen into the same hands, those of Rich, the pantomimist; who, by his parsimony, excited so much disgust, that Drury Lane was taken from him, and the licence granted to another party. Steele's name was subsequently entered in the patent; but it was not till the advent upon the London stage of the most perfect actor, perhaps, the world has yet seen, Garrick, that it obtained its highest state of repute and prosperity. In 1745 Garrick and Lacy purchased the theatre, enlarged the house, and opened it with Johnson's well-known prologue. This was a new era of acting, if not of writing; and one can very well understand the great Shaksperian services of Garrick, if we consider that it was not alone the harmony resulting from the greatest of actors representing the characters of the greatest of poets, but that he appears to have been distinguished at the same time, like the poet, by the naturalness of his style. In 1776 Sheridan became part-proprietor, and it was during his government that the Theatre was destroyed by fire in 1809. The

* Wilkinson's Londina Illustrata.

present edifice was built by B. Wyatt, Esq. Covent Garden Theatre owes its rise to the loss of Drury Lane by Rich, as before stated. 'The Beggars' Opera' having made "Rich gay, and Gay rich," the former grew more magnificent in his ideas, and exerted himself to get a theatre erected in Covent Garden, which he opened in 1733, Hogarth making memorable his transit from Lincoln's Inn Fields by an amusing satirical print. This building was burnt in 1808, then rebuilt by Smirke (after the model of the grand Doric Temple of Minerva at Athens), adorned with statues and some beautiful basso-relievos by Flaxman, and re-opened in 1809. It was here that Kemble carried on the work of stage-reformation which Garrick had begun—here that for so many years with his sister, the illustrious Siddons, he played the Shaksperian drama, as we must scarcely hope ever again to see it played—and here, it must be added, that he experienced, with an indignation that might lessen, but could not prevent, the anguish of a high nature exposed to the most gross insults, what it is to be an actor, if, under all circumstances, you will also be a man. It was the rise of prices consequent on the opening of the new Theatre, under his management, that brought on the notorious O. P. riots. The "Little Theatre in the Haymarket" (as all its managers seem to call it, with a sort of affectionate patronising air, perhaps because, generally speaking, it seems to have been the means of a very satisfactory kind of patronage of them) was first erected about 1720. Here, in 1735, Henry Fielding opened the season with the "Great Mogul's Company," and acted his own Pasquin for forty nights, when he was obliged to shut up the house in consequence of the Licensing Act of 1736. And subsequently Foote, to avoid a similar conclusion, gave "tea," and made it one of the most popular places of amusement in London by his own great but sadly misdirected talents. Lastly, we may observe that the Haymarket owes its present privileges to nothing more nor less than Foote's leg, which the comedian happening to break at a hunting party of fashionables, when the Duke of York was present, obtained a licence for life for the Haymarket as a summer theatre by way of compensation, and which was subsequently made permanent: such are the considerations by which we decide in England whether two—or three—theatres shall represent Shakspere! The remaining places of dramatic entertainment in the metropolis are the Lyceum or English Opera House, the Adelphi, the Strand, the Olympic, the Princess's in Oxford Street, a very beautiful little house of recent erection, the Prince's in St. James's Street, the Royal Fitzroy or Queen's in Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road, the City of London at Norton Falgate, Sadler's Wells, the Pavilion in Whitechapel, and the Garrick in Goodman's Fields—all on the City side of the water; whilst on the other are the Surrey, the Victoria, and Astley's, the latter, however, chiefly used for equestrian exhibitions. Here is ample room for the expansion of a growing drama, whenever the legislature shall become convinced that the people who attend all these minor theatres would really be no worse if plays were substituted for burlettas, 'Love in a Village' for 'My Poll and my Partner Joe,' Shakspere for Van Amburgh. Of course the patentees of the two principal theatres must be perfectly indifferent by this time on the matter. It would be too good a jest now to urge the possibility of injury to the properties in their present state by any course that might be determined upon with respect to the lesser houses, always excepting that a reversal of the former state of

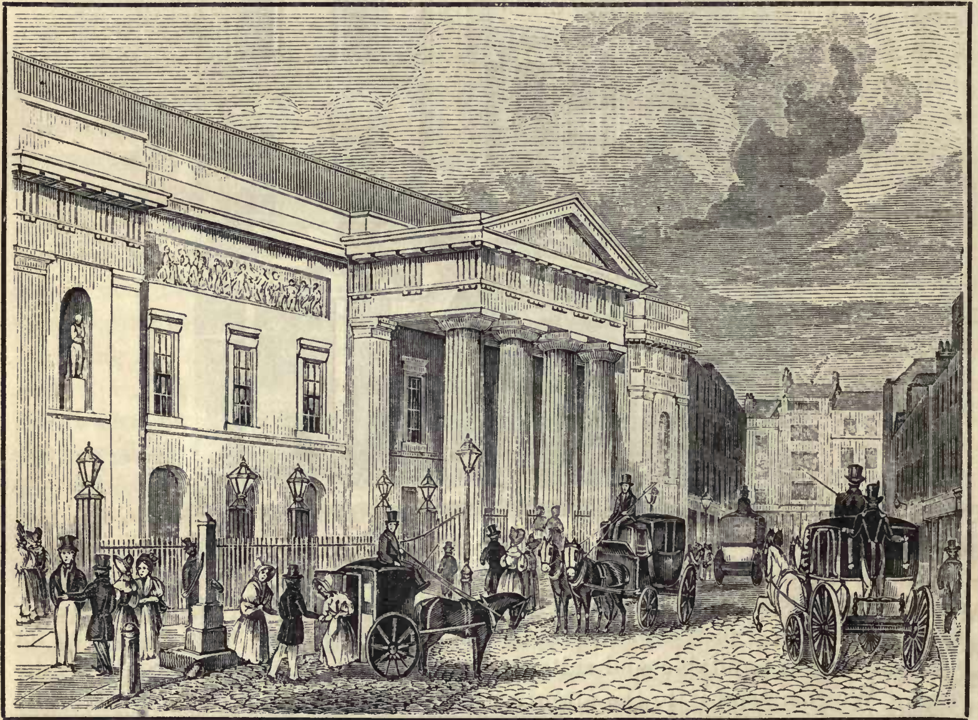



[The Adelphi Theatre.]

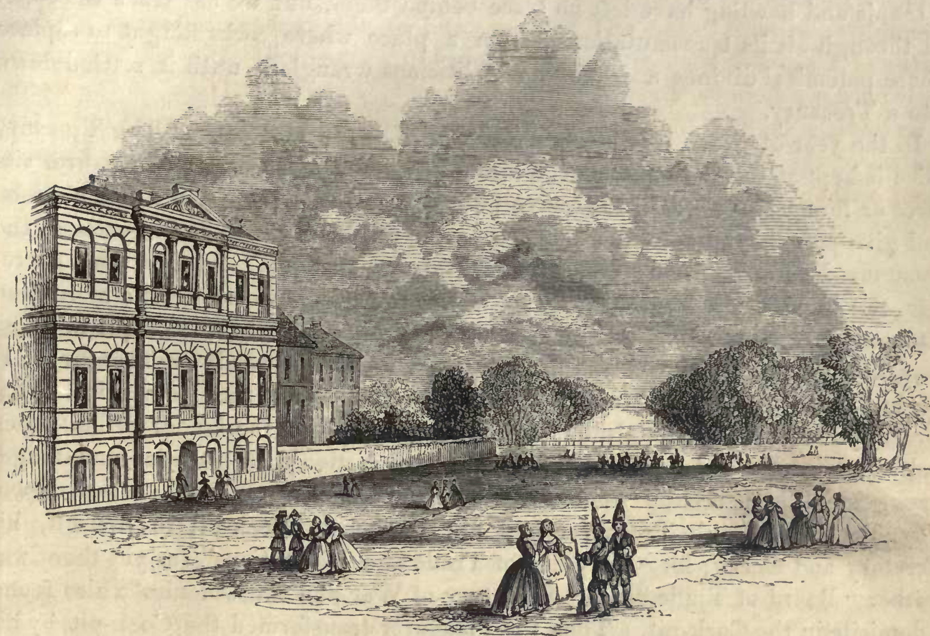
things could be settled by law: the regular drama to the minors, and the burlettas, and nautical pieces, and the lions to the majors—that were something for both parties; as equitable and suitable an adjustment perhaps as could be devised. We commend it to the attention of those who have been very naturally surprised and irritated at the late aspect of affairs, in which they have so deep an interest; who have seen the habitual course of these theatres interrupted,—their best friends alienated, friends at least who had stood by these theatres in their poverty and degradation, and were willing to stand by them apparently through even worse stages of both,—their very character blackened by pretended necessities of reformation; who, in short, had lived to see the preposterous attempt made to preserve to their theatres these privileges by proving they were deserved, and who of course, therefore, nipped the mischief in its bud: and if in so doing they have lost their rents, who shall say they have not preserved at least what appears to have been their consistent principles? But seriously, it must now be evident to all reflecting persons, that these patent rights must be abolished, before the drama can be re-invigorated by the only certain cure—the creation of a new

literature, appealing to, and reflecting the feelings, ideas, and character of the age; before a new, and, as a body, higher race of actors can arise to do justice to such a literature; before we shall be able to sit down in a house small enough to enable us at once to see and to hear, and at the representation of a piece worthy of a sensible man or woman's thoughtful attention. For all this there needs only, we believe, a single and easy remedy, namely, "That," in the words of an article on this long-debated question, written so far back as 1823,* "the theatres of the Metropolis should be licensed for the enactment of the English drama without distinction or limit."

* In Knight's Quarterly Magazine, vol. i. p. 433.



[Covent Garden Theatre.]



[The Treasury from St. James's Park, 1775.]

## CXIX.—THE TREASURY.

CAPTAIN BECROFT, or some other of our recent visitors to the Niger, was requested by one of the sable potentates of that region to bring him, from England, a couple of brass guns, and a strong chest with iron bands and padlocks. His Majesty wished for nothing more—if he had these he had everything. The guns would bring him in money, and the chest would keep it safe. This negro prince must have been a philosopher: Locke, Montesquieu, Bentham—not one of our theorists upon government has ever simplified its principles to such an extent. In practice, however, all governments have been much of a mind with the monarch sage of Nigritia. The treasury is the key-stone of the arch of Government. To get money, whether by brass guns or taxes, and to keep it safe, whether in a chest with iron bands and locks, or in a Treasury, or in a Bank of England, these constitute the whole duty of a statesman. There, then, in that building which figures at the top of the present paper, is deposited the talisman that keeps together the social fabric of the British empire. The seal of Solomon possessed not a tithe of its mystic power.

We smile at the idea of a negro prince's treasury being formed out of the chest, perhaps, of some sailor who may have died on the voyage out. The transformation is not a whit more startling than that by which the royal Treasury of England was manufactured out of a cock-pit. When bluff Harry VIII. had stripped Wolsey of Whitehall, and some other valuable possessions, he con-

structed there for the amusement of his leisure hours, a tennis-court, a cock-pit, and a bowling-green. The scenes of the more healthy and humane amusements of tennis and bowling have left no trace behind them, but we can track the cock-pit through all its transmutations—from a place where cocks fought to a place where polemical divines and jobbing politicians wrangled, until it settled down into a Treasury.

In the year of grace 1708, thus wrote Mr. Edward Hatton:—"The Treasury office is kept at the Cock-pit, near Whitehall, where the Lord High Treasurer sits three or four times a week, to receive petitions and determine and settle matters, and give orders, warrants, &c. relating to the public treasure and revenues, the Customs, Excise, &c. being under his lordship's inspection." At that time, therefore, the Lord High Treasurer seems in a manner to have been little more than a tenant at will in the Cock-pit. The Cock-pit was still the cock-pit in those days, not the permanent office of the treasurer, much less was it *the* Treasury. It might have pleased her Majesty Queen Anne to direct the Lord High Treasurer, Sydney Earl of Godolphin, who was "perfectly in the favour of his queen and country, who had repeated their great satisfaction with his wise and frugal management," to occupy some other apartments, the property of the crown. Nay, the Lord High Treasurer had not the whole Cock-pit to himself, his secretary and clerks; for "the office of Trade and Plantations" (as yet there was neither "Board of Trade," nor "Secretary of War and the Colonies") also found a domicile in the Cock-pit. Then the Treasurer transformed the Cock-pit, by his temporary occupancy, into a Treasury; now the Treasury transforms its principal occupant, *pro tempore*, into the First Lord of the Treasury. In those old times the man made the office; in ours the office makes the man. Formerly the nation was governed by statesmen; now it is governed by offices and establishments. The machinery which man has made whirls its maker about with or against his will.

But to return to the Cock-pit. Pennant republished in his 'London' an old print of the Horse-Guards (that is, of the stables adjoining the Tilt-yard, occupied by the horse-guards) in the time of Charles II., in which the Cock-pit, the future Treasury of England, occupies a tolerably conspicuous position. The picture is in good moral keeping. Charles, with his spaniels, is lounging in front, with an empty and expensive cockpit behind him, which in the reign of his niece was to be converted by the "frugal" Godolphin into a well-filled Treasury. This is the part of the Treasury buildings which fronts Whitehall; the venerable, antique, somewhat moss-grown pile, stuck in between the smugness of the dowager Lady Dover's round house and the equal smugness of the bastard Hellenism of the new Board of Trade. This is in good moral keeping too. The Treasury looks like an old shrivelled usurer, in an old-fashioned dress, standing between two smart gentlemen arrayed in Stultz' last device.

The old office of Godolphin, however, is but a small part of the modern Treasury. Indeed, to judge by a plan of the interior in the King's Library, in the British Museum, it would appear to be almost entirely occupied by the hall of entrance, the porter's and watchman's lodges, and other subordinate receptacles. The offices of the more important functionaries are in the large building behind which fronts the esplanade in St. James's Park. It is not every man who is gifted with the power of painting pictures with words, as was the case with the

gifted author of Londinum Redivivum; and, therefore—or because of its brevity—we select his account of the rise and progress of the Treasury buildings as we at present find them:—"The Treasury is fronted by an ancient building next Whitehall, strongly marked with modern alterations; a passage hence leads to the Park, and to *an amazing number of apartments* used for this extensive department of administration. Several offices were destroyed in 1733, in order to erect the present building facing the parade; the expense of which was estimated at 9000*l.* The façade consists of a double basement of the Doric order, and a projection in the centre, on which are four Ionic pillars, supporting an entablature and pediment."

Malcolm, a man of almost as few words as ideas, simply tells us what the building is. Dodsley, who in 1761 favoured the world with a description of London, and who having, in his earlier years, like Joseph Andrews, worn livery, and, like his prototype, picked up a knowledge of criticism, pronounces judgment on its merits:—"The whole front is rustic; it consists of three stories, of which the lowermost *is of the basement kind,* with small windows, though they are contained in large arches. This story has the Tuscan proportion, and the second the Doric, with arched windows of a good size; but what is very singular, the upper part of this story is adorned with the triglyphs and metopes of the Doric frieze, though this range of ornament is supported by neither columns nor pilasters. Over this story is a range of Ionic columns in the centre, supporting a pediment. Upon the whole the Treasury must be allowed to be a building composed of very beautiful parts, but it were to be wished they were fewer and larger, as there is a sufficient distance to view it." One is at a loss which to admire most—the resolute manner in which the architect has crammed something from every school of architecture into his truly "composite" building, or the equally resolute manner in which his critic has crammed something from every jargon of criticism's Tower of Babel into his remarks. From Dodsley's book, by the way, we learn that the name Cock-pit still prevailed in his day. "The Cock-pit, opposite to the Privy Garden, is esteemed a part of the ancient Palace of Whitehall, and retains its ancient name, though converted to very different uses from that of a Cock-pit. This edifice, which is built with stone, is very old, and the outside next the street has nothing to recommend it; but within it has several noble rooms and apartments, as the council-chamber, &c."

Where the Treasury of the Kings of England had its abiding place—or, more properly, as we shall show in the sequel, where its *eidolon,* or Platonic idea, lodged before it took up its abode in the Cock-pit, were hard to say. The Exchequer, which, in the reign of Edward I., was literally the King's strong-box, was, in his time, lodged in the cloisters of Westminster Abbey. Madox, in his 'History of the Exchequer,' intimates this while enumerating the duties of William de Eston, admitted to be "tally-writer," which is still one of the designations of the auditor of the receipt. "To keep the keys of the King's Treasury (in the cloisters of Westminster at that time), which do belong to the same Treasurer *in his stead,* and to enrol the receipts and issues made in the Exchequer of Receipt, &c., and to write the Tallies of the Exchequer, and to do other things pertaining to that office. And the said William was sworn, that he would behave himself well and truly, and that he would not, by pretext of any precept from the treasurer, or from his lieutenant" (the Chancellor of the Exchequer), "in his absence, or from

any other, deliver any money out of the King's Treasury to any person without the King's writ, or procure or consent to have the same delivered."

Madox's phrase, "Exchequer of Receipt," is one which came into use at an early period in order to distinguish between the financial Exchequer and the court of justice of that name. The Treasury is not the only department of executive government which, having in rude and early times been invested with judicial powers in certain classes of cases, has given rise to a tribunal which, retaining its old name, has become in time exclusively judicial. The Chancery is still presided over by the Chancellor, but chancellors in our days are judges and no longer prime ministers. The Court of Admiralty is a law court in which the Commissioners of the Admiralty have no voice. The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council is undergoing the process of transmutation into a Court of Appeal, in which permanent, salaried judges will soon come to preside; and the Court of Exchequer has long ceased to have any connexion with the First Lord of the Treasury or the Chancellor of the Exchequer. It was originally a court in which controverted cases arising out of the collection of the revenue were decided. It is the lowest in rank of the four courts of Westminster, and this has been explained on the ground that it was originally erected solely for the king's profit, which was considered an object inferior to the general administration of justice to the subject. As a superior Court of Record it was established by William the Conqueror, as part of the Aula Regis, and reduced to its present order by Edward I. The Chancellor of the Exchequer for the time being is nominally one of the judges, but the real acting judges of Exchequer are the Chief Baron and four other barons created by letters patent. The last Chancellor of the Exchequer who sat in a judicial capacity was Sir Robert Walpole, in the case of Naish against the East India Company, in the Michaelmas Term of 1735. His interference was rendered necessary by the Judges being equally divided in opinion. The Judges are called Barons on account of their having been originally chosen from among the parliamentary Barons. Formerly the Court of Exchequer was held in the king's palace. Its treasury was the great deposit of records from the other courts; writs of summons to assemble the parliament were issued by its officers; and its acts and decrees, as they related almost entirely to matters connected with the king's revenue, were not controlled by any other of the king's ordinary courts of justice. It now consists of two divisions: one exercises jurisdiction in all cases relating to the customs and excise, and over revenue matters generally; the other is subdivided into a court of common law, in which all personal actions may be brought, and a court of equity. Private plaintiffs were originally enabled to bring their actions in this court by a fictitious allegation that they were the king's debtors: this lie was only dispensed with by Act of Parliament in the second year of William IV.

All these strict injunctions were however insufficient at times to keep loose livers from following the injunction of Sir John Falstaff, "Rob me the Exchequer, Hal!" "The Royal Treasury," says Maitland, speaking of 1304, "being kept in the cloister of the abbey church of Westminster, the same was robbed of a great sum of money. Edward, suspecting the monks to be the robbers, immediately ordered the abbot and forty-nine of them to be apprehended and secured; where they continued in duresse till the year after, when Edward, on Lady-day, repaired to the said church to return thanks to God and

St. Edward for his great success against the Scots. On which occasion he gave orders to discharge the monks: however, they were not put in execution till a week after, out of pique to them, by the persons that were ordered to discharge them."

Various have been the derivations assigned by etymological financiers to the name Exchequer. The favourite one appears to be that which accounts for its origin by the legend of the board being covered with a chequered cloth, on the squares of which the various sums of money were deposited with a view to aid the defective arithmetic of early times. This may or may not have been the case, but the age which can be suspected of having recourse to such a rude and simple device may also be conceived primitive enough to have had no better place of deposit for the treasure than a strong chest, like that of our African potentate. The facility with which the monks—or, supposing them to have been innocent, the more adroit thieves whose scapegoats the holy fathers became—got at the money in 1304 favours the notion. So do the singularly ambulatory propensities with which the Exchequer appears to have been endowed in early times. Kings thought no more of whisking away their Exchequer from one place and depositing it in another, than modern gentlemen do of transporting their portmanteaux by railroad. "In this year" (1210), says Matthew of Paris, "the king, upon some displeasure conceived against the Londoners, as a punishment for the offence, removed the Exchequer from Westminster to Northampton." Again, in the fifteenth year of Edward I., Maitland, quoting Madox, says:—"Edward commanded the Barons of the Exchequer (whose financial duties, it would appear from the context, had not then been entirely separated from their judicial) to transfer that court to the Hustings of London, at which place I imagine they audited the city accounts; by the credit side of which the citizens were indebted thirteen thousand two hundred and five pounds and threepence halfpenny. But a mistake being made by my author either in the debit or credit side of the said account; therefore to make the balance answer, I shall make the credit thirteen thousand eight hundred and seventy-one pounds and threepence; and by deducting twenty thousand marks of the debt from the same, it will appear that the City stood then indebted to the king, according to my author, four hundred and thirty-eight pounds six shillings and eleven pence." This looks not unlike making the good city itself his Exchequer, and, indeed, our kings, down to the time of Hampden and ship-money, when men grew restive and would understand the joke no longer, appear, when in want of money, to have dipped their fingers in their subjects' pockets much more liberally than into their own. The idea of allowing money to "fructify" in the pockets of the citizens for the use of government does not appear to be, after all, an original discovery of the nineteenth century.

During the Wars of the Roses, and during what Clarendon has called "the great rebellion," it is equally difficult to ascertain the precise locality of the Exchequer. This, however, is owing to the "embarras des richesses." In these unsettled times each party had its own Exchequer, and it was rather a delicate task to undertake to decide which was the true one. Henry VIII.'s Exchequer was in the possessions of the suppressed monasteries, and that of his daughter Elizabeth in the pockets of all the rich men who came in her way. After the Restoration, Charles II. had an Exchequer, but he contrived to ruin its credit.

So it will be seen that the permanent, stationary character of the Treasury is not of much older date than the period at which we commenced our narrative of the rise and progress of the Treasury buildings.

The theory, however, of the British Treasury was much the same during the nomade period of its existence that it has continued to be in its settled and citizen-like life. There was from the beginning a treasurer whose office it was to devise schemes for raising money, to manage the royal property to the best advantage, and to strike out the most economical and efficient modes of expenditure. He had even then the control of all the officers employed in collecting the customs and royal revenues, the disposal of offices in the customs throughout the kingdom, the nomination of escheators in the counties, and the leasing of crown lands. Then, as a check upon the malversation of this officer, there was the Exchequer, the great conservator of the revenues of the nation. "The Exchequer," said Mr. Ellis, Clerk of the Pells, when examined before the Finance Commissioners, "is at least coeval with the Norman Conquest, and has been from its earliest institution looked to as a check upon the Lord High Treasurer, and a protection for the king as well as for the subject, in the custody, payment, and issue of the public money. The business of the Exchequer, in its simplest form, is the receipt of the public money, and the issue of the same under orders from the proper authority; the second branch, that of issue, further involves the most important duty of control; while both require, in a matter of such national and historical importance, the duty of record."

This is still the broad outline of the Treasury—of the Finance department of State of Great Britain. The enormous magnitude of the empire has caused the subordinate departments of Customs, the Mint, &c. to expand until they have attained an organisation, an individual importance, a history of their own. The different modes of transacting money-business, rendered necessary by its greater amount and more complicated nature, have altered the routine both of the Treasury and Exchequer; the changed relations of king and parliament have subjected the Treasury and Exchequer to new control and superintendence. Still their mutual relations and the part they play in the economy of the empire remains essentially the same as in older times.

The Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, for the office of Lord High Treasurer has for many years been put in commission, have their office at Whitehall, in the building whose history we have attempted to trace, where business is transacted daily from ten to four. The Exchequer, or more properly "the receipt of exchequer," has its office at 3, Whitehall-yard, where the hours of business, say our official informants, "are uncertain." The Chancellor of the Exchequer, who seems formerly to have been looked upon as a depute of the Lord High Treasurer, has in these later times been not unfrequently the same person with the First Lord of the Treasury. He is always one of the Treasury Commissioners, and the peculiarity wherein his office differs from the offices of the rest is simply this, that upon him devolves the trouble of fighting the financial battles of the administration of which he is a member in the House of Commons.

The old forms of transacting business were long retained with a desperate fidelity in the Exchequer. The obsolete make-shifts of tallies and other antediluvian methods of keeping accounts were continued in the Exchequer after the

very milk-women had got ashamed of them. The regulations under which public moneys were received at the Exchequer until a very recent period had been established by immemorial usage, and more particularly fixed by the Statute 8 and 9 William III., c. 28. By the first section of that Act the Teller is bound to receive and make entry of all sums by weight and tale when tendered at his office; and, according to the ancient course of the Exchequer, to throw down immediately a bill of the sum, written upon parchment and signed by the Teller or his deputy, into the Tally Court, where the person making payment received his acquittance. It was from the various stages of this primitive process that the officials of Exchequer derived their strange designations. There was the Clerk of the Pells (pellis, a skin), who engrossed the bill upon parchment. There was the Clerk of the Pipe, who tossed it down through a pipe or funnel to "the court below." In the words of the Commissioners of Finance in 1831, "The present system of the Exchequer had its origin in, and has retained many of the characteristics of, a period when the existing facilities and securities for the transfer of money were wholly, or almost wholly, unknown; when banks, bank-credits, bank-cheques, and bank-notes had no existence, and when the whole system of pecuniary intercourse was rude and imperfect. Multiplied checks were needful at a time when all payments were made in coin by weight and tale; but these very checks become embarrassing as well as useless when the operations have changed their character. In its earlier history the Exchequer sometimes received coin by weight, and at other times by counting (tale); and it had its departments both for melting and assaying when the coin delivered was believed to be below the legal standard. The Roman numerals, uncouth, obscure, and inconvenient as they are, and inapplicable to the commonest purposes of arithmetical calculation, were the usual formulas of abbreviation in the Norman period, and were consequently employed at the Exchequer, though the Exchequer is probably the only establishment in the civilised world that still retains them in preference to the simple and intelligible Arabic numerals, into which, in fact, every document is now translated in the Exchequer-books." This absurdity had been pointed out fifty years before, but no attempt had been made to amend it. In 1782 the Commissioners of Accounts had expressed themselves as to the forms then in use, and which continued in use up to 1831, thus: "An account in the Exchequer-form is in English, but contains some Latin terms. The imprest-roll is all written in an abridgment of the Latin language. The sums in both are expressed in characters that are, in general, corruptions of the old text, and are in use nowhere that we can find but in the Exchequer; characters very liable to mistakes, inconvenient and troublesome even to the officers themselves. The sums so expressed cannot be cast up. Most of the accounts in the Exchequer are made up twice; first in common figures, that they may be added together, and then turned into Latin, and the sums entered in the Exchequer-figures; and that the high numbers in a detailed account may be understood they are written in common figures under the characters. They are defective, having no characters to express high numbers, as millions; they are unintelligible to the persons either receiving or having other money-transactions at the Exchequer."

This was the form of transacting business at the Exchequer—the mere form; for while the officers of the Exchequer were laboriously performing these old tricks, the real business of finance was transacted by clerks of the Bank of

England. For about a century the Bank sent down to the Exchequer persons duly authorised to examine and receive its own notes. By order of the Statute 46 Geo. III. the Bank clerks so attending at the Exchequer were bound to receive cancelled bank-notes from the Receivers General of Customs, Excise, Stamps, and the Post Office (all which departments kept their money at the Bank of England), and to give each Receiver General credit for them with the Teller as for so much cash. The custom too prevailed of receiving through the medium of the Bank clerks not only these branches of the Revenue, but all moneys paid to the Teller on the public accounts; the general use of paper-money having made it necessary to adopt that course in order to verify the notes presented at the Exchequer, and enable the Teller, consistently with his own responsibility, to accept them in payment of the revenue. In short, all payments nominally made into the Exchequer were received by the Bank, and all moneys nominally issued from the Exchequer were also paid by the Bank, and it was only by a "species of fiction," as Mr. Ellis expressed it, that money appeared to be received and paid by the Exchequer.

This grave fooling did not merely keep a set of intelligent men, who might have been usefully employed, doing nought earthly but translating the record of the business transacted in their names by the Bank clerks out of the intelligible language of English book-keeping into a mixture of dog Latin and hieroglyphics which themselves understood only in part, and which nobody else understood at all; it did not only cost the nation for the sustenance of these persons thus employed upon what was neither useful, ornamental, nor instructive; it was a source of serious annoyance to all persons who had moneys to receive at the Exchequer, and who were unacquainted with its usages. They experienced great difficulty in obtaining the necessary instruments from the Treasury; and on application at the Exchequer, a delay of three or four days was frequently experienced in passing the instruments through the offices. Nor was even this the worst. The deleterious influence of the system extended itself to the finance ministers. Men of genius and powerful character the country undoubtedly has had in this department; but to a great extent their abilities were paralyzed by the engine with which they had to work. They devised ingenious schemes for raising a large revenue in the manner likely to be least felt by the tax-payers, and expending it judiciously; but the incomprehensible formulas of the Exchequer concealed from them the working of their own plans. It was impossible to obtain clear statements of accounts—nobody knew how much money was expended, or where it went to. All was groping in the dark. Talent, integrity, perseverance, were thrown away in the attempt to work out good by the hocus-pocus of the Exchequer.

At last the time came when it could be endured no longer. From the recesses of the Exchequer the wayward goblin—the "lubber fiend" (or, as Scotsmen would call him, "the Brownie"), which for more than a century had taken the work out of the hands of England's finance-ministers, and transacted it after a fantastic and grotesque fashion of his own, "was with sighing sent." But as is usually the case with exorcised spirits, he tore the patient he possessed strangely as he went out of him. He evacuated his fortress, doing at the same time all the mischief he could. When Dousterswivel's familiar was exorcised from the mine at Glenwithershins, the bonfire the boys made of the machinery, wheel-barrows, &c.,

spread over the whole "country-side" the alarm of invasion. And when "the tallies" were ordered to be discontinued in keeping the accounts of the empire, and consigned to the domestics of the Houses of Parliament to heat the stoves with, they set both Lords and Commons in a blaze. The burning of the Houses of Parliament was the last mischievous freak of the goblin which had so long haunted the Exchequer;—he soared on their flames to his native empyrean, laughing at the human fools he had teased and thwarted to the last.

The old formalities of the Exchequer have been abolished—a good riddance. But it is easier to get rid of a bad system than to invent a better; and, considering the pertinacity with which the abuses of the Exchequer have clung to us, that is, though true, a tolerably strong expression. Comptrollers were substituted for the long array of clerks of the pells, the pipe, and the tallies; money was received and paid into and out of the national treasury with something of the same intelligible simplicity which characterised these transactions among private individuals; it became possible for ministers to see how every farthing of the national money went, if they had a mind and would take the trouble to do so. But that all possibility of speculation had not been done away with has been pretty plainly demonstrated by the gigantic swindling of Solari, Rapallo, and Smith. The truth is, that a bad old system has been abolished, but that no system has been substituted in its stead. The Exchequer is like the man out of whom seven devils had been cast: it is "empty, swept, and garnished." If care be not taken to occupy it, the old tenant may return, bringing with him, in all likelihood, some of his demoniac kindred worse than himself.

A treasury, we have said, is the key-stone of the arch of government. Let us vary the metaphor. The Treasury of Great Britain is the keep of the fortress in which the Administration strengthens itself—for a minister's tenure of office in this country is but a series of parliamentary sieges and defences. The "keep" of the fort of office at Whitehall is most skilfully placed. It stands in the centre of the fortifications. The War-office, the main-guard, is immediately in front; and the Admiralty, like a horn-work thrown out before, keeps watch and ward with its semaphore. Downing street, the quarters of the Premier and Secretary of State, are in the rear, judiciously covered by the keep. And so long as the Premier's banner is seen waving over this central strong-hold so long are his troops assured of pay and "provant," bold, merry, and faithful.

The personal associations of the Treasury are scarcely so interesting as those of the Horse Guards and Admiralty, topics which have already been discussed in 'London.' In the case of the latter we forget the mere business-organisation of desks, stools, clerks, ledgers, and minute-books; the fancy is carried away to the heroes sent forth by that machinery, and of their exploits in all quarters of the earth. The Horse Guards and Admiralty are poetical; the Treasury is prose itself. Even the First Lord thereof—or, as he would once have been called, the Lord High Treasurer—if he is viewed in his capacity of financier (and not of Premier, which in general he is), appears little better than a sort of land-steward—certainly upon a most Brobdignagian scale, but retaining all the commonplace of the character, magnified, if possible, by the colossal dimensions of the business he manages. And as for the clerks—but the clerks in Government-offices are a race to whom we have as yet scarcely paid sufficient attention.

They are of two kinds—the upper and the under; the former rather disdaining

the humble designation of clerks and aspiring to be secretaries. In one respect, both classes agree: they are clerks for life. Their rise in the world, like that of a caged squirrel turning a mill, must be limited to the building in which their work is done. They may be advanced from the bottom to the top of their "department," but out of it there is for them no egress. Their mind shrinks and accommodates itself to its shell; they become not men of the world, but men of the office. Their jokes are interchanged, their cares are communicated to, their holidays are shared with, the inmates of their own or the neighbouring offices. They have cant phrases and conventional allusions no one else can understand. They, the officials, are a people apart; when they go into a mixed company it is like going among foreigners.

It is a mistake to imagine that familiarity with great objects expands the mind; on the contrary, familiarity reduces the objects contemplated to the scale of the mind itself. Switzerland has produced no poet, and Ossian is apocryphal. All our poets have been town-bred, or, at least, brought up amid scenery which the hunters of avalanches, and mountains rising above the snow-line, and cataracts, call tame and common-place. Alpine scenery impresses only impressible minds—cultivated minds: if a Swiss or Scotch Highlander by accident get civilised, the rocks, glens, and corries which drew poetry out of a Byron have been spoiled to him by being familiar from boyhood. He is like one to whom Shakspere has been spoiled by having been made to spout him at an elocution-class for a tin medal. Talk not of Swiss *maladie-du-pays* and *ranz-des-vaches*: to like is not to be able to appreciate. There is no improbability in Byron's assertion that his dog was the warmest friend he ever had; yet Byron knew many who were better than a whole litter of puppies. So with our clerks in Government-offices. The strokes of diplomacy, the evolution of national power which strike intelligent by-standers with admiration or awe, are to them mere tricks of the trade, inspiring in them no more lively emotions than a cleverly-drawn bargain by his master does in a wholesale shoemaker's apprentice. And yet our clerks are proud of knowing, or being thought to know, all the technical details of political business, and on the strength of that knowledge take upon them to instruct everybody in everything. It is a pleasure to watch the odd contortions of countenance with which they listen to any one pronouncing an opinion on some incident in the wars of Scinde or China, who does not even know the kind of paper on which a despatch is written, or how the leaves of office-copies are fastened at the upper right-hand corner with green ribbon. Your Government-clerk generally occupies a neat cottage in one of the suburbs, within comfortable walking-distance of his office, for the sake of digestion, and, in case it should rain, on a good line for 'busses. A number of Government-clerks will generally be found to have settled down upon neighbouring houses, as rooks do upon neighbouring trees; partly, it may be, because what are local recommendations to one are so to the whole of them, but still more because, like the rooks, they enjoy a neighbourly "caw, caw." About the same hour of the morning they may be seen issuing from their respective doors, after leisurely and comfortably shaving, breakfasting, and brushing, and uniting slowly into one stream, like drops of water on the glass of the window, they move leisurely townward together. Staid decorous men—as all who can keep a place of routine duties for years must be, with the quiet consciences which doing nothing wrong if people do nothing very

particularly good inspires—and with the comfortable state of body produced by regular easy work, sufficient to keep men from fretting about other matters and not enough to make them fret about itself—are easily amused. Their topics of conversation may be counted on your fingers: in Spring and Autumn they discuss the change from a winter dress to a summer one, or *vice versâ.* In summer they talk of yester-evening's walk, and in winter of yester-evening's drive homewards, and the incidents of bad sixpences, new 'busses on the road, &c. These varied by remarks on asparagus, oysters, and other "fruits in their season," form the staple of their discourse which has whiled away their time on the road into town for years. As they drop into their respective dens even this slender vivacity subsides: they become mere copying, fetching, and carrying (of intelligence, however, as well as papers) machines. It is a beautiful arrangement in the mechanism of the human mind which enables man to put forth just so much of his thinking powers as the necessity of his sphere may call for. Your true clerk or secretary, if touched by a question, begins to think as the larum of a clock begins to whir when touched; but left unquestioned, he proceeds with his mechanical duties thoughtless. These congenial souls return homeward in a more straggling line of march; the married men (official characters either marry very early in life or not at all) betake themselves direct to their families as in duty bound; the bachelors are sadly addicted to dining out. They are well-drilled, however, always come to time in the morning, and, as they advance in life, learn the necessity of husbanding their strength. If you take up your station on their homeward road between ten and eleven P.M., you are certain to see them walking homeward with very red faces and steps so steady as to betray an effort. The house of a Government clerk is rather a favorite place of visit for ladies of a certain age, especially if he be a bachelor and addicted to a fine garden.

These are your head clerks, and also, be it noted, your clerks of the old school. A new generation is rising up with more assumption and less character; and whatever philosophers say, every man endowed with the artistical sense requires character, that is, individuality, in the men whom he is to respect. The youngsters positively affect literary tastes; nay, some of them have perpetrated tragedies and treatises on statesmanship (by which term they understand dissertations on red tape, folding of letters, and other official incidents), statistics, &c. Their sphere of greatness is in literary and scientific societies, where they contrive to make themselves of importance by always having some driblet of exclusive information to communicate. They are remarkable of an evening for the whiteness of their kid gloves, and the martinet precision with which they retain their hats in their hands.

The subordinate government clerk is a hybrid between the government messenger and the clerk properly so called. He is, perhaps, the happiest of the whole family. The time was when his leg of mutton baked, with the potatoes done in the dripping-pan, was duly brought to him on a Sunday from the baker's about one o'clock, and he never sits down to dinner on that day at five with a decanter of sherry before him, but he thanks Providence with all the fervour of a Pepys for his advancement. After such a one has occupied a stool in the office for several years, he is generally sent, as a first step in his advancement, to carry a confidential message to some chargé-d'affaires, or to execute some small commission in one of the colonies. An Englishman fresh from London is such

a rarity there that his society is courted by the *attachés* and young officers, and the *chef,* after having remarked, *pro formâ,* in an assertion meant to pass muster as an interrogation not to be answered, lest the answer be different from what is wanted—" Mr. —— is a respectable sort of person"—asks him once to dinner. The poor clerk is bewildered with his greatness: at *pic-nics,* and similar occasions, he is the butt of the young scape-graces who have got hold of him, but he knows it not, though their jokes are pretty broadly practical—he is in good company. Abroad he was in request because he was from home; at home he is an oracle, because he has been abroad. Projectors of a continental tour take Mr. ——'s opinion as to the best mode of travelling, and the most interesting routes, because he has been abroad, and is an official character. In his office he is promoted to a small room, back, down three pair of stairs from the ground-floor, which he has all to himself. His salary is augmented, sufficiently to enable him, with the aid of frequent invitations to dine out from citizens about to make the grand tour, to indulge himself of a Sunday in the manner above alluded to. And he remains for life an oracle on the rise and fall of stocks, and the changes of empire—a " practical man," mind ye, who knows things *before* they get into the newspapers—the source of information for writers of leaders in the daily prints, and for the representatives of the new constituencies of the year '32, as superior clerks are the accredited crammers of ministers, and the aristocratic members of the legislature when condemned to make a speech in parliament.

The subordinate clerk is, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, a Cockney; and the Cockney character is indelible. The upper clerks consist of a pretty equable apportionment of the natives of the three kingdoms. All become subdued to the element in which they live—" nothing in them but doth suffer a sea-change." But they take the official impress or mould with different degrees of facility or completeness. The Irishman retains most of his individuality; his wild spirits, and carelessness of what people think, are incapable of adopting any other habits than those which nature prompts. The Englishman becomes sufficiently officialised to be known at once for what he is. But it is the Scotsman, pliant, yet tough, " wax to receive and marble to retain," who becomes office all over. The gregarious nature of Scotsmen is amazing. At intervals flocks of them wing their way southward, and settle down like locusts upon every green herb. The oldest irruption in the memory of living man was that which brought, among others, the illustrious historian of British India. The next was that which brought Wilkie, and the ex-chancellor, Baron of St. Andrews. All do not find accommodation in public offices; but it is astonishing how many find their way in at these periodical migrations; and more than any others they become mere office furniture. They think minute-books, look ledgers, and walk like stools trundled from place to place. They are endowed with all that condescending propensity to lecture which characterised Sir Richie Moniplies of the ancient house of Castle Collops. And pet amid all this ossification or petrifaction of the human soul there is a drop of kindly feeling left at the core—concentrated like the liquid drop of brandy in the heart of a frozen bottle—at least for their countrymen.

Enough of these occupants of Government offices—at Whitehall, in Cannon Row, Somerset House, Pall Mall, the India House, and the Tower. Any one of the body may be taken as a sample—" he is knight of the shire, and represents them all." But the present seemed the fittest opportunity that has occurred in

our wanderings through London to describe a family of its zoophytes more exclusively peculiar to it than any British family. The Treasury is the centre of their kingdom—the hole of the queen-bee.

Few of the statesmen who have presided at the Treasury have been remarkable for anything but their statesmanship and the general high character of British gentlemen. They afford little to gossip about. Godolphin, as we have already heard Mr. Hatton avouch, was "frugal," and esteemed both by his queen and country. Some of his contemporaries told a different tale—but let that pass. Walpole was "a character," in the conversational acceptation of the term. Good-natured, and withal somewhat ponderous, without intellectual tastes, and coarse in his sensuality, yet with a remarkable talent for governing, he held the reins of power with a more tenacious hand than any statesman who has succeeded him, except the second Pitt. He held them firmly, but without apparent effort; whereas Chatham's was an incessant parade of vigour without the strength to keep hold. Apart from mere animal pleasures, governing seems to have been the only employment or pastime for which Walpole had a taste. It was the thing he came into the world to do, and he could, or cared to, do nothing else. When turned out of office by Pulteney he affected to be resigned, but could interest himself in no other pursuit. He yawned and went to sleep in his chair after dinner, fell into a lethargic state for want of exercise, and slept himself into his grave in no time. Lord North resembled Walpole in his good-nature. Indeed, good-nature is a more common feature of the English statesman than any other. Harley was good-natured; Walpole was good-natured; North was good-natured; Fox was good-natured. But North had not Walpole's power. His greatness was the result of accident. He was kept in office by there being no one else capable of taking it from him. Neither had he Walpole's intense passion for governing, and he managed to enjoy life in his own quiet and complacent way after he was turned out of office. Pitt II. had the governing instinct quite as strong as Walpole, but he had inherited something of the despotic temper of his father; and was anxious that his power should be acknowledged as well as felt. "Good-natured" is scarcely applicable to him, yet he was fond of a social carouse in his hours of relaxation. It is doubtful whether Pitt would not have been a greater man had his father drilled him less. The power of language and the power of action are rarely possessed to the same degree by one individual. With Pitt the talent for governing was an instinct, but the power of oratory (and he possessed it too in high perfection) was in a great measure artificial. It had been drilled into him in youth. There was fluency, and the sentential forms of logic; but there was no play of fancy, no imaginative power, properly speaking, no close reasoning. In modern times the parliamentary displays of a minister attract an undue share of attention, and Pitt is consequently judged fully more by his speeches than his actions. This is to do him injustice; for all his father's care and all his own sedulous efforts could not raise his oratory to the height to which native genius, aided by cultivation, carried Burke, Fox, and Windham. Look to his actions, however, and these oratorical rivals seem dwarfed beside him. The boy grasped the helm of state and held it to the last. He was one of Carlyle's born kings. The people's instinct taught them this; and

> "As waves before
> A vessel under sail, so man obeyed
> And fell below his stern."

We are not writing a history of England, but describing the buildings of its metropolis, and calling up their associations, or we might easily recount a long bead-roll of unobtrusive great men who have here "done their spiriting gently" or otherwise. For our purpose enough has been said.

After all, England's Treasury contrasts strangely with the schoolboy notions of a Treasury that cling to us. Here are no ingots of gold and silver, no stores of jewels, no piled-up substantial wealth. Plainly-dressed men, with about as much small-change as may suffice for the expenses of the day in their pockets, go out and in. Scraps of paper are handed about with large sums written or engraved on them. The abstract idea of money inhabits the empty halls: the power of endowing men with a magnetic power of attracting gold to them after they issue from the doors is there—nothing more. It is like the chests full of sand which the Spanish Jews are said to have received in pawn from the Cid, and to have guarded with scrupulous care, believing they contained the hero's plate and jewels. The chests contained something better than gold—the Cid's "promise to pay;" and the Treasury contains something better still—the collective faith of the British nation, which is not a "repudiating" state. The unseen, remote wealth at the command of this vacant Treasury exceeds what eastern imagination, piled up in the cavern, opened to Aladdin. A British monarch's eye may well gaze on the structure with complacency. And therefore is it appropriately placed where, white-gleaming through the foliage, it is the first object that meets her gaze as she looks from her palace-window in the morning. It is to be hoped that the young scions of royalty are duly impressed with the importance of the wondrous pile which the early lights show to such advantage in the fresh and balmy hours of the young day.

The Treasury, as might have been anticipated, occupies a prominent place in political caricatures and lampoons. A series of broadsides which combine both characters, with pictures above and doggerel below, levelled at Walpole, and also at some of his opponents, the year before he was turned out of office, for the most part lay the scene in its neighbourhood. The first, entitled 'The Protest,' is an allegory of "the Minority" under the protection of Justice, shooting an arrow at Walpole, in his easy chair, defended by "the Majority." The *dramatis personæ* are assembled on the esplanade in St. James's Park, and Walpole's arm-chair is placed right in front of the Treasury, at that time a building of only eight years' standing. The female figures representing "Majority" and "Minority" in this engraving, remind one of the Laird of M'Nab's order to a sculptor to make him figures of Time and Eternity, to be set up on either side of his gate. "But how am I to represent Eternity, Sir?" "Make him twice as big as Time." Another of the series alluded to is entitled 'The Nation.' John, the hero of North Britain (Duke of Argyle), seated on the box of a coach and six, urging the horses to mad speed with a huge claymore, driving over all in his way right to the Treasury gate. The Earl of Chesterfield is postilion. In the headlong haste of the driver the coach is upset, and poor Carteret is bawling from the inside, "Let me get out;" while William Pitt I., trundling pamphlets in a wheelbarrow,

exclaims, "Zounds, they are over;" and Sandes roars out, "I thought what would come of putting him on the box."

Hogarth about the same time introduced the Treasury candidate as "Punch, candidate for Guzzledown," scattering guineas, which he scoops with a ladle out of a full wheelbarrow among the mob.

Gilray has immortalised an apparently less, but in reality more, dangerous attack upon the Treasury than that recorded by the anonymous caricaturist of Walpole and the Duke of Argyle. Dundas and Pitt have just got themselves snugly ensconced in the Treasury, and closed the grated door. The forces who have carried the place for them by storm are approaching for their pay. There is the courtier-like editor of the 'World,' there are bludgeon-men, newsmen with their tin trumpets, errand-boys, and grim grenadiers and highland soldiers in their kilts, all thronging forward with bills to be discharged. The place, it is clear, has not yet been made tenable, though it is necessary that a belief in its being impregnable should prevail; for the new premier, with finger on his lips, is whispering through a crevice to the gentlemen that it is desired they will have the goodness to come to "the back door."

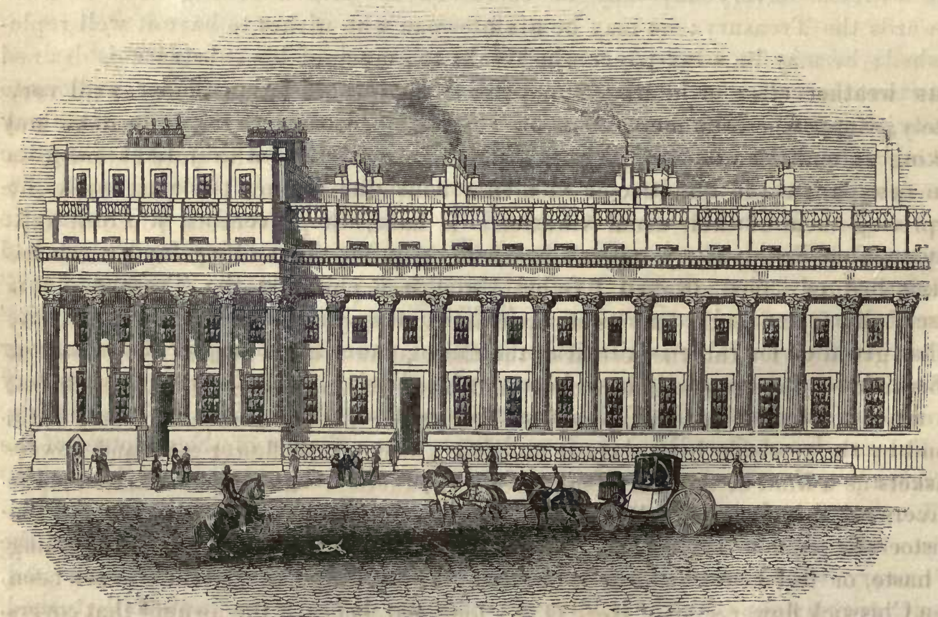
It would occupy too much space to recount all the devices by which metaphor and allegory have attempted to represent the Treasury and its influence. Now it is a well from which fatigue-parties of soldiers with suction-hose are pumping up guineas—now it is a deposit bank from which a premier abstracts money to enable a queen to make up a private purse (sack, rather) in order that she may tolerate him in office. There is something so substantial about the Treasury that squeezing it in to otherwise empty words and pointless pictures they at once acquire a meaning. It is a very god-send to the unhappy political limners and scribblers who are scarce of ideas. It is, like Falstaff, the cause of wit in the witless. Everybody may be conceived to have a feeling of some kind towards the Treasury: he may be a statesman who wishes to have it well replenished; he may be a tax-payer who thinks too much of his substance is drained into that reservoir; or he may be a pensioner, or would-be pensioner, anxious to have it tapped. The mere name of "Treasury" is sure to excite in some way or other; and the wits and witlings know this so well that they have rung the changes on it till it has become as monotonous and commonplace as any triple-bob major. From the wit of Charles II.'s time, who advertised a Treasury to let, to Tom Brown the younger's hue and cry after the sinking-fund which had been lost, or stolen, or had "fallen through a chink in the Treasury floor," every rhymester and copper-plate scratcher among them has had "a gird at it." 'Tis time the venerable institution or building were left to repose, for whatever of wit there may originally have been in the allusion, and there never was very much, has been rubbed off like the thin coat of plating from a bad shilling.

Sarcasm has a short life, love is undying. The affection of the devotees of the Treasury—of a Treasury—of any Treasury, will long outlive all jokes at it. "Le vrai Amphytrion est l'Amphytrion où l'on dine." No, it is the Amphitryon who pays for the dinner. The military chest is the cement of an army, the Treasury is the cement of a government. Towards it, the eyes of all connected, however remotely, with the holders of power, are devoutly and incessantly turned. The maimed soldier or sailor; the widow and orphans of the warrior or civilian

expended out in his country's cause; the highest officers of state; the metropolitan policeman; and many whose claims upon the dividends of this great bank are much more equivocal, all think of it, and dream of it with affection. *Esto perpetua* is their prayer; they could kiss the very lime that roughcasts the building. It is a serious subject for them: the Society for the Suppression of Vice, they think, ought to have restricted its efforts to putting down all newspaper squibs and caricatures against the Treasury. That is too sacred a subject for a joke. They speak of the Queen and constitution, but they think of the Treasury—

> "Their dream of life
> From morn till night
> Is still of Quarter-day."

Dr. Johnson never passed a church without taking off his hat, and Cavaliero Roger Wildrake, though he rarely crossed the threshold of one, duly observed the same ceremony. There are people who take off the hats of their hearts whenever they pass the Treasury, and, as in the other case, this act of homage is not confined to those who have the *entrée*. Perhaps those who have little chance of being admitted within the sanctuary are most fervent in their devotion, as poor Dick Whittington, before he left his native village and discovered that mud not gold covered the streets of London, entertained a more intense veneration for it than the veriest Cockney born within sound of Bow bells. The very monomaniacs (who threaten, if they go on to increase as they have done of late, to outnumber some of the less numerous sects of longer standing—as, for example, their moral antipodes, the Quakers) feel in their disjointed intellects the amiable awfulness of the Treasury. How else can we account for McNaughten's taking up his position on its steps?



[Board of Trade, &c., on the site of the old Cock-pit.]

[The Horticultural Gardens during an Exhibition.]

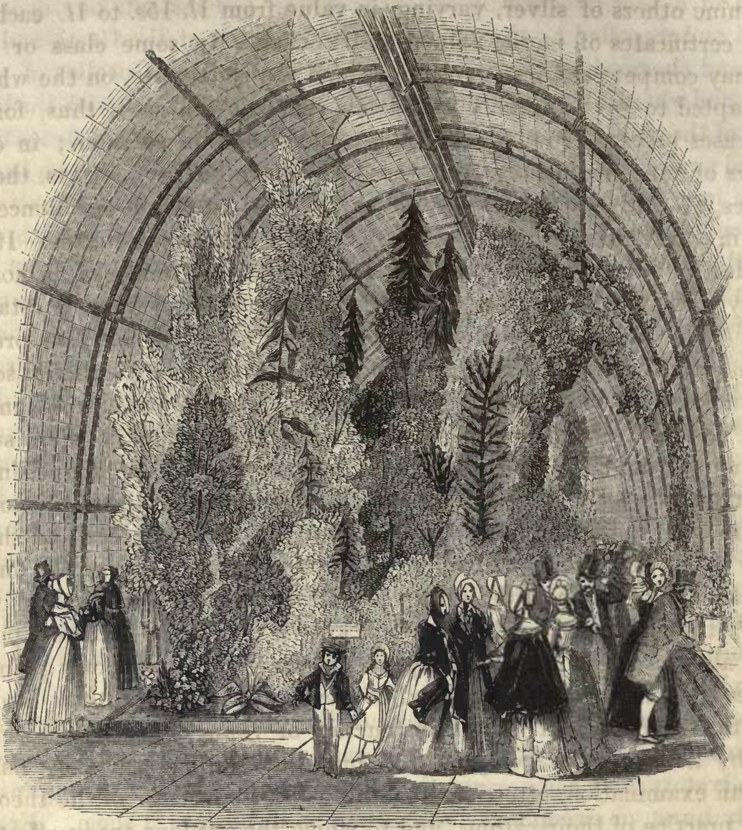
# CXX.—THE HORTICULTURAL AND ROYAL BOTANIC SOCIETIES.

THE weather often exhibits strange freaks, giving us, for instance, as till very lately, winter when summer was to be expected according to the almanacks, and taking unhandsome advantage of the good-nature of those who duly chronicle in the newspapers the quantity of rain that has fallen within the past week, by depriving them of their usual vacation; its habits of preventing youthful holidays, and lowering the temperature of fervid political meetings, must also be acknowledged; but, after all, like other maligned powers, it is not so bad as it is described; it evidently has its sympathies and forethoughts;—see what a day it has given us for this the second of the three annual horticultural exhibitions at Chiswick—a day consummately clear and beautiful and temperate, and with just so much brilliancy as to make quivering leaves sparkle, transform every little pond by the roadside into a sheet of silver, bring forth flower-girls and flower-baskets as a kind of natural spontaneous production,—make omnibus and stage drivers not merely amiable but poetical. Who is it says the fashionable and the aristocratic cannot condescend to be punctual, or to be seen doing anything in haste, or to be ever caught interested? he or they had certainly never been at a Chiswick flower-show. Here is this long seat, beneath the awning that covers the entrance lane leading to the gates, filled with ladies and gentlemen half an

hour before the time of opening the latter, whilst thicker and faster every moment arrive the carriages, till at last there is scarcely standing-room out of the broad sunshine; then, as soon as the gates open, how rapidly the whole disperse through the beautiful grounds, in so many separate streams, each having one of the numerous marquees scattered about for its centre of attraction; and lastly, in following the principal of these streams toward the tent which parties most familiar with such exhibitions make the primary object of attention,—the one in which new seedling plants and flowers are exhibited,—it is pleasant to see the utter hopelessness of our getting any near view within a reasonable time of the delicate and varied things of beauty that make the central stage one continuous glow, fading not even by contrast with the sparkling eyes and rosy lips that are so busy examining and discoursing upon their respective merits. Many a note-book may be seen in use, to preserve the name of that new and magnificent variety of pelargonium, or that pretty pink, or this beautifully formed hearts-ease. A close examination of the faces around will satisfy us, however, that the mere curiosity of the lovers of flowers to learn what new acquisitions they are to expect to their parterres and green-houses is not the only feeling that makes this tent so attractive; something like parental pride may be traced in the countenance of that rosy-featured and white-haired old gentleman, who is expatiating on the novelty of a calceolaria he has sent to the exhibition; whilst in the more serious and business-like persons collected in a little knot here by our side in earnest debate, it is not difficult to perceive so many professional florists, one perhaps chewing the cud of his disappointment at finding the plant he had nursed with such care, and on which he had expended so much valuable time, has been passed unnoticed instead of receiving the solid approbation of a prize; whilst another may be weighing the pecuniary advantage—by no means insignificant—we have heard of new plants making fortunes for their possessors within the last few years—that will result from the confirmed success of *his* favourite. Passing on to a second tent, this elegant-looking circular one before us, we are met half way by a combination of the most delicious perfumes, giving us full information as to the nature of the display within, namely, fruit. And here we would complain of a want of consideration on the part of the directors that should be amended. Look at those fruits rising stage upon stage, each in an almost interminable circle; at their variety, peaches, nectarines, grapes, melons, strawberries, currants; at their ripe colour, their melting juicy appearance, their size, and then their smell, and say if it is reasonable that we should be obliged to go round and round to admire and enjoy their perfection under the vigilant eyes of a policeman, who we have no doubt whatever would prevent us from even taking a solitary grape from a bunch, and yet that no provision should be made for frail and erring nature, not even a solitary pine-apple of the many that crown this tempting pyramid—sliced up for the accommodation of unhappy epicures. A third marquee,—but it were useless to attempt to describe in all its details a sight so utterly indescribable as the exhibitions in question: where we wander from one scene of floral splendour to another, looking down long ranges or artificial banks of calceolarias, pelargoriums, fuchsias, roses; in which flowers—of every individual hue, finely contrasted with each other, and forming, on the whole, magnificent masses of harmonious colour—alone are visible, preventing almost

the sight of a leaf by their luxuriance; where one instant, our eyes are both attracted and repelled by the intensely vivid colours of the Cacti, and the next soothed and charmed by the delicate and soft tints of the Corollas of the Exotic Heaths; and where, above all, we are almost as much delighted with the beauty and perfume of the orchidaceous plants, as we are surprised at their extraordinary character and modes of growth; here you shall find a plant hung up in a basket, from which the long flower descends through the bottom, there, another growing upon a stump of an old tree, to which its roots are fastened by wires, and yet a third sending up its tall stems and elegant bloom from a square frame-work of short logs. In fine, such is the beauty as well as profusion of the innumerable specimens of all our finest flowering plants brought hither from the most distant parts of the kingdom, that at the first glance one can hardly avoid a suspicion of irony in the statement that such exhibitions are intended to diffuse a taste for gardening; if we were to hear of innumerable ladies and gentlemen, when they got home, rooting up annual, biennial, and perennial, in a kind of vexatious consciousness of the ridiculous figure their flowers cut in the imaginary rivalry they have been instituting in their thoughts during the exhibition, it would seem a much more natural result. Flower growers are, however, not so sensitive, and much more wise. So they keep their flowers and improve them as much as they can, remembering that there is hardly greater difference between their plants and those of the exhibition, than would be perceptible between the latter and the plants of similar exhibitions a few years ago.

Leaving the tents and wandering about the grounds, we presently ascend the only elevation the gardens furnish—the raised base or terrace on which stands the Conservatory, like some gigantic glass bubble which a strong wind might apparently burst, or sweep away altogether, so light does it seem. From thence we gaze upon a scene unique, perhaps, in England. Whilst the air is ringing with music, bursting forth now in front, now behind, and now again far away on one side, band answering band, not less than twelve thousand persons are pouring in and out of the marquees, or moving in slow and dense but steadily progressive array through the Conservatory, or filling the long covered shed where the confectioners' numerous assistants are supplying refreshments without an instant's cessation, or promenading over the lawns, or sitting on the scattered benches in a hundred picturesque little groups which by their repose relieve the continuous sense of motion which the whole so forcibly impresses; and from what classes is this immense and most brilliant-looking crowd composed? —Evidently, the very highest. The indefinable but clearly marked air of elegance and dignity without the smallest appearance of assumption of either of those qualities visible generally, in demeanour, language, and dress, would be sufficient to tell any intelligent observer the character of the assemblage, if he had no knowledge whatever of the purpose for which it was assembled—no means of drawing any inference as to the quality of its members. If, when informed upon these points, he enquired further, he might find this day, in the gardens, an amount of social, and political, and intellectual rank, that would surprise him to find collected anywhere, under any conceivable circumstances; but least of all, perhaps, at a flower-show, unless he were aware how universally tastes of this kind had been diffused among the higher classes of society, of late years. This is one



[Interior of the Conservatory, Horticultural Gardens.]

feature of the exhibition. We must mention another. The beauty of our countrywomen is proverbial all the world over, yet it may be safely asserted that we Englishmen ourselves hardly know what it is in its perfection till we see it here. The poets have delighted to ransack the floral world for the tints, the delicacy, the grace, the sweetness that may best illustrate the personal characteristics of their favourites, whether of reality or fiction, and many a smile, at their expense, have matter-of-fact readers enjoyed in consequence; we suspect, however, that could even the least imaginative of such persons see the loveliness meeting us at every turn in these gardens, pressing us onwards in the tents as we delay an extra second or two of time to contemplate, apparently, this profusely blooming kalmia, or retarding us—not unwilling to be so retarded—whilst it is itself in reality so engaged with a tea-scented rose tree, they will confess that even such flowers as are here would have the worst of it in a competition for beauty.

As the day advances, a written paper affixed against one of the tents draws many of the more enthusiastic amateurs to see what prizes have been gained, and by whom. The number and value of the Society's gifts on these occasions is remarkable evidence both of its liberality and wealth. They comprise to-day no less than five "gold Knightian medals," each of the value of 10*l.*; nine "gold Banksian" of the value of 7*l.*; eighteen "silver gilt" of the value of 4*l.*; and

seventy-nine others of silver, varying in value from 1*l.* 15*s.* to 1*l.* each; besides fourteen certificates of merit, valued at 10*s.* each. In some class or other any person may compete at these exhibitions, and the classes are, on the whole, admirably adapted to give all exhibitors a fair chance of success: thus, for instance, in some cases private growers are distinguished from nurserymen; in others, the possessors of large collections from those who have but small ones, the object in both cases, of course, being to stimulate the production of excellence in every quarter, in accordance we might almost say with every one's means. It is impossible, indeed, to over-estimate the value of the services rendered to horticulture, and every thing directly connected with it, by this Society, since its establishment in 1820. The objects its founders had in view were two-fold; to prepare and maintain a place suitable for all kinds of experiments in horticultural science, and for the purpose of collecting together the most valuable and ornamental plants that can be found on the surface of the globe, preparatory to their subsequent distribution throughout England. The beautiful gardens, comprising no less than thirty-three acres, were in consequence formed. In these we now find an arboretum, containing the richest collection of ornamental trees and shrubs that probably exists in Europe, and which render the gardens during the finer months of the year, one of the most delightful places of resort for a few hours' enjoyment. Secondly, there is an orchard, which is acknowledged to be the most perfect ever formed; also forcing-houses for grapes, hot-houses for rare exotic plants, and an extensive kitchen-garden for the trial of new vegetables, or of new modes of cultivating the old ones, and for the instruction of young gardeners; who, we may observe by the way, are not admitted into the gardens till they have passed through an examination, attesting something like knowledge of the theory as well as of the practice of their calling, and to whom the gardens are in effect a normal school. We may form some notion of the extent and value of the orchard, from the lately published catalogue of the different varieties of trees in it, which forms an octavo volume: a curious contrast to the original poverty of our country, when, according to Mr. Loudon, the whole collection of native plants might be comprised in a list of two or three lines, as thus: "small purple plums, sloes, wild currants, brambles, raspberries, wood strawberries, cranberries, blackberries, red berries, heather berries, elder berries, sour berries, haws, holly berries, hips, hazel nuts, acorns, and beech nuts," a collection evidently no more to be admired for its individual excellence or variety than for its extent; yet such, it appears, were all that were generally known even as late as the thirteenth or fourteenth century; for, though the Romans introduced most of the fruits and vegetables now cultivated among us, with many plants that are not so cultivated; "curious proofs of which," observes the same writer, "are occasionally found in the springing up of Italian plants in the neighbourhood of Roman villas, where ground which had long remained in a state of rest, had been turned over in search of antiquities;" yet, after the departure of that people, the plants in question seem to have speedily disappeared from general cultivation, and were perhaps only preserved to us by the exertions of the inhabitants of our early religious houses. But to return:—for the carrying out of the objects indicated a fund is of course the first essential; this is obtained by the payment on the part of each Fellow of the Society of an admission fee of six guineas, and of four pounds yearly; in return

for which he receives, free of any further charge, the published Proceedings and Transactions of the Society; a portion of the rare seeds and plants distributed; admission to all meetings, and to the library; with, lastly, the privilege of sending non-members to the meetings in Regent Street (which are so many minor and more frequent exhibitions, where also plants are shown and prizes conferred), and of obtaining twenty-four tickets of admission, to be used at either of the three principal exhibitions, on the payment of 3*s*. 6*d*. each; beyond that number 5*s*. each must be paid. How the funds thus obtained are expended we have partly seen, but a brief notice of the chief items of the past year's expenditure, apart from the ordinary expenses of the gardens, will show the matter still more usefully. Besides the publication of the Catalogue, the Society laid out 721*l*. in importing foreign plants and seeds; 340*l*. upon the improvement of the hot-houses at the gardens, and 833*l*. in medals and other rewards to gardeners. The first of these items involves some interesting matter connected with the Society's operations, which may be illustrated by an extract from the 'Gardener's Chronicle,' where we learn that Mr. Hartweg (a gentleman specially engaged by the Horticultural Society, as their collector) was in March last at Bogota, the metropolis of the republic of New Granada, on the point of starting for the town of Guaduas, a place 5000 feet above the sea, in a thickly-wooded country, and thence he was to proceed to Carthagena, on his return to England. His collections from Popayan and elsewhere filled fourteen chests, in which were twenty-five species of orchidaceæ, several fine plants of Thiebaudia floribunda, four boxes of roots and cuttings in earth, 121 kinds of seed, and about 4000 dried specimens. At the present time an additional evidence of the vigour of the Society's operations is afforded by the recent departure from the gardens of Mr. Fortune to China, on a special mission to collect whatever wealth of flowers, or fruits, or trees, may be opened to us, by the political changes in a country where we have before obtained so many important horticultural productions. The value of all this it is impossible to estimate with any accuracy in detail; it is only by looking at the state of gardening before the establishment of the Society and now that we can rightly estimate its labours.

In the middle ages a garden seems to have been either an orchard, or a place laid out into walks by high and thickly-grown hedges, or a grove, to any or all of which an arbour seems to have been very commonly established as the favourite spot. James I. of Scotland, in describing his first sight of Jane Beaufort, afterwards his queen, whilst a prisoner in the Castle of Windsor, describes such a garden in the following passage:—

> " Now was there maide fast by the touris wall
> A garden faire, and in the corneris set
> Ane herbere grene, with wandis long and small
> Railit about, and so with treeis set
> Was all the place, and hawthorn hedges knet,
> That lyfe* was none, walkyng there forbye
> That myght within scarce any wight espye.
>
> " So thick the bewis† and the leves grene
> Beschudit‡ all the alleyes that there were,

* Living person. † Boughs. ‡ Beshadowed.

And myddis every herbere might be sene
The scharp grene swete jenepere,
Growing so fair with branches here and there,
That as it semyt to a lyfe without,
The bewis spred the herbere all about."

Chaucer, in his poem of 'the Flower and the Leaf,' had previously described a very similar arbour, in which, it is worthy of notice, he exhibits a perfect appreciation of the qualities that to this day make our English lawns the admiration of strangers; the grass of the arbour, he says, was—

" So small, so thick, so short, so fresh of hue."

It was, in all probability, gardens of the nature here indicated that Fitz-Stephen refers to, in his description of London during the reign of Henry II., where he says, " near to the houses of the suburbs, the citizens have gardens and orchards planted with trees, large, beautiful, and one joining to another;" it is, at least, tolerably evident that as James mentions nothing about the chief feature of our gardens—flowers—when describing some attached to the chief palace during the reign of Henry V., there could have been very little to mention; and that little must have been less with the citizens of London between two and three centuries before. Of gardening, in the sixteenth century, we get a pretty good idea from various sources; thus, it appears the opulent Earl of Northumberland, in 1512, had in his household of one hundred and sixty persons, just one gardener, who attended "hourly in the garden for setting of herbs, and clipping of knotts, and sweeping the said garden clean;" and, of course, if these duties comprised the whole end and aim of gardening at the period, why, no doubt, one man was enough. The knotted garden was evidently the favourite style of laying out grounds with our ancestors. Bacon speaks of "the knotts or figures" being formed of "divers coloured earthe," and ridicules them as toys for children.

[A Knotted Garden.]

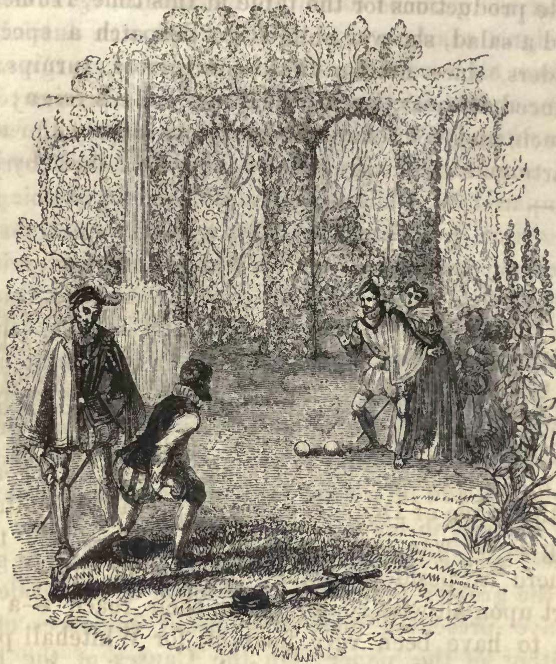
As to vegetable productions for the table at this time, Hume tell us that when the queen wanted a salad, she was obliged to despatch a special messenger to Holland or Flanders, since neither that, nor carrots, turnips, or other edible roots were introduced till near the close of Henry VIII.'s reign; whilst Hentzner's notices of Nonesuch, and Whitehall, show us very clearly the state of the more ornamental departments. The grounds of the palace built by Henry, and which having no equal—

> "in art or fame
> Britons deservedly do Nonesuch name,"

is described as "accompanied with parks full of deer, delicious gardens, groves ornamented with trellis-work, cabinets of verdure, and walks so embowered by trees, that it seems to be a place pitched upon by Pleasure herself to dwell in along with Health. In the pleasure and artificial gardens are many columns and pyramids of marble, two fountains that spout water one round the other like a pyramid, upon which are perched small birds that stream water out of their bills. In the grove of Diana is a very agreeable fountain, with Actæon turned into a stag as he was sprinkled by the goddess and the nymphs, with inscriptions. There is, besides, another pyramid of marble full of concealed pipes, which spirt upon all who come within their reach"—a feature that our forefathers seem to have been very fond of, for Whitehall possessed a similar piece of practical joking. Even here we find no mention of ornamental shrubs or flowers, though, in a survey taken of the palace in 1650, it appears there were then six plants of the now common inhabitant of our smallest gardens,—Cowper's—

> "Lilac, various in array,—now white,
> Now sanguine, and her beauteous head now set
> With purple spikes pyramidal, as if
> Studious of ornament, yet unresolved
> Which hue she most approved, she chose them all,"

but which were evidently rare enough at the period of the survey from the particularity of their description—"trees which bear no fruit, but only a very pleasant smell." Other features of the gardens of the time were the smooth bowling-greens, and the mazes which "well formed a man's height, may, perhaps," as the writer of the 'New Orchard,' 1597, tells us, "make your friend wander in gathering berries till he cannot recover himself without your help." The theory of gardening was at the time, and long after, in an equally brilliant state. One amusing illustration may be borrowed from Evelyn's translation of a French work, 'Quintinye's Complete Gardener;' where a superstition, as prevalent in England as in the neighbouring country, was thus noticed.—"I solemnly declare," he says, "that, after a diligent observation of the moon's changes for thirty years together, and an inquiry whether they had any influence on gardening, the affirmative of which has been so long established among us, I perceived that it was no weightier than old wives' tales, and that it had been advanced by unexperienced gardeners. I have therefore followed what appeared most reasonable, and rejected what was otherwise: in short, graft in what time of the moon you please, if your graft be good, and grafted in a proper stock, provided you do it like an artist, you will be sure to succeed. In the same manner, sow what sorts



[Bowling Green.]

of grain you please, and plant as you please, in any quarter of the moon, I 'll answer for your success, the first and last day of the moon being equally favourable." The history of the public gardens in and near London, since the sixteenth century, illustrates, with tolerable completeness, the history of the changes of taste in gardening, and the general tenor of its progress. During the reign of Charles II., Greenwich and St. James's Park were laid out under the direction of the eminent French landscape designer, Le Nôtre, who had been invited to this country by Charles, with the express view of introducing the splendid French style, and many of his subjects were not slow to profit, each according to his means, by the example. Evelyn tells us of "one Loader, an anchor-smith in Greenwich, who grew so rich as to build a house in the street, with gardens, orangeries, canals, and other magnificence." Kensington Gardens were commenced by William III., who stamped upon them the impress of his own, and we believe, it may be added, the national tastes of the time; when in our gardens all sorts of "vegetable sculpture,"—the

> "wonders of the sportive shears
> Fair Nature mis-adorning, there were found;
> Globes, spiral columns, pyramids, and piers
> With spouting urns and budding statues crown'd,
> And horizontal dials on the ground,
> In living box, by cunning artists traced;
> And galleys trim, on no long voyage bound,
> But by their roots there ever anchor'd fast."*

* G. West.

From notes made on the gardens round the metropolis, by J. Gibson, in 1691, it appears the sovereign's example was still followed with dutiful exactness; the characteristics of them all were terrace walks, hedges of evergreens, shorn shrubs in boxes, and orange and myrtle trees. Kensington Gardens as yet comprised but twenty-six acres, to which Queen Anne added thirty more, and caused them to be laid out by Wise, who turned the gravel-pits into a shrubbery, with winding walks, and was compared by Addison to an epic poet for so doing. It was about this time that there arose in different quarters a more natural taste in gardening, and which, as the commencement of our present system, has excited considerable interest and a great deal of not very conclusive discussion. One of the sources to which this taste is attributed by foreigners is odd enough—the Chinese; but our own poets seem much better entitled to whatever amount of credit may be justly assignable to any particular quarter. From Bacon downwards, we find them exercising a steady and growing influence to this end. That greatest of prose-poets expressly inculcated the adding to our gardens rude or neglected spots as specimens of wild nature, and he placed gardening on a higher elevation than was dreamed of by any one else in his time in the passage, "When ages do grow to civility and elegance, men come to build stately sooner than to garden finely, as if gardening were the greater perfection." Waller, at his residence at Beaconsfield, is said to have presented more than usual evidences of natural taste. Addison is the author of the paper 'On the Causes of the Pleasures of the Imagination, arising from the works of Nature, and their Superiority over those of Art,' which appeared in 1712, and Pope, of that in which the verdant sculpture school is unmercifully attacked in the 'Guardian,' and who, in his epistle to Lord Burlington, laid down the opposite principles that were to be cultivated,—the study of nature, the genius of the place, and never to lose sight of good sense; then Thomson, by his 'Seasons,' did admirable service to the cause; and lastly, Mason published his poem on the English Garden.

The first artist who appreciated and accepted the new faith was Bridgman, who banished verdant sculpture from the royal gardens, introduced 'ha-has' instead of walls for boundaries, and portions of landscape scenery, in accordance with Bacon's ideas, but the clipped alleys were still left to be clipped. Kensington Gardens, under his superintendence, were now further enlarged, by the addition of no less than three hundred acres taken out of Hyde Park, and the Serpentine was formed from a series of detached ponds. This was considered a very bold experiment. An amusing evidence of the state of the general ideas on the subject of garden or landscape scenery is given by Mr. Loudon.—"Lord Bathurst informed Daines Barrington that he was the first who deviated from the straight line in made pieces of water, by following the natural lines of a valley, in widening the brook at Ryskins, near Colnbrook, and that Lord Strafford, thinking that it was done from poverty or economy, asked him to own fairly how little more it would have cost him to have made it straight." But there is an older claimant to the honour of the serpentine form—Sir Christopher Wren's father, who proposed to "reduce the current of a mile's length into the compass of an orchard," and to employ the enclosed space to purposes of "gardenings, plantings, or banquettings, or aery delights, and the multiplying of infinite fish in a little compass of ground, without any sense of their being restrained." Bridgman was succeeded

by Kent, who, whilst his sculpture and his paintings have sunk into merited oblivion, seems to be recognized as the first true English landscape artist, a circumstance attributed, in a great measure, and no doubt correctly, to his studies as a painter. Walpole's opinion of him is high indeed: Kent was, he says, "painter enough to taste the charms of landscape: bold and opiniative enough to dare and to dictate, and born with a genius to strike out a great system from the twilight of imperfect essays, he realised the compositions of the greatest masters in paintings." Claremont and Esher were both laid out by Kent. We need not further follow the progress of that natural taste in gardening which is now happily established, through its various alternations of advance and retreat, but turn our attention to those gardens in which flowers and ornamental and useful plants have been made a primary object, and thus prepared the way for the societies named at the head of our article.

The oldest Botanic gardens in England are those of Oxford and Chelsea, the last belonging to the Apothecaries' Company as early as 1674, and remaining in its possession to this day; being maintained by the Company for the use of the medical schools of London. Evelyn, who visited it in 1685, mentions as rarities he saw there a tulip-tree and a tea-shrub. Here one of the earliest attempts to supply plants that required it with artificial heat appears to have been made, the green-house having been heated in 1684, according to Ray, by means of embers placed in a hole in the floor. To the immense advances that have been subsequently accomplished in this department of horticulture, much of the present prosperity of gardening in England may be attributed. Among the more striking results of artificial warmth, may be noticed the present as compared with the former supply of our metropolitan markets with exotic fruits; which, as Mr. Loudon observes, enables a citizen of London to purchase throughout the year, at a slight expense, the same luxuries as the king, or as the most wealthy proprietors can obtain from their extensive gardens; and which for quality are unrivalled perhaps in any other part of the world. We must add to our brief notice of the Chelsea gardens that it was here that the "Prince of Gardeners," as Linnæus called him, Philip Miller, the author of the admirable 'Gardeners' Dictionary,' spent nearly fifty years, having taken the management in 1722, and only resigned it a little before his death in 1771. During that period the gardens obtained an almost unrivalled European reputation. The first Arboretum was that of Kew, established in 1760, through the influence of the Dowager Princess of Wales, and which, from the monopoly it has enjoyed of royal and governmental support from the time of its establishment down to a comparatively recent period, is in particular departments, such as that of the New Holland plants, without a rival. It has from the same cause been the medium through which an enormous number of foreign plants have been introduced into this country, we can scarcely say into our gardens; for so illiberal was the entire system of management, that it was not until of late years its directors seem to have had the idea cross their minds that, in return for the national funds, the gardens might contribute in some way to the national enjoyment. Except in such particular departments as that we have mentioned, the arboretum of Kew is now greatly inferior not only to the collection in the gardens of the Horticultural Society, but even to that of a private esta-

blishment, Messrs. Loddiges', at Hackney. Besides its arboretum, Kew contains a large number of rare plants in numerous hot-houses and green-houses, and has also an excellent kitchen-garden, and a British garden, containing a rich collection of native flowers. It is now readily accessible to the public, and forms, as may be supposed, a very interesting place to visitors.

During the war, men had weightier matters to engross all their thoughts, time, and money, than the improvement of their gardens or the development of horticultural tastes through the community; it is, consequently, from the period of peace—1815, that we may date the commencement of the present extraordinary prosperity of English gardening; and of which the Horticultural Society, founded, as we have said, in 1820, must be looked upon as the chief moving impulse. It was by its means that the new leisure was used for the advancement of an innocent and graceful recreation, and which may easily become more than this—a valuable and elevating study; it was by its means that the new opportunities of inter-communication between our own and other countries were taken advantage of for the interchange of those natural productions, which seem purposely scattered over the globe that they may form so many links that shall ultimately bind the whole human race in friendship together; it was by its means that all the appliances and discoveries of science were brought to bear in the readiest and most effective manner upon the commonest but most valuable fruits and vegetables of our tables; lastly, it was by its means that the beautiful and previously unknown plants scattered about in different parts of the globe were obtained, not simply for the completion of a botanical collection, or for the improvement of a nobleman's or gentleman's garden, but also indirectly for the common enjoyment even of the poorest cottager. If we go into Covent Garden, and find packets of seed of such beautiful little annuals, for instance, as the blue and white or white and spotted Nemophilias, or the pretty tri-coloured Gilia, and we know not how many others, offered for a penny each, to whom but the Fellows of the Horticultural Society are our thanks due? Or if, in the same place, we find, on inquiry, how completely the old varieties of fruits and vegetables have disappeared, and their places been occupied by new ones of infinitely superior quality, to whom but them, again, have we any reason to be grateful? Or lastly, if we perceive how extensively the example of this Society has been followed in the formation of the innumerable associations that now not only comprise one or more for almost every large town, but we might almost say one for every "florist's flower" (the Heart's Ease Society, for instance), we have satisfactory evidence that the objects and the exertions of the noblemen and gentlemen referred to have been fully appreciated.

That the second of the two societies mentioned in our title may render as great services to botany as the first has done to horticulture must be the highest ambition of its founders. 'The Royal Botanic Society of London' was incorporated between three and four years ago, for the "promotion of Botany in all its branches, and its application to Medicine, Arts, and Manufactures, and also for the formation of extensive Botanical and Ornamental Gardens within the immediate vicinity of the Metropolis." The Society consists of Fellows who pay an admission fee of five guineas, and an annual contribution of two. Exhibitions of

flowers are sanctioned by the Society, and the prizes given are not much less in amount than those at Chiswick. The grounds in the Regent's Park, which are bounded by what is known as the Inner Circle, consist of eighteen acres, which were previously in the possession of a nurseryman, and then formed an almost level surface, the only noticeable deviation being the slight slope of the ground westward. In stepping into the grounds, now, the change is truly surprising, and we do not know where our readers could more readily obtain a practical example of what may be done in picturesque landscape gardening, on the most unpromising sites. As we enter, on one of the evenings devoted to the promenade, as it is called, a pretty rustic screen of ivy intercepts, for a moment, the view of the interior, which passed, we find ourselves on a very broad gravel walk, adorned at each end with large vases on pedestals. As we pace along this walk we have, on the right, a picturesque-looking mound rising to some considerable elevation from the midst of the irregular grounds about its base, and on the left lawns and shrubberies, behind which the winding walks disappear into the lower grounds beyond, where occasional glimpses may be obtained of a brilliant parterre of flowers. "The mount, at least, is not artificial," we have heard visitors say; but it so happens that not only that, but another of the chief features of the gardens—the fine piece of water close by the mount, show, somewhat amusingly, how these things may be managed. The soil dug out of the bed of the water would have been an expensive article to remove, so it was thrown up close by, and lo!—the materials of the mount; then there was a difficulty as to filling the vacant hollow, and it was in serious contemplation to obtain a supply from some of the Water Companies, when a few heavy falls of rain settled that matter, and lo! the Lake. At the end of the walk we ascend a flight of steps, to what is called the Terrace, where, perhaps, one of the most interesting buildings yet contrived for the protection of plants requiring, in this country, an artificial climate, is about to be erected. This is an immense winter garden, entirely covered with glass, where some three or four thousand persons may be able at once to move about the varied surface, ascending or descending the different walks, above all, enjoying the novel effect produced by passing from the hardy plants and temperate atmosphere of their own country in the gardens without, gradually through a warmer and warmer air, each portion having its own suitable vegetation, till, at last, they reach the tropical regions of the extremity, and find themselves in the country of palms, and other such magnificent inhabitants of the East. If this can be accomplished, as is anticipated, without any intervening screens for the preservation of a particular degree of heat to a particular part, the effect will be certainly magical. The proposed dimensions of the structure are 300 feet long by 200 broad, and only from 20 feet to 30 feet high. In this comparative lowness of roof one mode is presumed to have been found of placing the temperature under sufficient management; the other, and chief one, is, of course, the skilful regulation of the heat introduced at the hottest part, which, it is expected, will diffuse itself gradually through the whole building, regularly decreasing in intensity till, at the entrance, all traces of it are lost. In front the building is to have an ornamental dome, some forty feet high. Turning now to the right, and passing on one side the chief body of the promenaders congregated about the stage, on which the band of one of Her Majesty's house-

hold regiments are playing, their cocked hats and scarlet coats forming a brilliant picture from different parts of the gardens,—and on the other, the elegantly fitted-up refreshment-room, the walk leads us beneath the shade of a magnificent tree, brushing the ground on all sides with its drooping branches; and thence onward to certain portions of the grounds laid out in gracefully-shaped patterns which, though yet but very incompletely furnished, are, rightly considered, the most important if not the most interesting departments of the place. That large piece of ground, forming a spiral, is for the reception of plants used, or useful, in medicine; and the student who begins at one end of the spiral will find the different orders are all arranged systematically, according to the improved natural system of De Candolle. Another piece of ground here is devoted to the collection of the chief agricultural plants. But the most generally attractive of the whole will be the garden of hardy plants from all parts of the world, lately formed, and which already contains 3000, and will receive at least 7000 more. These are also arranged according to De Candolle's system, and convey still more directly to the eye, owing to the general form of the parterre, than the other divisions mentioned, the affinities of plants with each other. In this part of the gardens a large and handsome building is also to be erected for the formation of a museum, and to contain the library, reading-room, lecture-room, &c. The facilities offered to students in Botany, at this place, will be apparent from what we have stated. The professor will not need to content himself with illustrating his lecture with a few half-withered specimens collected just as circumstances permitted, but may walk out, like an old philosopher of Greece, into his garden or academy, and teach the most delightful of sciences in the pleasantest of schools.

Returning to the terrace, noticing by the way the taste with which a variety of objects are scattered about, as rustic vases at the intersections of walks, rustic bridges over the water, and the judgment displayed in the more important additions to the original monotonous surface, such as the sloping mounds thrown up in different parts, which now give such variety and expression to it, we pass to the lower grounds on the opposite side of the terrace, where the irregularities become still more agreeable and decided. Every few yards the scene changes. Now we descend into a rocky dell, spanned by an arch of rocks, and with a cave, in character with the whole, at one side; then a little rude bridge takes us across a stream winding sluggishly along between its reedy banks; then, a few yards further, and we are in a kind of amphitheatre, devoted to the growth of the beautiful American plants, or those requiring peat soil, the rhododendrons, kalmias, azaleas, andromedas, &c. &c. We may here remark that the shrubs generally, throughout the entire gardens, are also systematically arranged, and that they are legibly named first with the botanical appellation, and then the English. The mention of the rhododendron reminds us of the changes since Crabbe's time, when the use of the word formed a subject of the poet's good-humoured satire:

> "High-sounding words our worthy gardener gets,
> And at his club to wondering swains repeats;
> He then of Rhus and Rhododendron speaks,
> And Allium calls his onions and his leeks."

Many of our readers we fancy would now be puzzled for the moment to remem-

ber the *English* name of the plant in question. We have pretty well got over that not very rational feeling of objecting to call plants by an appropriate name, and one too that shall be known the world over; and if, when botanists are naming new flowers, they would be at once as appropriate and poetical as Linnæus, when he named another of the plants we have mentioned, we verily believe they might make us in love with as many hard words as they pleased. We refer to the Andromeda, which derives its designation from the daughter of the King of Ethiopia, who was tied naked on a rock, and exposed to the ravenous jaws of a sea-monster, in order to appease the anger of Neptune; but being relieved by Perseus, became his bride, and had many children. Such is the tradition Linnæus thus beautifully illustrates in the appearance of the flower: "Andrómeda polifolia was now (June 12) in its highest beauty, decorating the marshy grounds in a most agreeable manner. The flowers are quite blood red before they expand, but when full-grown, the corolla is of a flesh-colour. Scarcely any painter's art can so happily imitate the beauty of a fine female complexion, still less could any artificial colour upon the face itself bear a comparison with this lovely blossom. As I contemplated it, I could not help thinking of Andromeda as described by the poets, and the more I meditated upon their descriptions, the more applicable they seemed to the little plant before me; so that, if these writers had it in view, they could scarcely have contrived a more apposite fable. Andromeda is represented by them as a virgin of most exquisite and unrivalled charms, but these charms remain in perfection only as long as she retains her virgin purity, which is also applicable to the plant now preparing to celebrate its nuptials. This plant is always fixed on some little turfy hillock in the midst of the swamps, as Andromeda herself was chained to a rock in the sea; which bathed her feet, as the fresh water does the roots of this plant; dragons and venomous serpents surrounded her, as toads and other reptiles frequent the abode of her vegetable resembler, and, when they pair in the spring, throw mud and water over its leaves and branches. As the distressed virgin cast down her blushing face through excessive affliction, so does this rosy-coloured flower hang its head, growing paler and paler till it withers away. Hence, as this plant forms a new genus, I have chosen for it the name of Andromeda."* He subsequently pursued the analogy further: "At length," says he, "comes Perseus, in the shape of summer, dries up the surrounding water, and destroys the monsters, rendering the damsel a fruitful mother, who then carries her head (the capsule) erect." Many other interesting floral compartments adorn this part of the grounds, among them a rosary, in which however the plants are as yet too small to be effective. Here, too, is the Secretary's office, and residence, in a picturesque little building, with a richly-furnished lawn in front, and a fine shady grove, with a cast of Diana and the hart, at one side. The only other part of the gardens that we can here mention is the mount, with its winding walks of ascent, at the foot of which are numerous masses of interesting geological specimens. From the summit we obtain by far the finest view of the whole of the gardens, which from hence have really a charming effect; whilst beyond them, if we look in

* Sir J. Smith's Translation of Linnæus' Lachesis Lapponica.

one direction, we have the handsome terraces of the Park, backed by impenetrable masses of houses, and in another, the ever-beautiful "sister hills" of Hampstead and Highgate. In conclusion we may observe, that in the cut before given of the knotted garden which embodied the notions of our forefathers, and in the view of the grounds of the Society, shown below, we have a tolerably satisfactory evidence of the progress of that truer taste in gardening to which we have previously alluded.

[Gardens of the Royal Botanical Society, Regent's Park.]

[The Model Prison, on the Separate System, at Pentonville.]

## CXXI.—PRISONS AND PENITENTIARIES.

About 36,000 criminals and other persons (exclusive of debtors) pass through the Metropolitan gaols, houses of correction, bridewells, and penitentiaries, every year. In the year 1839 the number of persons taken into custody by the metropolitan police was equal to the whole population of some of our largest towns, being 65,965. The disproportion of the sexes was not greater than in the colony of New South Wales, there being 22,467 females and 43,498 males. The numbers taken up for drunkenness were 13,952 males and 7317 females, or nearly one-third of the whole number: the amount taken from drunken persons and restored to them when sober was 9430*l.*, in 1837. The number of disorderly characters apprehended in 1839, was 4957 males and 3217 females; together 8174 persons; besides 3154 disorderly prostitutes, 4436 for common assaults, and 1448 for assaults on the police; and of vagrants the number was 3780. There were 6764 common larceny cases; and 3196 persons were apprehended as 'suspicious characters.' In the class of cases already enumerated are included 52,221 persons. Altogether, of the 65,965 persons taken into custody there were 33,882 at once discharged by the magistrates; 28,488 were summarily convicted or held to bail, and 3595 were committed for trial, of whom 2813 were convicted. Larcenies in a dwelling-house were most numerous in Whitechapel in 1837, and in St. George's in the Borough, in 1836. Larcenies from the person were most common in Covent Garden in the one year and in Shadwell in the other. Highway robberies, burglaries, house and shop-breaking occurred

most frequently in the suburbs—as in Whitechapel, Southwark, Lambeth, Mile End, and Poplar; but the number of this class of offences, in the whole of the metropolitan district in 1839, was under 200. The parish of St. James's furnished, in 1837, the largest proportionate number of cases for the police under the head of drunkenness, disorderly prostitutes, and vagrancy. Clerkenwell was distinguished for the largest number of cases of horse-stealing, assaults with attempt to rescue, and wilful damage. Common assaults were most frequent in Covent Garden in 1837, and in St. George's in the East in 1836; coining and uttering counterfeit coin in Clerkenwell and Covent Garden; embezzlement in Whitechapel and Clerkenwell; and pawning illegally in Mile End and Lambeth. Murder was most prevalent in Clerkenwell and Whitechapel; manslaughter in Islington and Clerkenwell; and arson in Marylebone and Westminster. One thing is at least clear, that Clerkenwell holds a bad pre-eminence for the number and nature of the offences committed within its limits; but district returns must be continued for a series of years before the character of any particular division of the metropolis can be fully brought out. Comparing Middlesex (including London) with England and Wales, we find that in assaults the county is very much above the average, a result which probably arises in a great degree from the presence of a numerous and efficient police force, which, by affording the means of immediate arrest in cases of this nature, augments the number of cases brought before the magistrates; and the same cause will account for the smaller proportion of murders, as interference frequently takes place before quarrels proceed to a fatal termination. The assaults on peace-officers are also few in number, from its being well known that the aid of additional policemen can be easily obtained. The valuable property in shops and warehouses is usually so well protected in London, both by the presence of a police force and internally by bolts and bars, that the average of burglaries is also fewer than in the country; and the same may be said of housebreaking, which crime, as already stated, chiefly occurs in the suburbs. Robbery, with violence, is also below the average; but in malicious offences against property, the disproportion in Middlesex is very striking, which is to be accounted for by the difficulty of finding means to gratify private vengeance in this way, while, in the country, stack-burning, and killing and maiming cattle are crimes of easy commission. But in crimes which call for dexterity and intelligence the preponderance in Middlesex is very great, as in the case of larceny from the person (pocket-picking) and forgery. Lastly, the disproportion of female criminals in the metropolis is very considerable. In 1842, out of 5569 female offenders, 989 were committed in Middlesex, or between one-fifth and one-sixth, instead of about one-ninth. In the Metropolitan police district the amount of loss by 11,589 robberies in 1838 was 28,619*l.*, and the number for which a police force could fairly be responsible was 2919, involving a loss of 10,914*l.*, including 446 cases of robbery by "means unknown." At the commencement of the present century Mr. Colquhoun, himself a police magistrate, estimated the amount of depredations on property committed in the metropolis and its vicinity at 2,000,000*l.*! Is it to be supposed that, with the present most efficient police force of about 3500 persons, less than 2 per cent. of the felonies should now become known? It is quite clear, indeed, that Mr. Colquhoun's statement was either very far wide of the mark, or that a most enormous saving has been effected by an improved system of police.

Still there is no manner of doubt, that, from the number of persons living habitually by depredations on property, the amount of loss must be very great. The Constabulary Commissioners, who had access to the best sources of information, made a return of the number of depredators and offenders against the law, or who had been subjected to the law, or brought within the cognizance of the police in the metropolitan police district, and the following was the result of their investigation. They divided the whole number into three classes:—1. Persons who have no visible means of subsistence, and who are believed to live by violation of the law, as by habitual depredation, by fraud, by prostitution, &c. 2. Persons following some ostensible and legal occupation, but who are known to have committed an offence, and are believed to augment their gains by habitual or occasional violation of the law. 3. Persons not known to have committed any offences, but known as associates of the above classes, and otherwise deemed to be suspicious characters. The following is the return:

| Character and Description of Offenders. | 1st Class. | 2nd Class. | 3rd Class. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Burglars | 77 | 22 | 8 |
| Housebreakers | 59 | 17 | 34 |
| Highway robbers | 19 | 8 | 11 |
| Pickpockets | 544 | 75 | 154 |
| Common thieves | 1667 | 1338 | 652 |
| Forgers | — | 3 | — |
| Obtainers of goods by false pretences | 33 | 108 | — |
| Persons committing frauds of any other description | 23 | 118 | 41 |
| Receivers of stolen goods | 51 | 158 | 134 |
| Horse-stealers | 7 | 4 | — |
| Cattle-stealers | — | — | — |
| Dog-stealers | 45 | 48 | 48 |
| Coiners | 25 | 1 | 2 |
| Utterers of base coin | 202 | 54 | 61 |
| Habitual disturbers of the public peace | 723 | 1866 | 179 |
| Vagrants | 1089 | 186 | 20 |
| Begging-letter writers | 12 | 17 | 21 |
| Bearers of begging-letters | 22 | 40 | 24 |
| Prostitutes, well-dressed, living in brothels | 813 | 62 | 20 |
| Prostitutes, well-dressed, walking the streets | 1460 | 79 | 73 |
| Prostitutes, low, infesting low neighbourhoods | 3533 | 147 | 184 |
| Classes not before enumerated | 40 | 2 | 438 |
| Total | 10444 | 4353 | 2104 |

This return, tested as it was by the average length of career of offenders passing through the prisons of the metropolis, is no doubt as near the truth as possible. Besides this return, the Constabulary Commissioners also obtained another, giving the number of houses open for the accommodation of delinquency and vice in the same district; and this return we subjoin:

| | |
|---|---|
| Houses for the reception of stolen goods | 227 |
| Ditto suppressed since the establishment of the police | 131 |
| Houses for the resort of thieves | 276 |
| Ditto suppressed since the establishment of the police | 159 |
| Average number of thieves daily resorting to each | 17 |
| Number of brothels where prostitutes are kept | 933 |
| Average number of prostitutes kept in each | 4 |
| Number of houses of ill-fame where prostitutes resort | 848 |
| Number of houses where prostitutes lodge | 1554 |
| Number of gambling-houses | 32 |
| Average number of persons resorting to each daily | 20 |
| Mendicants' lodging-houses | 221 |
| Average daily number of lodgers at each house | 11 |

Now, in 1796, Mr. Colquhoun gave, in his 'Police of the Metropolis,' an "Estimate of Persons who are supposed to support themselves in and near the metropolis by pursuits either criminal, illegal or immoral," and, dividing them into twenty-four classes, he made out the number to be 115,000, of whom 50,000 were prostitutes! The male population of London, within the Bills of Mortality, was then only from 150,000 to 120,000, after deducting children and aged persons. The official station of Mr. Colquhoun, at one time, gave great weight to his statements, and well were they calculated to keep up the country idea of London vice and roguery.

The proportion of known bad characters in the metropolis was 1 in 89, according to the table given above, which is a more favourable proportion than exists either at Liverpool, Bristol, Bath, Hull, or Newcastle. In London, this class fix themselves in particular districts. In the parish of St. George the Martyr, Southwark, the total number of notoriously bad characters, according to the Constabulary Commissioners' Report, was 692, or 1 in 65, or 1 to every 33 adults. "If," as it has been observed, "only three persons form the family or society of each of these characters, nearly 1 in every 20 of the population is thus rendered vicious, or is exposed to the contamination of a constant familiarity with profligacy and vice."* The Mint and the scarcely less notorious Kent Street are in this parish. The Mint was the scene of "the life, character, and behaviour" of Jack Sheppard; and within the same precincts, at the Duke's Head, still standing, in Redcross Street, his companion Jonathan Wild kept his horses. The Mint and its vicinity has been an asylum for debtors, coiners, and vagabonds of every kind ever since the middle of the sixteenth century. It is districts like these which will always furnish the population of the prisons, in spite of the best attempts to reform and improve offenders by a wise, beneficent, and enlightened system of discipline, until moral efforts of a similar nature be directed to the fountain-head of corruption. There are districts in London whose vicious population, if changed to-day for one of a higher and more moral class, would inevitably be deteriorated by the physical agencies by which they would be surrounded, and the following generation might rival the inhabitants of Kent Street or the Mint.

In London, it is not vice only which leads to distress, poverty, and absolute want, the general precursors of crime, but unavoidable misfortunes. The death of parents, the failure to obtain employment, may be the occasion of distress as well as vicious indulgence, indolence, or the loss of character. "It is lamentable," says the chaplain to the Reformatory Prison at Parkhurst, "to observe how large a majority of the prisoners here consists of destitute or otherwise unfortunate children, suffering either from the loss, the negligence, or the vice of their relatives. For example, out of 131 prisoners, 13 only appear to have been brought up in any way approaching to decent and orderly habits; and but 14 are possessed of such connexions as afford them a prospect of a livelihood in future, so far as their native country is concerned. Of that number also 51 are either friendless, or with prospects even more wretched through the crimes of their relations." The "period of criminality," in the case of these 131 juvenile criminals, appears to have been as follows:—Pilfered early from parents and friends, 51; robbed out of doors for several years, 30; for one or two years, 26; for under a year, 7; little, or none professed, 17. If we had space, we should here trace the

* 'Statistics of the Parish of St. George the Martyr,' by the Rev. George Weight.

usual progress of the London thief, until, after having probably been several times an inmate of the gaol or house of correction, he is sent out of the country.

In 1796 there were 18 prisons in London, some of them of very ancient date. Newgate (the City gate) was a gaol in the reign of King John. The prison-house pertaining to one of the Sheriffs of London, called the Compter, in the Poultry, hath been there kept and continued, says Stow, time out of mind, "for I have not read of the original thereof." About 1804 the old Poultry Compter became too much out of repair to be used as a prison, but the night charges were still taken there. The Marshalsea and King's Bench were both very ancient prisons. In 1381, the rebels of Kent, says Stow, "brake down the houses of the Marshalsea and King's Bench in Southwark, took from thence the prisoners, brake down the house of Sir John Immorth, the marshal of the Marshalsey and King's Bench, &c." It was to the latter prison that Henry, Prince of Wales, afterwards Henry V., was confined by Judge Gascoigne, for striking him when on the bench. During Lord George Gordon's riots the King's Bench was thrown open, about 700 prisoners released, and the prison set on fire. The Marshalsea was so called from having been originally placed under the control of the Knight Marshal of the royal household. Its jurisdiction extended twelve miles round Whitehall, the City of London excepted. The persons confined there before its discontinuance in 1842 were pirates and debtors; and it contained 60 rooms and a chapel. This prison originally stood near King Street. The King's Bench originally stood near the spot occupied by the Marshalsea, in the Borough High Street. In Stow's time there was a prison in Southwark called the White Lion, on St. Margaret's Hill (now called the High Street), near St. George's Church: it was originally the county gaol for Surrey, before the one in Horsemonger Lane was built at the suggestion of Howard. It was called the White Lion, "for that the same was a common hosterie for the receipt of travellers by that sign;" that is, it was probably built on the site of an inn so named. Stow says: "This house was first used as a gaol within these forty years last," and it was then the county gaol for Surrey. In the thirteenth century the postern of Cripplegate was used as a prison, "whereunto such citizens and others as were arrested for debt or common trespasses were committed, as they be now (says Stow) to the Compters." Speaking of Ludgate, he says: "This gate was made a 'free' prison in 1378;" and in 1382, "it was ordained that all freemen of this City should for debt, trespasses, accounts and contempts, be imprisoned in Ludgate; and for treasons, felonies, and other criminal offences, committed to Newgate." The munificence of Dame Agnes Foster to the prisoners of Ludgate has been noticed in a former part of this work. Bridewell was given by Edward VI. to the City in 1553, to be a workhouse for the poor and idle persons of the City. The Tower was the great state prison, from the middle ages down to the present times.

The number of the metropolitan prisons is now only thirteen. The Fleet Prison and the Marshalsea were discontinued in 1842, and the prisoners (debtors) were transferred to the Queen's Bench, now called the Queen's Prison. It is situated at the bottom of the Borough Road, Southwark, contains 224 rooms, and the number of debtors has often exceeded 500. The new Act for its regulation abolishes the day-rules. The old practice was for the "rulers" to pay ten

guineas for the first 100*l.*, and five guineas for each succeeding 100*l.* for which they were in custody. Liberty to go out of the prison for three days was purchased at the rate of 4*s.* 2*d.* for the first day, 3*s.* 10*d.* for the second, and 3*s.* 10*d.* for the third. These days were specified on the "liberty tickets." Of course, good security was given to the Marshal that the "rulers" should not decamp. The emoluments of this officer in 1813 were stated to be 3590*l.* a-year, of which 872*l.* arose from the sale of beer, and 2823*l.* from the rules. The regulations of the prison are in future to be framed by one of the Secretaries of State; and the Act provides for the classification of the prisoners. Some notice of the characteristics of a debtor's prison has already been given, and to it we must at present refer the reader.* The Borough Compter, removed to Mill Lane, Tooley Street, is now used exclusively for debtors from the Borough of Southwark; the prison in Whitecross Street is also exclusively a debtors' prison for London and Middlesex. Debtors are also confined in the Surrey County Gaol, Horsemonger Lane; and in the Westminster Bridewell, Tothill Fields; both likewise prisons for criminals. Debtors were confined in Newgate and Giltspur Street before the prison in Whitecross Street was built. The late Sir Richard Phillips, in a letter on the 'Office of Sheriff,' published in 1808, said:—"The very circumstance of being committed for debt to *Newgate* has a tendency to degrade an unfortunate individual, more than confinement from the same cause in any other prison."

It is very probable that the majority of the prisons will never be seen by the casual visitor to London; but this is not the case with Newgate, and its use is at once apparent, for there is not a more characteristic edifice in London, and it is admirable both in spirit and design. Old Newgate prison, built after the fire of 1666, was pulled down and rebuilt between 1778 and 1780; but during Lord George Gordon's riots in the latter year it was broken open, the prisoners were released, and the rioters set fire to the prison and to the keeper's house, which were destroyed. At the commencement of the present century nearly eight hundred prisoners were confined at one time in Newgate, and in consequence of its crowded state a contagious fever broke out. Many improvements have been made since this period. In 1810, in consequence of the strenuous exertions of Sir Richard Phillips, a committee of the Common Council passed a resolution for building a new prison for debtors, and in 1815 Newgate ceased to be a debtors' prison, the debtors being transferred to Giltspur Street Compter. This latter place ceased to be a debtors' prison in consequence of the erection of Whitecross Street prison. In 1811 public attention was strongly directed to the subject of penitentiary houses, and some attempts were made at a classification of the prisoners in Newgate. Still it has often been stigmatised as one of the worst managed of the large prisons of England. The duties of the chaplain of Newgate thirty years ago, in return for an income of above 300*l.* a year, are thus described in a Parliamentary Report of 1814:—"Beyond his attendance in chapel and on those who are sentenced to death, Dr. Forde feels but few duties to be attached to his office. He knows nothing of the state of morals in the prison; he never sees any of the prisoners in private; though fourteen boys and girls from nine to thirteen years old were in Newgate in April last, he does not consider attention to them a point

* No. LXXVIII. 'Fleet Prison,' vol. iv.

of his duty; he never knows that any have been sick till he gets a warning to attend their funeral; and does not go to the infirmary, for it is not in his instructions." The duties of the chaplain are now of course performed with as much zeal as in any other prison. In Dr. Forde's time the attendance of the prisoners at chapel was entirely voluntary! Gambling and drinking, and tales of villainy and debauchery were the only occupations. The old prisoners instructed the younger ones in the deftest feats of robbery. The want of classification, and the entire idleness in which the prisoners spent their time, rendered Newgate a positive institution for the encouragement of vice and crime. The casual offender, committed on some slight charge which scarcely affected his moral character, was thrust into the companionship of beings scarcely human, men transformed into demons by the vilest passions and a life nurtured from infancy in the lowest depth of vice and infamy; the young were placed with the old, the healthy with the sick, the clean with the filthy, and even the lunatic was there the sport or the fear of the prison. From the contaminating nature of such association there was no escape, and the young offender came out of prison fit for any desperate scheme of villainy. "I scruple not to affirm," says Howard, "that half the robberies committed in and about London are planned in the prisons by that dreadful assemblage of criminals and the number of idle people who visit them." Should the uninitiated in crime at first shrink from intercourse with the prison rabble, he was subjected to every species of annoyance until, openly at least, he was compelled to embrace the brotherhood. His contumacy, so long as it lasted, became the subject of mock trials, in which generally the oldest and most dexterous thief acted as judge, with a towel tied in knots hung on each side of his head for a wig; and he was in no want of officers to put his sentences into execution. "Garnish," or "footing," or "chummage" (for it was called by all the three names), was demanded of all new prisoners. "Pay or strip," was the order, and the prisoner without money was obliged to part with a portion of his scanty apparel to contribute towards the expense of a riotous entertainment, the older prisoners adding something to the "garnish" paid by the new-comer. The practice of the prisoners cooking their own food had not been long discontinued in 1818. Among other objectionable practices were the profits which the wardsmen derived from supplying prisoners with various articles, so that often they benefited by means which tended to promote disorder. The difficulty of introducing a proper classification of prisoners in Newgate led the Parliamentary Committee on Metropolitan Gaols in 1818, to propose the classification of the prisons themselves, as Newgate for felonies, before trial; and other prisons for different classes of convicted offenders.

It is now nearly thirty years since Mrs. Fry commenced her well-known attempts to improve the female prisoners in Newgate. In 1808, according to Sir Richard Phillips, the number of women in Newgate was usually from one hundred to one hundred and thirty. The breadth allotted to each in their sleeping-room was only eighteen inches! The untried were mixed with the convicted, the young and repentant offender with the hardened and profligate transgressor. When Mrs. Fry commenced her benevolent task, the female wards were a scene of uproar and confusion which defies description. The occupations and amusements of the place, as Mrs. Fry states, were "swearing, gaming, fighting, singing, dancing, drinking, and dressing up in men's clothes." Some, however, were destitute of

clothing, and unfit to be seen. One girl spent ten shillings in one day for beer, obtained in the name of other prisoners. Some of the women had scarcely sufficient food to support existence, while others enjoyed delicacies sent in by their friends. There was no certain supply of soap, and towels were not provided.

Notwithstanding that gradually a number of improvements have taken place in the discipline and administration of Newgate, it is still defective, and radically so, for the present building does not admit of the application of a proper system of discipline. In 1836 the Inspectors of Prisons justly found fault with the evils of gaol-contamination which prevail within its walls. The prisoners were enabled to amuse themselves with gambling, card-playing and draughts. They could obtain, by stealth it is true, the luxury of tobacco and a newspaper. Sometimes they could get drunk. Instruments to facilitate prison-breaking were found in the prison. Combs and towels were not provided, and the supply of soap was insufficient. In 1838 the Inspectors reported, that "this great metropolitan prison, while it continues in its present state, is a fruitful source of demoralization." In their last Report (the Seventh), dated 5th April, 1843, the Inspectors say:—"It has been our painful duty again and again to point attention to the serious evils resulting from gaol association and consequent necessary contamination in this prison. The importance of this prison in this point of view is very great. As the great metropolitan prison for the untried, it is here that those most skilled in crime of every form, those whom the temptations, the excesses, and the experience of this great city have led through a course of crime to the highest skill in the arts of depredation and to the lowest degradation of infamy, meet together with those who are new to such courses, and who are only too ready to learn how they may pursue the career they have just entered upon, with most security from detection and punishment, and with greater success and indulgence. The numbers committed, nearly 4000 per annum, which have rapidly increased, and are still increasing, render this a subject of still greater moment. Of this number about one-fifth are acquitted; many of these return to their associates with increased knowledge and skill in crime; with lost characters; with more hardened dispositions from their association here with others worse than themselves; and with their sense of shame and self-respect sadly diminished, if not utterly destroyed, by exposure to others, and by increased gaol acquaintances. Many others are sentenced to short terms of imprisonment, and in like manner soon get back again to their former courses and companions; and each of these becomes a source of greater mischief to the public, and of danger and seduction to the unwary and inexperienced. We most seriously protest against Newgate as a great school of crime. Associated together in large numbers and in utter idleness, frequently moved from ward to ward, and thereby their prison acquaintance much enlarged, we affirm that the prisoners must quit this prison worse than they enter it. It is said that prisoners are here but for a short time, and therefore that much mischief cannot be done. Many of them are here for three weeks and more, and are locked up together in numbers from three to twenty, for twenty out of twenty-four hours, without the restraining presence even of an officer, without occupation or resource, without instruction, except that afforded by the daily chapel service, and by the short visits which a chaplain can pay from ward to ward in so large a prison, and by the books which are

placed in the wards. At the end of three weeks what remains to be learnt that any inmate of a ward can teach? what narrative of guilty or sensual adventure remains untold? what anticipation of future success and indulgence that has not been dwelt upon? Some few have courage to fly from such mischievous companionship, and ask, after a few hours' experience of the wards of Newgate, to be placed in the separate cells; but it is not to be expected that many will voluntarily fly from company which distracts thought, to seclusion and their own unhappy reflections. The arrangements however for these few are such as to deter them from availing themselves of them. The solitary cells are the old condemned cells of Newgate, which are now used as refractory cells for those who offend against the discipline of the prison, or for those charged with unnatural offences, or with the most brutal crimes; and if a young man, who has never before been in prison—who wishes to retain the little good that remains to him—and who is disgusted with the characters he has met in the prison, and the language and conversation he has been obliged to hear, requests to be put apart, he is removed to one of these cells. They are cold, ill ventilated, dark, small, and even without a seat to sit upon. At our last inspection we found two young men of comparatively respectable appearance, who, disgusted with the bad conversation, the oaths, and the indecent language which they said they had heard in the wards, requested to be alone; and who preferred solitude in these wretched cells to such companionship. One had been a month in separate confinement under the most unfavourable circumstances possible; and yet did not regret the choice he had made."

Within less than a stone's throw of Newgate is Giltspur Street Compter, now used for criminals only, the debtors having been removed on the completion of the Whitecross Street prison. It is under the jurisdiction of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and is both a prison and a house of correction. Since July, 1842, night-charges have no longer been sent here, but to the police station-houses. The front looks west upon St. Sepulchre's Church and down Skinner Street; and on the south it is bounded by the north side of Newgate Street; and on the east and north by the buildings of Christ's Hospital. The balls of the Christ's Hospital scholars often fall into one of the prison-yards. What a contrast between the two institutions and their respective inmates! There is only one entrance, in the centre of the front building. The area within is occupied by a multiplicity of wards, yards, and sleeping-rooms, constructed without order or regularity, and which defy the application of correct principles of prison discipline. Prisoners of every denomination and character are here crowded together, with as little classification as in Newgate. The solitary confinement of this prison consists in the prisoner being consigned to apartments in the front of the building, which enable him to command a view of one of the greatest thoroughfares in the metropolis, with its numerous moving incidents; and although, when there is an execution in front of Newgate, he cannot see the criminal turned off, the street groups below keep alive his interest in the proceedings. About 6000 prisoners are annually committed to this prison; and either their behaviour must be most admirable, and Giltspur Street is a most excellent penitentiary, or the officers of the prison are most indulgent, for the number of prison punishments in one year was only 20! This is one of the least secure of the metropolitan prisons, and

the escapes from it have been the most frequent. The Inspectors of Prisons, after alluding to one or two causes which render the prison insecure, remark: "There is another circumstance which renders this prison very insecure, but which we do not think it prudent to notice." The number of visitors admitted daily averages about 100, and on Sundays double this number. It is right to add that considerable improvements have taken place within a very recent period in the discipline and management of the prison, and that the City authorities have shown a most laudable desire to amend the defects of a former period; and, as a proof of their zealous and enlightened spirit in this case, they have determined upon pulling down the old prison, except the building fronting the street, and to rebuild it upon the most improved principles of prison construction. When these changes are effected, Newgate cannot long resist amendment.

Bridewell, another place of confinement within the City of London, is under the jurisdiction of the Governors of Bridewell and Bethlehem Hospitals, but it is supported out of the funds of the Hospital. The entrance is in Bridge Street, Blackfriars. The prisoners confined here are persons summarily convicted by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and are for the most part petty pilferers, misdemeanants, vagrants, and refractory apprentices sentenced to solitary confinement; which term need not terrify the said refractory offenders, for the persons condemned to "solitude" can with ease keep up a conversation with each other from morning to night. The total number of persons confined here in 1842 was 1324; of whom 233 were under 17, and 466 were known or reputed thieves. In 1818 no employment was furnished to the prisoners. The men sauntered about from hour to hour in those chambers where the worn blocks still stood and exhibited the marks of the toil of those who, as represented in Hogarth's prints, were employed in beating hemp. The tread-mill has been now introduced, and more than five-sixths of the prisoners are sentenced to hard labour, the "mill" being employed in grinding corn for Bridewell, Bethlem, and the House of Occupation. The Seventh Report of the Inspectors of Prisons on the City Bridewell is as follows: "The establishment answers no one object of imprisonment except that of safe custody. It does not correct, deter, nor reform; but we are convinced that the association to which all but the City apprentices are subjected, proves highly injurious, counteracts any efforts that can be made for the moral and religious improvement of the prisoners, corrupts the less criminal, and confirms the degradation of the more hardened offender. The cells in the old part of the prison are greatly superior to those in the adjoining building, which is comparatively of recent erection, but the whole of the arrangements of which are exceedingly defective. It is quite lamentable to see such an injudicious and unprofitable expenditure as that which was incurred in the erection of this part of the prison."

If we proceed from Newgate in a north-west direction, there are two important prisons, Coldbath-fields and Clerkenwell. The former, according to the Inspectors of Prisons, "is the largest and most important in the kingdom for criminal purposes." Coldbath-fields House of Correction is in the parish of St. James, Clerkenwell, between the church and Gray's Inn Road, and is under the jurisdiction of fourteen magistrates, appointed at each Quarter Sessions, of whom four go out quarterly by rotation. It is for criminals from all parts of the county of Middlesex. The number of prisoners confined in the course of the twelve months

ending Michaelmas, 1841, was 11,043, namely, 7331 males and 3712 females: as many as 12,543 have been committed here in one year. The greatest number confined at one time was 1215; and the daily average for the year was 1032. The management of so large a number, and the regulation of the details and routine of the daily discipline and proceedings of the prison, is a task which few men are qualified to undertake. The Governor is assisted by 54 paid officers, including 2 chaplains; and wardsmen and monitors are selected from the prisoners. There are 43 different kinds of books of account kept. The prison is surrounded by a high wall, varying in height from 18 to 23 feet; and the prison buildings are in three distinct divisions:—The principal, or old building, erected in 1794; 2. The new vagrants' ward, completed in 1830; and, 3. The female prison or wards, completed in 1832. The old prison forms a square with two wings; and both the centre and the wings are divided into parts, eight of which belong to the centre and eight to the two wings. These divisions facilitate the classification of the prisoners, though, from general structural defects, this classification is comparatively nugatory. The vagrants' ward, used also for reputed thieves, consists of five radiating wings proceeding from a semicircular building, and these five wings, with the four intermediate airing courts, constitute four yards. The female wards constitute a distinct building, which does not differ much in its plan from the vagrants' ward. There are two chapels, one for males, and the other for females, in which there is service every morning. Some of the ladies connected with the British Society for the Reformation of Female Prisoners visit the female department of the prison to read the Scriptures, &c. There are six schools for the instruction of boys; also an adult school; and 36 tread-mills, each calculated for 11 persons. Sentences of hard labour are worked out on "the mill," or in picking oakum or coir, in menial offices, labour in the yards, in handicrafts necessary for the service of the place, and in scouring and washing. Labour of this kind, in a smaller proportion, is assigned to those who are not sentenced to "hard" labour. The discipline enforced is that called the "Silent System;" the prisoners working in bodies, and silence being preserved by great vigilance on the part of the officers of the prison and the wardsmen, their assistants. At night, 520 prisoners sleep in separate cells. Visitors are only received during two hours of the day, on week days; and an order must first be obtained from a magistrate, who only grants it under pressing circumstances. If granted, the visitor's interview lasts only a quarter of an hour, at a double iron grating, the visitor on one side and the prisoner on the other, a turnkey being stationed between the two gateways. The general practice, as it regards intercourse by letter, is to prohibit a convicted person receiving a letter until six months of his imprisonment have elapsed, and afterwards the permission only extends to one letter a month. It is impossible to practise gambling under the discipline adopted at this prison, which is highly distinguished for its efficiency. The Prison Inspectors, in their Seventh Report, observe, "This prison continues to maintain its high character for cleanliness, order, and strict government; and the management throughout is most creditable to the Governor and the officers under him." The prison offences for the year ending Michaelmas, 1842, were,—for neglect of work, 948; noise, talking, insolence, bad language, 9562; various acts of disobedience or disorder, 5788; other offences for which prisoners were put in the cells, 420; altogether, 16,808 offences.

It is needless to remark that the internal police of a prison is very materially affected by the "Silent System" of discipline: one half the punishments in Coldbath-fields originate in this conventional restriction. In the prison penal code the stoppage of a meal, half a pint of gruel, is the smallest penalty, and solitary confinement on bread and water for three days, the maximum. Handcuffs are used when violence is attempted. The cat-o'-nine-tails and the birch rod are used, the latter, perhaps, too sparingly, for only 15 experienced its smart in 1841, and the "cat" was used in only four cases. Whipping takes place in presence of the offender's class, and the worst characters in the other classes.

Clerkenwell Prison, St. James's Walk, is the general receiving prison of the county of Middlesex for persons committed either for examination before the police magistrates, for trial at the sessions, for want of bail, and occasionally on summary convictions. The prison was established by patent granted by James I. to the Liberty of Clerkenwell; but the greater part of the present building is of the date of 1816, when the prison was altered and enlarged at an expense of 40,000*l.*; but it is an ill-constructed edifice, and not at all in accordance with the present improved plans of prison construction. On two sides the prison yards are overlooked from the adjacent houses. The number of persons confined here in the course of the year ending Michaelmas, 1841, was 3882; and the greatest number at any one time was 158. The Inspectors of Prisons have frequently directed attention in their Reports to the demoralizing effects of imprisonment in this gaol. Prisoners for re-examination are subjected to the hardship of associating with some of the worst criminal characters in the metropolis. A new gaol for untried prisoners must, they remark, sooner or later be erected for the county of Middlesex.

The Westminster Bridewell in Tothill-fields is a new building, erected at a cost of 200,000*l.*, and was first occupied by prisoners in June, 1834. It consists of three principal divisions:—the gaol for males before trial; the house of correction for male convicts; and the female prison, each on the radiating plan, and comprising eight wards with corresponding airing yards; 42 day-rooms, and 288 single sleeping-cells. The centre of the prison forms an octangular court-yard, 250 feet across each way. The untried are associated, and so are the convicted, but the latter are subjected to the discipline of the "silent system." The number confined in the prison in 1841, was 5133.

Horsemonger Lane Prison, in St. Mary's, Newington, is under the jurisdiction of the Surrey county magistrates, and is a substantially-built structure, capable of receiving 364 criminals. It is of a quadrangular form, with three stories above the basement, and was completed for the reception of prisoners in 1798. One side, appropriated to debtors, consists of three divisions—one for the master-debtors, one for the common debtors, and the third for the inferior class of debtors and the female debtors. The criminal division occupies the three other sides of the building, arranged in ten wards, and the whole is surrounded, or nearly so, by the prison garden. Prisoners have been drafted to the Westminster Bridewell from Coldbath-fields, and the consequence is that many of the advantages of classification which it enjoyed are lost; and, properly speaking, this prison is for criminals and debtors from the city and liberties of Westminster. The "silent system" is in operation for the convicted prisoners. The number of prisoners

confined during the year ending Michaelmas, 1841, was 5133, including 161 debtors; and the greatest number of prisoners at any one time was 395.

Before noticing the Millbank Penitentiary, and the Model Prison at Pentonville, we must briefly advert to the history of improvements in prisons and prison discipline. These began with the labours of Howard, who, in 1775, published his work on 'The State of the Prisons in England and Wales.' The manifest evils of gaol association led to the publication of Bentham's 'Panopticon, or the Inspection House,' and in 1791 he presented to Mr. Pitt his plan for prison management, on the principle of his 'Panopticon.' Mr. Pitt and several of the ministers entered into his views with the greatest readiness, but years were spent in a fruitless struggle to bring them into operation, and it is now well known that they were thwarted by the obstinacy of George III. The land on which the Penitentiary now stands was paid for at the price of 12,000*l.*, though a much more advantageous site could have been obtained at Battersea Rise for half the money. The Penitentiary at Millbank was not commenced until 1813. It was intended at first for 300 males and 300 females; but in 1816 an Act was passed authorising the completion of accommodation for 400 males and 400 females; and three years afterwards another Act extended the design, and 600 males and 400 females were to be provided for. In 1835 another Act further increased the extent of the Penitentiary, and adapted it for the confinement of 800 males and 400 females. There are now above 1100 separate cells, and by subdividing a few of the larger the number might be increased to 1200. The Separate System in England was first brought into operation in 1790, at the Gloucester County Gaol, under the auspices of Sir George Paul, a magistrate of enlightened views, who, in conjunction with Howard and Judge Blackstone, devised a plan for a national penitentiary; and Sir George Paul, then an active magistrate of Gloucestershire, induced the other magistrates of the county to give the plan a trial. It is an error to suppose that the separate system was first introduced in the penitentiaries of the United States. From 1790 to 1807 it was in most successful operation at Gloucester, until the increase of population outgrew the accommodations of the prison.

The Millbank Penitentiary is in the parish of St. John, Westminster, but an act was passed for making it extra-parochial. It stands on the left bank of the Thames, about half a mile from the Houses of Parliament, and not far from the foot of Vauxhall Bridge. The soil on which it is built is a deep peat, and the prison buildings are laid on a mass of concrete. Still the lowness of the situation, the extent of the mud-banks exposed at low tides to evaporation, the number of deleterious manufactures carried on in the vicinity, render the prison any thing but healthy. It was first occupied by prisoners in 1816, when a part only of the Penitentiary was completed, and the whole was finished in 1821. At the end of 1823, in consequence of the prevalence of an alarming epidemic, the place was temporarily abandoned, the prisoners being removed to the hulks, under a special Act of Parliament, and it was not re-opened until August, 1824. The cost of the buildings has exceeded half a million sterling, or at the rate of 500*l.* for each cell, but as the number of prisoners has only once been so high as 878 (in 1823), and the number of late years has not averaged 600, it is not extravagant to assume that the mere lodging of each prisoner involves an amount of capital sunk of not less than 1000*l.*, for which a builder would expect interest at the rate of 70*l.* or

80*l*. a year. By an Act passed in the session of 1843, the name of the Penitentiary has been changed, and in future its proper designation will be the Millbank Prison. It is under the control of the Secretary of State, but is more immediately under a Committee, not exceeding twenty nor less than ten, nominated by the Queen in Council. The prisoners are chiefly persons sentenced to transportation or to death, whose punishment has been commuted to imprisonment; and military delinquents. In their last Report but one, the Superintending Committee remark, that "in consequence of a distressing increase in the number of insane prisoners, the separate system has been relaxed." The prohibition of intercourse is now limited to the first three months; then a modified system of intercourse is allowed, consisting of permission to converse during the hours of exercise, with two or more fellow prisoners, a principle of classification being observed with reference to age, character, and conduct; and the privilege is liable to be suspended. In their last Report the Committee state that eighteen months before the alteration of discipline took place, 15 prisoners became insane; in the eighteen subsequent months only 5. The Inspectors of Prisons in their Seventh Report state that the existing system of discipline "is neither calculated to deter from crime, nor contribute to the personal reformation of the offender." The defective health of the prisoners has always been a great obstacle to the maintenance of an efficient discipline.

The boundary wall of the Millbank Prison is nearly three miles in extent, with only one entrance-gate. It encloses an area of sixteen acres, seven of which are occupied by the prison-buildings and thirty airing-yards, and the remainder is laid out as garden-ground. The plan of the prison-buildings is most intricate: arranged in the form of a pentagon, though a sixth angle has been added. In each pentagon there are twelve cell-passages, each 152 feet long, or 1824 feet in each pentagon, or 10,944 feet in the six—a length of cell-passages two miles in extent. These passages are broken most inconveniently by 54 angles, into lengths of 50 yards each; so that to command a view of 100 yards of the passages it is necessary to stand at one of the angles. Besides these cell-passages there are others communicating with the two infirmaries, the two chapels, airing-yards, punishment-cells, &c. There are 28 circular staircases, and 12 square staircases, each of which is the same height as the building; making, in all, a distance of three miles to be traversed in going over that part of the building appropriated to prisoners. The Inspectors of Prisons state, that in consequence of the injudicious plan of construction, two or three times as many officers are required in the Penitentiary as would have been necessary under a better arrangement.

It is at the new Model Prison at Pentonville that we must expect to see carried out the views of the most enlightened minds of the present day on the subject of prison discipline. The contest between the "Silent System" (recommended by a committee of the House of Lords in 1835), and the "Separate System" seems to have gradually become most favourable to the latter mode of discipline, though the "Separate System" has often been confounded with the punishment of solitary confinement. The Model Prison is a place of instruction and probation, and not a gaol of oppressive punishment. It is for adults between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five: the Reformatory Prison at Parkhurst, in the Isle of Wight, for juvenile offenders, is on the same principle. The Commissioners for

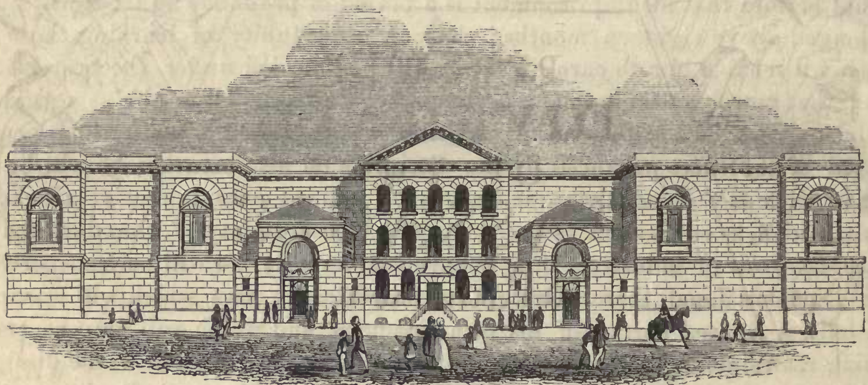
the control of the Model Prison are nominated by the Queen in Council; and the correct name of the place is "The Model Prison, on the Separate System." The objects to be kept in view are thus explained by Secretary Sir James Graham, in a letter addressed to the Commissioners in December, 1842:—"I propose that no prisoner shall be admitted into Pentonville without the knowledge that it is the portal to the penal colony; and without the certainty that he bids adieu to his connexions in England, and that he must look forward to a life of labour in another hemisphere. But from the day of his entrance into the prison, while I extinguish the hope of return to his family and friends, I would open to him fully and distinctly the fate which awaits him, and the degree of influence which his own conduct will infallibly have over his future fortunes. He should be made to feel that from that day he enters on a new career. He should be told that his imprisonment is a period of probation; that it will not be prolonged above eighteen months; that an opportunity of learning those arts which will enable him to earn his bread will be afforded under the best instructors; that moral and religious knowledge will be imparted to him as a guide for his future life; that at the end of eighteen months, when a just estimate can be formed of the effect produced by the discipline on his character, he will be sent to Van Diemen's Land, there, if he behave well, at once to receive a ticket of leave, which is equivalent to freedom, with the certainty of abundant maintenance, the fruit of industry; if he behave indifferently, he will be transported to Van Diemen's Land, there to receive a probationary pass, which will secure to him only a limited portion of his own earnings, and which will impose certain galling restraints on his personal liberty; if he behave ill, and if the discipline of the prison be ineffectual, he will be transported to Tasman's Peninsula, there to work in a probationary gang, without wages, deprived of liberty, an abject convict. This is the view which should be presented to the prisoner on the day when he enters Pentonville; this is the view which should never be lost sight of, either by him or by those in authority over him, until the day when he leaves the prison for embarkation; and when, according to the register to be kept of his conduct, the Governors will determine in which of the three classes he shall be placed."

The Model Prison is situated between Pentonville and Holloway, and occupies an area of 6¾ acres, surrounded by lofty boundary walls. The first stone of the prison building was laid in May, 1840, and it has been completed at an expense of 85,000*l.* The cells are each 13 feet long, 7 feet broad, and 9 feet high, and are all of uniform dimensions. Each is provided with a stone water-closet pan, a metal basin supplied with water, a three-legged stool, a small table, a shaded gas-burner, and a hammock, with mattress and blankets. There is a bell in each cell, which when pulled causes a small iron tablet inscribed with the number of the cell to project on the wall to direct the officer on duty. Each cell is warmed by hot air, and the ventilation is effected by means of perforated iron plates above the door of the cell, which communicate with a lofty shaft. None of the prisoners will ever be seen by each other, and in chapel each has his separate box. The officers wear felted shoes, and can inspect the prisoners, whether in the cell or in the airing-yard, without being either heard or seen.

Each prisoner will be visited hourly during the day by a keeper, daily by the

deputy-governor and chief officer; and the surgeon and schoolmaster will be frequently in attendance upon him. Books will be supplied to him, and the trade which he exercises will occupy his mind. The prisoners are to be permitted to lay their complaints before the visiting Commissioners. Many modes of secondary punishment have failed, but the one to be pursued at the Model Prison is an experiment founded on past experience of the deficiency of other systems, and promises at length to be successful.

The Philanthropic Institution and the Refuge for the Destitute belong rather to another class of institutions, though they are partially of a penitentiary character; but we shall notice them elsewhere.



[Newgate.]

## CXXII.—LONDON NEWSPAPERS.

THE Englishman cannot exist without his newspaper. Foreigners laugh sometimes at the Englishman and his tea-kettle. "They are inseparable," they say. "If he goes to the top of Mont Blanc, to the North Pole, or to Central Africa, 'tis all the same: he must carry it with him." The newspaper is, however, a still more indispensable necessary of life. Give the working-man his pint of beer, and he will not ask for tea, but he must have his newspaper. Every county-town has its newspaper; every distant colony, however remote, recent, or small. The first regular settlers in New Zealand had the first number of their colonial newspaper printed in London, and the second a few days after they landed. Melbourne (Port Philip) and Adelaide (South Australia), the foundations of which were unlaid ten years ago, have each their four or five newspapers. Nay, the very military stations—the cantonments of our armies in the East—must have their newspapers; and the 'Hong-kong Gazette' is already more than a year old. In all the new settlements of Englishmen the order of proceedings appears to be:—First, to run up sheds to cover themselves from the weather; next to kindle a fire and set the tea-kettle on to boil; and then to set about printing a newspaper, though it should be done, like the 'Auckland Observer,' by a mangle instead of an ordinary printing-press. These three necessaries

insured, John Bull is contented—breeches will come in time, when those he has brought with him are worn out.

The newspaper is a European invention, and a necessary consequence of the invention of the printing-press. There were substitutes for newspapers even before Faust and Guttenberg, but poor shabby makeshifts they were. The Romans had their *Acta Diurna,* a daily manuscript paper, both under the republic and the empire. It appears to have contained an abstract of the proceedings of public assemblies, of the law-courts, of the punishment of offenders, accounts of any public buildings or other works in progress, together with a list of births, deaths, marriages, and divorces. It is not only in the staple materials of the *Acta Diurna* that we find a close parallel to our modern newspapers. The manner in which the former were "got up" appears to have been not unlike what now prevails. "The due supply of information," says a writer in the 'Penny Cyclopædia,' "on political and judicial affairs, was to be obtained, as now, by reporters (*actuarii*). In the celebrated debate of the Roman Senate upon the punishment of those who had been concerned in the Catilinarian conspiracy, we find the first mention of short-hand writers, who were specially employed by Cicero to take down the speech of his friend Cato." The Senate of Rome appears to have been as jealous of the reporters' gallery as the British Parliament. It was a close court until the first consulship of Julius Cæsar, who no sooner entered upon his office than he made provision for giving the same publicity to all the proceedings of the Senate that already existed for the more popular assemblies. Under the despotism of Augustus and his successors, publicity was inconvenient, and prohibited; the subordinate assemblies had lost their political importance; and with the extinction of political news the *Acta Diurna* lost their interest. At the best this state gazette can have been but a meagre document: the conversational wit of Horace, and the dainties of Apicius, may have equalled anything modern times have known; but Cicero himself never knew what it was to have 'The Times' on his table at breakfast. Perhaps in the police and crim. con. department the *Acta Diurna* were equal to any modern newspaper. Not a gazette appears, says Seneca, without its divorce, so that our matrons, from constantly hearing of them, soon learn to follow the example.

In all civilised or *semi*-civilised countries the profession of news-writer (as it is to be found in the East at this day) was probably followed; but the services of the news-writer were hired out to private patrons. Before the introduction of printed newspapers it would appear that our great English families had private gazetteers in London, who transmitted the news of the day to them in written letters. This custom accounts for the following memorandum extracted from the archives of the Clifford family by Whitaker, in his 'History of Craven:'—'To Captain Robinson, by my lord's commands, for writing letters of news to his lordship for half-a-year,—five pounds." (The "private correspondent" of any respectable provincial journal has in our days a guinea a letter.) As the people in any state rose into importance, their governors found it necessary to keep them in good humour by telling them, or pretending to tell them, what it was about. Thus the war which the republic of Venice waged against the Turks in Dalmatia in 1563 is said to have given rise to the custom of communicating

military and commercial news by written sheets, which were read in a particular place to those desirous to hear them, who paid for this privilege in a small coin then current, called *gazzetta*, a name which came in time to be transferred to the written sheets themselves. The Venetian government ultimately gave these announcements in a regular manner once a month; but they were too jealous ever to allow them to be printed. Only a few written copies were transmitted to various places, and read to those who paid to hear. A device of the same kind (but with the aid of the printing-press) is said to have been resorted to by the ministers of Queen Elizabeth. Copies of a printed paper, called 'The English Mercurie, published by Authoritie for the Contradiction of False Reports,' are preserved in the Library of the British Museum (Dr. Birch's 'Historical Collections,' No. 4106). They relate to the attempted descent of the Spanish Armada, and are numbered 50, 51, and 54, in the corner of their upper margins. No more recent numbers of this publication are known to exist. Strong doubts have been expressed of the authenticity of those now mentioned; we believe that they may most safely be set down as forgeries. But that other European governments, both at that time and earlier, had occasionally adopted the Venetian plan, appears to be beyond dispute. 'Gazette' has become the designation for the notifications of civil governments, just as 'bulletin' has for those of victorious generals—and the estimation of both on the score of veracity stands very nearly on a par. Gazettes of this kind are not exactly newspapers, nor can newspapers, with strict accuracy, be said to have originated with them, though they undoubtedly suggested hints as to topics and arrangement, and even their name has been borrowed by newspapers properly so called.

The newspaper proper is a pamphlet, published periodically. The invention of the printing-press, if it did not give birth to the pamphlet, certainly increased its frequency and power over public opinion. Pamphlets were of two kinds: there were the letters, exhortations, discussions of isolated points of politics or theology of Luther, his associates, or adversaries; and there was the pamphlet of news. In this island John Knox's 'First Blast of the Trumpet against the monstrous Regiment of Women,' was a specimen of the former; and the 'News out of Holland,' published in 1619, for N. Newberry, of the latter. The periodical appearance of the 'News-book'—the continuing the same name to it, and distinguishing each successive publication by a number—followed as a matter of course. A news-collector, of established reputation, found this the best way of "setting his mark" upon his publications; a printer found it convenient to have such continuous employment for his press. The object of the private news-publisher was really and truly to communicate all he knew, and to learn as much as he could, for the reputation and consequent sale of his work would depend upon the quantity and quality of its contents. The Government Gazettes, on the other hand, were as often meant to conceal as to publish, and, at all events, sought to give a convenient colouring to what they did tell. The defect of the newspaper arose from the difficulty of getting at the real truth; it was necessarily made up in a great measure of second-hand gossip. This long kept newspaper information at a low estimate, aided by the want of the official stamp of authenticity and the natural propensity of gossips to undervalue all information that is not exclusive: what was printed was common property, or, as Ben Jonson hath

it in his 'Staple of News,' had ceased to be *news* by being printed. The *quidnuncs* of provincial towns, who go about swelling with importance because they have a scrap of intelligence in the hand-writing of their own especial M.P. (which, ten to one, he picked out of the morning papers), are the concentrated essence of this feeling; but, more or less diluted, it pervades all minds.

The newspaper, we have said, is a European invention, and we may add, that it is of one or other of two types—the London or the Parisian. It is difficult to say with precision when periodical newspapers began to be published: they grew into form by degrees. They appear to have originated in London and Paris nearly about the same time. Newberry's 'News out of Holland,' of 1619, alluded to above, was followed in 1620, 1621, and 1622 by other papers of news from different countries. In 1622 the exploits of Gustavus Adolphus excited great curiosity, especially in so Protestant a country as England; and about that time these occasional pamphlets appear to have been first converted into a series of periodical *brochures*. 'The News of the present Week,' edited by Nathaniel Butter, seems to have been the first weekly newspaper in England. The originator of newspapers at Paris is said to have been one Renaudot, a physician, who had found that it was conducive to success in his profession to be able to tell his patients the news. Seasons were not always sickly, but his taste for collecting news was always the same, and he began to think there might be some advantage in printing his intelligence periodically. His scheme succeeded, and in 1632 he obtained a privilege for publishing news.

Various circumstances contributed to establish a permanent difference between the London or insular and the Parisian or continental type of newspapers. The first of these is the broad and essential distinction between the social character of the two cities, which has marked them from the beginning of their history. The wealth and power of Paris and London, rather than any recommendation of local fitness, has made them the capitals of their respective countries. The Governments of France and Great Britain did not choose Paris and London for their metropolitan seats, but were obliged to take their residence in these centres of civil activity and influence. But the wealth and influence of Paris and London sprung from very different sources—the former was made by its university, the latter by its commerce. Paris, the seat of what was once *the* European University, became at an early period, what it has ever since remained, the focus of the intellectual activity of Europe. A Parisian diploma was from early times the passport to the highest employments in church and state; its literary circle was constantly recruited by the most ambitious and clever men of the age from all countries. Paris became the natural head of the constitutional opposition in the Romish church. The Kings of France were less the patrons than the allies of the University of Paris and its ecclesiastical party. The science and literature of Paris, its law, theology, and general learning out-grew the precincts of the university, but the organised phalanx of intellect maintained its unity, even when dispersed through a parliament, a Sorbonne, and academies and colleges innumerable. The intellect of Paris through centuries stood France in lieu of a constitution. "The League" was in the ascendant as long as Paris supported it: the "Monarchy" triumphed as soon as Paris threw itself into the King's scale. Louis XIV. did not create French literature, art, and science: he put a court livery on them to

conciliate their support. They served him better than armies. They upheld the French throne and its influence in Europe while they remained courtly, and they overthrew it when they became popular. Even in our day the literary spirit of Paris is in the ascendant while Thiers and Guizot contend for the mastery. London, on the other hand, has had many eminent scholars, and literary and scientific men; but London never has been itself literary or scientific: it never was the seat of a university (till recently, and the plant is still a hot-house one). But the relative position of London to the Continent made it, before the discoveries of the Portuguese, the seat of British commerce: all the ramifications of early British trade came to centre in London; and when new worlds were laid open to European enterprize, and England from its situation came to engross the lion's share of the trade, London continued the great broker or agent of all England. The Kings of England called London their treasury, and naturally chose to reside near or in it; and the merchants of London caught the spirit of statesmen, but without acquiring the refinement of scholars. The newspapers of two capitals so very different received, camelion-like, their hue from the nearest objects: those of Paris have, from the first, displayed more taste, more power of amusing, but also more of scholastic abstraction. Rougher and less highly finished, the journals of London have grappled with the practical questions of life in a more judicious and manly spirit.

Another of the circumstances alluded to, and it is the only other that calls for particular notice, is the very different political character and relations of the two capitals, and also of their countries. Wealth procured by individual enterprise begets that independent confident spirit which struggles against organization and controul; professional scholarship, whether of the church or the law, or any auxiliary sciences, begets a respect for established order—the ambitious wish to direct it, the less aspiring require its advantages and submit to it. The natural temper of the London public threw them into the popular scale in our national tumults; the natural temper of the Parisians threw them into many factions, but always among the supporters of power. The Paris of the League, or of Henri IV.—the Paris of the Fronde, or of Mazarin—was always the supporter of a government: it opposed the king to uphold the kingly power. London, on the other hand, struggled for individual self-will against all or any government. The newspaper press of either city caught in this respect also that city's character; and the difference was rendered wider and more marked by the different progress of the historical development of the frame of government in the two countries. The great struggle between the popular and monarchical principle was fought out in France, and decided in favour of the monarchy before newspapers arose; it was fought out in England after their invention, in no slight degree by their means, and by their means, in great part, decided in favour of popular government with the greatest possible respect for individual rights. From the time of Renaudot the newspaper press in France was licensed: it was prepared by walking in a go-cart in infancy, to walk gracefully in chains in its maturer years. The newspaper press in London was a chartered libertine from the beginning, and no attempt to license it was long persisted in. "The Intelligencer, published for the satisfaction and information of the people, with privilege," by "Roger L'Estrange, Esq.," gave so little satisfaction, that in the course of little more than two years it

was superseded by the 'Gazette,' the mere vehicle of government advertisements, and the real newspaper trade again left free to private enterprise.

The manufacture of English newspapers was for a long time confined exclusively to London. It was not till 1706 that a provincial newspaper was known in England. The first was the 'Norwich Postman,' published in that year at the charge of a penny, but "a halfpenny not refused." A newspaper was introduced in Scotland, but as an exotic or hot-house luxury, about half a century earlier. During the "great rebellion," a party of Cromwell's troops, sent to Leith in 1652, for the purpose of garrisoning the citadel, took a printer with them, one Christopher Higgins, to reprint a London diurnal, called 'Mercurius Politicus,' for their amusement and edification. Edinburgh being then a capital, continued from that time to have its newspaper (though with intervals); but the earliest permanent Scotch newspapers were the 'Edinburgh Courant' (1705), and the 'Caledonian Mercury' (1720). Ireland, like Scotland, had its exotic short-lived newspaper during the civil war; but the earliest Irish paper was Pue's 'Occurrences,' started in 1700. The earliest Colonial newspapers (Boston and New York) were also commenced during the first decennium of the eighteenth century. All new provincial newspapers—of the English school—were framed upon the model of the London Journals, and their successors have continued to follow close in the wake of the London newspaper press, copying from time to time its improvements, and always deriving the greater part of their news from it. Even the portentous activity of the New York Journals, with their agents boarding packet-ships and steamers out at sea in search of news, is merely a scramble to get hold of the earliest London newspapers, in order to "gut them."

London newspapers have a local habitation as well as a name. The greater part of them are printed and published in the Strand and Fleet Street, and the immediately adjoining parts of the streets which cross them from a little way west of Waterloo Bridge, and a very little way east of Blackfriars. This region is the great exchange or mart of intelligence in London—the "staple of news," to borrow a phrase from rare Ben Jonson. This part of London is a very Temple of Fame. Here rumours and gossip from all regions of the world come pouring in, and from this echoing hall are reverberated back in strangely modified echoes to all parts of Europe. It is impossible to conceive the restless activity—the unintermitting fever and fret of intellect—the ceaseless clanking of steam-engines—the sleepless drudgery of human thinking and physical faculties—the money spent and earned in this region, except by going a little into the detail of the compiling, printing, and publishing of newspapers, and the statistics of the newspaper trade.

There are three distinct classes whose business is about newspapers. There are the intellectual workers (by courtesy called so, for with some of them it is a sufficiently mechanical kind of work), or compilers and composers of newspapers; there are the mechanical workers, or printers of all grades and denominations; and there are the publishers, newsvenders, &c., whose business it is, by wholesale or retail, to aid in disseminating the completed work. The connexion between the composers and printers of newspapers is more or less intimate and permanent; the publishers and these two classes are in general rather more independent of each other—their connexion is more precarious.

The London newspapers are generally spoken of as divided into three classes: two will serve our present purpose—the daily, and those which are published at longer intervals. The daily papers are, at least in a mercantile point of view, the more important. It was assumed, in 1840, that the capital invested in the daily papers of London did not amount to less than 500,000*l*. Of this about two-thirds was assumed to be represented by the morning papers. It is by these that the greatest expense is incurred in the collection of materials—the employment of parliamentary reporters, foreign correspondents, and other gleaners of information. The expenses of the evening newspapers are for these *items* comparatively trifling; they are in the habit of taking great part of their news from the morning papers. The outlay of the less frequently published papers is still less. Of those which are published twice or thrice a-week, a good many are indeed mere *réchauffés* of the dailies—a dishing-up of their news in another form for another class of readers. The weeklies have in general a separate and independent existence, but they too are generally beholden for their mere news in great part to the dailies.

The 'Times'—the leading journal—may be taken as an example of the manner in which a daily paper is got up; the others are, making allowance for difference of scale and expenditure, conducted much in the same manner. In 1840—(there have been changes since, but only in the *personnel* and the inferior matters of detail; for our purpose, which is not to calculate the value of the property, but to give an idea of the system of management, the old story will do equally well; indeed, better, as it relieves us from all personal reflections). In 1840, then, the 'Times' had, or was understood to have, three editors, fifteen or sixteen reporters, at a very liberal annual salary, with an uncertain number of foreign correspondents, news collectors, and occasional contributors. For the mere mechanical department of the business there were three or four clerks, three or four readers, twelve attendants on the machinery, and about fifty compositors. There was one controlling editor, to whose inspection everything was subjected, and who had a voice omnipotent as to the insertion or rejection of all articles. Such a presiding genius is found indispensable, in the first place, to insure unity of plan and purpose; and, in the second place, to prevent mistakes in judgment, or oversights which might bring the journal under the tender mercies of the law. The other editors confine themselves to departments; one was the foreign editor, and so on. The reporters were engaged to report the proceedings in Parliament, or in the Courts of Law while sitting, and the most stirring transactions of the provinces, at intervals when any important movement is going on—more especially during the parliamentary recess. The foreign correspondents are generally gentlemen, with professional pursuits, resident at the capital whence their letters are most frequently dated. The foreign intelligence is compiled from the foreign journals, from the communications of the regular correspondents, and sometimes from information volunteered from different sources. The Parliamentary debates are supplied by relays of reporters—a certain number to each House. When an important debate is expected in either House of Parliament, a detachment of reporters—say four—are placed upon it. The first reporter takes notes for an hour, before the end of which time the second is by his side ready to relieve him. The first then hurries to the 'Times' office to write out his notes for the com-

positors. The second remains for an hour, and then hurries away like the former; while the third is taking notes for another hour; and he is followed in the same manner by the fourth. The first reporter is now ready to succeed the fourth; he takes notes for another hour, is relieved by the second, and so on till the House breaks up. The time of taking notes is frequently limited to three-quarters of an hour, or even less. By this process the whole of a series of debates, which began at four or five in the afternoon, and continued till three or four in the morning, is issued to the public within a few hours after the debate has terminated. Accidents and offences, provincial incidents, and the like, are supplied by a class of contributors who have no regular engagement, but are paid by the job. The 'Times,' when composed, is printed by a machine worked by steam-power, capable of printing 2500 copies in an hour, *perfect*—that is, on both sides. The paper is generally put to press at five in the morning, and at ten the whole impression is worked off. Mr. Babbage, after describing the manner in which eight-and-forty columns are formed into eight pages and placed on the platform of the printing-machine, says: "Ink is rapidly supplied to the moving types by the most perfect mechanism: four attendants incessantly introduce the edges of large sheets of white paper to the junction of two great rollers, which seem to devour them with unsated appetite; other rollers convey them to the type already inked, and having brought them into rapid and successive contact, re-deliver them to four other assistants completely printed by the almost momentary touch." The 'Times,' when printed, consists of eight pages of six columns each. The printed area of the whole paper (both sides) is more than 19½ square feet, or a space of nearly five feet by four. On a rough estimate, it contains about 113,000 words. Compared with an octavo volume, having a page of print measuring 3¼ by 6½ inches, the area of the 'Times' is equal to more than 120 of the octavo pages; and allowing for difference in size of type, to perhaps 200. In addition to this the 'Times' has of late, in order to find room for its advertisements, been accompanied by a supplement of half the size of the paper, on an average three times a-week. All this is sold to the public at the price of 5*d.* The enormous circulation and the charge for advertisements enables the proprietors to incur the expenditure above indicated, allow a fair profit to publishers and newsvenders, and grow rich themselves by their property. During the last quarter of 1842, the 'Times' took out 1,475,000 stamps, and paid 3500*l.* 17*s.* of advertisement duty. All the other morning papers have a similar establishment to the 'Times,' though on a smaller scale: the establishments of the evening papers are of course rather less expensive. Some estimate of the comparative influence of the different daily journals upon public opinion, and of their comparative value as properties, may be formed by the aid of the following extract from the returns of the newspaper stamp and advertisement duty for the last quarter of 1842:—

| Morning Papers. | Stamps. | Advertisement Duty. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Times . . . . . . | 1,475,000 | £3500 | 17 | 0 |
| Morning Chronicle . | 444,000 | 868 | 4 | 0 |
| Morning Herald . . . | 377,000 | 540 | 16 | 6 |
| Morning Post . . . . | 275,000 | 835 | 11 | 6 |
| Morning Advertiser . . | 365,000 | 453 | 10 | 6 |

| Evening Papers. | Stamps. | Advertisement Duty. |
|---|---|---|
| Globe . . . . . . . | 250,000 | £212 14 0 |
| Standard . . . . . . | 240,000 | 202 17 6 |
| Morning and Evening Paper. § | | |
| Sun . . . . . . . . | 279,000 | 310 13 0 |

The weekly newspapers (for the papers published thrice a-week are in general mere *pendants* of the dailies, and those published twice a-week do not differ in any material respects from their weekly brethren) take the staple of their news from the daily papers. Their outlay is chiefly incurred for literary or political communications, and for printing. Some weekly papers have their own establishments, while others employ a printer to do the work at his own establishment. When the proprietors print their own paper, they require to engage a printer or manager, whose duty it is to give out the copy to the compositors, to see that the proofs are ready by the time the editor requires them, to put the articles into columns, arrange paragraphs, &c. &c. A reader is also employed to read the first proofs, after the compositor has put the types together. The number of compositors varies in such an establishment from five to thirty; an extra number being generally required at the end of the week, when the late news has to be finished off, or when supplements are given. The majority of weekly papers are now, however, printed under contract by some established London printer with his own materials. The proprietors find this more economical than going to the expense of taking and paying rent for a printing-office, purchasing founts of type and all other materials, and, in short, incurring all the expenses which printing is heir to. This is not the only new subdivision of employments and combination of labour occasioned of late years by the increased capitals invested in the printing business, the general adoption of the steam-press, &c.: there are proprietors, who have their paper composed on their own premises by their own workmen, and have it printed off at the steam-press of some of the great printers. Such arrangements have a twofold effect,—they encourage the starting of new papers by diminishing the pecuniary risk; and they increase the number of short-lived newspapers; for when less capital is invested in dead stock, men let go a losing or not very profitable speculation more lightly. On the whole, however, they give greater vivacity to the newspaper business. If the weekly papers are shorter lived, there are always successors to those which drop off ready to rush into the field—there are more of them jostling and squabbling for a circulation at the same time. If the magnificent scale on which operations are conducted at the 'Times' office in Printing House Square is striking from its magnitude, the getting up of the multitudinous weekly papers in some of the courts of Fleet Street is perhaps the more bustling and vivacious subject of contemplation. Several adjoining courts may have their half-dozen printing establishments each; and to each of these editors and sub-editors (great part of whose work is done elsewhere) repair for a few hours in each week to superintend the progress of printing. The houses which lay themselves out for this kind of business have rooms fitted up to accommodate the editors at their periodical visits. Sometimes, in addition to two, three, or four different newspapers composed and printed at one of those establishments, there may be the "forms" of two or three more duly transmitted to be printed. The head-work which passes

through those establishments in its way to the public is inconceivable, both in its quantity and varied quality. The fingers of the compositors cease not; the clash and clang of the steam-press knows no intermission. In the topics and manner of treating them the establishment takes no concern. Nonconformists, Railway Times, Illustrated News, Roman Catholic, Colonial, and all other kinds of organs or mouthpieces are set up and thrown off with the same conscientious accuracy, and the same utter indifference to their contents. These printing establishments are indeed machines which receive without feeling the tender thoughts of anxious and harassed editors and contributors, and tease and shake them into a shape fit to appear before the public, incapable of sympathising with the anxious anticipations of the brain-parents.

And now having got our newspapers into shape, let us look to the mode of their publication. The business of the publisher is to deal out to the different newsmen the number of papers they require, and receive payment for them. It is a feature of the news-trade, as between publisher and newsvender, deserving of notice, that it is essentially a ready-money business. Except in some few cases, or under peculiar circumstances, no credit is given. The newsman knows that he must get his paper or lose his customer, and the publisher is thus enabled to dictate his own terms. The publisher, properly speaking, is a person appointed by proprietors, with more or less extensive powers of management, to dispose of their paper to the retail dealers, or news-agents. But there is a class of newsmen who, from the extent and nature of their dealings, come very near to the publishers, and are indeed generally called by that name. Their business consists in buying large quantities of newspapers of all sorts, and retailing them to the trade. Their profits are derived from an allowance of 1*d.* on every nine papers that sell at 5*d.* each, and 2*d.* on every nine papers that sell at 6*d.* each. Newsvenders, in a small way, who do not sell so many as nine of any paper, find it more convenient to send to a shop, where they get their papers as cheap as if they sent to each office, and get all they want at once. The profit of a penny or twopence on nine papers may appear trifling; but when it is taken into account that several of these publishers will take more than a hundred quires of some papers, it will be apparent how a great many pennies must come to a considerable sum.

The small newsvenders, just mentioned, supply only private customers in country or town. They are thickly scattered, not only through the town and suburbs, but are to be found in the towns and villages round about for many miles. There are some who live as far as six or eight miles from town, and yet send daily to their publisher for papers. It will be evident that this class cannot depend entirely upon their small trade in newspapers for a subsistence, but must take to it merely in order to eke out other ways and means. There is among them a considerable diversity of character and employment: most frequently they are, especially in the suburbs, stationers, booksellers, or circulating-library keepers in a small way, and with their occupation newsvending seems to connect itself most legitimately and naturally. But there are interlopers of all trades: greengrocers, who bring out a few papers in the same little spring-van that goes to Covent Garden for vegetables; barbers, who in the semi-rural environs of the metropolis are as great gossips as ever; and the whole tribe of small huxters. Sometimes your newsvender (in the suburbs and suburban villages) is a lady-like person,

whom the clergyman and good ladies of the neighbourhood have set up and patronise in a small elegant stationer's shop. Sometimes the newsvender is a pompous gentleman in black, with an immense gold chain and seals—so grand, you can scarcely conceive how so great a man comes to be fiddling with an assortment of second (or third or fourth) hand books, most of them exposed in the open air, and a library (by courtesy so-called) consisting of some hundred or two of every soiled volume of the most common-place modern novels, evidently picked up as chance bargains. At last you find that he was regularly bred in some large bookselling shop, but either could never contrive to get into business for himself, or having got in could not contrive to manage it, and so subsided into his suburban from-hand-to-mouth trade. The lady's shop is generally the resort of the religious gossips of the neighbourhood—she is secretary to half-a-dozen small coal, soup, and clothing societies, and carries on a little manufacture in Berlin wools. The gentleman's shop is the resort of the more free-thinking, literary, and political characters of the vicinity, to whom he recounts his experiences of the *inner*-town life—affects to know all its ways—explains intricate political questions (he is generally a liberal with a strong dash of the aristocrat), and is particularly eloquent on the degeneracy of modern newspapers. "If he had 50,000*l.* to begin with, he could show what a really liberal newspaper might and ought to be made." As a counterpart to these gentilities we must not forget their neighbour the radical newsvender. He is generally a shrewd self-educated artisan, who, having been bitten by a mad politician, has got thrown out of employment, if, indeed, he have not fared worse. Being a high-spirited man, he will not live on agitation as a trade; his own is closed against him; so a number of friends agree to take their stationery and papers from him, in order to start him in a small shop. He looks pretty steadily to the general business, and his wife (a woman such as England alone can produce—whose love was at first a sentiment of admiration for one whom his class regarded as their champion), minds the details. He is not quite cured of his taste for public business; but he struggles earnestly to confine it to a safe channel. He is secretary to some anti-corn-law association; or an opposition member of the vestry; or, if no better employment in this way is to be had, he puts up with a mechanics' institution. His wife thinks in her secret soul that they might prosper better if he would keep himself entirely to their own business; but she never breathes a word about it, for it might make him give up what he takes so much pleasure in. He has himself misgivings of the same kind, and every time the twinge comes across him attends with double vigour to business for two or three days. On the whole they scramble on tolerably well—never out of difficulties, never sinking under them—respected by all who know them.

A much bigger person than the kind of newsvenders we have been describing—though by no means so topping a character as the publisher—is the London agent, who deals with and supplies country news-agents. Men of this class generally take large supplies of papers direct from their publishing-offices. One we know whose papers cost him a 1000*l.* a-week. Ten or twelve of this class send their papers by railway-trains. The morning papers sent by the Great Western Railway must be at Paddington by six A.M.; they reach Bristol by eleven A.M. Those for the north of England are sent by the Birmingham train, which leaves Euston Square at six A.M. The Southampton and Gosport train starts from

Nine Elms at seven A.M. By this route the papers reach Gosport about half-past ten A.M.: a steamer is waiting for the arrival of the train, and with its assistance the London morning papers are delivered in the Isle of Wight by half-past eleven A.M. The inhabitants of that island are reading their 'Times,' while the London publication of the paper has scarcely finished. An agent who supplies the early papers to Gosport and the Isle of Wight, informs us that his Gosport customers are often supplied before his town customers. The publisher of the 'Times' gives off the papers that are to be sent by railway first, and the agents who receive them are not allowed to supply their town customers with these first oozings of the press.

Little did honest Nathaniel Butter, when in 1622 he began to publish 'Certain Newes of the present Week,' contemplate the extent to which the trade he was inventing was to grow. In the course of little more than two centuries the small weekly newspaper has expanded into 139 daily, weekly, &c. newspapers. The activity set in motion to keep up these papers may be partly inferred from what has been stated above. So many news-collectors incessantly perambulating the streets; peeping into the senate and courts of justice; into the theatres and other places of public amusement; or posting night and day to and from public dinners, agricultural and political meetings in all the provinces of the empire. So many honest spies residing in the capitals both of Christendom and Islam, gathering and transmitting to the London newspapers every rumour of court intrigue—so many theatrical and artistical critics—so many writers of essays, political, moral, (and immoral,) humorous, and instructive—all for the edification of the patrons of the London newspaper press. So many editors devising means of rendering their paper more attractive, collecting matter from all ends of the earth—so many expresses to convey information to the newspapers, or the newspapers to their readers—so many reporters listening (what a penance!) to the lengthy speeches of modern orators, and translating them into grammar and English idiom, in order that they may not discredit the columns of the newspaper—so many newsvenders, with their bags, fetching, and folding, and despatching, by foot-messengers, by post, and by railway-trains. It is a brave bustling life, and one in which there is no stint or stay. No sooner do the night-owls, whose business it is to "compose" the morning papers, quit work, than their brother typos, who work by day, are setting to work upon the evening papers. The last copy of the Sunday paper is scarcely "worked off" when the compositors on the Monday morning journals are beginning to bestir themselves. Sunday and Saturday are alike days of sale with the newsvender. The half-opened shop-window, the wall beplastered with placards announcing the contents of the Sunday newspapers, show that the newsman is at his receipt of customs: and at the omnibus-stands and the steam-boat piers the volunteer venders of the newspapers attend to supply the country-going parties with something to read should the time hang heavy on their hands. These last are the lingering remnants (sadly tamed down) of the vociferous itinerants whose *vera effigies* adorns the tail of this sketch, as the title of one of our earlier newspapers does its head.

The printers of newspapers are much like other printers, but both the authors of newspapers (editors, writers of "leaders" and reviews, reporters, penny-a-liners, &c.), and the newsvenders are classes with marked distinctive characters.

The latter have been described above, but their light-foot Mercuries (their errand-boys) must not be passed unnoticed. We have an affection for the little creature, who, be it storm or sunshine, rain or snow, duly brings our newspaper at breakfast-time. It would be a hard heart indeed that could grudge him his Christmas-box annually petitioned for in verse from the Catnach mint. Charles Lamb has celebrated an annual dinner given in days of old to the chimney-sweeps. Had he lived till this time he might have recorded—as he only could—the annual dinner of the newsvenders' boys. But as such blazon may not be, let us take the account of their last festival, evidently from the pen of some precocious imp of the tribe. We sorely suspect our own juvenile, whom we have more than once caught, on returning from an early walk through the green-lanes in our neighbourhood, taking a furtive glance at the columns of our newspaper, totally regardless of the plight we should have been in had the tea and toast been ready before it arrived.

"The newsvenders' servants' anniversary dinner, which is given by the proprietors of the London papers to the newsvenders and their servants, took place yesterday at Highbury Barn Tavern, and was very numerously attended by the class for whom it was more particularly intended, and their wives. The dinner, or rather series of dinners—for there were two, not to mention a tolerably solid supper at eight o'clock, for those whose engagements prevented their earlier attendance,—was plain and substantial, and was duly honoured by the guests, whose style of dealing with the viands set before them would seem to prove that the calling of a newsman is by no means a hindrance to the possession of a remarkably sound and vigorous appetite. Indeed we have seldom seen more able performers than the lads who partook of the first dinner at one o'clock; meat-pies, pudding, and drink vanished with inconceivable celerity, and the cry was still for more. At last the young folks were satisfied, and their elder brethren and their families then partook of the second dinner at three o'clock, which being finished, the chairman rose and proposed successively the 'Queen,' 'Prince Albert,' and the 'Proprietors of the London Newspapers,' all which toasts were drunk with the most vociferous applause. After rising from the table the company proceeded to amuse themselves in the grounds till nine o'clock, when the ball, which usually succeeds these festivities, being opened under the able direction of that *skilful but eccentric master of the ceremonies,* dancing-master Wilson, the ladies and gentlemen present commenced dancing, which they kept up with great spirit long after we were *compelled to depart.* The festivities of the day were well conducted by Mr. Wylde, the chairman, assisted by the stewards, and seemed to give general satisfaction; and the company, though abundantly uproarious, appeared to enjoy themselves greatly after their own way. To the credit of the party it should be observed, that *out of* nearly five hundred individuals, young and old, who were present, we did not see one tipsy man or woman."

It is a more delicate matter dealing with the character and position of the literary labourers in the newspaper vineyard. They wield goose-quills too, and are noways slow to betake themselves to their tools, either in attack or defence. A great deal of melancholy cant has of late been vented about the social estimation of journalists as below their deserts. The intellectual character of British journalists, too, it has been said by those who ought to know better, is

inferior to the French. Neither assertion is true. The cry about the degraded *status* of journalists has been got up by a knot of kid-glove democrats, who wish to be pets of the saloons, as some French journalists are. The *prestige* which attaches to the literary character in France, and to writers in journals along with the rest, cannot be expected here. In England a man takes his place in public esteem, not on the strength of his profession, but of his personal character—and may this long be the case. No one need expect to find here a company awed into respect by the announcement that he is Mr. ———, editor of the ———; but neither need he fear, if his conduct is what it ought to be, that the announcement will make him less regarded. Journalists may command, and do, and have commanded, as much respect in this country as members of any other profession. As to the alleged superiority of the French newspaper press, it is, in respect of news, both as concerns quantity and quality, decidedly inferior to the English; and, without any wish to undervalue the high talents dedicated to journalism in France, there have been, and are, talents quite as high embarked in the profession in London. That the character of mercantile speculation preponderates in our newspapers is, in so far as politics are concerned, rather an advantage than the contrary. The fears of proprietors put a check upon such crude and rash speculations as distinguished the French 'Globe' in the days of its St. Simonianism. There may be less of the parade of scientific inquiry in English journals, but there is more of practical statesmanship. The men who are trained to political controversy in association with the party-leaders of their day, and the most active members of the great mercantile interests, are trained in a better school than sentimental and imaginative belle-lettrists, like Lamartine and De Tocqueville.

Within our limits it would be impossible to sketch the characters of 139 newspapers, and a bare list of their names would be tedious. All that can be done is to group them in classes, indicating the peculiarities of each class by a few of the more prominent individuals belonging to it. The daily papers are a class by themselves. They are in the news department less narrators of events than mirrors of the transactions themselves. The full, almost *verbatim*, reports of speechifying meetings, the long collections of protocols and other official documents, are given with a conscientious fidelity that renders these papers sometimes almost as tiresome as the facts they chronicle. There was a time when the newspapers were not allowed to report the proceedings of Parliament, and then they must have been deficient in a very interesting feature. But the fidelity with which the debates in Parliament are now reported has become wearisome. The public has been surfeited with Parliamentary eloquence. To wade through these interminable columns, a man would require to have no other avocation. So strongly is this felt, that all the daily papers are now in the habit of giving, along with their full Parliamentary report (which is intended probably as a matter of record or a *pièce justificatif*), an abstract of it in the editorial column—and few readers, we suspect, venture upon any more. Each of the leading daily papers has a strongly-marked spirit of individuality, impressed upon it in some instances by the first projector, and retained through many changes of proprietorship and editorship. 'The Times' is right John Bull; always vigorous and vehement, sometimes to a degree ludicrously disproportioned to the subject of dis-

cussion. Shrewd and energetic, it is *borné* in the last degree when any question comes to be discussed in which the insular prejudices of England come into play. The 'Standard' is marked by clear logic, strong prepossessions, and a high gentlemanly tone. It is the paper of a ripe scholar, and withal somewhat of a recluse. The 'Globe' is characterized by a diplomatic *retenue* and the natural easy tone of a man of the world. This it inherits from a former editor: the present writers have caught up his mantle, but a flippancy at times breaks out which contrasts disagreeably with the usual tone of the paper. The 'Post' is apt to be looked upon as a mere fashionable paper: this is a mistake—there is much vigorous writing and unconventional thought, both in the literary and political departments. The 'Chronicle' and 'Herald' are undergoing a transmutation, so that we rather conjecture what they are to be than know what they are: the latter is improving in vigour and variety.

The London weekly papers are literary, or political, or sporting, or fashionable, or agricultural, or commercial, or blackguard. To these may be added class papers.

There are only two exclusively literary papers: the 'Athenæum' and the 'Literary Gazette.' The leading political weekly papers are the 'Spectator,' 'Examiner,' 'John Bull,' 'Weekly Dispatch,' and 'Weekly Chronicle.' The circulation of these papers, according to the latest stamp returns, is—of the 'Spectator, 3850; of the 'Examiner,' 6312; of the 'John Bull,' 3750; of the 'Weekly Dispatch,' 66,666; and of the 'Weekly Chronicle,' 17,083. The 'Weekly Chronicle' and the 'Examiner' represent the opinions of two sections of the middle-class liberals; the 'Dispatch' is affected by the hard-headed artisans; the 'John Bull' is still nominally the representative of the class which yet glories in the designation of Tory, though its real rank is rendered questionable by the rising conservative journal the 'Britannia.' 'Bell's Life in London' is the only exclusively sporting paper. It is a goodly mass of small type, recording all feats in racing, hunting, boating, coursing, cricketing, and, in short, every *ing* that flourishes in the fields of merry England. The 'Sunday Times,' however, supplies its readers with a fair proportion of sporting intelligence. The 'Era,' a paper of only a few years' standing, is looked up to by some sporting characters as a fair record of the events of the turf. The circulation of 'Bell's Life' is 18,750; of the 'Sunday Times,' 21,666; of the 'Era,' 4958. The so-called fashionable papers are the 'Court Journal' (1491), and 'Court Gazette' (666): they are patronised by the same class that patronised the fashionable novels in their day. Foremost among the agricultural papers stands one of the oldest London papers, the 'Old Bell's Messenger.' This journal has for forty years been considered, *par excellence*, the farmers' journal: 17,333 copies circulate almost exclusively among the farmers. The 'Mark Lane Express' is rather the journal of the corn-factors than of the agriculturists: 4500 are circulated weekly among the frequenters of corn-markets. The commercial journals are the 'Journal of Commerce,' and the 'Mercantile Journal' (both excellent papers in their way), with a whole host of 'Prices Current,' 'Trade Lists,' 'Circulars,' &c. &c. Almost every class and profession have now their special journals: soldiers and sailors have their 'Military and Naval Gazette,' and 'United Service Gazette;' the gardeners have a 'Gazette' and a 'Chronicle;' the lawyers have their 'Jurist;' and the justices

of the peace a paper which takes their name; speculators in steam and railways have the 'Railway Times;' the colonial interest has its 'Colonial Gazette;' and some colonies (as for example New Zealand) have journals of their own published in London. Every sect in religion almost has its newspaper:—the evangelical churchmen have their 'Record;' the high-churchmen their 'Church Intelligencer;' the ruling body of the Dissenters their 'Patriot;' and their opposition the 'Nonconformist:' one section of the Wesleyans patronise the 'Watchman;' another the 'Wesleyan Chronicle;' and our Roman Catholic brethren have their 'Tablet.' Perhaps the blackguard papers above alluded to may be named as class papers, and the best way to put a stop to them may be to mark down as blackguards all their supporters. The 'Illustrated Newspapers' are a recent invention. The novelty of the speculation insured them a large circulation at first, and they still in part retain it; though some old experienced traders shake their heads, and "much question whether one illustrated paper will exist three years longer."

[" Glorious News!"—Horn Boys.]

[Barry's Pictures: Grecian Harvest Home.]

## CXXIII.—THE SOCIETY OF ARTS, &c. IN THE ADELPHI.

This once-flourishing and influential Society has been so long reposing beneath the shadow of its laurels, that now, when it arouses itself to renewed vigour and action, it must not be surprised to find its very existence, much more its services, forgotten, and that its greeting with the public generally will be at first little else than a repetition of the remark and question: "The Society of Arts!—what Society is that?" There may be something mortifying in this, but it cannot be helped, that is one consolation; another may be found in the respectable antiquity of the custom of forgetting what is no longer of service to us. "There's hope," says Hamlet, in a passage applying with still greater force to societies than to individuals, "a great man's memory may outlive his life half a year: but, by 'r lady, he must build churches then." Now, if there had been any alternative but the building of churches, this Society must have been remembered for at least its half year of lifelessness or inaction, so many, so various, and so important are the good things it has done for the development and promotion of the arts, manufactures, and commerce of England. To this Society some of our

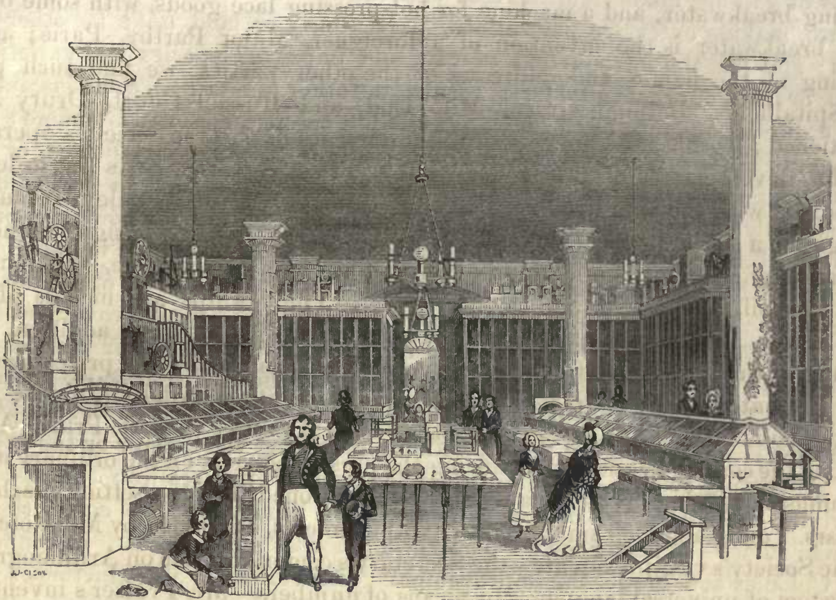
best artists have owed the most priceless of all services that can be rendered to men of genius at the outset of their career, appreciation on the part of an enlightened few, introduction under favourable circumstances to the many. It was established in 1754, chiefly through the public spirit of a drawing-master, Mr. William Shipley; and after tossing about from coffee-house to coffee-house, from private apartments to private apartments, finally and most satisfactorily settled itself in 1774 in its own premises, in the Adelphi. It was while the members were yet in their rooms in the Strand, that Bacon, in 1758, ventured to send a small figure of Peace, and was delighted with a reward of ten guineas. Subsequent attempts by the same artist were so successful, that he gained the highest premium on nine different occasions. His three beautiful works now at the Adelphi, Mars, Venus, and Narcissus, all originals, all the size of life, and all presented by him, show how deeply he felt his obligations to the Society. Again, in 1761, Nollekens received ten guineas for the alto-relievo of 'Jephthah's Vow,' which now hangs up in the antechamber to the great room of the Society; and two years later, fifty guineas, as a mark of its approbation of a still more important piece of sculpture. The example of these sculptors was followed soon after by Flaxman, who, sending in 1768 one of his earliest attempts, received a grant of ten guineas; for another work, exhibited in 1771, he obtained the Society's gold medal. Next came Lawrence, who, at the early age of thirteen, received the reward of a silver palette, gilt, with the addition of five guineas in money, for his drawing in crayons of the Transfiguration; the painter, in the height of his subsequent prosperity, was accustomed to speak of the impulse thus given to his love of the art. Other names might be added to the list, which could also be extended with interest to painters of the present day; as, for instance, Sir William Ross received the Society's silver palette in 1807, at the age of twelve, for a drawing of the death of Wat Tyler; Mr. Edwin Landseer received a similar mark of approbation in 1810 for an *etching;* and Mr. Wyon was adjudged the gold medal in 1818, for a medal die. But to artists there is a feature of still greater interest in the Society's history: it was in its rooms that the first public exhibition of paintings in England took place in 1760, and which was continued with great success for some years. If we turn to manufactures and commerce, and the variety of incidentals included in those terms, we find even more important and solid services rendered, as a whole, though the details furnish fewer points of interest or comment. The large expenditure of the Society in the reward of merit, which expenditure, for about ninety years, has considerably exceeded 100,000*l.*, is alone a striking fact, connected as it has been with so little personal interest on the part of the distributors, whose labours have been throughout labours of love. In glancing over the subjects that have engaged their attention with the happiest results, we may mention the following. To the growth of forest trees the Society gave a great impulse among the higher classes, almost immediately after its formation, and accordingly we find among the recipients of its gold and silver medals the Dukes of Bedford and Beaufort, the Earls of Winterton, Upper Ossory, and Mansfield, and a Bishop of Llandaff. A similar movement took place, and through the same agency, in agriculture, with the effect of bringing to bear on that most important of all sciences, and almost for the first time, a considerable amount of intellect and education, and enterprising activity, which formed most

refreshing contrasts to the dulness, ignorance, and unwillingness to move one inch out of the even tenor of their way, that too generally characterised the farmers of England at the time. Mr. Curwen of Windermere, who received several medals for agricultural improvements, stated at one of the public meetings that but for the Society he should never have been a farmer; and his case was no doubt but one of a large number. Implements began rapidly to improve; madder, hemp, foreign grasses, and different sorts of cattle, were added to our home productions; experiments on drill husbandry were brought into notice; and thus did the Society lead the way to that assiduous study of all the processes of agriculture—however apparently well known—that promises yet to revolutionise the entire science. Then in chemistry, we had for the first time manufactured at home such vessels as the best kinds of crucibles, melting-pots for tin ores, and earthen retorts, such materials as smalt and verdigris; whilst the prosperity of the country was even more directly advanced by the introduction of new or improved modes of tinning copper and brass vessels, dyeing woollen cloth, linen, cotton, silk, and leather, making buff leather, transparent varnishes, and enamels, tanning with oak saw-dust, &c. &c. In manufactures and mechanics generally, the Society taught us, or at least aided those who did so, the manufacture of Turkey carpets, tapestry weaving, weaving to imitate the Marseilles and India quilting; also how to improve our spinning and lace-making, our paper and our catgut for musical instruments, our straw bonnets, and artificial flowers. The colonies shared in its extensive beneficence: potash and pearlash were produced by the Society's agency in North America; and just before the war of independence which separated the States from England broke out, it was busily engaged in introducing the cultivation of the vine, the growth of silkworms, and the manufacture of indigo and vegetable oils. But the rewards, some twenty in number, given within the last forty years or so, to poor Bethnal Green and Spitalfields' weavers, for useful inventions in their calling, illustrates perhaps even better than any of the foregoing notices that feature of the Society which so honourably distinguishes it from all others in the present day, its readiness to receive, examine, and reward every kind of useful invention that may be brought forward by those who have neither friends nor money to aid them in making their inventions known. To all such persons the Adelphi is ever open; and the general knowledge of this fact throughout Britain might yet be attended with more important results than any noted in the Society's previous history. So careful has the latter been to do full justice to whatever might be offered it by parties thus situated, that, till recently, patented inventions were not included within its scope; and now that an alteration has taken place, and that the Society very properly is ready to do its best to disseminate information as to all useful discoveries, whether patents or not, it still reserves its rewards for those who are too poor to take out a patent, or too liberal.

A brief notice of the rewards granted during the present year, and of some of the principal communications read to the Society, will, in connexion with the foregoing pages, give a tolerably clear view of the Society's general proceedings. In the mechanical and other practical arts, rewards have been given for an improved method of hanging window-sashes, an improved life-buoy, an improved tube for weaving wide velvet, an improved loom for weaving horse-hair; also for

a plan of a self-acting feeding-apparatus for high-pressure boilers, a plan of a floating breakwater, and a machine for hot-pressing lace goods, with some others. The breakwater is the invention of a foreigner, Major Parlby, Paris; and in looking at the names and addresses of the other parties, we find such places as Spitalfields, Bethnal Green, Mile End, and Russell Court, Drury Lane, mentioned; significant evidences of the admirable effect of the Society's operations in the development of unfriended talent. The eight subjects rewarded, in connexion with the fine arts, consist of a drawing of the Townley Hercules, a design for a school-house, designs for architectural ornaments, design for the best elevation of a Gothic church, a painting in oil of animals from life, different portraits in oil, and a drawing of the Apollo. The rewards are medals of gold and silver, with occasionally money payments in lieu of or in addition. One feature of these rewards of merit has yet to be mentioned—the prizes are publicly presented to the recipients in the great room at the Adelphi, by the President, who is now no less a personage than Her Majesty's consort, Prince Albert. Among the communications read during the present session, on the ordinary weekly evenings of meeting (Wednesdays), may be mentioned the type-setting machine of Messrs. Young and Delcambre—the lithotint process, explained by Mr. Rotch, one of the Society's vice-presidents—the Secretary's communication on Arithmography, or system of universal languages by means of numbers—Mr. Prosser's invention of making bricks, tiles, and tesseræ, by compression—and Mr. Braithwaite's process of stamping wood with hot irons, to produce imitations of the best style of carving. All this multifarious business is managed by means of nine committees, some of which meet weekly; one having for its charge the subject of Accounts, a second Agriculture, a third Chemistry, a fourth Colonies and Trade, and so on for Correspondence and Papers, Manufactures, Mechanics, Miscellaneous matters, and, lastly, Fine Arts. Members generally may attend the meetings of committees, with the exception of that of Miscellaneous matters, which consists of the Chairmen of the other committees and six members chosen from the body at large. The number of members is now about 700, no less than 125 having been added in the present year, since the revival we have referred to. The terms of membership are a single payment of twenty guineas or annual payments of two, which include the right of borrowing books from the valuable scientific library.

According to the title of the Society it is established "for the encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce;" tolerably comprehensive words certainly, but evidently not too much so. Indeed, looking at the variety of subjects we have already had occasion to mention, and then stepping into the model-room of the Society at the Adelphi, one might be tempted to ask whether there are any limits to its field of exertion; whether, in short, it is not a society for the encouragement of everything. What a glorious confusion there is amidst all this orderly array of glass-cases, that extend horizontally in rows across the room, or that perpendicularly line the walls. Hands for the one-handed, to give them again two, and other instruments for those who have lost both—cloths of all sorts of materials from all sorts of countries—medals of Charles the First's reign and the last new stove of Victoria's—fire-escape ladders to run down from windows, and scaffolds, rising telescope-fashion out of a box, to mount up to roofs (a most ingenious machine, and worthy the admiration which we understand his Royal



[Model-room of the Society.]

Highness the President recently expressed in regard to it)—bee-hives, and instruments to slice turnips—ploughs, and instruments to restrain vicious bulls—pans to preserve butter in hot localities, and safety-lamps to preserve men in dangerous ones—models of massive cranes, and of little tips for umbrellas—life-buoys, and maroon-locks to give notice of thieves in gardens—diving-bells and expanding-keys—safe coaches and traps—clocks, and improved tail-pieces for violoncellos—instruments to draw spirits, and instruments to draw teeth—samples of tea, sugar, cinnamon, and nutmegs, in different stages of growth—models of Tuscan pavements—beds for invalids—methods to teach the blind how to write—but the list is interminable, and were we to continue it for half-a-dozen pages further, we should be in no appreciable degree nearer the end. It is but justice to another admirable point of the Society's policy to mention here, that however miscellaneous many of the subjects may be which are brought annually before it, in accordance with the particular pursuit or skill of individuals, the Society itself, at the same time, pursues a methodical course of its own: thus while it rewards by "bounties" whatever inventions or works of more than ordinary skill and value are casually submitted to it, its chief rewards, or "premiums," are bestowed on those who have succeeded in a competition, or in a mode, the nature of which has been previously pointed out by the Society. Its guide in selecting subjects for premiums may be, perhaps, best expressed in the phrase, 'What do we most want?' a question that we may presume to find practically answered in the list now before us, of subjects for which rewards will be given in the course of the next two sessions. These are classed under the heads Agriculture, Fine Arts, Chemistry and Mineralogy, Colonies and Trade, Manufactures, Mechanics, and include a host of matters of the deepest interest, in connexion with the national prosperity. We find among them premiums offered for cheaper or superior

modes of gaining lands from the sea, cultivating waste lands, draining, forming manure, making extensive plantations, particularly on land unfit for other purposes; also for the introduction of new and improved species and varieties of forest, or fruit, or ornamental trees, shrubs, and other plants;—in some instances of known diœcious plants, of which we possess but one sex, specified by name; as in the beautiful evergreen so common in our gardens, the aucuba japonica, or gold plant, the female of which we alone possess, and for the male a gold medal is consequently offered. Then, again, premiums are offered for new or improved methods of harvesting corn or making hay in wet seasons—for importing and rearing in this country any improved breed of cattle, sheep, or other domestic animals (the Cashmere-shawl goat forms a special item)—for improvement in the heating of horticultural buildings, and in the formation of better and cheaper agricultural machines: these all occur under the head Agriculture. Beneath that of Chemistry and Mineralogy, communications are desired on the subjects of generating steam at a higher power, without increasing the danger or the expense —on preventing smoke—on purer glass for optical purposes—on the discovery in Britain, or in a British colony, of a stone for lithography, to equal the best German stones—of better modes of lighting houses and streets. In connexion with Colonies and Trade, the improvements, discoveries, or introductions sought are—the growth of flax in British India, and of silk and tea in any British colony—a substitute for hemp—also accounts of the Chinese modes of manufacturing their Indian paper so much used by our printsellers, their porcelain, and of their method of growing cocoa. Under the head Mechanics, the attention of candidates is directed generally to improvement in those important objects on which the interests of Great Britain essentially depend, namely—the shipping, steam-engines, steam-boats and carriages, roads, bridges, tunnels, canals, docks, and harbours; the construction of rail-roads, and modes of propelling rail-road carriages; also to everything connected with these subjects, as machinery, tools, and diminution of manual labour; to the improvement of optical, mathematical, astronomical and especially of nautical instruments, in respect to accuracy or facility of use; to the improvement of surgical instruments and apparatus; and, we are glad to see, to the diminution of danger attending many of the ordinary avocations of men through steam-boilers, gunpowder-mills, public conveyances, mines, and quarries. Lastly, the Society announce, under the head of Fine Arts, that, for the future, the rewards will be confined to original works of art; including historical subjects, portraits, landscapes, fruit, flowers and still life; enamels and miniatures; architectural designs; drawings of machinery; engravings on steel, copper and wood; medal dies, gems and cameos, drawings in lithography, lithotint, &c.; models in wax and clay; carvings in wood, ivory, marble, or other suitable material; anatomical, botanical, and other scientific drawings, and improvements in the Daguerrotype and Solar type processes.

Such are but a few of the subjects to which the Society directs attention at the present time, and in connexion with which it offers its numerous rewards. We may conclude this part of our paper by throwing out a suggestion which seems to us not unworthy of notice. Of all the communicants, or those who might become so under favourable circumstances, of the Society, it is evident a very large portion must be persons whose situation will not admit of the expenditure

of any considerable amount of time, much less of money, unless with the expectation of a decidedly beneficial pecuniary return; yet this the Society does not give: we think it might. If, instead of offering small premiums in connexion with so many different subjects, it would yearly select a few of the most important, and promote them by large ones, the result, we think, would be a more decided success; the Society, it seems to us, would become a still more valuable agent for the promotion of all the great objects it has at heart. We now turn to an event in the history of the Society which has already done much to popularise it in years past, which may yet do much more, when the magnificent works which that event placed in their possession shall be as generally known and appreciated as they deserve.

Some sixty years ago, there might have been seen daily passing in a direction between Oxford Street and the Adelphi, for years together, and through all kinds of weather, one whose appearance told, to even the most casual observer, he looked upon a remarkable man. Referring to himself, in one of his letters to a friend, he had once said," though the body and the soul of a picture will discover themselves on the slightest glance, yet you know it could not be the same with such a pock-fretted, hard-featured little fellow as I am also;" but neither these personal characteristics, nor the mean garb in which he usually appeared, could conceal the earnestness stamped upon his grave, saturnine countenance, or the air of entire absorption in some mental pursuit, having little in common with the bustle of the every-day business of the world around him. He was a man to make or to keep few friends, and to shun all acquaintances; it was not often therefore that, in these passages to and fro, he had any companion; but the event was noticeable when he had, from the striking change in his demeanour.

[Barry.]

He became full of animation, and of a kind of sparkling cheerfulness; his conversation was at once frank, weighty, and elevating, and even the oaths, with which he made somewhat free, could not spoil the delight of the most fastidious censor of words, whilst borne along on the full and free current of the painter's thoughts. No one but himself at such times would have called his countenance "hard-featured;" its smile was inexpressibly sweet, its look of scorn or anger, when roused, such as few men could have met unmoved. But what was the

employment that thus determined for so long a period his daily movements? The answer will require a brief review of his past career. Whilst a young student at Rome, Barry—for it was he to whom we refer—had been often annoyed by the absurd taunts of foreigners as to the ungenial character of the British soil for the growth of Art, often seduced into answering them in such a manner as suited rather his fiery temper and indomitable will, than the cause which he so impatiently espoused. But a better result was his own quiet determination to devote his life to the disproof of the theory. He began admirably, by a strict analysis of his own powers, and by inquiring how they were best to be developed. Here is the result: "If I should chance to have genius, or anything else," he observes, in a letter to Dr. Sleigh, "it is so much the better; but my hopes are grounded upon an unwearied, intense application, of which I am not sparing. At present I have little to show that I value; my work is all under ground, digging and laying foundations, which, with God's assistance, I may hereafter find the use of. I every day centre more and more upon the art; I give myself totally to it: and, except honour and conscience, am determined to renounce every thing else." But the writer was without a shilling in the world to call his own; and although he had friends, the best of friends, as they were, one of them at least, Burke, the best of men, he had already received from them the entire means of subsistence while he had been studying so long at Rome, and was determined therefore to be no longer a burden to them or to others; but how should he, renouncing all the ordinary blandishments of a young painter's career, the "face-painting" and other methods by which genius condescends to become fashionable, or, in other words, to lay down its immortality for the pleasure of being acknowledged immortal, how was he to subsist? It was whilst this question remained, we may suppose, not decisively answered, that the painter thus mournfully wrote to a friend :—'O, I could be happy, on my going home, to find some corner where I could sit down in the middle of my studies, books, and casts after the antique, to paint this work and others, where I might have models of nature when necessary, bread and soup, and a coat to cover me! I should care not what became of my work when it was done; but I reflect with horror upon such a fellow as I am, and with such a kind of art in London, with house-rent to pay, duns to follow me, and employers to look for. Had I studied art in a manner more accommodated to the nation, there would be no dread of this." But from this state of despondency and dissatisfaction he was soon to rise triumphant. Again and again he asked himself how he was to subsist while the great things he meditated should be accomplished, and the answer came: the conclusion was anything but attractive or cheering, but he saw it was the conclusion: *no cross, no crown;* and accepted it ungrudgingly. It was not long before he could say, "I have taken great pains to fashion myself to this kind of Quixotism: to this end I have contracted and simplified my cravings and wants, and brought them into a very narrow compass." There are few, we think, of those who may have smiled with pity or contempt at the painter's mean garb, who would not have honoured it while they reverenced him, had they known this. The first apparent opportunity of achieving the object indicated, was in connexion with the proposed decoration of St. Paul's, of which we have already given an account. The very idea was enough to set Barry's soul on fire. It

opened a field of exertion wider in its range, more magnificent in its nature, than in his cooler moments he could have expected would ever have been afforded him; though, from the following passage of one of his letters, it should seem that he had not only long meditated upon the scheme, but had been—in opposition to the general notion, which accords the merit to Reynolds—the first to propose it to the Academy.—"The dean and chapter have agreed to leave the ornamenting of St. Paul's to the Academy, and it now rests with us to give permission to such painters as we shall think qualified to execute historical pictures of a certain size, I believe from fifteen to twenty feet high. We also intend to set up a monument there—Pope is mentioned—the sculptor is to be paid by subscription, and a benefit from the play-house. I proposed this matter to the Academy about a year since, a little after my being admitted an associate, and I had long set my heart upon it, as the only means for establishing a solid, manly taste for real art, in place of our contemptible passion for the daubing of inconsequential things, portraits of dogs, landscapes, &c.—things which the mind, which is the soul of art, having no concern in, have hitherto served to disgrace us over all Europe."* The enthusiasm of the Academy seems to have been all expended in its offer respecting St. Paul's; for, on the refusal of the Bishop of London, they allowed the matter to drop; and when the Society which forms the subject of this paper very wisely stepped forward and offered its room for decoration, the Academy declined. No wonder that Barry's dislike of the Academy grew more and more decided, member of it though he was; or that he could no longer allow his life to glide away without the accomplishment of any of its great objects: it was soon rumoured through the academic circle, with such comments as ill-nature, jealousy, and personal dislike would prompt, that Barry himself, single-handed, had offered to undertake the great work they had refused, and that the Society had accepted his offer. Barry, at the time of his offer, is said to have had just sixteen shillings in his possession; but he says, referring to his writings, "I thought myself bound, in duty to the country, to art, and to my own character, to try whether my abilities would enable me to exhibit the proof as well as the argument." And so, merely stipulating for the exercise of his own independent judgment, free admission at all times, and that the necessary models should be furnished at the Society's expense, he began his undertaking. Such was the man, such the nature of the avocations that drew him daily, at the period we have mentioned, towards the Adelphi. Let us now ascend the stairs to the first floor, passing through the little anteroom where the alto-relievos of Bacon and Nollekens are mounted high upon the walls, and beneath the portrait of the founder of the Society, which appropriately hangs over the door of the great room, where the painter's works are to be found. The first glance shows us in one way the magnitude of the undertaking; the upper portion of the walls of the whole of the noble room, or hall, as it should rather be called, is covered by the six paintings of which the series consists; as we step from one to another, we perceive that these large spaces have been wrought upon in a large spirit, and a still closer examination opens to our view pictures of surpassing beauty and grandeur, and scarcely less remarkable as a

* Letter to the Duke of Richmond.

whole for the successful manner in which they have been executed, than for the daring originality of their conception.

His leading object, it seems, was to convey the idea, "That the attainment of happiness, individual as well as public, depends on the development, proper cultivation, and perfection of the human faculties, physical and moral, which are so well calculated to lead human nature to its true rank, and the glorious designation assigned for it by Providence." A truth of the mightiest import, and for all time, and, of course, one that a painter requires every fair indulgence in the attempt to illustrate by the mere representation of half a dozen scenes. In the first of these, the principle of civilization is at once forcibly and poetically embodied in the picture of Orpheus, in the combined characters of legislator, priest, poet, philosopher, and musician, addressing a wild and uncultivated people, in a

[Barry's Pictures: Orpheus civilizing the inhabitants of Thrace.]

country but too much in harmony with themselves. As he pours forth his songs of instruction, accompanied by the music of his lyre,—types of the instruments by and through which he works, the understanding, and the feelings,—the rapt savage fresh from the chace, with his female partner, to whom he has delegated the task of carrying the dead fawn, leaning upon his shoulders, the old man looking up with the scepticism natural to age overborne by wonder and admiration, and him

who sits by his side, lost in surprise, at the new views opening upon him of what may be done by so small and as yet comparatively untried an instrument as the hand, all betoken the potency of the "minister and interpreter of the gods," as Horace calls him. Comments have been made on the delicacy of the female above mentioned, as inconsistent with the painter's own view of showing "that the value and estimation of women increase according to the growth and cultivation of society, and that, amongst savage nations, they are in a condition little better than the beasts of burden." Barry seems to have perceived this himself; for in his etchings of the picture in the great work published by him, which lies on the table, the objection seems to be completely obviated. He has there removed the censer, the fumes of which, winding upwards, veil the undressed limbs in the picture, and made it prominent to the eye, and, at the same time, by other alterations, removed the air of excessive delicacy, and made the figure as we now see it in our engraving. The second picture presents us with a lovely view of a 'Grecian Harvest Home;' the inhabitants are no longer such as Orpheus addressed, but such as his teachings and time have made them, civilized, gentle, and happy, the cultivation of their fields and the tending of their flocks their chief avocation, the dance and the song their chief enjoyment, the honour of success in a wrestling match their highest ambition. The thoroughly Grecian air of this picture must enchant every one. Barry, as well as Wordsworth, felt that—

> "in despite
> Of the gross fictions, chanted in the streets
> By wandering rhapsodists; and in contempt
> Of doubt and bold denials hourly urged
> Amid the wrangling schools—a spirit hung,
> Beautiful region! o'er thy woods and fields,"

and, like the poet, he has made us feel it too. This is the triumph of art. The third picture of the series, that facing you as you enter the room, is perhaps, taken altogether, as great a picture as ever was painted. We have advanced from savage life and the earliest stage of civilization, to that where poets, painters, sculptors, philosophers, have arisen to shed a new glory over the earth, and where the heroes have become more essentially because more ideally heroic. Most happily has the painter chosen the one event that above all others could best enable him to express this new position in the history of man, and the acknowledgments due to the people to whom we owe so much: the Victors at Olympia is the subject of the third picture; the age of Pericles, the most brilliant in Grecian history, the time. Beneath the seat of the judges are portraits reminding us of the illustrious men who have helped to make Greece what she here appears, Solon, Lycurgus, and others; and trophies telling of the grander events of her history,—of Salamis, of Marathon, and of Thermopylæ; whilst in the crowds congregated about the victors, we have Pindar leading the chorus in the singing of one of his own odes; behind him, in the chariot, is Hiero of Syracuse; Pericles is seen in another direction speaking to Cimon; whilst Socrates, Anaxagoras, Euripides listen, and Aristophanes scoffs. The chief group represents Diagoras of Rhodes, who had in his youth been celebrated for his own victories in the

games, and who is now borne on the shoulders of his sons, one of whom has been this day the victor at the Cestus; the multitude are filling the air with their acclamations, and strewing flowers upon his head as the victorious father of victorious children; whilst a friend on the left grasps his hand, and tells him in the well-known recorded words, "Now, Diagoras, die, for thou canst not be made a god." Of the two other victors on the right, both foot racers, one has already received the branch of palm, and is being crowned, while the scribe at the table records his name, family, and country. If the reader will look in the extreme corner of the picture on the left hand, he will see an interesting practical evidence of Barry's own opinion of the work; that low figure seated on the base of the statue of Hercules represents the painter in the character of Timanthes. As to the opinions of others, Canova's is a memorable case in point. When on his visit here, he said he would have come purposely to England from Rome to see it, without any other motive, had he known of the existence of such a picture.

[Barry's Pictures: The Victors at Olympia.]

Of the fourth and fifth pictures of the series little can be said in the way of praise. The artist felt the necessity of showing a something still better than

Grecian civilization, as preparatory to the Elysium into which he proposed to lead men at last, and, of course, if that were any where to be found it was in the history of commerce and the greatest of commercial countries, his own; he felt also, no doubt, that in other respects the British nation had influenced and was still influencing most potently the progress of civilization; but the pictures in which he has embodied these views are failures, nor do we see how they could be otherwise. Grecian history and civilization present a tolerably consistent whole, because the chief details were consistent with the religion, morals, and manners, the theory and the practice, of the Grecian people. Our history and civilization present but too many evidences of inconsistency; we have ascended higher, but sunk lower; have made our religion, morals, and manners too often at war with each other, our theory a frequent satire on our practice. In the mean time we have the Thames, in the shape of a venerable figure, in a triumphal car, borne along by Drake, Raleigh, Cabot, and Cook, accompanied by Mercury as Commerce, with Nereids carrying articles of manufacture and industry, among whom Dr. Burney is somewhat ludicrously introduced as the personified idea of Music. The most pertinent criticism we have seen on this picture was the unintentional one on the part of a dowager, who, putting her fan before her face, expressed her regret to see "good Dr. Burney with a parcel of naked girls dabbling in a horse-pond." The other picture referred to is the meeting of the members of the Society of Arts for the annual distribution of the premiums, and who appear to be debating how they may best forward the objects of the Society; a work in itself of considerable merit, and interesting in the locality, but too restricted in its nature for the series. Opposite the Victors at Olympia, and over the door of entrance, is the last of these pictorial essays on moral culture, the view of Elysium, certainly one of the boldest flights of imagination to which painter ever ventured to give a local habitation and a name, and, though not as a whole to be compared with the 'Olympia,' which seems to us all but perfect, presents perhaps a still loftier view of the artist's genius. Michael Angelo might have been proud of that wonderful figure of the Archangel Gabriel, who keeps watch and ward between the confines of Elysium and Tartarus; and, indeed, the amazing character of the whole conception is not unworthy of that sublime painter. Barry was quite aware of the objections to which 'Elysium, or the State of Final Retribution' was exposed. "Although," he says, "it is indisputably true that it exceeds the highest reach of human comprehension to form an adequate conception of the nature and degree of that beatitude which hereafter will be the final reward of virtue; yet it is also true that the arts which depend on the imagination, though short and imperfect, may nevertheless be very innocently and very usefully employed on the subject, from which the fear of erring ought not to deter us from the desire of being serviceable." "It was my wish," he continues, "to bring together in Elysium those great and good men of all ages and nations who were cultivators and benefactors of mankind. The picture forms a kind of apotheosis, or more properly a beatification, of those useful qualities which were pursued throughout the series." The truly admirable manner in which he has done this is remarkable; he has utterly sunk all consciousness of self, of the man Barry's religious, moral, political, philosophical,

[Barry's Pictures: View of Elysium.]

or artistical biases, in order to look over the field of human history as a superior being might be supposed to look over it, who had nothing in common with humanity, and, thus looking, true intellectual eminence is not difficult to be distinguished. The very case that has been adduced to prove the contrary is one of the strongest of evidences of this, Hogarth's; against whom Barry is said to have had a grudge, and of whose merit he has certainly spoken disrespectfully—but Hogarth is there. A more important evidence of the largeness and philosophical grasp of the painter's mind is the way in which he has grouped his characters, making light of the accidents of time, country, or costume, to impress with the more striking force the essentials of biographical history. Thus we have Roger Bacon, Archimedes, Descartes, and Thales, in one combination; Homer, Milton, Shakspere, Spenser, Chaucer, and Sappho, in another; Alfred the Great, Penn, and Lycurgus, in a third. Other portraits will be readily recognised in our engravings. Two features of the picture exhibit Barry's judgment as conspicuously in what he has avoided, as the whole shows his lofty courage in what he has grappled with. Near the top of the picture, on the left, cherubim are seen indistinctly through the blaze of light and glory that streams down—from whence

we need not ask; at the opposite corner of the picture, at the bottom, we have an indication equally slight, but equally sufficient, of Tartarus and the torments of the damned. As an evidence of the spirit in which, as we have said, Barry introduced or kept out the persons who fell under his consideration when selecting for this picture, a little anecdote in reference to the Tartarean part of it may be read with interest. In the emaciated limb which belongs to the garter of one of the falling wicked, it was said that the leg of a nobleman who had offended Barry was noticeable. When the remark reached the latter, he defended himself with an earnestness and propriety that speak the truth of his words: "What I particularly valued in my work," said he, "was a dignity, seriousness, and gravity, infinitely removed from all personality." Still the temptation, it must be owned, was great, and many no doubt wondered why they did not find there the whole Academy. With another anecdote from the same source,* which we give in the relator's words, we conclude this notice of the pictures:—"A young lady from the north, of great beauty and wit, went to take a look at the painter's Elysium. She looked earnestly for a while, and said to Mr. Barry, 'The ladies have not yet arrived in this Paradise of yours.' 'O, but they have, madam,' said the painter with a smile, 'they reached Elysium some time ago; but I could find no place so fit for creatures so bright and beautiful as behind yon very luminous cloud. They are there, and very happy, I assure you.'"

And, referring once more to the painter's anticipated difficulties at the commencement of his career, how *did* he subsist during the six long years this work was in progress? Why, by working at night for the bread that was to keep him alive the next day, or week; making hasty drawings, or such engravings as the Job, Birth of Venus, and Lear; and when these failed, and he applied to the Society for assistance by a small subscription, and was refused, why then—God knows what he did then; for he was too proud to borrow, too honest to run in debt. However, he struggled on, bating no jot of heart or hope, until the Society gave him a donation of fifty guineas, and after that another of similar amount; and so the goal was reached at last. The paintings, begun in 1777, were completed in 1783. Something like reward now followed. The Society allowed the work to be exhibited for his benefit; Johnson came, and pronounced his decision in his usual weighty words, "There is a grasp of mind there which you will find no where else;" Burke, estranged as he was from his once "dear Barry" (and, it must be owned, not through his fault), looked upon the walls with an honest exultation as he felt how he had contributed to the success of the author; whilst good Jonas Hanway had scarcely paid his shilling and looked over the noble works around him, before he hurried back to demand its return from the astonished doorkeeper; and, on receiving it, put down a guinea in its place. By this exhibition Barry gained 500*l.*; by the etchings of the pictures which he made with his own hands, 200*l.* more; 100*l.* he received from Lord Romney, the President of the Society, whose portrait was introduced; 100*l.* was bequeathed to him by Timothy Hollis, as "the painter of the work on Human Culture," and Lord Radnor presented him, in a delicate way, with 50*l.* The use Barry made

* Cunningham's 'Lives of the Painters,' &c.

of this money gives the finishing touch to the character of this noble artist:—he placed his money in the funds, and secured to himself an income of 60*l.* a-year; and that sum may be said to be the money value of Barry, as an artist, to the age he lived in, and which he has so greatly adorned by these imperishable works.

[Barry's Pictures: Elysium, or the State of Final Retribution.]

[Bartholomew's Hospital.]

# CXXIV.—MEDICAL AND SURGICAL HOSPITALS AND LUNATIC ASYLUMS.

It is perhaps, on the whole, a matter of congratulation that the London Hospitals are more eminent as schools of medicine and surgery than for their influence as social institutions. In Paris one-third of the deaths (9338 out of 28,294, in 1840) occur in the hospitals, but in London the proportion is only one in nineteen (2358 out of 46,281). The domestic feeling, or prejudice, if we like to call it so, of the English people is, generally speaking, believed to be adverse to that public association which is inevitable in an hospital. This is true to a great extent; but, on the other hand, it is also the limited capacity of the London hospitals which restricts the proportion of persons dying there to one in nineteen. In ten general hospitals there does not exist accommodation for more than three thousand persons at one time, and every "taking-in day" a large number of persons are unable to obtain admission.

There is scarcely a district of London which is without its hospital of one kind or another; but we shall first notice the three great hospitals, two of which are of ancient foundation, and are historically interesting. The most ancient of these is St. Bartholomew's Hospital. Rahere, the minstrel of King Henry I., not content with founding the priory of St. Bartholomew, annexed to it an hospital, about the year 1122, for the relief of poor and sick persons. Alfune, who, among other charitable works, built the church of St. Giles-without-Cripplegate, and was the first "hospitaller," used daily to beg for the relief of the poor under

his care at the adjoining market and shambles of Smithfield. Four centuries after the foundation of the hospital, the mayor, aldermen, and commonalty of the city of London prayed the King to commit the order and governance of both this hospital and St. Thomas's to their hands. The hospital, however, was not transferred to the city until 1546, eight years later, during which period the Crown continued to enjoy its revenues, which at the dissolution were of the gross annual value of 371*l.*, of which sum 292*l.* was from rents in London and the suburbs. In 1544 the hospital was newly incorporated, but its revenues were not re-granted; and it does not appear that the new constitution ever came into operation. At length, two years afterwards, in 1546, the king consented to re-found the hospital, for the reception of one hundred poor and sick persons, and to endow it with five hundred marks from its former possessions, on condition that the citizens raised yearly other five hundred marks for its support. This they agreed to do: but Stow says that the houses which formed the bulk of the property granted by the King were either in such a decayed state or leased out at such low rents, that great difficulty was experienced in obtaining the required income, and various expedients were adopted to raise this sum. In 1548 there were three surgeons, with salaries of 18*l.* each, appointed to be in daily attendance on the sick; and in 1552 the expenditure, including the payment to the ministers of Christ's Church and St. Bartholomew's, and the diet of the one hundred poor at 2*d.* per day each, amounted to about 856*l.* per annum. In 1557 this hospital, with St. Thomas's, Christ's, Bridewell, and Bethlem, were united for purposes of administration, and their affairs were managed by one general board until 1782, when an act was passed under which, with the exception of Bridewell and Bethlem, each of them was placed on its present footing and under separate government.

The income of the hospital at present exceeds 30,000*l.* a-year. The bulk of the real estate is in London, and the London rents amount to 17,011*l.* a-year; landed estates in different parts of the country produce 6187*l.*; dividends on stock in the funds, 5236*l.*; rent-charges and annuities, 1087*l.*; and the benefactions and legacies for ten years averaged 440*l.* a-year. The pecuniary donations and bequests to the hospital, received up to 1836, amounted to 236,019*l.*, including 40,978*l.* appropriated to building the four wings between 1729 and 1748.

St. Bartholomew's Hospital is situated on the south-east side of Smithfield Market. The principal entrance is through a large arch, ornamented with a statue of Henry VIII., and two figures representing Lameness and Sickness. The main buildings consist of four separate elevations of three stories in height, faced with stone, standing detached on the four sides of a quadrangle. They were completed from the produce of voluntary subscriptions raised between 1729 and 1760. On the first floor of the north wing there is a very handsome hall, 90 feet by 35, and 30 feet high, which is appropriated to general court meetings and the annual dinners of the governors. The grand staircase was painted gratuitously by Hogarth. The four several stories of the south wing contain fifteen wards, and the west wing contains fourteen wards. The wards in the east and west wings are 52 feet by 21½; and their height varies from 10 to 15 feet. In the south wing the wards are 60 feet in length, and the heights are the same on each floor as in the east and west wings. To every ward an apartment for the sister in

attendance is annexed. In the roof of each wing is a tank for water, containing from 1800 to 2000 gallons, supplied by a steam-engine; and a continual supply from the New River Company is carried all through the hospital by force-pumps. Besides the quadrangle, the area of the hospital comprises buildings, almost as extensive, for the residences of the different officers, &c. There is also the church of St. Bartholomew the Less, rebuilt about sixteen years ago, at a cost of 6035*l.* out of the hospital funds. At the back of the western wing is a range of buildings containing the Lecture-Room for Materia Medica, the Medical Theatre, Pathological Theatre, Chemical Theatre, the Anatomical Museum, Dissecting-Rooms, rooms for lecturers, professors, and curators, pupils' room and library, laboratory, apothecary's shop, surgeon's and physician's rooms. The treasurer's house and garden, the burial-ground of the church, and the vicarage-house, occupy the space north-east of the western wing; and between it and the south-western gateway are houses for the steward, the matron, and the apothecary.

St. Thomas's Hospital was originally a religious establishment, founded by Richard, prior of Bermondsey, in 1213. In 1538 its possessions were valued at 266*l.*; and in the following year they were surrendered to the King. Before the middle of the century the suppressed hospital was purchased by the City of London; and a charter from the crown having been obtained in 1551, and the building repaired and adapted for the reception of poor, lame, and diseased people, it was opened for their admission in November, 1552. For some time the funds of the hospital were insufficient; and in 1562 the lands late belonging to the Savoy Hospital, and some other property, which had been granted to the three hospitals united, were granted for the sole use of St. Thomas's, with a view, perhaps, of equalising the revenues of the several hospitals. Notwithstanding this assistance, in 1564 the treasurer was obliged to advance 100*l.*, and in 1569 a sum of 50*l.* was obtained by pawning a lease; but it soon afterwards emerged from its difficulties. The rents of property in London and the suburbs at present realise 13,962*l.* a-year; the rental of estates in the country 9950*l.*; and the dividends on stock 671*l.* From 1693 to 1836 the pecuniary gifts to the hospital amounted to 184,378*l.* The gross annual income applicable to the general purposes of the institution is nearly 26,000*l.*

St. Thomas's Hospital is situated in the borough of Southwark, not far from the foot of London Bridge. It consists of several courts or squares, in two of which are statues; one, in brass, of Edward VI. by Scheemakers, and the other one, of stone, of Sir Robert Clayton, Lord Mayor in 1680. A large part of the hospital buildings was rebuilt in 1693, and additions were made to them in 1732. A new north wing was completed in 1836, at a cost of 18,000*l.*; the south wing in 1842; and it is intended to rebuild the centre on an adopted plan, when the whole building will present a very imposing appearance. The site of the new north wing and a portion of ground north of the old north wing were purchased of the City for 40,850*l.*, which was at the rate of 54,865*l.* per acre! The Museum, Anatomical Theatre, Demonstrating Theatre, Lecturing Theatre, Dissecting-Room, and other appropriate offices attached, cost 8443*l.*, and are built on a site formerly covered by slaughter-houses, brothels, and miserable tenements. The Museum and Dissecting-Room are 45 feet by 25; the Lecturing Theatre is circular and 30 feet in diameter. The Museum contains about 6000 prepara-

tions. The parish church of St. Thomas stands within the area of the hospital, besides which there is a chapel. The whole parish is the property of the hospital. There are nineteen wards, three of which are 107 feet by 28, and vary in height from 12½ feet to 14½ feet. They are well ventilated, kept at a uniform and agreeable temperature by two fires, and in cold weather by hot-water apparatus, and are generally quite free from offensive smells.

The founder of Guy's Hospital was neither minstrel nor priest, and though claimed by booksellers as one of their body, his property was acquired by stock-jobbing rather than by literature. At any rate he was a man of great benevolence, and had long been a munificent supporter of St. Thomas's Hospital when he determined himself to be the founder of a new hospital. At the age of seventy-six he commenced the erection of the present building, on which during his lifetime he spent nearly 19,000*l.* He died on the 27th of December, 1724, and on the 24th of January following sixty patients were received into the hospital. In 1732 the sum of 220,134*l.* 2*s.* 7½*d.* was carried to the account of his executors, as the residue of Mr. Guy's estate. This magnificent bequest has been laid out at different times in the purchase of real estates in the counties of Essex, Hereford, and Lincoln. The hospital has also been benefited by the enormous bequest of Mr. Hunt, who in 1829 left it a sum amounting to 186,675*l.*, besides other property which made the total amount 196,115*l.*, on condition of enlarging the hospital and providing one hundred additional beds. This legacy has also been invested in estates. The other benefactions received from the foundation of the hospital to the present time amount to about 10,000*l.* The gross income is now above 30,000*l.* a-year, and about 21,000*l.* a-year is directly applicable to the purposes of the charity. The rental of the hospital estates is 24,732*l.* a-year, of which 2298*l.* is derived from the Southwark estates, and the dividends from funded property average about 4600*l.* a-year.

The entrance to Guy's Hospital is in St. Thomas's Street, by an iron gate opening into a square, in the centre of which is a statue, in brass, of Mr. Guy, by Scheemakers, the pedestal on which it stands bearing on one side an inscription recording Mr. Guy's benevolence, and on the other sides are relievos of Mr. Guy's arms, Christ healing the Impotent, and the Good Samaritan. The main building consists of a centre and two wings, containing residences for the Treasurer, Chaplain, Steward, Apothecary, Butler, Porter, and the "Dressers;" a chapel, in which there is a statue, by Bacon, of Mr. Guy; the "taking-in" and examination rooms, surgery, and waiting-rooms for out-patients, apothecary's shop, medical store-room, laboratories, medical and operating theatres, the electrical room (containing apparatus necessary for electrical and galvanic operations), a room for *post mortem* examinations, and several wards for patients. Behind this is the Lunatic House, which is peculiar to this hospital. The number of lunatics is twenty-four, the number provided for by Mr. Guy having been twenty. They have a tolerably spacious airing-ground in the rear of the building appropriated to their use, and a garden for their recreation adjoins it. The south side of the hospital ground comprises a mass of buildings, some of which are sick wards; and here are also the museum, theatre, and dissecting-room, and the museum of comparative anatomy, the residences of servants of the hospital, and various offices and store-rooms. The anatomical theatre and the larger theatre

in the main building afford accommodation for about 300 persons. The operating theatre is of smaller size. At the eastern extremity of the area, bounded on the north by St. Thomas's Street, is the Botanic Garden, which is occasionally used by the students, but its chief value consists in the improved ventilation which it secures to the whole establishment. The wards are all spacious and airy, and are warmed by means of stoves.

The constitution of the London Hospitals is not uniform, though in all of them the ruling body consists of the governors; but the powers of the various officers to whom the immediate management and superintendence of the hospital is entrusted are exercised under less control in some cases than in others. Since 1792 there have been two classes of governors at St. Bartholomew's, the chartered or corporation governors and the donation governors.

At St. Thomas's there are three kinds of governors. The corporation of London is represented by the lord mayor and aldermen and twelve common councilmen, as at St. Bartholomew's; and they do not derive their authority from the other governors, but from the charter of the hospital and the Act of 1782. The special governors consist almost entirely of retired officers, and the executors of benefactors are occasionally appointed. This class of governors is not required to contribute towards the funds of the Hospital, and it is this only which distinguishes them from donation governors. It has invariably been the practice to admit as donation governors any person willing to pay 50*l.* who can procure governors to propose and second them.

The government of Guy's Hospital was settled by the founder. The number of governors must be at least fifty and not exceed sixty, with a committee of twenty-one, to whom the immediate management of its affairs is entrusted, and of this number one-third retire annually. The governors are chosen from a list presented at a general court by the president and treasurer, and no division has ever taken place on their admission: no donation is required, and the appointment is for life.

The next important department of the hospitals consists of the medical and surgical establishment, including the "sisters" and nurses. At St. Bartholomew's there are three principal physicians and three assistant physicians, three principal surgeons and three assistant surgeons, who are appointed by the General Court: they do not reside in the hospital, but there are in addition three house-surgeons and an apothecary, for whom apartments are provided. One or other of the physicians and surgeons visits the hospital every day in the week, and one physician and surgeon attends the almoners in rotation on the weekly admission-days for the purpose of examining patients. The physicians receive a salary of 105*l.*, but their principal emolument is derived from the fees paid by the pupils attending the medical practice of the hospital, which are fifteen guineas for eighteen months and thirty guineas for the perpetual right. These pupils, two or three of whom are in constant attendance on each principal physician, prescribe simple remedies in his absence. The physicians have also the opportunity of becoming lecturers to the students attending the hospital school. The salary of the assistant physicians is 100*l.* per annum, but they are not allowed to take pupils, though they may become lecturers to the medical classes. The stipend of the principal surgeons is 40*l.*, besides a gratuity of 30*l.* each voted to them by

the general court, and the fees paid by the hospital pupils are divided equally among them. Each of the principal surgeons has the privilege of nominating six dressers, who, in addition to the ordinary fee of twenty-five guineas for attending the surgical practice, pay a further fee of twenty-five guineas each. Out of these one is named as his house-surgeon for the year, for which a further fee of fifty guineas is paid. In going through the wards the principal surgeon of the day is attended by the pupils, frequently from sixty to eighty in number, or even a hundred. The assistant-surgeons only act for their respective principals, and have neither salary nor any participation in the fund arising from the pupils' fees; but they usually succeed to the office of principal surgeons. The house-surgeons superintend and direct the dressers in the absence of the surgeons, perform minor surgical operations, and receive a salary from the hospital of 25*l.* a-year. The services of the eighteen "dressers" are highly useful in extending the advantages of the hospital. They attend to casual injuries of minor importance in cases where there is no necessity for the patient either being received into one of the wards or admitted as an out-patient, and they contribute to the comforts of the in-patients by watching the symptoms of their disease. On a patient being admitted into one of the wards, the dresser writes on the paper hung up at the head of each bed the name and age of the patient, the name of the complaint, the date of admission, and his own name, with a minute of the diet, medicines, and local applications ordered by the surgeon. They are required to collect a history of each new case, to report the progress of old cases, and to take down a full history of such cases as may be pointed out to them. They dress fractures, wounds, ulcers, and all cases that require local applications. The "sisters" of the wards are twenty-nine in number, one superintending each ward and one attending upon the casualty patients. They have usually been persons who have received some education and have lived in a respectable rank of life. Recently they have been at times selected from some of the most active and trustworthy among the nurses. The majority of the sisters receive from 14*s.* to 20*s.* a-week, the four seniors from 22*s.* to 31*s.* 6*d.*, and on Sundays a dinner is provided for them at the cost of the hospital. The duties of a sister consist in a general superintendence of the ward to which she is attached, in carrying into effect the directions of the medical officers, taking charge of and administering the medicines, reporting to the cook the daily diet required for the patients, and giving information to the medical officers of any change of symptoms in the patients. The nurses, seventy-five in number, act under the sisters, two of them being attached to a single and three to a double ward. They perform the usual duties of servants, in waiting on and cleaning the patients, the beds, furniture, wards, and stairs; and are paid 7*s.* a-week, and partly dieted at the expense of the hospital.

The majority of persons received as patients into the London Hospitals are mechanics, labourers, reduced tradesmen, or servants. There are, however, numerous admissions of individuals of both sexes, and particularly females, of the very lowest class of society and the worst character. The most common offences against the regulations are smoking, swearing, gambling, and fighting, and refusals to attend to the directions of the medical officers. Instances have occurred in which the lives of the sisters or nurses have been threatened by

patients of the lowest and most abandoned class. In all ordinary cases it is necessary that an applicant for admission should obtain the recommendation of a governor by his signature to a printed petition, of which forms are procured at the hospital. Many are admitted without any other recommendation than the urgency of their case. Cases of accident are admitted on all days, at any hour whatever; but at every hospital one day in the week is set apart as the regular day of admission, when the applicants attend in the patients' waiting-room one hour before the meeting of the board. Small-pox is the only disease against which the doors of the hospital are absolutely closed. The admissions average between fifty and sixty on the regular days, which is also the average number of the accident admissions and others which take place on other days. The out-patients consist of such as, being in want of medical aid, either do not apply for, or from the nature of the case or the want of room cannot obtain, admission into the hospital; or of convalescents, who, when partially cured in the hospital, are removed to make room for others. The casualty patients include all who apply on any day in the week between ten and twelve for surgical assistance. They are seen by the dresser in attendance, and the case is treated and a record of it entered under the direction of the house-surgeon. The number of beds at St. Bartholomew's is 533, and the number of in-patients is between 5000 and 6000 a-year, of out-patients between 8000 and 9000, and of casualty patients upwards of 20,000. The deaths amongst in-patients are about one in eighteen, or about 360 a-year.

At St. Thomas's and Guy's the general medical economy, arrangement, and regulations are of much the same nature as at St. Bartholomew's, and it is unnecessary to enter into a minute detail of them. At St. Thomas's there are nineteen wards, each of which is superintended by one of the sisters, who were formerly selected from the nurses, but are so no longer. There is always one candidate for the office in training. The nurses are divided into day-nurses and night-watchers, the latter of whom enter upon their duties at eight in the evening and remain until ten the next morning. It is found very difficult to get persons fitted for either of these offices, as the duties are onerous and disagreeable, and the stipend small. The total number of in and out-patients to whom relief was administered in 1836 was 46,674, classed as follows: Physicians' out-patients 14,404, surgeons' out-patients 19,870, midwifery out-patients 1451, apothecary's out-patients 5965; and of in-patients there were 3025 discharged during the year and 298 died. The remainder were under cure on the 31st day of December. When a patient dies, the body is laid out, and, after remaining in the bed about four hours, is taken to the dead-house; the bed and bedding are thoroughly washed and cleansed; the bed is entered as a "dead bed," and remains unoccupied about a week.

At Guy's the number of beds which can be made up on an emergency is 600. The average number of applications for admission on the regular day is 100, of whom on an average 43 are admitted and 57 rejected. The deaths are about 6 per week. On the death of a patient, a screen is placed round the bed; but it is rarely possible to conceal the circumstance from the others in the ward, and within three or four hours the body is removed to the undertaker's room. The out-patients of this hospital amount, perhaps, to 40,000 a-year. About 60 sur-

gical tickets are issued per week; 80 surgical casualties per day; 30 eye-cases per week; 90 physician's tickets per week; 6 cases per day relieved at the apothecary's shop; 20 obstetric cases per week, and 30 ordinary lying-in cases; or taking three weeks as the average of attendance of each class of cases, there is an average of above 100 persons in the daily receipt of medicine or attendance, independently of slight casualties relieved.

The importance of the great London Hospitals as schools of medicine is well known. Nearly every medical and surgical practitioner has "walked the hospitals," as the phrase goes; and though the recognition of provincial medical schools renders it no longer absolutely necessary that a medical student should have attended a London hospital, yet the number who "come up" for this purpose is but little diminished. The vicinity of the hospitals swarms with these incipient Galens; and they are so thick on the ground in some quarters, particularly in the neighbourhood of the Borough hospitals, as to give the district a distinctive character. Certainly the "medical students" are entitled as a class to figure amongst the social lights and shadows of this great metropolis.

There are thirteen schools of medicine in London, but the most important are those connected with the great hospitals, though it is chiefly within the last twenty years that they have attained their pre-eminence over the private schools of medicine. The lectures of John Hunter, in Windmill Street, about 1768, were the first complete course ever delivered in the metropolis; and in 1749 all the dissections carried on in London were confined to one school, that over which John Hunter's brother presided. But even at St. Bartholomew's Hospital the introduction of lectures is of very recent date. Mr. Percival Pott, a distinguished surgeon of this hospital nearly eighty years ago, was in the habit of delivering occasional instruction in this manner; but the late Mr. Abernethy, about twenty-five years ago, may be said to have been the father of the system as it at present exists. The institution of a medical school in connexion with an hospital adds to the emoluments of the medical officer; furnishes, through the medium of the pupils, additional and gratuitous attendance on the hospital patients; and, lastly, imparts a medical education to the pupils themselves by lectures, illustrated during their personal attendance on the patients, by observation of the progress and symptoms of disease, the mode of treatment adopted, and the results. The governors of this hospital have since expended above 5000*l.* in buildings intended to facilitate the acquisition and communication of medical science. The museum was built so recently as 1835.

From 1760 to 1825 the schools of surgery of St. Thomas's and Guy's Hospitals were united, and the fees paid by the surgical pupils of both hospitals were put into one common fund, and divided equally amongst the surgeons and apothecaries of the two establishments. Medical lectures only were delivered at Guy's Hospital, while surgery, together with anatomy, was taught at St. Thomas's. For many years the late Sir Astley Cooper, who was surgeon at Guy's, filled the office of anatomical lecturer at St. Thomas's. This union was dissolved in 1825, in consequence of the governors of the two institutions differing respecting the appointment of a lecturer on anatomy; though we believe there is still some traces of the old connexion to be found in existing regulations. In 1825 it was resolved that the means of surgical education should be provided within the pre-

cincts of Guy's Hospital. Accordingly, the building which contains the anatomical schools, museum, &c. was erected at a cost of about 8000*l.* Sir Astley Cooper was appointed principal lecturer in surgery, his nephew succeeding him as surgeon. On this occasion Sir Astley was desirous of presenting to Guy's Hospital his anatomical models and preparations, when the governors of St. Thomas's refused to surrender them, but ultimately gave him 1000*l.* for his interest in them. A few years ago, in consequence of some offence given by them, the privileges of the students of Guy's, in being admitted to see the practice of St. Thomas's, was restricted to some extent by the authorities of the latter establishment, when a most serious riot took place. The refractory students were indicted for the offence, and a slight punishment was awarded by the court. The fees paid by pupils entering the medical and surgical practice of this hospital are about 3000*l.* a-year, which is divided amongst the principal physicians, principal surgeons, and apothecary. The pupils admitted yearly to the house-practice vary from 100 to 130, and an attendance of three years is required by the Apothecaries' Society.

We can scarcely do more than mention the names of the other hospitals. The Westminster Hospital, opposite the Abbey, was established in 1719, and was the first institution of the kind supported by voluntary contributions. It contains accommodation for 200 patients. St. George's Hospital was established in 1733, by a dissentient party in the management of the Westminster Hospital, and Lanesborough House was at first engaged for the purpose. The principal front of the present building is 180 feet long, faces the Green Park, and is of rather imposing design. It contains a theatre for the delivery of lectures and an anatomical museum, and the number of beds is 317. The London Hospital was established in 1740, and in 1759 was removed to its present situation in Whitechapel

[St. George's Hospital.]

Road. The patients are chiefly watermen, and labourers employed in the docks and on the quays in the east parts of London. In this quarter we have also the Dreadnought, a large man of war which lies off Greenwich, and is fitted up as a hospital for sick and maimed seamen of every nation. This floating hospital is in every way a very admirable institution, and we regret that we have not space to notice it more fully. On the north side of London we have first the Middlesex Hospital, established in 1740, and subsequently enlarged by two additional wings. The number of beds is 300; and, through the munificence of the late Mr. Whitbread, provision is made here for patients afflicted with cancer, who may remain in the hospital for life if they wish. The ordinary expenditure is nearly 8000*l.* a-year. The Small-pox Hospital was originally established in 1746 by public subscription, and opened at a house in Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road; but in 1767 was removed to its present situation at King's Cross. Adjoining it is the London Fever Hospital, established in 1802, which contains beds for about 150 patients. University College Hospital was founded in 1834, and already ranks high as a medical school. The number of students attending the practice of the hospital is usually about 120, and nearly one-half of the income of the institution consists of the fees paid by them. Proceeding to another part of the metropolis, we find the Charing-Cross Hospital, established in 1831, and combining the two plans of a dispensary and an hospital for in-patients. In Portugal Street, near Lincoln's Inn, is King's College Hospital, established in 1839. It has an income of about 4000*l.* a-year. There is also the Royal Free Hospital for the Destitute, first established in Greville Street, in 1828, and removed to Gray's Inn Road in 1842, supported entirely by voluntary contributions. We subjoin the population of the principal general hospitals of the metropolis on the day when the census was taken :—

| Name of Hospital. | Number of Patients, June 7, 1841. | | | Number of Persons employed in the Establishment or Resident on June 7, 1841. | | | Grand Total. | Deaths in 1839. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | M. | F. | Total. | M. | F. | Total. | | |
| St. George's . . . | 178 | 134 | 312 | 10 | 46 | 56 | 368 | 250 |
| Westminster . . . | 68 | 75 | 143 | 6 | 22 | 28 | 171 | 95 |
| Middlesex . . . | 109 | 103 | 212 | 9 | 36 | 45 | 257 | 156 |
| Charing Cross . . | 43 | 46 | 89 | 6 | 13 | 19 | 108 | 102 |
| King's College . . . | 56 | 45 | 101 | 6 | 20 | 26 | 127 | .. |
| University College . . | 56 | 45 | 101 | 9 | 15 | 24 | 125 | 194 |
| Fever . . . . | 14 | 15 | 29 | 1 | 10 | 11 | 40 | 161 |
| Small-pox . . . | 15 | 10 | 25 | 2 | 7 | 9 | 34 | 28 |
| London . . . | 205 | 108 | 313 | 11 | 60 | 71 | 384 | 311 |
| St. Bartholomew's . . | 194 | 192 | 386 | 22 | 125 | 147 | 533 | 361 |
| Guy's . . . . | 251 | 192 | 443 | 49 | 161 | 210 | 653 | 219 |
| St. Thomas's . . . | 125 | 116 | 241 | 22 | 81 | 103 | 344 | 244 |
| Dreadnought . . . | 168 | .. | 168 | 17 | 9 | 26 | 194 | 110 |
| Total . . | 1482 | 1081 | 2563 | 170 | 605 | 775 | 3338 | 2231 |

New institutions of this nature are every year springing up, especially those intended for the reception of special classes of disease,—as consumption and the diseases of the chest, cutaneous diseases, diseases of the eye and ear, &c. &c.—though some of these new establishments are dispensaries rather than hospitals.

The 'Sanatorium,' in the New Road, opened in 1842, is an especially interesting institution, and calculated to be of most essential service to a particular class, as governesses, clerks, and other persons of respectable station who are without friends in London; but we cannot here do more than refer to the interesting Annual Report.

Besides the institutions just enumerated, there are numerous lying-in hospitals in different parts of the metropolis: none of them are as yet a century old, the earliest (the British Lying-in Hospital in Brownlow Street) having been established in 1749. Comparing the first ten years of its existence with the first ten years of the present century, it appears that the deaths of mothers had fallen from 1 in 42 admitted to 1 in 288, and the deaths of children from 1 in 15 to 1 in 77. Dispensaries, for supplying the poor with medicine and advice gratis, are also found in every part of London. Some of them have been in existence about eighty years; but they originated at the close of the last century, and led to those medical squabbles which made the subject of Garth's poem. These institutions are often made use of by persons of a very different class from those whom they are more particularly intended to benefit.

The Lunatic Hospitals and Asylums, though widely differing in most respects from the medical and surgical hospitals, are still institutions of the same class. Above 3200 lunatics and idiots are in confinement within the limits of the metropolitan Lunacy Commissioners, above half of whom are confined in 34 licensed houses, about 300 at Bethlem, above 200 at St. Luke's, 24 at Guy's, and nearly 1000 at Hanwell. Bethlem and St. Luke's only come within our province on the present occasion.

Bethlem Hospital, or the House of Bethlem, as it was originally called, was founded as a convent by Simon Fitz-Mary, a citizen of London, in 1247. The founder directed, that in token of subjection and reverence, one mark sterling should be paid yearly at Easter to the Bishop of Bethlem or his nuncio. The date of this house being converted into an hospital is not known, but in 1330, less than a century after its foundation, it had acquired this designation. In 1346 the brethren of the house were dispersed abroad collecting alms, and an application on their behalf was made to the mayor and aldermen to be received into their protection. The earliest notice which can be found of lunatics having been received at Bethlem is 1403. There were then in the house six men deprived of reason, and three sick persons, as appears by an inquisition taken at the above date. The purchase of Bethlem by the city took place in 1546. In 1555-6 it was for a short time, along with the other hospitals, under the same government as Christ's Hospital; but in 1557 it was placed under the control of the governors of Bridewell, one treasurer being appointed for both houses. This union still subsists, and was confirmed by the act of 1782, for regulating the royal hospitals. The affairs of the two hospitals are transacted at the same courts, and the proceedings are recorded in the same books, as if the two houses were one foundation; but the accounts are kept in separate ledgers.

In 1555, it appears, by an account rendered to the Governors of Christ's Hospital, that the "yerely issues and proffittes" of Bethlem Hospital were 43*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.*, arising almost entirely from houses. A valuation of the real estates was made

in 1632, and it appears that, if then out of lease, they would have produced about 470*l.* per annum. For many years the funds were inadequate to the maintenance of the hospital; and in 1642 the preachers who were to preach at Easter at the Spittal were desired to make an appeal to the people in its behalf. In 1644, it appears there were 44 lunatics constantly maintained in Bethlem, and the revenues only defrayed two-thirds of the charges. The endowments of the hospital are now very ample, and the greater part of the property is applicable to the general purposes of the institution; but one portion (under the will of Mr. Barkham) has been given exclusively for incurable patients, and consists of 3736 acres of land in Lincolnshire, which, with the tithes, produce 5790*l.* a-year, of which only one-fourth is realised, applicable to the purposes mentioned in the will. The total income of the real and personal estate of the hospital for the year ending Christmas, 1836, was 15,864*l.*, of which above 12,000*l*, was derived from houses and land, and 3600*l.* from stock invested in the public funds. The gross income of the hospital from all sources (the profits made by the reception of criminal lunatics excepted) averaged 16,263*l.* for the ten years ending in 1836.

Stow says that the church and chapel of Fitz-Mary's Hospital were taken down in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and houses built instead by the governors of Christ's Hospital. The Charity Commissioners give an extract, made in the muniment book in 1632, which is the earliest description of the hospital they could find. The old house contained "below stairs a parlour, a kitchen, two larders, a long entry throughout the house, and twenty-one rooms wherein the poor distracted people lie, and above the stairs eight rooms more for servants and the poor to lie in, and a long waste room now being contrived and in work, to make eight rooms more for poor people to lodge where there lacked room before." Besides this, there was "one messuage newly builded of brick, containing a cellar, a kitchen, a hall, four chambers and a garret, being newly added unto the old rooms." Ten years later the question of enlarging the hospital came under consideration, and a committee of view being appointed, it was reported that the ground on which two old ruinous tenements stood would allow of space for a new building to contain twelve rooms on the ground floor, and eight over them for lunatics, and garrets for servants, and another yard for lunatics. This addition to the hospital was effected, but it appears that altogether not more than fifty or sixty patients could be accommodated.

After the Fire of London the governors resolved to build the house on a larger scale, and the City granted them a lease of some ground, 740 feet long by 80 deep, adjacent to London Wall, for the site of their new building, which it was intended should be capable of accommodating 120 lunatics. The lease was granted for 999 years, subject to a rent of 1*s.* if demanded, with a provision that the lease should be void in case the building was devoted to any other purpose. The new hospital (as it was recorded on an inscription over the entrance) was commenced in April, 1675, and completed in July, 1676. This was the centre of Old Bethlem Hospital, and it was similar in design to the Tuileries. Its length was 540 feet, and breadth 40 feet, besides the wall which enclosed the gardens before it, "which were neatly ornamented with walks of freestone round about, and a grass-plot in the middle, beside which garden there was another at each

end for the lunatic people, when they were a little well of their distemper, to walk in for refreshment." Two wings were added to the hospital in 1733, for the reception of incurable patients under the provisions of Mr. Barkham's will. In an edition of Stow, published in 1754, the hospital is described as consisting "chiefly of two galleries one over the other, 193 yards long, 13 feet high, and 16 feet broad, not including the cells for the patients, which were 12 feet deep. These galleries were divided in the middle by two iron gates, so that all the men were placed in one end of the house, and all the women at the other, each having their proper conveniences, as likewise a stone room where, in the winter, they had a fire to warm them, and at each end of the lower gallery a larger grass-plot to air and refresh themselves in the summer, and in each gallery servants lay to be ready at hand on all occasions; besides, below stairs there was made of late a bathing-place for the patients, so contrived as to be a hot or cold bath as occasion required." Towards the close of the last century the hospital had become insufficient for the number of patients requiring an asylum; and in 1793 the City granted a lease for an adjoining piece of ground which would have enabled the governors to enlarge the hospital; but the bad state of the old buildings seems to have prevented any use being made of the space thus acquired. In the Report of a committee, dated April, 1799, it is stated that the whole building was dreary, low, and melancholy, and that the interior arrangements were ill-contrived, and did not afford sufficient accommodation, and the close and confined situation precluded the advantages of air and exercise. In consequence of this Report it was resolved not only to rebuild the hospital, but to transfer it to a new site. Great and unexpected difficulties occurred to delay the erection of a new hospital, and as the eastern wing had been rather too hastily pulled down, a reduction in the number of patients became unavoidable. The discovery of the true bearing of the old lease (by which the lease granted by the City became void, if the site were not used for a lunatic asylum), again protracted the negotiations. Four different sites were fixed upon at Islington; the end of St. John's Street was thought of; and at one period it was in contemplation to improve the site of the Old Hospital and the approach through Old Bethlem to Moorfields. Finally the 2½ acres on which the old hospital stood were exchanged for the present site, containing about 11 acres, the condition of the lease requiring that the new hospital should be capable of accommodating 200 patients, and that not less than eight acres of the land should be appropriated to their use, while the governors were to be at liberty to employ the rest for the general purposes of the hospital and in augmentation of its revenues. The Act for effecting the settlement of this affair was passed in 1810.

A site being thus provided, premiums were offered for designs for the intended building, and thirty-six plans were sent in. The surveyor of the hospital and two architects selected three from this number, and on the basis of these, but with such alterations as he might consider necessary, Mr. Lewis was directed to form a plan for a building to contain accommodation for 200 patients, but with offices on a scale sufficient for twice that number. Further steps were taken to obtain the necessary funds, for the governors had commenced, in 1804, to reserve a portion of their revenues for building purposes. Grants of public money were also obtained to the amount of 72,819*l.*; the benefactions of public bodies amounted

to 5405*l.*, including 3000*l.* from the corporation ; 500*l.* from the Bank of England ; and various sums from several of the city companies; the amount contributed by private individuals was 5709*l.* ; 23,766*l.* were contributed from the funds of the hospital; and a sum of 14,873*l.* accumulated as interest during the progress of the work. The first stone of the new building was laid in April, 1812, and in August, 1815, it was completed and ready for the reception of patients. The total cost was 122,572*l.* It consists of a centre and two wings ; the centre is surmounted by a dome, and the entrance is by an Ionic portico of six columns, supporting the royal arms. In the hall are the two figures of Raving and Melancholy Madness, executed by Cibber for the old hospital, and repaired in 1820 by Bacon. The wings, for which the government advanced 25,144*l.*, are appropriated to criminal lunatics, who are supported at the public expense at a cost of 38*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* each. In 1837 the male criminal wing was enlarged, and there have been considerable additions made to the hospital since that time. The first stone of some additional new buildings was laid July 26th, 1838, on which occasion a public breakfast was given, at a cost of 464*l.* to the hospital; and a narrative of the proceedings was drawn up and printed with several documents, at a cost to the charity of 140*l.* The length of the building as it now stands is 569 feet. There are galleries, 219 feet 8 inches long, for male and female patients, both in the basement, on the ground-floor, and on the first and second floors. There is a fifth gallery, on the third floor of the central building, which is appropriated to incurable patients, and differs considerably from the other galleries. The sleeping-rooms are partitions divided from each other, and from a passage in front, by bulk-heads about seven feet high, which do not reach to the ceiling. The passage faces the south, and is more lively and cheerful than any of the others. The patients are divided into three classes: the furious and mischievous, and those who have no regard to cleanliness, being placed in the basement; ordinary patients, on their admission, and those who are promoted from the basement, are on the first floor; and the second floor is appropriated to patients who are most advanced towards recovery : and there are two other galleries for the incurable patients.

Under the Act of 1782 the united establishments of Bridewell and Bethlem are governed by a president and treasurer elected by the general courts; the court of aldermen and twelve councilmen; and an unlimited number of nomination governors. The number of governors at present is 343. Bethlem is exempt from the visitations of the Commissioners of Lunacy, a privilege which has not been of much advantage to it, for it has the demerit of having carried into operation, to a period of less than thirty years ago, the unenlightened and brutal system of treatment which distinguished the fifteenth century. In the inquisition of 1403 the iron chains with locks and keys, and the manacles and stocks there spoken of as belonging to Bethlem Hospital, indicate but too plainly the system of that day. There are several passages in Shakspere which show that bonds, darkness, and flagellation were the remedies adopted for the recovery of the lost reason ! A passage in 'Lear' alludes to the custom of allowing lunatics whose malady was found to be unattended with danger to leave the hospital with an iron ring soldered about their left arm, and a permission to beg. In 1598 a committee appointed to view Bethlem reported that the place

was so loathsome that it was not fit for any man to enter. It contained only twenty inmates, who were termed prisoners, and of these six only were maintained at the expense of the charity. Coming down to a later period, we find that the Hospital used to derive an income of "at least 400*l.* a-year from the indiscriminate admission of visitants, whom very often an idle and wanton curiosity drew to these regions of distress."* Ned Ward's 'London Spy' shows, indeed, that the lunatics were visited just in the same way as the lions at the Tower. In 1770 the practice was put a stop to. In 1740 it appears that strangers, as well as the friends of the lunatics, paid 1*d.* on admission. The exposure of the wretched system pursued at Bethlem, which took place in 1814, in consequence of the investigation of a parliamentary committee, is probably still fresh in the recollection of most readers. The visitors thus describe one of the women's galleries:—"One of the side-rooms contained about ten patients, each chained by one arm or leg to the wall, the chain allowing them merely to stand up by the bench or form fixed to the wall or to sit down again. The nakedness of each patient was covered by a blanket-gown only. The blanket-gown is a blanket formed something like a dressing-gown, with nothing to fasten it in front: this constitutes the whole covering. The feet even were naked." One female in this room was found, who in lucid intervals talked most reasonably, and on being treated like a human being became an entirely different creature. Many women were locked up in cells naked and chained, on straw, with only one blanket for a covering, and the windows being unglazed, the light in winter was shut out for the sake of warmth. In the men's rooms, "their nakedness and their mode of confinement gave this room the complete appearance of a dog-kennel." The patients not being classified, some were objects of resentment to the others. The shocking case of William Norris, a lunatic confined here, excited a deep sensation, and by its exposure led eventually to improvement. At this period, for months together, the committee made no inspection of the inmates! The house-surgeon was often in an insane state himself, and still oftener drunk; and one of the keepers who was frequently in the latter state remained undischarged. Just at this time also the governors spent 600*l.* in opposing a Bill for regulating madhouses!

The improvements in the system of management at Bethlem began about 1816. Patients of both sexes are now set to do such little offices as they are capable of. They assist in household occupations; some employ themselves in knitting, tailoring, and mending the clothes of the other patients. Females find occupation in the laundry and in making up linen, all the ordinary needlework of the house being performed by them; and some are engaged in embroidery. In the airing-grounds many of the men play at ball, trap-ball, leap-frog, cricket, and other games; and the women are encouraged to dance in the evenings. Every case of restraint is now noted down, and must be at once reported to the medical officers, and brought under the notice of the committee.

St. Luke's Hospital for lunatics, in Old Street, was opened in 1751, and was intended for the reception of those who could not obtain admission into old Bethlem Hospital. It has always been favourably distinguished for its manage-

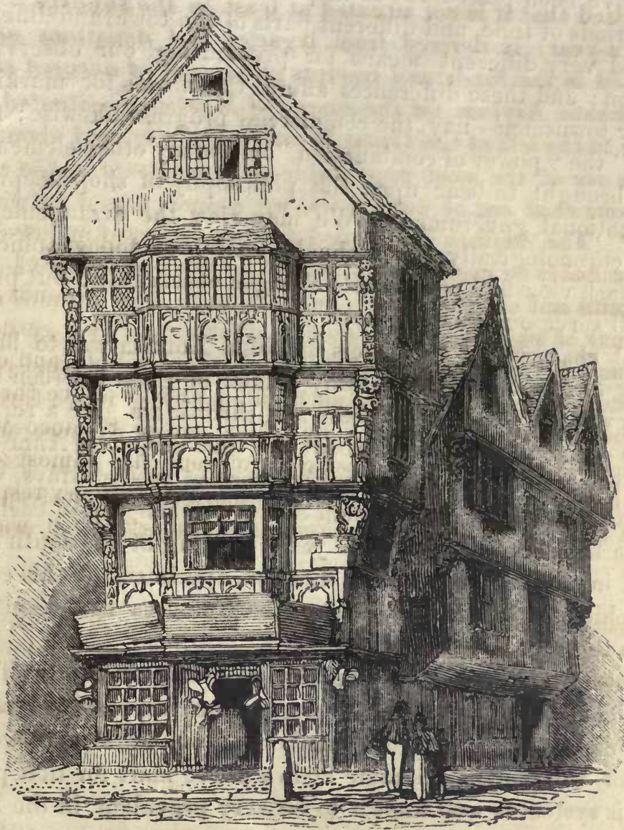
* Rev. Mr. Bowen's Account of the Hospital, 1783.

ment. The average number of inmates for 1842 was 209, and 242 were discharged during the year. The Hospital is a very substantial brick edifice, but it is to be regretted that it is not situated at least in the suburbs. The income (above 8000*l.* a-year) is derived from legacies and donations amounting to 159,956*l.* invested in the funds, and receipts on account of uncured patients.

The great Lunatic Asylum for the county of Middlesex, situated at Hanwell, a short distance to the left of the Great Western Railway, and about seven miles from London, is one of the most remarkable establishments in the country: and though it is somewhat out of our limits, we cannot pass it by without a brief general notice.* The Asylum is intended for one thousand inmates, and accommodation will probably be eventually provided for thirteen hundred. The present number of servants and officers exceeds one hundred. The grounds contain fifty-three acres, twenty of which are cultivated as a farm, four as a garden, two as an orchard, and nearly four are shrubberies. The airing-grounds and courts occupy a space of eighteen acres, and the asylum buildings cover above three and a half acres. The ancient bodily restraints, on which entire reliance was formerly placed, have been disused, and even severity of tone has almost ceased to be employed. We can here only say of the system, that it is in every respect precisely opposite to that which, until within a comparatively short period, was acted upon at Bethlem.

* We take the opportunity (as we have not space for details) to recommend all who are interested in the subject to the admirable Reports of Dr. Conolly, the physician at Hanwell, and also the Reports of the Visiting Justices, by whom his enlightened efforts have been supported in a most excellent spirit.

[Bethlem Hospital.]



[Old Shop, corner of Fleet Street and Chancery Lane, in 1799.]

## CXXV.—LONDON SHOPS AND BAZAARS.

"If you would know and be not known," it has been said, "live in a town; if you would be known and not know, then vegetate in a village." When taken with some qualifications there is a great deal of truth in this apothegm. It is impossible to live long in a town and not speedily "know" much, unless we resolutely shut one's self up within doors. The shops of London are in themselves a very cyclopædia of instruction, in which he "who runs may read," and he who walks may read more. We there place ourselves in communion with artificers and producers from all corners of the earth; the bowls of "souchong" and "twankay" in the window of the grocer introduce us to the millions of the Celestial Empire; the spices in the same window carry us in imagination to Ceylon, to the Moluccas, and to the tropical regions generally; the "Italian warehouse," with its thousand and one seductions for the palate, shows us what sunny Italy, and Greece, and the Levant can do for us: in short, the shops of a busy town are among the most suggestive of all subjects for reflection, if we choose to carry the eye of the mind

a little beyond the mere external appearance of the commodities displayed therein, and think of the productive and commercial agencies by which those commodities have been placed at our disposal.

Different periods of time, and different parts of the town, and different branches of trade, afford very different means for prosecuting our observations on the shops of London; and these differences afford the means for marking the social progress of our townsmen—nay, the commercial progress likewise; for the "division of labour," the "power of combination," and many other elements of political economy, are brought to bear upon the philosophy of shop-keeping as well as upon that of national government. We may view the arrangement of London shops either chronologically, or technologically, or topographically, and we should under each view find remarkable changes observable; but perhaps a little of all these will serve our purpose best.

The general character of the shops in olden London was to have the wares exposed openly to the street, without any barrier of glass between the buyer and seller. Wherever our old topographers and chroniclers give a representation of a London shop—at least anterior to about the time of Queen Anne—this was the observable feature. The shop, too, unlike those of modern days, was generally smaller than the rooms above, on account of the overhanging of each floor or story beyond the one beneath it. There are yet remaining at the south end of Gray's Inn Lane, and in a few other parts of London, specimens of this curious variety of domestic architecture; although most of such houses now display the luxury of a window to the shop.

If we go back to the time of Fitz-Stephen, who wrote in the twelfth century, we find that the *bazaar* system was much more extensively adopted in London than at the present day; that is, that the members of one trade were wont to congregate at one spot, which thence became known as the mart for that particular kind of goods. This system is well known to be very prevalent in the East, where at Constantinople, Smyrna, Cairo, and other large towns, most of the retail shops are assembled in this manner. If we look at the names of some of the older London streets, such as Bread Street, Milk Street, Cornhill, Fish Street Hill, the Poultry, the Vintry, Honey Lane, Hosier Lane, Cordwainer Street, Wood Street, &c., we can scarcely avoid a conjecture that these were, at some distant day, the points of rendezvous for dealers in those commodities. Fitz-Stephen says: "The followers of the several trades, the vendors of various commodities, and the labourers of every kind, are daily to be found in their proper and distinct places, according to their employments." He also has a passage which has given rise to some discussion concerning such of the shops as provided provisions. "On the bank of the river, besides the wine sold in ships and vaults, there is a public eating-house or cook's-shop. Here, according to the season, you may find victuals of all kinds, roasted, baked, fried, or boiled; fish large and small, with coarse viands for the poorer sort and more delicate ones for the rich, such as venison, fowls, and small birds. In case a friend should arrive at a citizen's house, much wearied with his journey, and chooses not to wait, an hungered as he is, for the buying and cooking of meat, recourse is immediately had to the bank above mentioned, where everything desirable is instantly procured." Now, in the first part of this description there is an allusion to wine being sold in *ships*,

a custom which is so different from any now followed that we can only understand it thus—that wine being admitted duty free, purchasers went to the ships with their bottles or vessels, and bought the wine "in draught" at a cheaper price than would suffice if the seller had the expense of keeping a shop. Fitz-Stephen speaks of *a* public eating-house, situated near the river, as if it were the only one of the kind; and it would appear that this was frequented by high and low, as there was a choice between "delicate viands" and "coarse viands."

[A Frippery.]

The "frippery" or clothes-stall of Shakspere's time probably represented a large class of shops such as existed in London during the reigns of the Edwards and Henrys. In the fourth act of the 'Tempest,' where Ariel brings in some handsome garments, Prospero says, "Come, hang them on this line." This passage has given rise to much diversity of opinion among commentators, some thinking that "*line*" ought to be taken in reference to the branches of a line, linden, or lime-tree. The editor of the 'Pictorial Shakspere' expresses an opinion that the meaning is rightly rendered in the common reading of the passage. "Had not," he asks, "the clowns a distinct image in their minds of an old clothes-shop—

"'We know what belongs to a frippery'?"

Here is a picture of a frippery, from a print dated 1587, with its clothes hung in line and level. This frippery is evidently something more than an old clothes-shop: the tailor is seated on his board with the implements of his craft about him, and has the aspect of one who could make new clothes as well as sell old ones.

There is a print in Smith's 'Antiquities of London,' of which we give a copy at the head of our paper, of a house which stood at the corner of Chancery Lane so late as the year 1799, where now stands the large and modern residence and shop of a robe-maker. If this house had not undergone alteration, then it would seem to show that shop-windows were tolerably common in the time of Edward VI., the date to which the house was referred. The print presents to view a small double-parted shop, having hanging on the

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outside several articles for sale which look like saddles; and over this are five stories of private apartments, each of three projecting beyond the one beneath it, and all decorated in a highly curious manner. But the shop windows do not by any means accord with the general character of the front, and give evidence of having been put in at a later date: indeed, this is rendered certain by a paragraph which Smith quotes from the 'Morning Herald' of May 20, 1799:—"The house in Fleet Street, which the City is now pulling down to widen Chancery Lane, is the oldest in that street, being built in the reign of Edward VI. for an *elegant mansion*, long before there were any shops in that part of the City." Among other plates given by Smith, and illustrating the shop architecture of other days, is one of Winchester Street, London Wall. The houses were built in 1656, and two of them have small-squared glass shop-windows; but many of the others appear to be open shops. In another, representing houses on the north side of Long Lane, Smithfield, said to be built during the Commonwealth, two of the shops appear to have glass windows, with shutters sliding in grooves at top and bottom; while another has an unglazed shop-window. Another represents a house on the west side of Little Moorfields, built in the time of Charles I., and presenting a curious arrangement of scroll ornaments in the front: there is a bow window to the shop below, but we incline to think that it is more modern than the rest of the house. There is another of Smith's prints which represents a more singular-looking assemblage of shops than any of the others: this is a view of part of Duke Street, West Smithfield, as it appeared down to the end of the last century. Here the shops are almost buried; for the upper rooms project considerably beyond them; while, through the gradually raising of the street, the level of the shop has been relatively lowered; till all the shops, some with windows and some without, look nearly as much like cellars as shops.

That sash-windows were not common to shops till towards the beginning of the last century, we may judge from many circumstances. Addison, in No. 162 of the 'Tatler,' while speaking of many changes that had recently occurred in London, says, "As for the article of building, I intend hereafter to enlarge upon it, having lately observed several warehouses, nay, private shops, that stand upon Corinthian pillars, and whole rows of tin pots showing themselves, in order to their sale, through a sash-window." But if the shops of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have possessed that which was wanting in their predecessors, the moderns have fallen off in one very characteristic feature, viz. the *sign-boards* over the shops. We cannot look upon Hogarth's street pictures without remarking the almost universal prevalence of this custom. The signs of the "Golden Key," of the "Golden Fleece," of the "Bible and Crown," &c., are displayed conspicuously before us, in connexion not only with public-houses, as in modern times, but also with most other trading shops. In former times the houses in a street were by no means uniformly numbered, as at present: indeed, the numbering was a rare practice; and, therefore, the owner of a shop was compelled to adopt some symbol by which his shop could be known. This symbol was depicted on a sign-board in front of his house, and was often as incongruous as those of modern taverns. The "Naked Boy" was the sign of a bookseller's shop in Fleet Street, where many works were published in the early part of the last century; and the title-pages of old books would show many equally ludicrous instances.

The shops of the last century differed from those of the present in this circumstance among others,—that many were itinerant shops at that day which are permanent shops now. The wares exposed for sale in the open street are much less numerous than formerly, at least in the better class of streets. The instructions which Gay gives in his 'Trivia,' in relation to the art of walking the streets of London, contain many allusions which point to this state of things, but to which we need not pay much attention here.*

By what steps the shops of the metropolis have arrived at their present positions—how the heavy shapeless window yielded to the light bow window, and the latter to the modern flat window; how small squares of glass have given way to larger ones, crown glass to plate glass, clumsy wooden sash-bars to light brass ones; how the once lowly shop has reared its head so as to include even the next higher floor within its compass—must have been noticed by all who are familiar with the huge metropolis. The result of all these changes has been to give to the London shops a character of magnificence which has drawn forth expressions of wonder from many a pen. Southey, in his 'Letters of Espriella,' has given a graphic picture of the London shops, the "cut-glass glittering like diamonds," the "painted piece of beef swinging in a roaster, and exhibiting the machine which turns it," the "busts, painted to the life, with glass eyes, and dressed in full fashion, to exhibit the wigs which are made within," &c. But to understand the shops of this "world of a city"—the sixteen or seventeen thousand which London is said to contain—we shall do well to glance at a few of the most notable, or at least most conspicuous, retail trades in succession, so far as shop arrangements depend on the nature of the commodities sold.

In the first place, then—and pity 't is that the first place should be so occupied—we have the public-houses, taverns, and gin-palaces. Those shops have been among the first to introduce a decorative style of shop-architecture; and, what seems to many persons most strange, the poorer the neighbourhood, the more splendid do these places become. There are about four thousand regularly-licensed public-houses in London, besides a large number of drinking-houses of various kinds which cannot come under this designation. The change between past and present times is more marked in respect to public-houses than to almost any other kind of retail shop in London. All the descriptions which writers have given of the older houses of this character bear a strong family likeness, as do the pictures which Hogarth and others have left. The tavern-keeper was a jolly, portly man, with a red face, knee-breeches (into the pockets of which his hands were often thrust), and buckled shoes. His shop or "bar" was small but well filled, exhibiting punch-bowls on a shelf, a little gilt Bacchus sitting across a barrel, a bunch of grapes of impossible dimensions, and a sign-board creaking on its hinges outside. But now how great is the change! We are first dazzled with the splendid gas-lamps ranged on the outside of the house, and shedding a ray of surpassing brilliancy (there was a public-house, three or four years ago, whose exterior exhibited a lamp ten feet high, containing seventy jets of gas!). When we come nearer we see that the interior is fully as brilliant as the exterior: elegantly-formed branches of pipes descend from the ceiling, or ascend from the counter, and yield a vast number of gas-flames. The bar-furniture, such as coun-

* 'London:' "Street Sights" and "Street Noises."

ters, beer-machines, spirit-machines, are all of the finest workmanship and highest polish; while behind the counter, instead of the jolly Boniface of old, we see smartly-dressed females, dispensing the pennyworths or small quantities of liquor. It may be that a man or a boy draws the malt-liquor; but the chances are ten to one that one of the other sex—though strange it may seem—is serving those small portions of the burning liquid which so often bring ruin as their attendants. There is one feature in a modern public-house for which our times need not be envied: in front of the counter are the ragged, the depraved, the impoverished, spending perhaps their last penny for gin, and cursing and quarrelling under the influence of the inebriation which it brings. It is, however, only fair to bear in mind that this is not a feature of all these houses: some derive the chief part of their business from serving families with beer, and such are, though much less splendid, much better ordered, than the real "gin-palaces." To arrive at something like a general rule, we may say that those public-houses which are situated in or near the lowest dens of poverty, such as Seven Dials, Whitechapel, and some spots on the south of the river, have been becoming more and more splendid every year; while those situated near the squares and private streets have a decent air of respectability about them, as far removed from the desolating splendour of the former, as from the hearty jollity of the olden taverns.

[Kemble Tavern, Bow Street, Long Acre.]

The Bakers' and the Chemists' shops are among those which have adopted the luxury of plate-glass windows and bright gas-lamps. Twenty years ago most of the bakers' shops had small flat windows, and were very modestly lighted in the evening by a lamp or two: the baker, with his woollen cap on his head, stood behind the counter rasping his loaves and rolls; while his wife, a plain, decent body, served the "quarterns" and "half-quarterns." But now the window displays its large squares of plate-glass, its brightly-blazing gas-jets, and its long array of neat trays filled with biscuits, whose shape would defy Euclid. The Chemists, or, as they ought more properly to be called, the Druggists, have made a notable advance in shop-architecture and arrangements. Most London walkers will remember the time when the large red, and green, and yellow bottles, shedding a ghastly light on the passer-by, were the chief indications of the presence of a Druggist's shop; but now the plate-glass window exhibits a most profuse array of knick-knacks, not only such as pertain to "doctors' stuff," but lozenges, perfumery, soda-water powders, &c.; while the well-dressed shopmen or "assistants" within—one of the most lowly-paid class of respectable persons in London—ply their avocation of semi-chemists and semi-shopmen.

The Butchers' shops are pretty nearly what butchers' shops have always been: they have undergone but little change. They are still open shops, with their stout counters, provided with bins underneath for containing salt-meat, their huge chopping-blocks, their rows of hooks whereon to hang the meat, their rough floors covered with saw-dust, and their window-board next the street. A sash-window to a butcher's shop would be quite a solecism; but still there are at the west-end of the town symptoms of smartness and cleanliness to which the east makes no pretensions. The Grocers' shops—not the Greengrocers, for they remain open-fronted shops, as they were in former days, and in many cases exhibit the same heap of coals in one corner, to be sold in pecks or pen'orths—have advanced in the march of improvement. The grocer is no longer content to place a solitary box of raisins, a chest which may or may not contain tea, and a few other articles, in his window. He has his extensive prairie of moist sugar, crossed with rivulets of preserved lemon-peel; his samples of tea are contained in elegant little polished vases, guarded by mandarins in splendid attire; his coffee is exhibited in various states and qualities; he has a highly polished steam-engine in his window, to imply that he sells so much coffee that he must have steam power to grind it; his loaves of white sugar are broken in half, to show that they are not "dummies," and that they have the right crystalline grain; and he does not fail to inform you that he has taken advantage of the recent intelligence from China to make extensive ready-money purchases, by which he can sell tea lower than his neighbours. His shop is redolent of plate-glass and gas-lights, and is altogether an attractive affair. There are, however, a few old establishments in this line whose celebrity renders these showy displays unnecessary; and there are also two or three new ones which command a large business by advertising rather than by shop-window display.

The shops devoted to the sale of wearing apparel are, however, the most remarkable in London. The principle of competition has been driven further in the drapery business than in most others, and hence the linen-drapers' shops exhibit the effects which this competition produces more strikingly perhaps than most others. The rise of the cotton manufacture in England has had much to

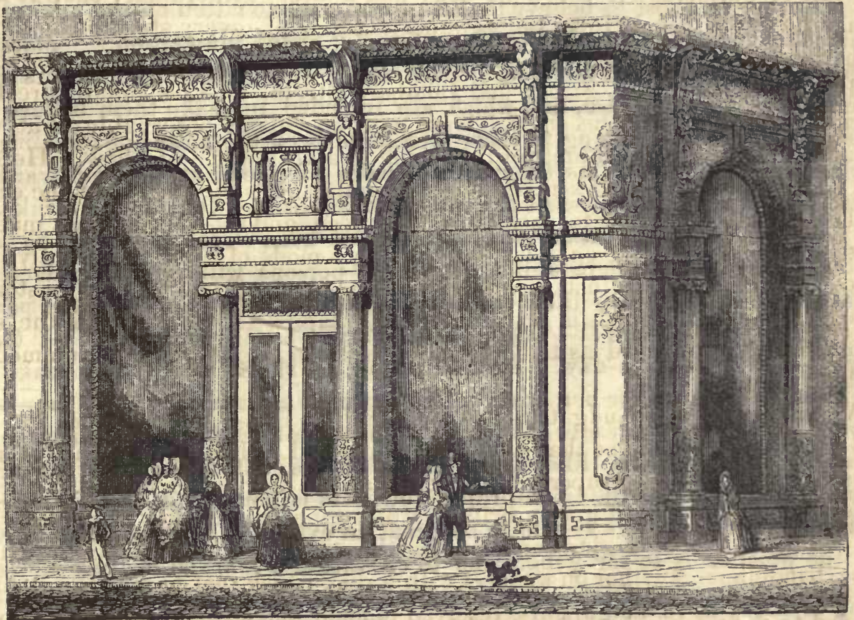
do with this matter; for when woollen fabrics were the staple of English dress, the comparative costliness prevented any very eager competition, and the fabrics themselves were not of so showy a character. It is true the mercer had attractive silken goods to display in his window; but the immense consumption of cotton in female dress has been the chief moving power towards the production of the present remarkable display in the drapers' shops. The mills, the labour, the capital employed in this manufacture have led to so large a production that the manufacturer is anxious to "do business" in any quarter, and this anxiety leads to a constant increase in the number of retail shops.

To whatever part of London we direct our steps, we shall find that the Drapers' shops—including in this term those which sell cotton, linen, silk, and worsted goods—are among the handsomest. We may commence a tour from the East, and we shall find it everywhere pretty nearly alike; that is, in the busy streets, for in the by-streets the shops of this kind, what few there are, are of a much humbler description. In Whitechapel and other wide thoroughfares at the east end, the goods exposed in these windows are generally rather of a humble and cheap kind; but the windows are nevertheless glazed with plate-glass, and lighted with a profusion of gas-jets, such as only the gin-palaces can equal. On approaching Aldgate we find, among many shops of this character, one for the sale of garments for the male sex; and a most extraordinary shop it is, for it may be said to reach from the ground to the roof, every story being fronted with plate-glass, and filled with goods. From Aldgate to St. Paul's, whether we go by way of Fenchurch Street and Lombard Street, or Leadenhall Street and Cornhill, the shops of this character are not particularly observable; but when we arrive at St. Paul's Churchyard we come to a very world of show. Here we find a shop whose front presents an uninterrupted mass of glass from the ceiling to the ground; no horizontal sash bars being seen, and the vertical ones made of brass. Here, too, we see on a winter's evening a mode of lighting recently introduced, by which the products of combustion are given off in the street, instead of being left to soil the goods in the window: the lamps are fixed outside the shop, with a reflector so placed as to throw down a strong light upon the commodities in the window.

We may then enter Ludgate Street and Ludgate Hill—a street which was once said to contain finer shops than any other street in London, and which still maintains an equality, if not a superiority. Here we find a shop which was one of the first to adopt the expedient of giving brilliancy and apparent vastness by clothing wall and ceiling with looking-glass, and causing these to reflect the light from rich cut-glass chandeliers. Farther on we meet with a shop which, not having the means of being so bulky as its neighbours, resolved to make amends by soaring to a double height. This was the first shop in London, as far as we are aware, in which the first floor was taken to form part of the shop itself, and one window carried up to the double height. That the goods are finely displayed by this method there can be no doubt; but its excellence as a point of shop architecture is another matter. A writer in the 'Westminster Review,' about two years ago, while condemning the excessive use of plate-glass in shop-windows, since it "serves only to produce the effect of a vast gap or vacuum, and take away all appearance of support to the upper part of the house," alludes to this shop on

Ludgate Hill, and remarks that "the door being set back and the window on each side curved convexly inwards, the whole front becomes a recess; but as there are no pillars of any kind to support the horizontal architrave or bressumer carried across it, the upper part of the house seems to stand in need of some prop. What serves not a little to increase, in this instance, the gap-like look and appearance of chasm below is, that it is rendered so strikingly conspicuous by the shop-front being carried up the height of two floors, and made to consist almost entirely of glass." The architecture answers its purpose and defies criticism.

Pursuing our journey through Fleet Street and the Strand, or in a northern route through Holborn and Oxford Street, we pass numerous and splendid specimens of this kind of shop, especially in Oxford Street, where some of the shops present an elegance of design more strictly correct, perhaps, than those already mentioned. Regent Street then offers its display, and, taken from one end to the other, exhibits a larger number of brilliant shops than any other street in London; for the drapers and mercers only share with other tradesmen the possession of brilliantly-lighted and elegantly-fitted "emporiums." At the southern end of the Quadrant is a shop which has attracted much attention for its decorative character. It was thus spoken of in the 'Companion to the Almanac' for



1841:—"As an architectural composition it possesses considerable merit, presenting the appearance of sufficient solidity and strength, and not looking as if likely to be crushed by the upper part of the house; for, though spacious, the windows are of lofty upright proportions and arched, besides which, there is some substance in the piers to which the columns supporting those arches are attached; and where the angle of the building is curved off, that space presents a broad solid pier; not, however, one that produces a blank in the composition, it being

sufficiently enriched with panelling." A shop at the corner of Berners Street in Oxford Street, and erected about the same time as the one just noticed, has also attracted much attention. We may go in almost any direction—in Bond Street, among the aristocracy; in Tottenham Court Road, the Westminster Road, or the Borough Road, among humbler districts—and we shall everywhere find specimens, more or less splendid, of drapers' and mercers' shops.

Nor is the method of conducting business at these shops less remarkable than their appearance. Everything is on the "high-pressure" system of competition; and many of the most notable changes in shop arrangements have originated there. At one time well-shaped gilt letters written on the facia over the window sufficed; but they have been nearly superseded by letters carved in wood and then gilt, or by letters cast in porcelain or glass, and decorated or partly gilt. Then, as well-shaped letters may be feared to attract no notice, others have been invented which shall seduce by their oddness. Some are very thick and short; some thin and lofty; some have thick strokes where there ought to be thin, and *vice versâ;* some are represented perspectively, as if standing one behind another like a file of soldiers; some follow each other vertically up the front of the house; and in one instance that we have seen, the letters are placed upside down. If, instead of looking at the inscription over the window, we read those in the window, we are led almost to believe that man was made to fatten on the misfortunes of his fellow-man:—"dreadful conflagration," "awful inundation," "manufacturing distress," "ruinous sacrifice," "bankruptcy"—are the written horrors which stare the reader in the face, and which are intended to make them believe that those misfortunes happening to other men have been the means of enabling the shopkeeper to sell countless thousands of bales of goods at —— per yard—of course, 50 per cent. under what the raw materials cost. One would think that the joke had become a stale one, that it had been worn to death by such constant usage; but there still seem to be persons willing to be deceived. There are also numberless little catchwords to attract the notice of the passer-by: such as "Look here!"—"Stop!"—"Tariff!"—"Income-tax!"—"Given away!"—"Sale closes to-day!" &c.: anything, in short, which may make the rapid walker stay his, or her, pace. The price of a commodity, too, may be so ticketed as to deceive a reader: thus, two guineas, by a dexterous smallness in the £, may look remarkably like twenty-two shillings. It is only fair to admit, however, that so far as the linen-drapery business is concerned, the higher class of shops do not push this system to so great an extent as those of humble rank. Still the practice is so far general as to constitute a marked feature in retail trade, and to furnish a fair source of reflection on the commercial causes which have led to so keen a spirit of competition. There may be individual instances of competition, apart from that which constitutes a general system; and Defoe, in his 'Complete Tradesman,' very clearly expresses the varieties of these. He says there are three kinds of under-sellers; viz. young tradesmen newly set up, who undersell their neighbours to get a trade; rich old tradesmen who have overgrown stocks, and who undersell to keep their trade; and poor tradesmen, who are obliged to sell low to get money. Defoe makes some judicious remarks on all of these points, and says, "I have seen a brewer in a country town, when another has set up near him, sell all his beer two or three shillings per barrel cheaper,

on purpose to break the new comer, and carry it on till he has brewed himself a thousand pounds out of pocket; and when the other, being overcome, and, perhaps, almost broken, has given it over, then he has raised his price four or five shillings per barrel, till he has made himself whole again, and then go on upon a level as before." Is not this picture as applicable now as it was a century and a half ago?

Many of the particulars into which we have here entered apply to other trades as well as to drapers, in respect both to shop arrangements and to systems of business. The tailors' shops, no longer the open "fripperies" of former times, have their plate-glass windows, and an air of elegance about them; and if we wonder how any human waists can bear the smallness of the coats in the windows, we may be satisfied by knowing that they are only ideal waists, made for the occasion. The hatters have made quite as great a stride as the tailors, and now present shops as smart as most others. We may often see a bright pair of scales in the window, to show that the hat only weighs a certain number of ounces; and by the side of this a glass globe, containing water, on which a hat swims, to show how impervious is the waterproof with which it has been stiffened. Then the 4*s*. 9*d*. is placed so temptingly before the eye of the passenger, that he cannot choose but see it. The bootmakers are another class whose shops exhibit the fanciful arrangements of modern times. The well-polished boots, with arched insteps, pointed toes, and high heels, and named after the great and the noble—Wellington, Blucher, Clarence, Albert—are set off to the best advantage, while shoes are interspersed among them here and there; and though it may seem to imply a want of gallantry to place all the ladies' shoes on one side of the window and the gentlemen's on the other, there is doubtless good reason for the arrangement.

Almost endless would be the task of enumerating the fine and elegant shops presented to view in the streets of London, and the dazzling array of commodities displayed in the windows. The furnishing ironmonger sets off his polished grates, fenders, candlesticks, &c., to the best advantage; the cabinetmaker, with his French-polished mahogany and his chintz furniture, does his best to tempt the passer-by; the tobacconist, abandoning the twisted clay-pipes and the pigtail tobacco of former days, displays his elegant snuff-boxes, cigar-cases, meerschaums, and hookahs; the perfumer decks his windows with waxen ladies looking ineffably sweet, and gentlemen whose luxuriant moustaches are only equalled by the rosy hue of their cheeks, and oils, creams, and cosmetics from Circassia, Macassar, &c. —nominally, at least; and so on throughout the list of those who supply the wants, real and imaginary, of purchasers. But there are, besides these shops, two or three classes of establishments which occupy distinct and separate positions in respect to the mode in which sales and purchases are made; such as bazaars and general dealers, which merit our notice.

A modern English bazaar is, after all, not a genuine representative of the class. It is a mingled assemblage of sundry wares rather than wares of one kind. The markets of London might more fittingly claim the designation of bazaars, in respect to the class of commodities sold in each. Gay, writing above a century ago, says,—

> "Shall the large mutton smoke upon your boards?
> Such Newgate's copious market best affords;
> Wouldst thou with mighty beef augment thy meal?
> Seek Leadenhall: St. James's sends thee veal!
> Thames Street gives cheeses; Covent Garden fruits;
> Moorfields old books; and Monmouth Street old suits."

This, which in some of the items is applicable to our own day, represents the true bazaar principle of the East. However, as our bazaars are retail shops, we will take a rapid glance at them.

The Soho Bazaar stands at the head of its class. It was founded many years ago by a gentleman of some notoriety, and has been uniformly a well-managed concern. It occupies several houses on the north-west corner of Soho Square, and consists of stalls or open counters ranged on both sides of aisles or passages, on two separate floors of the building. These stalls are rented by females, who pay, we believe, something between two and three shillings per day for each. The articles sold at these stalls are almost exclusively pertaining to the dress and personal decoration of ladies and children; such as millinery, lace, gloves, jewellery, &c.; and, in the height of "the season," the long array of carriages drawn up near the building testifies to the extent of the visits paid by the high-born and the wealthy to this place. Some of the rules of the establishment are very stringent. A plain and modest style of dress, on the part of the young females who serve at the stalls, is invariably insisted on, a matron being at hand to superintend the whole; every stall must have its wares displayed by a particular hour in the morning, under penalty of a fine from the renter; the rent is paid day by day, and if the renter be ill, she has to pay for the services of a substitute, the substitute being such an one as is approved by the principals of the establishment. Nothing can be plainer or more simple than the exterior of this bazaar, but it has all the features of a well-ordered institution.

The Pantheon Bazaar is a place of more show and pretensions. It was originally a theatre, one of the most fashionable in London; but having met with the discomfitures which have befallen so many of our theatres, it remained untenanted for many years, and was at length entirely remodelled and converted into a bazaar. When we have passed through the entrance porch in Oxford Street, we find ourselves in a vestibule, containing a few sculptures, and from thence a flight of steps lead up to a range of rooms occupied as a picture gallery. These pictures, which are in most cases of rather moderate merit, are placed here for sale, the proprietors of the bazaar receiving a commission or per centage on any picture which may find a purchaser. From these rooms an entrance is obtained to the gallery, or upper-floor of the toy-bazaar, one of the most tasteful places of the kind in London. We look down upon the ground story, from this open gallery, and find it arranged with counters in a very systematical order, loaded with uncountable trinkets. On one counter are articles of millinery; on another lace; on a third gloves and hosiery; on others cutlery, jewellery, toys, children's dresses, children's books, sheets of music, albums and pocket-books, porcelain ornaments, cut-glass ornaments, alabaster figures, artificial flowers, feathers, and a host of other things, principally of a light and ornamental character. Each counter is attended by a young female, as at the Soho Bazaar. On one side of the toy-bazaar is an aviary,

supplied with birds for sale in cages; and adjacent to it is a conservatory where plants are displayed in neat array.

The Pantechnicon is a bazaar for the sale of larger commodities. It is situated in the immediate vicinity of Belgrave Square, and occupies two masses of building on the opposite sides of a narrow street. Carriages constitute one of the principal classes of articles sold at this bazaar: they are ranged in a very long building, and comprise all the usual varieties, from the dress carriage to the light gig, each carriage having its selling price marked on a ticket attached to it. Another department is for the sale of furniture, and consists of several long rooms or galleries filled with pianofortes, tables, chairs, sideboards, chests of drawers, bedsteads, carpets, and all the varied range of household furniture, each article, as in the former case, being ticketed with its selling price. There is a "wine department" also, consisting of a range of dry vaults for the reception and display of wines. The bazaar contains likewise a "toy-department;" but this is not so extensive as those noticed in the preceding paragraphs.

The Baker Street Bazaar bears some resemblance to the Pantechnicon, inasmuch as it contains a large array of carriages for sale. But it has somewhat fallen off from its original character; for it was opened as a "horse bazaar" for the sale, among other things, of horses. Horses are, we believe, no longer exposed here for sale; and the chief commodities displayed are carriages, harness, horse-furniture and accoutrements, furniture, stoves, and "furnishing ironmongery." The "wax-work" and the "artificial ice" are exhibitions no way connected with the bazaar other than occupying a portion of the too-extensive premises.

There is, in the upper part of the Gray's Inn Road, a building called the North London Repository, which gained some kind of celebrity a few years ago as a locality where the principle of "labour-exchange" was put to the test. Every article sold had a price fixed upon it, such as would afford sixpence per hour for the time and labour of the artificer who made it, and this was to be bartered for some other article priced in a similar way. The scheme was an utter failure; and the building appropriated to it has been since converted into a kind of furniture and carriage depôt, or bazaar.

If the Burlington or Lowther Arcades contained shops of one kind only, they would bear a closer resemblance to the Oriental bazaars than any other places in London; for they are arranged in the long vaulted manner which pictures represent those of the East to be; but they contain paper-hangers, bootmakers, book and print sellers, music-sellers, besides toy-sellers and others. The Lowther Bazaar, opposite to the Lowther Arcade, is simply a large shop, carried on by one owner, but decked out with a variety of fanciful wares. The Opera Colonnade was once somewhat of a bazaar; but it has been shorn of many of its attractions, and is a spiritless affair.

Next let us glance at the shops where commodities having already rendered service to one set of purchasers are exposed to the view of a second, or perhaps a third. The pawnbroker, the dealer in marine stores, the common broker, the "old-iron shop,"—these are terms which point to our meaning. As to the multifarious articles displayed in the window of a pawnbroker, they have had a probation of a year and a day, and have been brought from the hidden recesses of the

pawnbroker's store-room again to see the light. Each article—whether it be a telescope, a gown, a pair of pistols, a coat, a watch, a Bible—has its own tale of sorrow and poverty, and is suggestive of reflection on the ruinous rate of interest and loss at which the poor borrow money.

But a more remarkable class of such shops includes those which are commonly known as "brokers' shops," and which contain almost every imaginable kind of commodity. Let a pedestrian walk through Monmouth Street and St. Andrew's Street, the New Cut, or any other part of London in a dense and poor neighbourhood, and observe the motley assemblage of articles, some good enough, but not in general requisition, some useful, but shabby, some to all appearance useless, yet all for sale, and he will acquire a general notion of the miscellaneous nature of the lower class of shop trading. Old furniture shops, or curiosity shops, such as we find in Wardour Street, are a new species—and amongst the most interesting. Humbler collections of curiosities are to be found in Monmouth Street, St. Andrew's Street, and the New Cut. We cannot, however, mention Monmouth Street without thinking of its array of second-hand clothing. Gay spoke of it more than a century ago, and it remains the same in principle to the present day. As fashions change, so does the cut of the garments in Monmouth Street change; but the dealers never change: they are the same people, actuated by the same motives, trafficking on the same system, as in by-gone days. In no other part of London is the use of cellar-shops so conspicuous as in Monmouth Street. Every house has its cellar, to which access is gained by a flight of steps from the open street; and every cellar is a shop, mostly for the sale of second-hand boots and shoes, which are ranged round the margin of the entrance; while countless children—noisy, dirty, but happy brats—are loitering within and without.

Holywell Street, in the Strand, and Field Lane, near Saffron Hill, are two other places where second-hand garments are exposed for sale. The former still maintains a character given to it long ago, that a passenger needs all his resolution to prevent being dragged into the shops whether he will or no; so importunate are the entreaties by which he is invited to buy a bran-new coat, or a splendid waistcoat. Field Lane has a reputation somewhat more equivocal. Its open unsashed windows are loaded with silk handkerchiefs, displayed in dazzling array; and if it be asked how they all came there, we may perhaps arrive at an answer by solving the following police-problem: given, the number of handkerchiefs picked from pockets in the course of a year, to find the number exposed for sale in Field Lane in an equal period. In the immediate vicinity of Drury Lane is another curious assemblage of shops for the sale of old commodities: a small street is occupied almost entirely by open shops or stalls belonging to "piece-brokers," who purchase old garments, and cut out from them such pieces as may be sound enough to patch up other garments; whereby a market is furnished which supplies many a "jobbing" tailor.

A word or two respecting the daily economy of London shops. It is curious to mark the symptoms of the waking of huge London from its nightly sleep. Stage-coach travellers, unless where driven to a new system by railroads, have often means of observing this waking when entering or leaving London at a very early hour. There is an hour—after the fashionables have left their balls

and parties, the rakes have reached their houses, and the houseless wanderers have found somewhere to lay their heads, but before the sober tradesmen begin the day's labour—when London is particularly still and silent. Had we written this a year ago, we might have had to allude to the poor sooty boy's shrill cry of "Sweep!" but we may now only speak of the early breakfast-stalls, the early milkmen, and a few others, whose employment takes them into the street at an early hour. Very few shops indeed, even in the height of summer, are opened before six o'clock; but at that hour the apprentices and shopmen may be seen taking down the shutters from the windows. Time has been when these shutters slid in grooves at the top and bottom of the window, but they now rest on a well-polished brass sill at the bottom, and are fastened with much neatness. The splendour of modern shops has in some cases reached to the shutters themselves, which are highly polished, and not unfrequently figured and decorated with gold; while in the recently-constructed windows of large dimensions sliding shutters of sheet-iron are occasionally used. When the shutters, whatever be their kind, are taken down, we soon see busy indications of cleansing operations going on: how sedulously the glass is wiped, the floor swept, the counters dusted, let the busy apprentice tell. Then comes the shopman or the master, who lays out in the window the goods intended to be displayed that day. Some trades, it is true, allow the goods to remain in the window all night; but in many the shop-window is cleared every evening, again to be filled the next morning. There is singular art and dexterity displayed in this part of the day's proceedings, in laying out the commodities in the most attractive form, especially in the mercers' and drapers' shops. Then, hour after hour, as the streets become gradually filled with walkers and riders, the shopkeeper prepares to receive his customers, whose hours of purchasing depend greatly on the nature of the commodities purchased; the baker has most trade in the morning and afternoon, the butcher and the greengrocer in the forenoon, the publican at noon and in the evening, and so on. In occupations relating to the sale of provisions, a small number of persons can transact a tolerably large trade; but in the drapery line the number of hands is remarkably large, there being some of these establishments in which the shopmen, clerks, cashiers, &c. amount to from fifty to a hundred. One of these, called the "shop-walker," has a singular office to fill: his duty being to "walk the shop," with a view to see who enters it, and to point out to them at what counter, or at what part of the counter, they may be served with the particular commodity required.

As the evening comes on, the dazzling jets of gas become kindled in one shop after another, till our principal streets have a brilliancy rivalling that of day. The evening-walkers are often a different class from the mid-day walkers, and make purchases of a different kind: some, too, seem to expect that shops shall be kept open for their accommodation till nine, ten, or eleven o'clock, while others uniformly close at seven or eight o'clock. This question of shop-shutting has been a subject of much discussion lately; the shopmen to drapers, druggists, and many other retail traders, having urged the justice of terminating the daily business at such a time as will leave them an hour or two for relaxation or reading. This does not seem to be unreasonable; but, at the same time, a little caution

seems to be needful in carrying the plan into practice, since the convenience of the purchasers, in respect to the hours at which they make their purchases, must always be an element to be considered.

That some streets should be exclusively private, while others are as exclusively occupied by shopkeepers, is a system for which there is good and sufficient reason. It is, in fact, one mode of exemplifying the bazaar-system, in which, when purchases are to be made, a saving of time is effected by congregating the sellers near together. The sellers, too, serve each other, and each thrives by the aid of his neighbour. The sketch which Defoe, in his 'Complete Tradesman,' made of matters as they existed in 1727, will, with a few modifications, apply to our own day as well:—"The people grow rich by the people; they support one another; the tailor, the draper, the mercer, the coachmaker, &c., and their servants, all haunt the public-houses, the masters to the taverns, the servants to the ale-houses, and thus the vintner and the victualler grow rich. Those again, getting before-hand with the world, must have fine clothes, fine houses, and fine furniture; their wives grow gay, as the husbands grow rich, and they go to the draper, the mercer, the tailor, the upholsterer, &c., to buy fine clothes and nice goods; thus the draper, and mercer, and tailor grow rich too; money begets money, trade circulates, and the tide of money flows in with it; one hand washes the other hand, and both hands wash the face."

[Pantheon Bazaar.]

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